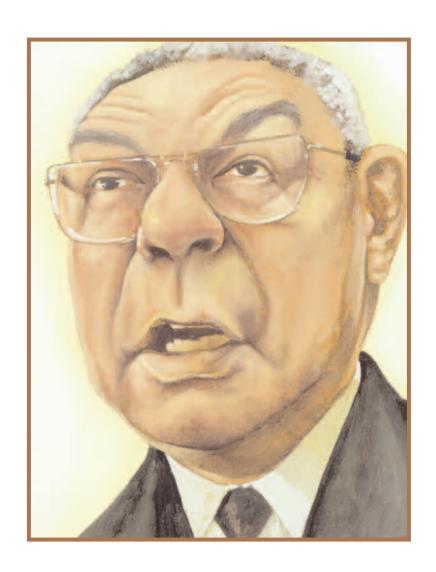
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# THE SECRETARY AT MIDTERM

Foreign Journalists Assess Colin Powell's First Two Years

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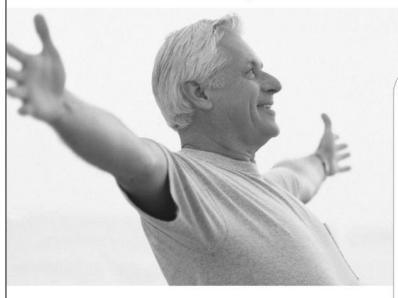
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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

# AFSA's Goals for 2003

By John K. Naland

You will find AFSA's Annual Report for 2002 in the center section of this month's Foreign Service Journal. In it, we try to



give a sense of the wide scope of our efforts to actively promote the interests of active-duty and retired members of the career Foreign Service and their families. If you have ever asked What has AFSA done for me lately?, our Annual Report is a good place to look for the answer.

That said, AFSA can never rest on its past accomplishments because there is always more to be done to make the Foreign Service a more effective agent of U.S. international leadership while simultaneously making it a better supported, more respected, and more satisfying place in which to spend a career.

With that in mind, I am pleased to report to you the following highlights of AFSA's ongoing action agenda. While this agenda is subject to revision by the new AFSA Governing Board that takes office this summer. the candidates' campaign statements make it clear that these broad goals will remain solidly on AFSA's "To Do" list during the course of 2003:

• Member Services: Continue to listen to our members and actively

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

If you've ever asked "What has AFSA done for me lately?" our Annual Report is a good place to look for the answer.

promote their interests in ways big and small. Act with a sense of urgency, get results, and make a difference. Expend our resources where they will have maximum impact.

- Legislative Affairs: Increase the effectiveness of our congressional advocacy in order to a) make the case for a sustained infusion of resources for security, people, and infrastructure and b) secure enactment of the "bread and butter" items on AFSA's legislative agenda.
- Outreach: Expand outreach to the American public through newspaper op-eds, media interviews, and AFSA's Speaker's Bureau in order to build broader public understanding of the work of diplomacy and diplomats.
- Professional Issues: Continue working to assure that the Foreign Service a) has the mix of abilities, outlooks, and organization to carry out its role of implementing U.S. foreign policy and b) is a profession affording a reasonable balance between the rewards and burdens of service.

• Institution-Building: Maintain the flow of information on our activities to employees in order to increase AFSA membership and, with it, our clout with agency management and with Congress.

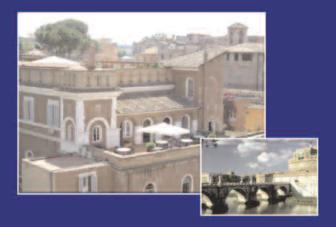
While this list focuses on what AFSA seeks to accomplish for the Foreign Service here in Washington, our ability to achieve these goals depends in large measure on the active support of our members around the globe and throughout the U.S.

Members function as our "eyes and ears," alerting us to problems needing to be addressed. Members provide us with input that helps to shape our responses to emerging issues. Members volunteer as AFSA reps at post. Members participate in our Speaker's Bureau after retirement. Members contribute thought-provoking articles to AFSA's Foreign Service Journal. Members write to their lawmakers or participate in AFSA's Day on the Hill effort. Members nominate colleagues for our prestigious annual awards. Members pay the dues and respond to the contribution appeals that fund the excellent work by AFSA's superb professional staff.

We look forward to another challenging, productive year. As always, I and the AFSA staff welcome your comments and input. You may contact me by e-mail at naland@afsa.org, by mail at 2101 E Street N.W., Washington DC 20037, by fax at (202) 338-6820, or by phone at (202) 338-4045, ext. 502. ■

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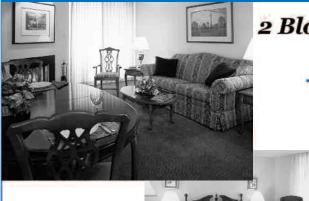
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# LETTERS

### Write On

The December 2002 issue's cover story on Foreign Service-affiliated authors, "In Their Own Write," was a fascinating insight into a treasure house of source materials. The extensive diversity of subject matter in the books, fiction and non-fiction, was somewhat surprising, although it should not have been. Foreign Service professionals require the talents and broad spectrum of interests reflected in the books. It's likely that the article will stimulate those who have been toying with the idea of writing a book to forge ahead.

FSI Associate Editor Susan Maitra was masterful in pulling all the elements together to produce a cohesive whole. For example, she took the bits and pieces I sent to her and summarized them more succinctly and effectively than I could have done. Multiply that challenge by the two score books described in the cover story, and it's a tribute to her editorial skills.

Thanks for making the *Journal's* focus on FS writers an annual event.

> Eddie Deerfield FSO, retired Palm Harbor, Fla.

# The "Special Relationship"

For the *Journal* to publish articles and letters bemoaning the Palestinian plight, while remaining silent on repeated suicide bombings carried out by Palestinians, and

questioning our "special relationship" with Israel, the only Middle Eastern democracy — especially at a time when we may again go after Iraqi leadership (whom Palestinian leaders supported the last time we fought Saddam Hussein) — is the height of (pardon the ethnic verbiage) chutzpah!

It is worth recalling that ever since the State Department's opposition to the creation of Israel, which President Truman wisely disregarded, there has been a strong undercurrent of both anti-Israel and anti-Jewish sentiment by the Arabist wing of the department. Not too long ago, in a conversation with an officer just back from six years in Egypt, I was subjected to a diatribe accusing Israel of all sorts of foul actions, concluding with the statement that "Israel is not a democracy."

Since the Sept. 11 attacks, our own nation has been following a policy which many believe is questionable in treating its own citizens of Arab heritage. Certainly Israel deserves criticism for some of its human rights actions ... but so do we.

> Robert Hechtman Retired Senior Foreign Service Officer McLean, Va.

# Camp David, 2000

Does Richard G. Miles (Letters, January 2003) have inside knowledge unavailable to the rest of us about the "unprecedented compromises" offered by Barak at Camp David? According to those who do seem to know, what Arafat responded to with an unsurprising "no" was an offer of noncontiguous land that would have been crisscrossed with Israeli roads, surrounded by settlements made in contravention of the Fourth Geneva Convention, with no Palestinian control over their aguifers, borders or airspace. Some "state"! The Palestinians did not walk away from negotiations, as so many aver; as I understand it; they just would not accept the ideas presented as a basis for negotiation. Further talks were subsequently held at Taba and both sides claimed real progress was made, but then Sharon was elected and swept everything off the table.

We've had a lot of oversimplification about the "generosity " of Israel's "offer." For a more nuanced look, I recommend Professor Jerome Slater's careful study published in the Summer 2001 Political Science Quarterly ("What Went Wrong: The Collapse of the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process"), as well as "Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors" by Hussein Agha and Robert Malley in the Aug. 9, 2001, issue of the New York Review of Books.

> Ronald I. Spiers FSO, retired *South Londonderry, Vt.* ■



# **Cybernotes**

# State's Digital Edge Still Ragged

In June 2002 Secretary of State Powell wrote in State Magazine that he wanted the State Department to "set the standard within the U.S. government on harnessing the power of cyber-technology." State's "F" on the House Committee on Government Reform's Computer Security Report Card in November, and the department's inability to meet requirements under the Government Paper Elimination Act — not to mention the fact that State Department negotiators abroad still have to run to the nearest embassy between sessions to keep in contact with headquarters! —

suggest that there is still a way to go.

As of January 2003, approximately 70 percent of State's employees were connected to OpenNet Plus and thus benefitting from the Internet. The Classified Connectivity program will put e-mail and access to SIPRNET (the closed network for "secret" level communications) on all overseas classified desktops: 155 out of 231 posts now have this facility. Both programs, the first stage of State's 1998 IT overhaul plan, are on target for completion in 2003. Bells and whistles are being added rapidly in the form of trendy Web pages and portal designs for the more than 300 sites, offering many useful services, across the department's Intranet. The "refresh and upgrade" program to replace 25 percent of the department's computers and servers every year is also proceeding on schedule.

The status of the far-reaching second stage of the overhaul plan — a modern, worldwide messaging and document management system to replace the current telegram and email systems — is somewhat less clear. Dubbed SMART — State Messaging and Archive Retrieval Toolset — the new messaging system is in the hands of a steering committee headed by Ambassador Joe Lake, working together with a Program Management Office, established by

# SITE OF THE MONTH **WWW Virtual Library: International Affairs Resources**

ere is a well-organized and regularly updated Web site that is a gold mine for the student of international relations. WWW Virtual Library: International Affairs Resources, at www.etown.edu/vl, contains more than 2,600 annotated links that run the gamut of foreign policy and international affairs subjects — from media and news sources to organizations, regions and countries, and to topics such as international development; study, work, internships and service abroad; public health; international law; conflict resolution; international security; and so on.

The user-friendliness of this site can be seen in the first item in the table of contents, "Getting Started," which includes an annotated list of links to the best online tutorials on how to do research on the Internet, annotated links to the major virtual libraries, and links to the best search engines and directories for maps. Almost all the sites are in English, and have been chosen carefully for their long-term value. Cost-free sites with high-quality information and analysis online are favored.

This site is just one section of the WWW Virtual Library

system started by Tim Berners-Lee, the creator of HTML and the Web itself. The WWW Virtual Library is the oldest catalog of the Web, and, though not the largest Web index, it is widely recognized as being among the highest-quality guides to particular sections of the Web.

Unlike commercial catalogues, the WWW Virtual Library is run by a loose confederation of volunteers who compile pages of key links for particular areas in which they are expert. The International Affairs Resources section was created, and is edited and maintained, by Wayne A. Selcher, a professor of International Studies at Elizabethtown College in Elizabethtown, Pa.

WWW Virtual Library: International Affairs Resources has received numerous awards and citations. In August 2002 the site was featured in Choice, a publication of the Association of Colleges and Research Libraries, a division of the American Libraries Association, that advises libraries and educational institutions on Web resources.

Individual indexes for the WWW Virtual Library reside on hundreds of different servers around the world. A set of catalogue pages linking these indexes is maintained at www.vlib.org in the U.S., with mirrors of the site in the U.K., Switzerland and Argentina. As of January 2000, the affairs of the WWW Virtual Library are being co-ordinated by an elected council.



# **Cybernotes**

Under Secretary for Management Grant Green, and the new E-Diplomacy office headed Ambassador Jim Holmes. The SMART team has fielded a preliminary prototype version and is busy analyzing the feedback from more than 184 users worldwide. It is also aggressively soliciting employee participation in the project. Deployment is slated for 2004.

Network capacity and availability are, however, crucial to the success of SMART, and this seems to be something of an unknown. Since 2000, the department has increased total enterprise bandwidth sixfold, and installed backup Virtual Private Network circuits at 74 out of 250 posts, with an additional 56 posts scheduled for installation this year. But until mid-July 2002 there was no official version of the department's enterprise architecture. At this writing, the Program Management Office is conducting a "red team review" of the department's

he war on terrorism will not be won through attrition ... To win this war, the U.S. must assign to economic and diplomatic capabilities the same strategic priority we assign to military capabilities. What is still missing from American political discourse is support for the painstaking work of foreign policy and the commitment of resources to vital foreign policy objectives that lack a direct political constituency.

- Richard G. Lugar, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "Beating Terror," in the Washington Post, Jan. 27, 2003.

telecommunications infrastructure to determine whether existing and planned network capabilities are indeed adequate to the task of supporting a centralized system by 2004.

Meanwhile, in September the department's own Office of Inspector General declared the Foreign Affairs Systems Integration Project to be in need of redirection, and State's initiative for interagency collaboration was summarily merged into SMART. A

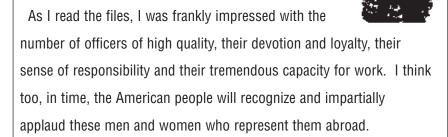
month later, the department decided to expand use of the Open Source Information System — a secure network developed and managed by the intelligence community since 1994 to exchange sensitive but unclassified information among some 50 federal law enforcement, security, intelligence and foreign affairs agencies as an economical alternative.

# North Korea: One Click Away

North Korea's apparent decision to enrich uranium and reactivate a plutonium reactor, in spite of a 1994 agreement with the United States to halt the country's nuclear weapons program, signals a return to nuclear brinkmanship on the Korean Peninsula. It also underscores how difficult it is to find reliable data on things North Korean. But here are some sites that may help.

The North Korea Web page of the State Department's Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs (http:// www.state.gov/p/eap/ci/kn/) provides comprehensive — though not

# **50 Years Ago**



—James S. Thompson, former president and vice-chairman of the McGraw-Hill Book Company, on his service as the public member of a selection board, in "An Outsider Looks at the Foreign Service" (FSJ, March 1953).

# Cybernoones



necessarily the latest! — background information and a record of relevant State Department statements and press releases, as well as links to the CIA World Factbook and Library of Congress country studies of North Korea. BBC Online offers news articles on North Korea and links to other sites (http://news.bbc.co.uk) — get there by clicking on "Country Profiles" on the main news page. Surfers can listen to the North Korean national anthem, view video clips, and read or participate in e-mail discussions.

Another port of call is the Web site of the Society of Korean-American Scholars (www.skas.org), a non-profit organization dedicated to "engendering intellectual exchanges in the global Korean community." The page is a gateway to a number of useful sites, including the resource-rich South and North Korean sub-sections of the Asian

Studies WWW Virtual Library.

Asia Times Online's Korea page (www.atimes.com/atimes/Korea. html) offers lively current analysis of Korean Peninsula affairs, with Aiden Foster-Carter's "Pyongyang Watch" standing out as a particularly wellinformed commentary.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace's non-proliferation page (www.ceip.org/files/nonprolif) offers extensive information and resources on the crisis concerning the Korean Peninsula. The Center for Nonproliferation Studies at the Monterey Institute of International Studies has a "North Korea Special Collection" with in-depth analyses, opinion pieces and reports (http://cns. miss.edu/research/korea). This userfriendly page includes satellite photos of the Yongbyon nuclear facility and maps showing suspected nuclear sites,

missile bases, and chemical and biological weapons sites.

News reports on the Korea crisis routinely use terms like "enriched uranium" and "spent fuel rods," often without much explanation. At the How Stuff Works site (http://science.how stuffworks.com/nuclearpower.htm) terms for non-experts are explained using graphics, text and animation.

Over the years, the Lonely Planet series of guidebooks has helped road warrior backpackers and armchair tourists alike. Lonely Planet's Web site (www.lonelyplanet.com) provides a condensed, but still useful, version of the guides. In addition to travel information, one can find a synopsis of North Korean history and culture, and information about a selection of North Korean cities.

—Stephen E. Mather, Editorial Intern

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# SPEAKING OUT

# Anti-Nepotism Waivers: Let Them Bake Cake

BY GINA WILLS

f I could address prospective Foreign Service spouses on the issue of overseas employment, my message would be this: nurses, teachers, artists, translators, writers/ editors, public health/development specialists and those already employed in the information technology world your prospects for overseas employment are, well, fair. But if the rest of you hope to earn more than bus fare in a few years, when hubby or wife is deputy chief of mission, principal officer or ambassador at even the tiniest post, you'd better become a real, direct-hire employee now — or start planning your career as queen (or king) of the bake sales, fashion shows and ex-pat clubs.

In his 2002 State of the Union message, President Bush looked into the camera and declared, "Jobs are a human right." That got my attention. Might the State Department be spurred to show some interest again in spousal employment? Unfortunately, the folks of the Human Resource Bureau's Office of Overseas Employment — State's gatekeepers of overseas employment opportunities for spouses — must have run to the fridge during that part of the speech. For instead of striving to increase spousal employment overseas. HR/OE seems to have developed new regulations and enthusiasm for thwarting it, at least in the arena of anti-nepotism waivers.

# **How We Avoid Nepotism**

Let's get this straight: A State Department employee cannot

Perhaps there could even be a special, dissenttype channel established for nepotism whistle-blowers.



"appoint, employ, promote, advance, or advocate for employment in or to a Department of State position any individual who is a household member of that employee ..." out of concern that "nepotism or the appearance of nepotism" may exist. In its effort to keep nepotism out of embassies, the department makes sure that one spouse is not supervised by anyone who is affected by the other spouse, using the "cut-out" system to grant anti-nepotism waivers for part-time intermittent employees and personal services contractors. For example, if a PIT were hired to be a consular assistant, her spouse could not oversee consular affairs. In theory, a cut-out allows a selected candidate to be employed as long as his/her supervisor is not rated or reviewed by the direct-hire spouse. That is, unless hubby/wife is a chief of mission, in which case the supervisory relationship doesn't matter.

Fortunately for some of the direct-

hire crowd, the State Department extends itself to avoid putting wellconnected tandem couples on leave without pay. For example, one ambassador's wife, an officer herself, was installed in a newly created regional job, albeit without heavy travel responsibilities. At another post, the spouse of a DCM was assigned as a political officer, despite the fact that the DCM was closely involved with the workings of the political section presided over by the man who supervised her husband.

Elsewhere, two officer-spouses, both gifted language-learners, were assigned to a year's language training at full salary until their assigned jobs opened up. In one case, the officer in training already had better than a 4/4 in a very closely related language. In the other case, the officer spent a year on full salary studying a language, despite having already achieved better than a 3/3 in it and being without a firm future assignment. Neither of these officers, by the way, was assigned to a language-designated position.

Now let's contrast those spouseofficer assignments with some recent PSC/PIT employee cases.

In one small embassy, a Human Resources section found itself with a budget & fiscal officer who arrived green, having had only the HR course, and three Foreign Service Nationals with no more than six month's worth of cumulative experience. The embassy needed to send the most promising FSN employee to the HR course for seven weeks. To

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**Instead of increasing** spousal employment overseas, State seems to be trying to thwart it for non-direct-hire spouses, at least.

cover that gap, Washington granted the embassy a two-month PSC to hire an FP-7 "Personnel Assistant" whose amazing range of duties entailed oversight of all FSN and American issues, to be supervised by the new HR officer. That officer was rated by the administrative counselor and reviewed by the DCM. The chief of mission's spouse, who had over six years experience as a PIT in embassy personnel sections (two of these as assistant personnel officer) was the only applicant for the temporary job, and was selected. Yet despite the clear cut-out, HR/OE declined to grant a waiver. The grounds? "HR is too sensitive an area." The position went unfilled.

In another small embassy, the PIT economic section office management specialist position opened. The embassy advertised twice to fill the slot, but the one spouse who applied did not have the minimum skills required. The ambassador's spouse had 20 years of experience working in various positions in embassies, including two years as a secretary. Yet HR/OE advised the post (informally) that the ambassador's spouse needn't apply because no waiver would be granted. The position is still unfilled and has no bidders 10 months later.

Furthermore, in the normal cutout procedure for employment of a

DCM's PSC/PIT spouse, the chief of mission must assume all of the DCM's supervisory responsibilities for the section in which the PIT/PSC spouse works. The standard antinepotism waiver states that if the COM is out of the country for a month, the DCM/chargé d'affaire's spouse is required to resign his/her position. Even leave without pay is not an option in such cases.

Let me clarify something: PSC/PIT employees' expectations do not include being treated like a direct-hire employee. They recognize that they do not have personal careers. They easily accept that they will never be promoted or tenured. They know there are no employment guarantees. What they do ask is to be considered for work in the overseas organization in which they have gained a kind of generalized expertise, can truly contribute to the mission goals, and can be paid a decent wage.

## What About Transparency?

I have resisted the temptation to list numerous other cases of special treatment for senior tandem spouses because I could not verify them personally. (I suspect that you, dear reader, have witnessed a few yourself.) Similarly, I would be happy to cite additional verified examples of HR/OE's refusals to grant antinepotism waivers to PSC/PIT spouses, but the data are hard to come by. I tried to get statistics on the number of spouses of DCMs, principal officers and ambassadors who have applied for a nepotism waiver and the decisions on those applications. The Family Liaison Office, theoretically State's spousal advocate, demurely declined to look, noting that this is HR/OE's bailiwick. The folks at HR/OE first waffled, then advised that they weren't able to provide such information. Why? "It is not available."

# SPEAKING OUT

I guess HR/OE doesn't waste time keeping records of its good work.

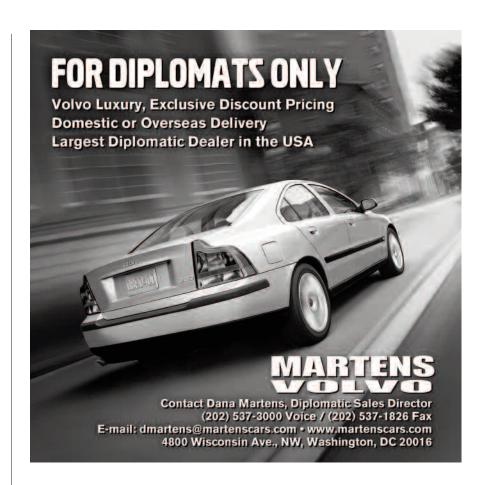
Please don't misunderstand: I appreciate the well-placed concern that underlies anti-nepotism rules a despotic or vindictive couple could paralyze an embassy and foster real injustice, or even malfeasance. I also think that the flexibility the department displays towards some of the well-connected tandem spouses is good personnel management. And, as someone who for a year in the mid-1970s was acting assistant cultural affairs officer and paid the existing minimum wage on a non-personal services contract, I most sincerely applaud the great strides State has made in spousal employment, especially the Family Member Associate program (heartfelt thanks to former Director General "Skip" Gnehm!).

My complaint is that, having developed a little band of dedicated, savvy workers who diligently fill jobs anywhere they are needed, the department declares these folks personae non-gratae in their spouses' later assignments — just when the PSC/PITs have the most useful experience. Not a good way to retain your seasoned talent — either officers or PSC/PITs — is it?

The fact is that with the advent of the FMA program, the ranks of the little group of "persistently-PIT" spouses is likely to grow. Ever increasing numbers of FMAs will face this enforced-joblessness dilemma in the future. Does the department have the wisdom to solve this problem now?

### A Solution Is Possible

There seem to be two issues that have been solved for direct-hire tandem spouses and not for PSC/PITs: an objective selection process and removal from the chain of command for evaluation purposes. Assignment by HR's Office of Career





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# SPEAKING OUT

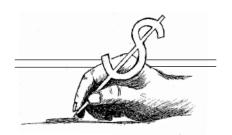
Development and Assignments, which is not under the control of COMs, POs or DCMs, already solves the selection issue for direct-hire tandem spouses. HR/CDA also makes sure that someone outside of the embassy chain of command rates such tandem spouses, at least on paper.

With a little creativity, the department could develop means to vet objectively the hiring and evaluation of COM/PO/DCM's PSC/PIT spouses, too. Just as PER/CDA's role in the assignment process sidesteps the nepotism issue for tandems, so could an impeccably objective committee located away from the hiring post take the issue out of the COM's, PO's or DCM's purview.

A few possibilities: Perhaps each bureau's executive office, or FLO or HR/OE, could establish a regional hiring committee to select the successful applicant when a COM, PO or DCM PSC/PIT spouse is involved. Perhaps that committee could produce the pro-forma PSC/PIT annual evaluation based on relevant input received from post via classified e-mail. Or the PSC/PITs could sign a waiver stating that they release the department from any evaluation requirements. To be doubly sure that the mission is free from nepotism or the perception of nepotism, the embassy community could be confidentially polled before the PSC/PIT appointment of a COM/PO/DCM spouse, and re-polled periodically thereafter. Perhaps there could even be a special, dissent-type channel established for nepotism whistle-

Or the department can continue with the current practice, and tell those old PITs and PSCs to just, well, bake off. ■

Gina Wills has been a Foreign Service spouse for 30 years.



# Long-Term Care Insurance

BY STEPHEN H. THOMPSON

ne out of every four Americans will be faced with significant long-term health care expenses, either for themselves or loved ones, at some point in their lives. Furthermore, 57 percent of those currently receiving such care are under age 65.

While many people only think of nursing homes when they consider the need for LTC insurance, such coverage can actually be much broader, encompassing assistance to individuals with serious prolonged physical illness, disability or cognitive impairment (such as Alzheimer's disease). Other services covered may include, but are not limited to, help with daily activities at home, such as bathing and dressing, respite care, assisted living, and adult day care.

For most individuals, the case for long-term care insurance is compelling; however, as I will discuss below, it may not be a good fit for everyone. The decision whether to purchase an LTC policy is complex and multifaceted and should not be taken lightly. But, at a minimum, consideration of such coverage should be a key element of personal and family financial planning for Foreign Service employees and their families.

# Why Consider **Long-Term Care Insurance?**

The most obvious reason is that long-term care expenses can be quite steep. The Health Care Financing Administration's 2002

For most individuals, the case for long-term care insurance is compelling. But it is not a good fit for everyone.

statistics state that the national average cost of staying at a nursing home is \$151 per day and that excludes skilled care. (The cost of home or custodial care — when you need help with day-to-day tasks but not around-the-clock assistance — could be a little less, but not much. Many times, however, home care costs are as much or more than local facilities.) Given that the average stay in a nursing home is 2.5 years, the total cost of such care totals about \$138,000. Nationally, the average cost of nursing home care is \$50,000 to \$60,000 a year. And in the Washington area, the cost of nursing-home care is even higher: nearly \$74,000 a year, a figure not uncommon for large cities.

Without insurance, the financial impact of such assistance is dramatic. Seventy percent of single people who enter a nursing home are impoverished within one year, and 50 percent of all couples are impoverished within one year of a spouse's entering a nursing home.

In addition, other statistics compiled by the HCFA show there is a 1-in-4 chance that lifetime longterm care expenses will reach or exceed \$100,000. Compare this to a 1-in-1,200 chance of a \$100,000 loss from a fire or accident in your home; a 1-in-240 chance of a \$100,000 or greater liability suit arising from an automobile accident; and a 1-in-15 chance of encountering major medical expenses of \$100,000

Long-term care insurance can help safeguard assets and protect financial stability during a period of serious prolonged physical illness, disability or cognitive impairment. In this regard, children may help parents pay the premiums for their LTC policies in order to ensure some level of funding for care if needed.

# Will Government Programs **Assist with LTC Costs?**

Many people may assume that they can turn to Medicare if necessary. Unfortunately, Medicare is generally not a viable alternative to private LTC insurance. For one thing, the program was not designed to cover long-term care expenses: current Medicare requirements state that one must be over 65 years of age and must stay three days in the hospital before any long-term

care costs will be covered; furthermore, nothing beyond 100 days of care is covered. Medicare will cover the first 20 days at 100 percent, but for days 21 through 100, one must pay a \$105 (as of 2003) per-day deductible before Medicare will cover the rest of the costs. Nor are Medicare supplements designed to cover LTC costs.

In effect, Medicare covers less than 18 percent of nursing home expenses. It also is restricted to skilled care and not custodial care, even though 95 percent of people in nursing homes are receiving care at the custodial level.

Moreover, Medicaid is a particularly remote option for Foreign Service personnel, since it pays for nursing-home expenses only after an individual has exhausted his or her assets and needs financial assistance. The Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1996 makes it a crime to transfer assets for the purpose of qualifying for Medicaid coverage.

Some flexibility exists in LTC costs. The length of the waiting period, the choice of how benefits will be paid and the length of the coverage will all affect premiums.

Policies come with a variety of coverage periods. You can choose unlimited, two-, four- or five-year periods from most insurance carriers. The longer the coverage period, the higher the premiums will likely be. The size of the daily benefit and whether it has an adjustment for inflation also affect the size of the premium. In certain cases, some portion of long-term care premiums is eligible for a tax deduction. Furthermore, expenses not covered by insurance may be tax-deductible.

Even so, LTC is not feasible in every case. The annual insurance premiums of \$1,000 to \$10,000 may

Shop around and compare policies carefully; all long-term care insurance policies are not the same.

be prohibitive for many individuals and families. At the other extreme, some with sizable assets might prefer to self-insure and draw down their assets over time (though this requires a large asset base). Still another special case where insurance requirements may be smaller would be those people who could draw on family or another network of caregivers for assistance with long-term care.

# What to Look For in a **Long-Term Care Policy**

Let us assume that you are considering purchasing an LTC policy. Here are some things to keep in mind as you analyze the various

Shop around. All long-term care insurance policies are not the same. According to the Health Insurance Association of America. there are currently more than 115 private insurance companies that offer long-term care insurance products to individuals. These policies are far from standardized and offer a wide variety of benefits and coverage. For example, one company offers LTC and life insurance as one package. It is important, therefore, to take the time to find the

policy that best fits your situation. Consult a knowledgeable adviser about specific needs.

Know the insurance company. Examine the financial health of the insurance company under consideration. Select a company that has received high financial ratings from A.M. Best, Moody's and Standard and Poor's. Many industry experts recommend choosing a company that has already paid significant claims. Generally speaking, going with a stronger company does not mean you have to pay higher premiums.

Ensure that the insurance company is licensed in your state. Insurance companies must be licensed in your state in order to sell long-term care insurance there. If you are not sure, contact your state insurance department.

Study the policy and know its main provisions. Take the time to become familiar with all the policy benefits associated with the insurance contract under consideration by reading the outline of coverage that should be sent with any product proposals. The outline not only helps explain the conditions of the proposed coverage, but also provides information about how benefits will be paid. Some of the key policy provisions include the choices of care facilities that the contract provides and the additional features that are available.

Check to see who can be covered. Some policies may provide discounts if more than one person is insured, but the discount usually depends on the relationship. Some policies offer spousal discounts of 10 to 25 percent. Others provide discounts for people such as two sisters or two same-sex partners living together but of the same generation.

Ensure medical eligibility for

coverage. Most applicants qualify for long-term care insurance, but there are exceptions. If you have already been diagnosed with forms of dementia, multiple sclerosis, or Parkinson's disease, for example, chances are you will not qualify. Other conditions for which you might not be insurable include a mini-stroke, cancer, and insulindependent diabetes. Nonetheless, the underwriting process for LTC is generally less involved than for life insurance.

Look at the length of coverage. When selecting a long-term care insurance policy, choose the benefit period that best fits your situation. Many industry experts suggest a four-year benefit period, based on some average nursinghome stay statistics. Lifetime or unlimited benefit periods are also available with most LTC contracts, as well as two-year and five-year benefit periods.

Also bear in mind that payment of benefits may not begin the first day care is received. Most policies have an elimination period (also known as a waiting or deductible period) of anywhere from 0 to 365 days (your choice), which means your benefits will not begin until you have paid for that many days of care. Of course, the shorter the elimination period, the greater the policy premium. Most policies do include some form of a waiver of premium after the elimination period while care is provided.

# **Care Abroad**

The issue of care abroad should be considered especially carefully. Those serving overseas may have occasion to receive care outside of the United States or may retire in a foreign country for family or professional reasons. Not all LTC policies provide benefits for care abroad;

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therefore, be sure to examine policy details related to citizenship of the insured and residency requirements. Moreover, those policies that do pay benefits overseas may have a ceiling on them.

A related issue is how most effectively to manage the care of a loved one in the United States while assigned abroad. Some policies allow for professional care management to help establish a plan of care for the insured and to coordinate the implementation. Having access to a professional care coordinator is particularly helpful in these situations. During our Foreign Service careers, we have all seen the difficulties imposed by great geographic separation in such cases.

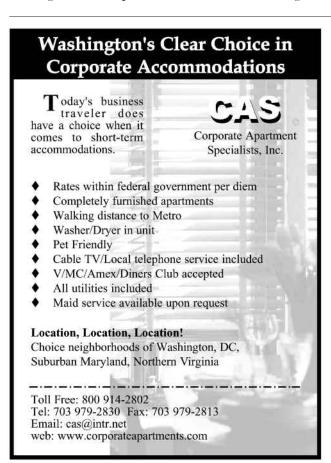
Summing up, long-term care coverage is an important tool to

The issue of long-term care abroad should be considered especially carefully by FS personnel.

assist with specialized care and to protect an individual or family assets. Various insurance plans are available to prepare for and protect oneself against possible LTC needs

in order to make the process as smooth as possible and to protect assets. However, the decision requires careful analysis to ensure the best policy for each situation, and that decision is even more difficult for those posted overseas. Fortunately, many LTC products are available. The challenge is finding the right one for you.

Retired FSO Stephen H. Thompson is a financial adviser 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.





# FOCUS ON POWELL

# FROM HIGH HOPES TO DISENCHANTMENT

n one of their last meetings, in November of last year, Colin Powell and Jorge Castaneda bantered easily and publicly while seriously discussing one of the thorniest issues in the modern U.S.-Mexico relationship. "Water, water, water..." said Powell. "Agua, agua, agua..." answered Castaneda. Both were referring to a Mexican failure to comply with water delivery commitments, an issue that had become political fodder for local politicians on both sides of the border. Secretary Powell and Secretary of Foreign Relations Castaneda were aware of the political ramifications, but also understood that both sides of the Rio Bravo region share an ecosystem, and that both the

Mexican and American sides had shared the effects of the recent drought.

Castaneda and Powell were able to diffuse the problem. Their interaction showed how far they had come in an occasionally uneasy personal relationship, and how far these two countries, with a historical mistrust of each other, had progressed. But it also reflected Powell's and Castaneda's own limitations and constraints. For Secretary Powell, the same difficulties he faces in trying to set "moderate" policies in a hawkish administration hinder or even impede him from taking a leading role in bilateral relations. For Castaneda, attempting to honor his government's priority commitment to upgrading the Mexico-U.S. bilateral tie in the face of shifting U.S. foreign policy preoccupations was a frustration and, in the end, one of the main reasons for his resignation.

# **Prickly But Pragmatic**

"That relationship [between Secretary of State Powell and Secretary of Foreign Relations Castaneda] was an asset, both in times of collaboration as well as in moments of disagreement," a source close to Castaneda has been quoted as saying. "There has never been a relation so close between a secretary of State and a secretary of foreign relations," he added. At the same time, some U.S. sources claim that the relationship between Powell and Castaneda was not as good as it appeared, and that sometimes the secretary

answered Castaneda's calls only "reluctantly." Perhaps both claims are true, accurately reflecting the complexity of the U.S.-Mexico relationship.

But, as Armand Peschard-Sverdrup, an expert in U.S.-Mexico relations at the Center for Strategic International Studies in Washington, points out: "Whatever their relationship was, like their governments, they realized that they did not and do not have any choice but to have good relations at their level." The U.S.-Mexico relationship is vitally important to both nations economically as well as culturally. For the U.S., the 2000-mile border is an important security concern. More than 80 percent of Mexico's exports — or one quarter of the country's GDP - go to the U.S., and Mexico is America's



PLANS TO UPGRADE
U.S.-MEXICO RELATIONS
CRUMBLED WITH THE
TWIN TOWERS. SECRETARY
POWELL HAS HAD TO
MANAGE THE FALLOUT.

By Jose Carreno

# $F \circ c \cup s$

third largest export market for agricultural products. As of 2000, Mexico was the world's fifth largest oil exporter, and American's fourth largest supplier.

As good as the U.S.-Mexico relationship might sometimes appear, however, it remains prickly, even difficult, due to a host of local issues and quite a few international disagreements, even while the bottom line is one of collaboration. Both sides have come to realize that theirs is a classic "inter-mestic relationship," one in which domestic issues have an impact on foreign relations and vice versa. The relationship is rooted in a pragmatic policy shaped over many years, to not allow specific problems to "contaminate" ties — essentially, an agreement to disagree.

The U.S.-Mexico relationship today is the result of an evolutionary process of social and economic change: increased Mexican immigration to the U.S. following the Mexican economic crises in the 1980s, the large — more than a half million — American expatriate community in Mexico and, in 2001, the arguably overplayed friendship between President Bush and the newly-elected Mexican president, Vicente Fox, who entered office fresh from an astounding electoral victory that changed the face of Mexican politics.

Overplayed or not, the fast developing friendship between Fox and Bush, and the unprecedented initial prominence of the Mexican relationship in the Bush administration's agenda, became simultaneously a stimulus and a challenge for the two secretaries of foreign affairs.

Educated in the cold war climate and oriented to an east-west rivalry in geopolitical and military terms that more often than not was linked to the Middle East and Eastern Europe rather than to U.S. borders, Secretary Powell never appeared to have been a player in the relations between Mexico and the United States. But his previous positions, as National Security Advisor and Chief of Staff, showed us a man fast to learn and adept at playing the political game. These characteristics helped him to sieze the moment when, as a newly minted secretary of State, he found out that his president, George W. Bush, had only one card to play when talking about foreign relations: Mexico.

Jose Carreno is the Washington correspondent for El Universal of Mexico.

His counterpart Jorge Castaneda, scion of a prominent diplomatic family in Mexico and a brilliant academic, with a profound knowledge of American politics and a penchant for media manipulation, hoped to change the reactive — sometimes even passive — character of Mexico's traditional foreign policy for a more proactive approach, where Mexico would take the initiative vis-à-vis the U.S. His frequent bickering with reporters, accusations of arrogance, the animosity of a left that felt betrayed and the very visible problems in his personal life, however, troubled Castaneda's proposals from the outset.

# **A Severe Blow**

After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, instead of moving the U.S.-Mexico relationship to a higher plane, Powell and Castaneda found themselves managing the fallout as the giddy days of high hopes gave way to disenchantment. The Bush administration's preoccupation with the war on terrorism drove U.S. relations with Mexico off the stage, and doomed the much-hoped-for agreement on immigration that would have resulted in legalization for some 3.5 million undocumented Mexicans resident in the U.S. — an issue of great economic, political and even human rights significance in Mexico, where U.S. immigration policies are held responsible for hundreds of deaths on the border.

"Powell was well intentioned, mostly because he understood that President Bush wanted a special relationship. However, after September 11, his priorities and those of the U.S. government changed, as Mexico and the whole of Latin America were diminished," says Andres Rozental, former Mexican under secretary of foreign relations and current chairman of the Mexican Council for International Relations.

For Mexico this was a severe blow. When George W. Bush became president he promised a new relationship with Mexico and for a few months it appeared he was serious, thanks to the "discovery" of the potential Latino political power and the increased economic and social relations between both countries. Many Mexicans believed in the idea of a new special relationship and the possibility of "legalization."

When Mexico joined the U.N. Security Council in 2002, it made a bold move to project the image of a democratic government committed to a new interna-

tionalist agenda, but to a great degree this was based on the need to redefine the relationship with the United States, a looming presence in Mexico. At first the U.S. seemed to expect a new ally on a host of issues. Some of those hopes were justified, as a change in the Mexican policy toward human rights in Cuba occurred. But, as in other countries, the sympathy created in Mexico in reaction to the events of September 11 did not carry over to support for a war or for unilateral U.S. intervention in Afghanistan or Iraq.

Afghanistan or Iraq.

Other bilateral issues helped cool the relationship between Fox and Bush. In August, 2002 the Mexican government asked the Texas state government to at least postpone the execution of Javier Suarez Medina, condemned to death for the murder of an American policeman but whose case gained international prominence because, as in other cases, the Texas authorities had failed to comply with the Vienna Convention on Consular Rights. The execution was scheduled to take place only days before a Fox visit to Bush in Texas. Mexico does not have a death penalty and campaigns actively internationally against it. When Texas Governor Rick Perry, who was in the middle of a disputed electoral campaign, ignored the Mexican request, President Fox was forced to cancel his visit.

Months after the lack of agreement on a new immigration policy, the cooling in the relationship between the U.S. and Mexico was underlined by what was described as the "visibly sullen" attitude of President Bush at the end of a bilateral meeting with Fox last November in Los Cabos, in Mexico.

# **Still Talking**

Indeed, Secretary Powell has had to navigate against the tide. He has repeated time and again, whenever asked or speaking in an international forum, about how important Mexico is for the U.S. The Mexicans like to hear that, and would like to believe it, but many claim that the speeches and the facts do not correspond.

Despite the obviously weakening state of the rela-

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tionship, Powell and Castaneda continued to speak frequently by phone, exchanging views and advice on issues that went from the water problems along the common border to Iraq and Venezuela, from Argentina to Afghanistan, and to long-standing differences between both countries, such as on the legalities and circumstances that may have helped Mexican nationals avoid the death sentence in the U.S.

The limits to that close relationship, however, were seen in a series of Mexican decisions.

Though recognizing the American right of response, Mexico refused to back unilateral American military operations in Afghanistan, and remains very cautious about accepting the idea of granting any country the right of unilateral action. Mexico refused to support the American tendency to unilateralism in Iraq in the U.N. Security Council, when last November it was an active participant in the effort to water down an American-sponsored resolution about inspections in Iraq. And, on Jan. 9, 2003, Mexico filed a complaint with the International Court of Justice concerning the legal circumstances surrounding death sentences against 51 Mexicans in the U.S.

Finally, in early January, Jorge Castaneda abruptly resigned. Secretary Powell and Mr. Castaneda had been in contact by telephone on Jan. 7, and even though everybody knew that Castaneda had presented his resignation and that President Fox was "considering" it, the subject was not broached. Two days later Castaneda called again but minutes later, when Powell was able to return the call, Castaneda was already "indisposed." His resignation had been accepted.

Colin Powell is now on the telephone with Luis Ernesto Derbez, the new Mexican Secretary for Foreign Relations, and is again stressing the importance of Mexico for the United States and conveying his hopes for a productive relationship with Derbez. He may be able to convince the Mexicans and Derbez ... but will he ever convince the Americans?

# FOCUS ON POWELL

# CONFIDENCE WITHOUT ARROGANCE

key measure of any human endeavor is the quality of the people involved in it. Whenever I feel inclined to criticize American foreign policy — which is quite often — one thought that gives me pause is that it is run by people like Secretary of State Colin Powell. In

retrospect, his appointment by President George W. Bush should have caused much greater restraint of pen and tongue on the part of those who initially tended to underestimate the current administration.

Probably nowhere have expectations been exceeded more than in American relations with Russia. After a

somewhat rocky start a real partnership has emerged, especially since the tragic events of Sept. 11. The early fears (one can't help feeling sometimes that they were more like hopes, at least in some quarters in Washington and in Europe) of a new U.S.-Russian confrontation developing over issues such as the U.S. withdrawal from the ABM treaty, NATO expansion and, more recently, the situation around Iraq have failed to materialize. Secretary Powell once told me in an interview that in his opinion the relationship between our two countries was undergoing "a seismic change"; I've been gratefully using that mixed metaphor ever since.

# **Historic Transformation**

Surely, the credit for this historic transformation goes mostly

to Presidents Putin and Bush. Since their first, famous "soul-searching" encounter in Slovenia much has been written about their rapport. But Moscow and Washington also have another channel of communication — far less celebrated but probably as important in practical terms — that between Secretary Powell and Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov. Anyone familiar with it knows that it is primarily through this mechanism that the thorniest issues between the two sides are thrashed out before they can become problems.

Given the American dominance in today's world, it's easy to see why this open line to Washington is probably the most important and valuable among Mr. Ivanov's diplomatic tools. But Secretary Powell also clearly cher-

ishes this relationship. There could be no mistake about it if you heard him — as I did — enthuse about his regular contacts with "my friend Igor." Sometimes they speak to each other several times a day.

In fact, these occasions have become so common that both sides have apparently lost track of the number of phone conversations, and even meetings, between the two ministers (they invariably get together at all the international forums they both attend). Some diplomats say that Mr. Powell probably talks to Mr. Ivanov more than to his counterparts from NATO countries and other "traditional" U.S. allies.

To be sure, some of their predecessors also enjoyed solid professional relations. But many believe that the personal chem-



THE U.S.-RUSSIA RELATIONSHIP
HAS BECOME A PARTNERSHIP,
AND THE PERSONAL CHEMISTRY
BETWEEN COLIN POWELL AND
IGOR IVANOV HAS EVERYTHING
TO DO WITH IT.

By Andrei Sitov

istry has never worked so well. An episode comes to mind, when the secretary was even teaching his Russian partner the art of ... self-promotion.

Here's the story: On a visit to Washington, Mr. Ivanov was presenting his new book at a think tank. When Secretary Powell was invited to the microphone, he asked his friend to pass him a copy of the book to hold up to the cameras. Apparently Foreign Minister Ivanov

hadn't thought about this, and didn't have the book ready. "Oh, Igor, you've still got so much to learn," Powell chided him affectionately.

Affable but Tough
From a few personal meetings with the secretary, I

# know that he treats journalists in the same kind of jovial but invariably courteous manner. It's certainly a welcome change from the days when the top brass at the State Department seemed to be too preoccupied with taking care of all of humanity — including Russia — to bother with explaining their grand designs to reporters, especially international ones. In the past two years we at ITAR-TASS have had incomparably better access to the leaders

of the department than in the previous eight. The secre-

tary even did a one-on-one interview with us — a foreign

wire service! You can bet we greatly appreciated it.

Probably the biggest scoop we've had in all this time was breaking the news on the impending announcement of the American withdrawal from the ABM treaty in December 2001. A few days later, I met Secretary Powell at a reception and was surprised that he not only recognized me but also joked good-naturedly about TASS stealing his thunder.

All this affability notwithstanding, Secretary Powell can be very tough and unapologetic in defending his

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

In the past two years, we at ITAR-TASS have had incomparably better access to the leaders of the department than in the previous eight.

country's position. Our interviews provided ample evidence of that. For example, he flatly rejected all suggestions that the U.S. should place its servicemen under the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court to avoid an appearance of double standards. I still think he was wrong on that one, but Secretary Powell did not mince words in expressing his belief that American laws are equal to or better than international norms and that only

these laws will apply to the American military abroad.

The secretary's own military background — at least in my opinion — is ever present in his upright posture, precision and straightforwardness in speech (even if he sometimes cuts his answers short at the most interesting point, as befits a true diplomat), and the distinct aura of authority he projects. His civility can never be mistaken for weakness; his patriotism and personal integrity are unquestionable. I think that's one reason why this officer and gentleman has probably accomplished more as secretary of State in the current administration than would have been possible for any other person.

### **Multilateral Solutions**

There is a saying that the task of a diplomat is to tell the truth to foreign governments without offending them and to tell the truth to one's own government even at the risk of giving offense. We can only guess at what's happening behind closed doors, but judging by the results, Secretary Powell is effective in both areas.

Internationally, aside from helping to navigate the shoals in relations with Russia, he's been instrumental in building an unprecedented global coalition to fight terrorism. Domestically, he's credited with shifting the administration's policies toward multilateral solutions. Charges of unilateralism and ignoring international institutions have abated, especially since Washington turned to the United Nations to help resolve the crisis with Iraq.

With the U.S. being the only superpower in today's world, the efforts to act in concert with others may seem redundant to some. But the tragedy of Sept. 11 has shown that America, even if invincible, is not invulnerable. And in the Russian view, Secretary Powell, with his incessant telephone calls, is probably doing more

for the national security of the U.S. than the advocates of unrestricted use of military might. It is worth recalling that America did not win the Cold War by military means; the former Soviets and their allies rejected totalitarianism in favor of political and economic freedom. Russians believe that today's new challenges make military solutions even more dubious.

# Above the Fray?

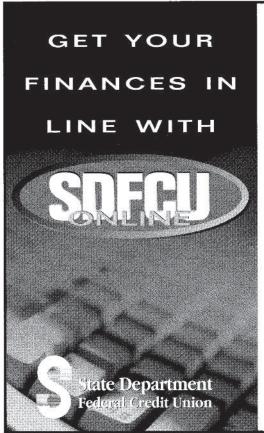
At least since Machiavelli's time, the art of politics has had a bad name. For much of the past two years, Secretary Powell seemed to stay above the political fray, apparently becoming involved in the intra-bureaucratic squabbles only when absolutely necessary. Maybe it was the instinctive reaction of a military officer, though some people say he probably stayed aloof a bit too long. Anyway, at this point he enjoys the sterling personal reputation of a nation-

He seemingly can do no wrong in his position as the Bush administration's secretary of State. But, at the same time, he could possibly be harmed by it. Those with whom I've discussed this believe that Secretary Powell would never knowingly associate himself with inherently bad policies, but I still think it's a danger that no team player can completely ignore.

This points to a similar issue: According to conventional bureaucratic wisdom in Russia, it is often more dangerous to be overqualified for a senior position in government than to be plainly incompetent. I'm not sure the American system is all that different in this regard.

Last summer I asked Secretary Powell if he would be willing to stay on as secretary of State for the next six years. "Do you know how old I will be then?" he parried (I do: he was born in 1937, like one of my parents). A hint at the possibility of higher political ambition was rejected with a firm, "I serve this country and this president."

Still, I'm sure all options are open for Colin Powell. He projects the image of confidence without arrogance. I believe it's the image of America as the world would like it to be.



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# POWELL AND THE ARAB WORLD: A NORTH AFRICAN VIEW

hen the general who had overseen Desert Storm was appointed secretary of State in January 2001, observers in the Middle East wondered about the significance of this choice. As a political scientist and an Arab, I felt that the appointment of Colin Powell indicated that the new administration

intended to use all available means - including military ones if necessary — to guarantee Israel's security and regional stability. Clearly, the new U.S. government intended to allow Israel to abandon the peace process that previous administrations had helped negotiate, and to oppose any threats to the conservative regimes of the region. Hence, I felt that the Arabs could not count on the new secretary of State to push for a more balanced and equitable policy in the Middle East, much less to defend or promote the interests of the countries of the region. Little has happened thus far to prove me wrong.

The tragic events of Sept. 11, 2001, further exacerbated tensions in U.S.-Arab relations. Washington's subsequent declaration of the war against terrorism was seen by many Arabs and Muslims as nothing more than a continuation of pre-existing American hostility towards them, except that the

hostility was now expressed openly and with a sense of legitimacy.

To counter that reaction, President Bush, Secretary Powell, and other high U.S. officials made gestures and issued declarations designed to reassure governments and public opinion that the target of U.S. policy is

Powell, and other high U.S. officials made gestures and issued declarations designed to reassure governments and public opinion that the target of U.S. policy is terrorism, and not Muslims or Arabs. A notable example of such efforts is Mr. Powell's speech at the Heritage Foundation on Dec. 12, 2002. In that speech, the secretary of State announced a "U.S.-Middle East

Partnership Initiative" aimed at "all the peoples of the Middle East to improve their daily lives and to help them face the future with hope."

# Mediterranean Sea La Galit Bizerte L'Ariana La Goulette TUNIS Nabeul Sousse Kasserine Sfax Gafsa Goille de Gabes Gabes Gabes

Whatever Colin Powell's Personal convictions are, his standing in the Arab world is not high. Nor is it likely to improve anytime soon.

By Bechir Chourou

# **An Ineffective Prescription**

My first reaction was to wonder why Mr. Powell decided to deliver it at all, why he did not deliver it in November as initially scheduled, and why he chose the Heritage Foundation as his host. It seems most unlikely that he really believed that the initiative would improve the tarnished U.S. image in the region. Therefore, one is tempted to dismiss the initiative as just another symbolic gesture designed to win the good will of Arabs and Muslims; its author must or should have known that it could have no more effect than visits to mosques by politicians, iftar meals held at the White House during the month of Ramadan, and other similar gestures.

Even if one refrains from speculating about circumstances and motives, and takes the initiative at face value, the outcome is mixed. On the one hand, the grim picture of the world presented by Secretary Powell is accurate. We are indeed lagging behind most other regions socially, economically and politically. But, on the other hand, the prescription he proposes is totally inef-

fective. He offered an initial amount of \$29 million to finance the initiative in its first year of implementation, which works out to about 11 cents per inhabitant. This is modernization and liberalization on the cheap. How many schools, factories or computers can

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The U.S.-Middle East Partnership Initiative may be well-intentioned, but it represents modernization on the cheap.

be had with such an amount?

So it should be no surprise that critics in the region have been scathing. They compare the amount with sums spent by the U.S. on military aid to Israel, or on the campaign it is preparing against Iraq, or on supporting the autocratic regimes that it wants now to reform and that are, in fact, responsible for the current dismal state of the region. They further argue that it makes

no sense for countries with immense natural resources and vast revenues, and whose leaders have vast personal fortunes invested in the West, to ask for or accept charity.

So in the final analysis, the reaction that is probably most widespread in the region is outright rejection. Critics point out that the initiative came at a time when United States' foreign policy is faced with spreading



and growing opposition, not only among its allies but even among Americans. It also came as the situation in Palestine was becoming more and more chaotic, mostly as a result of unconditional American support to Israel indifference the and Palestinian people. Many aver that it was no coincidence that Mr. Powell gave his speech just a few days before his meeting with

the other members of the "Quartet," at which he stalled, on behalf of Israel, on formulating a solution to the Palestinian problem.

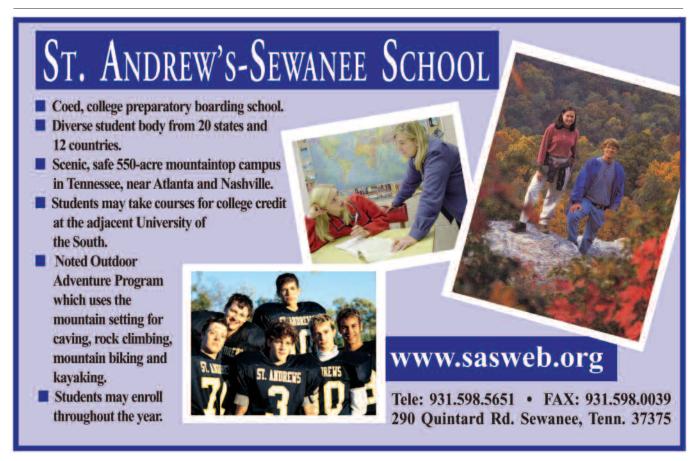
The proposal must also be put in the context of the oftdenied but clear intention of going to war against Iraq. The proponents of this viewpoint conclude that the American initiative is little more than a perfunctory, if not necessarily cynical, public-relations exercise. Even Mr. Powell himself does not appear quite convinced by his proposed support to

At least the Maghreb continues to figure on Mr. Powell's agenda; it may even be rising in his order of priorities.

the Middle East: "We should be quite realistic as we move forward about the obstacles that are ahead, about the time that it will take to see real change take root, and about the limited role that outsiders can play," he warned at the conclusion of his speech. This seems to be a diplomatic way of saying that not much should be expected from the initiative or its promoter.

# Out of Sight, Out of Mind

Allowing the Palestinian issue to revert back to the pre-Oslo status, and keeping the region in a state of tension and turmoil that prevents societies from directing their energies and resources toward a rapidly deteriorating situation, are not the only causes of disappointment in Secretary Powell's performance. Many of us living in North Africa feel that our region gets little attention from the State Department, and then only in the



framework of events taking place in the Near East, or at times of crisis. Of course, we are part of the Arab world, and we are concerned with and affected by events taking place in any of its parts. However, we do have interests and preoccupations that are not directly related to the eastern part of the Arab world. But because of our historic links with Europe, especially France, the United States has traditionally

and cultural areas.

stayed out of this region, especially in the economic, social

Geographic distance and the limited use of English in North Africa are other major obstacles to greater interaction between the U.S. and the Maghreb, but the real problem is lack of interest. For example, American trade and investment here outside the energy sector are insignificant. The exchange of students and scholars, media coverage, and tourism are all limited.

This is not to say that the U.S. alone is responsible for this situation. North African governments have not done enough to make themselves attractive to foreign investand have failed to integrate individual small markets into a larger single one. Both Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Marc Grossman and Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern Affairs William Burns emphasized this point during their respective visits to the area in late 2002. Our businessmen lack the resources and the proper mentality to go after an American market reputed to be difficult and demanding. Our governments are unaware or unconvinced of the importance of lobbying in American politics. For instance, no Maghreb state has, to my knowledge, professional lobbyists representing their interests in Washington.

# The Next Two Years

There are signs that this situation may be changing. Secretary Powell has honored our region with his presence once, when he visited Morocco in April 2002, although the bulk of his meeting with King Mohammed VI, as he indicated in a press conference, "was spent on the situation in the Middle East." On the other hand, Under Secretary Grossman declared at the end of his visit

It does not appear that Secretary Powell has pushed for a more balanced and equitable policy in the Middle East.

to the region in November 2002 that the focus of his talks with officials was on economic issues: "This is the news in North Africa," he said in Rabat, and added that the U.S. wants to take up other issues as well, such as political reform and democratization. Mr. Grossman also indicated that Washington is interested in reviving the project during the Clinton initiated administration by then-Under Secretary of State for Economic

Affairs Stuart Eisenstadt, aimed at setting up a U.S.-North African Economic Partnership. Toward that end, he announced that the U.S. would soon start negotiating free-trade agreements with Morocco and other countries in the region.

These are steps in the right direction and, small as they may be, they indicate that the Maghreb is not totally ignored by the State Department. Still, what Mr. Powell said with regard to the U.S.-Middle East Partnership Initiative applies to us as well: "[W]e should avoid resigning ourselves to low expectations." I would like to see stronger, more durable and more diversified relations between the United States and North Africa. If the glass is seen as half-empty, we can view Mr. Powell as having done little to achieve that objective. I prefer to see the glass as half-full, and to argue that at least the Maghreb continues to figure on Mr. Powell's agenda; it may even be rising in his order of priorities.

What are the prospects for the remainder of the secretary's term in office? Mr. Powell's job is to carry out the decisions of the president. He advises him, and he can try to influence him, but he does not decide policy. By words and by deeds, President Bush is carrying out a foreign policy that public opinion in the Arab world considers unfriendly, if not outright aggressive. But most people here are unaware of, or unconcerned by, these constitutional considerations, and will therefore blame the secretary for the U.S. government's actions.

I do not know what Mr. Powell's personal convictions are with regard to the Arab world, but he cannot be evaluated on that basis. Only observable acts count, and on that basis, Mr. Powell's report card is not as favorable as one would like it to be. Nor is it likely to improve in the immediate future.

# CONSIDERING COLIN POWELL AND AFRICA

ecently, former United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young was introducing Secretary of State Colin Powell at a newly appointed ambassador's State Department swearing-in ceremony: "I'm a Democrat," the former Carter administration diplomat, who is still actively engaged with Africa, said, turning toward the Bush administration's Powell, "but I sleep better because you are here."

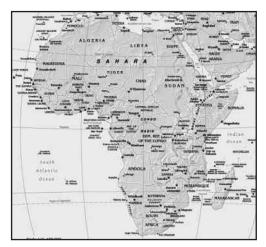
For a split second, eye contact and almost impercepti-

ble nods were exchanged between many of the African diplomats present in the crowd. They recognized in Ambassador Young's words a subtle but pointed reference to the loud sound of war drums beating in many quarters of Washington. Young's official words resonated with their own worried concerns. And they, too, had vested some hope that Secretary Powell and his State Department could ease them.

This comes back to me while trying to think about Secretary Powell and Africa, because at this same event, when I asked an African diplomat what he thought of current U.S. Africa policy, he told me emphatically that as far as he was concerned, the more Colin Powell is involved, the better: "It should be Mr. Powell's policy!" The department's role in trying to facilitate Sudan peace negotiations as well as its role in the hunt

for Rwandan war criminals come immediately to mind as reflecting an unexpected engagement with Africa, he said.

Since taking office, Powell has prodded the administration to put more money into Africa. He's also pushed African governments to create a better climate for trade and investment, even convening a sovereign credit ratings conference for two dozen African central bankers and finance ministers at the State Department last April. He links competence and honest government as the stabilizing factors that will slow and finally turn around the flight of investment from Africa. "Money is a coward," he frequently says.



SECRETARY POWELL GETS CREDIT FOR THE CHANGED TONE AND UNEXPECTED ENGAGEMENT WITH AFRICA. BUT ARFICANS REMAIN UNSURE OF U.S. GOALS.

By Charles Cobb Ir.

# "Powell's Policy"

There is much about Africa policy under the Bush administration that has surprised many in Africa. Not much was expected at first. Many on the continent remembered and worried that that when he was a congressman, Vice President Dick Cheney consistently opposed sanctions against apartheid South Africa and, in 1986, voted against a resolution calling for the release of Nelson Mandela. Candidate George W. Bush hadn't seemed much interested in Africa either. "Honest indifference," was how one writer described his attitude.

There are raised expectations now. Although obviously more is involved than just his own efforts, Powell gets the credit for a changed tone that articulates official proactive interest in Africa. "That's Colin Powell!" an African

# $F \circ c \cup s$

journalist friend exclaimed, after hearing President Bush, in this year's State of the Union address, speak strongly of the need to fight the "death sentence" HIV/AIDS has imposed on Africa, even pledging an extra \$10 billion to do it. (One of the leaders in the global battle against the pandemic, Dr. Peter Mugyeny of Uganda, sat next to Mrs. Bush as a special guest.)

Much of the world I observe remains unsure and nervous about the foreign policy goals of the current U.S. administration, but has tended to make an exception for Powell, giving him the benefit of the doubt and almost unfairly expecting his efforts alone to satisfy their expectations. Perhaps this is because as a military man and statesman, he has long been a familiar figure on the international stage. So, more than with most secretaries of State, any consideration of his effect on Africa policy has to begin with the man. Powell is liked and respected in state houses and parliaments across the continent. His interest in Africa is considered genuine. Few in the African diplomatic corps here failed to note that as secretary of State-designate, his first meeting at the State Department was with Foreign Service officers specializing in Africa. "He is the only secretary of State I can remember who has ever had any intimate contact with African leaders," says C. Payne Lucas, former president of the NGO Africare, who adds, after a slight pause: "His values don't come from other actors in the administration."

And it is worth noting — though not directly related to Africa — that Powell is popular among State Department personnel, not least because of the considerable credibility he brings to "diplomacy." As exercised by Powell, it is more effective in a suspicious and fractious world than gunboats. But of course, this is diplomacy whose first priority remains the advancement of U.S. interests. These aren't always completely, or even mostly, synonymous with African interests.

### A Genuine Interest in Africa

But ask almost any African official, in Washington or on



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the continent: There is no tradition of U.S. secretaries of State having any significant interest in Africa, although before the collapse of the Soviet Union, some countries like Angola or Zaire were fairly important Cold War battlegrounds. Africa was met with disinterest, and often disdain, by most who held the position before Powell. But now, says one diplomat, "If we want something we can say, 'Let's go to the secretary.' We might not get it, but this is very different, very good." The assistant secretary of State for African Affairs was as far as they used to get, he says.

So, although it's not enough to eliminate policy criticisms of, for example, the slow flow of money to the AIDS fight, what appears to be an emphasis on antiterrorism and oil, and the imposition of conditionalities in the name of governance — it counts a lot that Powell is interested in Africa. Certainly it's unusual. Twenty-five African heads of state and government have met with President Bush, so far. This has long been a key priority of Africa: getting the ear of the United States. Rightly or wrongly, African leaders credit Powell.

The easy way — the temptation, really — is to try to explain the man, especially with regard to Africa, in terms of race. He is, after all, the first African-American secretary of State, and though a New Yorker, one with roots in the "Third World" — his parents were Jamaican immigrants. And, among Africans, there was pride and expectation on seeing that someone who might be considered "kith and kin" had secured such a powerful position in the U.S. government.

During his first official trip to Africa in May 2001, Secretary Powell told *allAfrica.com*'s Ofeibea Quist-Arcton: "There is a little bit of additional pressure and there are the expectations that are placed upon me because I'm black. But I'm secretary of State of the United States of America first .... So, I try to do what is right as secretary of State of the United States. But it will always be shaped, to some extent, by the fact that, even though my parents came from Jamaica, their

Charles Cobb Jr. is senior writer and diplomatic correspondent for all Africa.com, the leading online source of news from and about Africa. He is the co-author of Radical Equations, Math Literacy and Civil Rights (Beacon Press, 2001), with civil rights organizer and educator Robert Moses.

parents came from somewhere off the west coast of Africa. So, there is a connection here and I'm sure that connection will always give me that little bit of added pressure to do what I can for Africa."

On that trip, Powell linked hands with young victims of HIV/AIDS in South Africa's Soweto township to sing, "Lean on Me."

### No Free Pass

But while this may be a necessary part of understanding Secretary Powell, especially in terms of his relationship with Africa, it is not sufficient. He doesn't get a free pass because of race. At the September 2002 Earth Summit in Johannesburg, South Africa, he was booed and heckled by a vocal minority while speaking. There, as President Bush's emissary, he had opposed targets and timetables on the use of renewable energy resources, and had criticized Zimbabwe's land policies as well as Zambia's rejection of genetically engineered corn.

That same year, "with regret" Secretary Powell also pulled out of the Durban World Conference Against Racism. In a brief statement, Powell said he didn't think a successful conference was possible. "I know that you do not combat racism by conferences that produce declarations containing hateful language, some of which is a throwback to the days of 'Zionism equals racism;' or supports the idea that we have made too much of the Holocaust; or suggests that apartheid exists in Israel; or that singles out only one country in the world — Israel — for censure and abuse."

Powell is, as he frequently notes, and as most who deal with him in an official capacity recognize, the secretary of State of the United States of America. There is a certain irony in the fact that the very position that elevates his stature and the hopes associated with his greater clout, also continually raises the question as to whether Africa's interests are being best served.

"He is the spokesman for a very insecure administration that is selling a crock of promises to Africa in a vain attempt to stall the rising discontent of the African people," wrote one African editorialist, noting that for all of Powell's criticism of Zimbabwe, he embraced Kenya's Daniel Arap Moi, who "has ruled with an iron fist while his regime is mired in corruption. But we must understand the rules of the game as it is played and directed by the United States."

# On Crucial Issues: Disappointment

Critical voices and analysis on Powell and U.S. policy are easy enough to find and hear, for on the issues Africa considers most crucial, there has been disappointment. Debt remains a crippling burden for African nations and the U.S. is thought to be ducking the issue, especially with the failure of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries initiative that was supposed to provide effective relief.

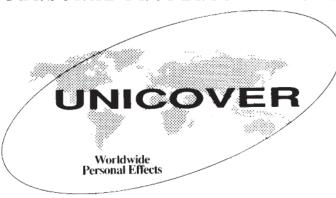
And there is still what African leaders and civil society groups alike consider hypocrisy in U.S. policies, which helps sustain African suspicion of the American commitment. Let market forces prevail, Africans are told; end protection and open up. But U.S. and E.U. agricultural subsidies continue to handicap African agricultural exports. There was also disappointment at last June's G-8 meeting in Kananaskis, Canada. Though both South African President Thabo Mbeki and Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo came for a day that was to focus on a concrete commitment to African needs, they felt they walked away with little more than expressions of sympathy.

But it's the campaign against terror and the looming war on Iraq that gets the grade of "incomplete" on the Africa report card. Will U.S. Africa policy be defined by the requirements of these efforts in the same way the Cold War defined U.S.-Africa relations three decades ago? War, almost certain to be accompanied by oil price shocks, could have a devastating effect on fragile African economies. Already, despite their publicly expressed commitment to the U.S.-led war on terror, in African nations there is simmering resentment at how crucial resources that Africans feel would be better spent on development assistance are being spent for the war on terror. U.S. policy in some parts of Africa appears to be determined more by the Defense Department than the State Department.

In the end, what is Secretary Powell's continuing role likely to be? In Africa he remains a kind of beacon on the still uncertain seas of administration policy. Africans would rather have him there than not there. At least with Colin Powell, they've got a chance, they say.

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# POWELL AND THE MIDDLE EAST: A VOICE OF MODERATION?

hen President George W. Bush named ex-General Colin Powell his secretary of State, there was a sense of relief at both the popular and official levels throughout the Middle

East. Many in the region, from politicians and political commentators to the Arab and Muslim public, had great hopes that Powell would be more understanding of, and sympathetic to, the grievances of Arabs and Muslims

than had been his predecessor, Madeleine Albright.

On a policy level, the senior diplomats and politicians of the Arab and Muslim countries have long had great respect for Powell. As Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff during the first Bush administration, he was not by any means a strong supporter of the use of force against the Iraqis. Indeed, he was viewed as a courageous soldier who always thought of war only as a last option, well aware of the cost of any military confrontation, even for a military superpower.

As for average Arabs and Muslims, the color of Powell's skin and his African-American roots produced a popular affinity even among those unfamiliar with Powell's record either as a military man or a politician.

The region's admiration for Powell had an early test, however. Only a few weeks into the new administration, the U.S. shot down Iraqi planes in the no-fly zone. The strike dealt a blow to the hopes of Arab citizens and politicians who thought that the presence of Powell as a top U.S. diplomat in the administration would have prevented such actions. The region's Powell-sympathizers, however, downplayed the importance of the action, portraying it as nothing more than an attempt by Bush to flex his military muscle and demonstrate his toughness. And as such, they said it would be unfair to draw any premature conclusions about Colin Powell or the administration's foreign policy



The Arab world VIEWS POWELL AS A DOVE AMONG THE MANY HAWKS IN THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION, BUT A WEAK FIGURE.

By Khaled Abdulkareem

# Hard-Liners vs. Powell

Many bought that argument then. But in spite of repeated pleas from regional leaders, the Bush administration not only pursued a hands-off policy toward the festering Palestinian-Israeli problem, but moved closer to Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, a notorious hard-liner. President Bush declined to issue an invitation for Palestinian President Yasser Arafat to visit the White House and, instead, opened his arms and ears to Sharon. Concern started to flow from the Middle East that the Bush administration's foreign policy team had handed over the diplomatic steering wheel to the hard-liners. Commentators started to speak of a general shift in direction, insinuating that Powell was not in the driver's seat when it came to formulating U.S. foreign policy.

Then came the Sept. 11 attacks. In their aftermath, many in the Middle East feared that administration hawks would use counterterrorism as a cover for pursuing military interests. To counter that tendency, regional leaders hoped that Powell would cite the attacks as more evidence of the urgent need for the U.S. to help resolve Middle Eastern tensions. But he did not.

"The tide was too high for him to act differently," says Abdel Raouf El-Reedy, Egypt's former ambassador in Washington, who first came to know Powell in 1984 and developed insights into his thinking during the 1990-91 Persian Gulf crisis, when he was still Egypt's top diplomatic envoy to the U.S. Reedy, now a member of the Egyptian Foreign Relations Council, believes that since the September 2001 attacks, U.S. national security strategy and foreign policy orientations have been controlled by hard-liners who maintain that the use of force is the only way to safeguard America's national achievements.

"As a military man, [Powell] is accustomed to being part of the team, taking orders from the commander-inchief and putting these orders into action. But still, he is a voice of moderation inside an administration controlled by hard-liners," said Reedy during a recent interview.

Reedy believes that were the U.S. foreign policy rudder in the hands of Secretary Powell, the U.S. would not be facing three international crises at the same time — Iraq, North Korea and the so-called war against terror. In his view, the current three-way showdown is exposing the U.S. to endless criticism and puts the very credibility of the world's only superpower in question because of its contradictory attitudes and policies.

Still, Reedy does express sympathy for Powell. "He is in a fix. And in light of the circumstances of the past two years he could have done nothing more or different. But after all, the man deserves credit for convincing President Bush to take the Iraq issue to the U.N. In addition, Powell has prevented Egyptian-U.S. relations from taking a dramatic turn to the worse over the past two years."

Yet Reedy and other former diplomats and key commentators in Egypt, sounding like their counterparts in other parts of the Middle East, cannot help but heap a lot of blame on the State Department for the perfor-

Khaled Abdulkareem is Washington correspondent for the Middle East News Agency. The views contained in this article do not necessarily reflect those of MENA.

mance of the U.S. foreign policy establishment over the past two years.

"Even before the Sept. 11 attacks, the Department of State did not give the Middle East due attention. Since the current administration took power in January 2001, we have been calling for more U.S. involvement in seeking solutions to regional problems. This pressing need for U.S. engagement still stands," says Mustafa El-Feki, head of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Egyptian Parliament.

Feki, a former diplomat who once served as Egypt's top presidential aide for information, recalls that former President Bill Clinton visited the Middle East several times during his two terms, while President Bush has not visited the Middle East at all. "During the previous administration, President Clinton made the secretary of State a kind of permanent envoy to the Middle East. This has not been the case under the Bush administration. The State Department has tended to take a back seat vis-a-vis the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, while focusing only on the campaign against terrorism and the question of Iraq." By contrast, Feki believes the Clinton administration's State Department exerted considerable effort regarding the Palestinian question, even though this did not bear fruit.

### A Sense of Frustration

Whatever his failings, almost none of the political observers in the Middle East doubts the commitment of Powell and his foreign policy team to seeking diplomatic solutions to regional problems. "Whether right or wrong, Powell is viewed in the Arab world as a dove among the many hawks in the Bush administration," says Feki. "From an Arab perspective, he is viewed as a moderate voice and an acceptable face."

But that perception also feeds the sense of frustration over what Mohamed El-Sayed Sa'id, Deputy Director of the prestigious Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies in Cairo, characterizes as "Powell's failure to convey to the White House the extent of catastrophe which could hit the region as long as Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon is pursuing his aggression against the Palestinian people."

Sa'id singles out two incidents in which Powell, from his viewpoint, failed to play a positive role which could have helped put a positive spin on U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East over the past two years. The first was

during the initial Israeli siege of the West Bank and Palestinian President Yasser Arafat's compound in Ramallah. At that time, Powell made a trip to Europe before heading to the scene of the events in the Middle East.

"The fact that Powell delayed his trip to the Palestinian territories gave the impression that Sharon has a green light to carry on his campaign of destruction against the Palestinians," says Sa'id, who spent 2002 as Washington bureau chief of *Al-Ahram* newspaper.

Second, Sa'id condemns as "heavy-handed" Washington's diplomatic pressure on the U.N. to drop its call for sending an international fact-finding team to the Palestinian territories to look into reports of an Israeli massacre of Palestinians and human rights violations at the Jenin refugee camp.

### **Savior or Sellout?**

At the same time, Sa'id (who has a Ph.D in political science from the U.S.) gives Powell credit for a mea-

sured, "sophisticated approach" when it comes to Arab and Muslim issues. "Powell has been trying to be more accommodative to Arab needs and rights, as is clear from his backing for the U.S. policy statement that there should be a viable Palestinian state." He also notes that Secretary Powell was the administration's point man in announcing a major initiative for political, economic, social and educational reform in the Arab and Islamic states in a speech at the Heritage Foundation in December 2002.

For Egyptian lawmaker Feki, the initiative — titled the U.S.-Middle East Partnership — has won some credibility merely due to the fact that it was launched by Powell himself. "Had the initiative been announced by someone other than Powell, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld for example, the reaction would have been totally different. There would have been more negative attitudes," says Feki.

Sa'id believes that the initiative has many positive and constructive aspects worthy of consideration in the Arab

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world. He also says Powell deserves credit for containing or standing up to the strongly-worded rhetoric of the extreme right in Washington that the U.S. should impose a strict formula for change in the Muslim world regardless of the reaction or attitude of Arabs and Muslims in each country.

Nevertheless, there is a strong conviction in the Middle East that Powell has failed to take the initiative to formulate, rather than simply implement, U.S. policy. He has been kept on the defensive by the administration's hawks, giving the control and shaping of U.S. policy to other circles in the administration.

For that reason, while Powell is a familiar face on the streets of Arab and Muslim countries, it is difficult to distinguish between the growing anti-American sentiment and the way Powell, the U.S. top diplomat, is being seen in the Middle East. In a country like Egypt, the average citizen can easily recognize the ex-general. They know him as a militaryman, but do not harbour grudges against him for that. But the course of events over the past two years has in some way or another affected Powell's popularity and credibility among Arabs and Muslims.

"I notice a shift in Powell's performance. For some time he opposed President Bush's unacceptable policies toward the Middle East. No longer. Now he is part and parcel of this policy. It seems he is either contradicting himself or he has made of himself a sell-out," says Sameh Salah, an Egyptian translator.

With the spectre of a potential war looming large in the Middle East, it is very much expected that the State Department hold on foreign policy will weaken even further. Once the war erupts, most of the administration's cards will be in the hands of the Department of Defense and the National Security Council. Once calls of "let's protect America against foreign dangers" and "we need to support the army during wartime and speak as one" dominate the scene, the Department of State's voice will hardly be heard. During wartime, it is unpatriotic to differ and un-American to be diplomatic, it seems. ■

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# THE ANTIDOTE FOR EUROPEAN DOUBTS & WORRIES

uesday, the 21st of January, 2003, was a very cold day in Washington D.C. Around 2:00 p.m. a bunch of journalists gathered outside the State Department, waiting on Secretary of State Colin Powell and his guest. Everybody was wearing a coat, a hat, a scarf, and gloves; and everybody was dreaming of a very short 'stakeout' of the two ministers. Finally they came: Secretary Powell and Italian Foreign Minister Franco Frattini, paying his first visit to his colleague. A whisper spread through the journalists: Powell had no coat; he was wearing only a jacket, and so was Frattini.

I felt terrible for Foreign Minister Frattini. But the Italian minister, a man from the North and from the mountains, was as brave as the American general: they made a statement; they answered a few questions; they shook hands; and their 'stakeout' was gone ... in an icy breeze. One hour and a half of a warm meeting behind closed doors and 15 minutes of physical performance side by side in the cold had shaped a new friendship: later, speaking with the Italian press, Frattini described the relationship as one of mutual sympathy.

There is in Europe a widespread feeling: without Colin Powell, at the outset of President's Bush administration relations between the United States and the European allies would have taken a turn for the worse in an even more bitter way than they have recently. Secretary Powell has been an antidote for European doubts and worries concerning a new U.S. foreign policy that was difficult to decipher and prone to feed fears of a new isolationism. A well-known and respected man, Powell is a reassuring and indispensable reference point.

As time went by, the secretary of State confirmed himself as an interlocutor capable of transmitting Washington's inputs and of receiving the messages of America's partners and allies, even when — as in the case of Iraq — differences and doubts persist. Because Europe is divided, American policy is perceived in a different way in each country.



As Europe adjusts to the Post-Cold War world and a U.S. foreign policy that alternately troubles and baffles, Powell has been a reassuring figure.

By Giampiero Gramaglia

# An Indispensable Reference Point

From an Italian — or generally European — point of view, Powell represents an American story of success. He embodies the values for which America is regarded as an example. In his life one can find many elements of the American myth so often described in movies still loved by European audiences: the boy of modest origins who makes a name for himself by dint of his qualities and his will; the soldier who acts with firmness and resolve, but also does everything possible to protect the life of his men and hold collateral damage to the minimum; the diplomat who listens to his partners before deciding, without ever betraying his principles.

Because he personifies the American values that Europe respects and admires the most, the Europeans consider Powell an excellent contact in the Bush administration and — rightly or wrongly — regard him as the Cabinet member who pays more attention to the concerns and priorities of the Atlantic allies

and European Union countries. Of course that is in any case the role of a secretary of State, or foreign minister, as Europeans say. Nevertheless, in the first two years as the chief of U.S. diplomacy, Powell has gained great esteem and consideration in European public opinion, which credits him with having rounded the corners of a number of decisions made by the administration.

Used to considering itself the main ally of the United States, a role nourished during the long winter of the Cold War, Europe is now afraid to lose its presumed centrality in the American foreign policy equation. European concerns are well founded: the United States is now the sole superpower, and does not need Western Europe to counterbalance the Soviet foe. Moreover, after the events of September 11, 2001, new threats have shown up — in particular, the threat of international terrorism and the danger posed by countries possessing weapons of mass destruction and encouraging their proliferation. American attention has obviously shifted from the traditional areas of priority interest — Europe and Far-East Asia, Russia, China, the Middle East and the Gulf — to new areas like Central Asia (including Afghanistan), the Indian subcontinent, Southeast Asia, and the Horn of Africa. As a result, Europeans feel increasingly overlooked.

Secretary Powell mitigated European concerns regarding a new unilateralism when the United States began to censure a range of international agreements previously accepted and in which, in some cases, they themselves had been for a long time the leading participants: the ABM Treaty (denounced in order to proceed with the antimissile defense program); the U.S. military presence in the Balkans; the commitment to

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If Europe's mistrust of the Republican administration has been overcome or diminished, it is because of Colin Powell.

the International Criminal Court; the Kyoto protocol for the reduction of global warming.

The proof of Powell's ability to build a political consensus on the American position and to assemble a wide alliance came after the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11: within a few weeks, the secretary of State coordinated the creation of an

international coalition against terrorism, which has been successful in Afghanistan and continues to operate to rebuild the country, on one side, and to oppose the reorganization of the al-Qaida terrorist network, on the other.

# **New Policy Imperatives**

In the European view, two important choices of the Bush administration carry Powell's fingerprint: the decision to bring the crisis with Iraq to the United Nations, marked by the president's speech at U.N. headquarters on Sept. 12, 2002; and the vision of two states, Israel and Palestine, living side by side, each one independent and secure in their borders.

But the focus on the fight against terror and, then, the effort to thwart the danger posed by countries like Iraq has certainly forced Powell to modify a number of foreign policy priorities he had already started to define. This change has occurred at the expense, at least apparently, of Africa policy, which was supposed to receive a specific input by Powell; and at the expense of the Middle Eastern dossier, in which Powell became deeply involved, after an initial phase of study from a distance.

Now, after the exceptional phase of the reaction to the terrorist attack, another exceptional phase, characterized by the confrontation with Iraq, limits the view of American foreign policy, preventing the U.S. leadership from seeing the development of other dossiers, that nevertheless are moving — North Korea, Iran, the relations between Syria and Libya, and especially the Middle East. This is a point of concern in Europe.

As far as European affairs are concerned, U.S. foreign policy seems to favor the enlargement process of the two main regional organizations: the Atlantic alliance, which has already decided to expand to 26 countries, with the inclusion of seven new entries; and the European Union, which is ready to accept ten new members. These

steps have been eased by the new relationship between the U.S. and Russia, underlined by Moscow's agreement to the reduction of strategic nuclear armaments and the creation of the Joint NATO-Russia Council.

In this positive context, which Secretary Powell contributed to realizing, there is the feeling of a stronger cohesion between the United States and its new Eastern European partners than with its traditional Western European allies. Another change has occurred inside Western Europe: here, apart from Great Britain, America's closest friends are Italy and Spain, while France and Germany are the harshest critics of U.S. policies.

At this writing, the trend had been confirmed by developments in the Iraq affair: "Old Europe" — as Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld derisively labeled the two main E.U. countries, France and Germany, vexing many true Europeans — stands in the way of the use of force and slows down the United States, while countries looking for international

acknowledgement are ready to enroll themselves with President Bush.

# **Always the Good Fellow**

The applause that greets American representatives who visit the Eastern countries is stronger and less critical than in Western Europe. However, Powell has been able, at least until a few weeks ago, to keep friendly relations with all of his colleagues; and when important relationships go through a difficult time, as was the case with Germany after the last elections, it is he who reactivates the communication channel. It's a question of roles, certainly, but it is also a calling — much appreciated by Europe — to find a common ground of agreement

At the end of January, the American press declared that the secretary of State, upset by the attitude of French Foreign Minister Dominique de Villepin in a U.N. meeting, had taken an "hawkish" turn. But even in this critical phase, Europeans welcomed President

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Bush's decision to send Powell to the U.N. Security Council for the most engaging and delicate "show and tell" of his carrier: to convince American partners that Iraq is an imminent threat.

Powell's tactic, inside and outside the administration, looks the same: the secretary of State, who is not a speed runner, seems always to start as a loser, while others around him take a firm stand as if everything had been

already decided. But then, by informing and persuading, Powell regains ground and manages to affirm his position. In the end, he is often the winner. All this is beyond the picture portrayed by the media, of a battle among the hawks and the doves in the administration. It is a family portrait where Powell is always the good fellow.

Used to considering itself the main ally of the U.S., Europe is now afraid of losing its presumed centrality in the American foreign policy equation.

Yet, a question remains. The hour and a half Secretary Powell and Foreign Minister Frattini spent in warmth and collegiality sustained the two leaders in the winter wind of Washington, but will the good will built up by Colin Powell in the first half of the current administration prove sufficient to support the U.S.-European alliance should the international atmosphere grow cold and stormy?

The answer lies in the forthcoming Iraq developments. Secretary Powell and the Bush administration have to realize that the heart of Europe still beats between Paris and Berlin, much more than between Warsaw and Bucharest. New Europe is still adapting to freedom and democracy. Old Europe shares with America values and principles, and the courage to stand for them. Trust an Old Italian.

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# AMERICA NEEDS POWELL'S MODERATION

first encountered the name of Colin Powell as a journalism student at Gazi University in Ankara in 1990 when the Gulf crisis erupted with Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. He was the first black top commander of U.S. armed forces. My impression then was that he was a cautious soldier seeking to give a chance to every effort for a peaceful solution before committing U.S. forces to a military intervention.

Many observers, including myself, were certain in the summer of 2000 that Colin Powell would become the U.S. secretary of State under the Bush administration. His inclusion on the team was such a huge boost to Bush's election campaign that given his reluctance to accept the post of defense secretary, only the State Department's control by this veteran commander would meet public expectations for Colin Powell to

take over a top government responsibility.

During his first two years as secretary of State, Secretary Powell has had to deal with several emergency situations, including the response to the tragedy of Sept. 11, 2001, the Afghanistan campaign and the "war on terrorism." the Israel-Palestine

dispute, and the nuclear standoff with North Korea. The destruction of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and the wrecking of al-Qaida's terrorist network in that country can be seen as a triumph for the Bush administration. Powell's skillful diplomacy in gathering a huge international

coalition to support the campaign was critical to that triumph. The creation of a new strategic relationship with Russia, improved ties with China, and a new and promising opening to Central and South Asia also are major pluses for Powell.

But in my opinion, Secretary Powell's most significant contribution so far has been in the handling of Iraq — a matter of grave and immediate concern to my home country, Turkey.

## **Iraq: A Test of Diplomacy**

A few characteristics have dominated Powell's approach on Iraq as well as other issues: his insistence on the need for a strong political cause, international support and an exit strategy. Despite Washington's 1991 decision to leave Saddam in power, which Powell supported at the time, the secretary of State was aware

> from the beginning that U.N.-sponsored sanctions would not work against Saddam, and has publicly. said Secretary Powell shares the view with other leaders in the Bush administration that Saddam must go, but he possibly differed on the method and timing, and has con-

sistently sought wide international support and insisted on the need to work with the United Nations.

I had the opportunity to interview Secretary Powell in late November 2001, a time when people in Turkey were seeing increased signs that Iraq



SECRETARY OF STATE COLIN POWELL'S INSISTENCE ON THE PRIORITY OF DIPLOMACY IS APPRECIATED IN TURKEY.

By Deniz Arslan Enginsoy

would be the next U.S. target after Afghanistan. During that interview I observed a man of common sense and analytical thinking, a cautious but determined diplomat. In personal relations with journalists, he was not like Bush, who casually jokes and calls presidential reporters by name, saying: "How you doin' Pete?" Powell was polite, but he kept a distance. However, he was clear in his message. He explained to me that President Bush had not, so far, opted for war, and that in any case the United States would be in very close consultation and coordination with Turkey, a crucial American ally. The next day the Turkish stock exchange registered a boost.

Now, more than a year later, the war against Iraq seems imminent. The implications for Turkey are dire, and thus it is an extremely sensitive issue that only skillful, persistent and principled diplomacy can hope to resolve. Though a NATO member and close ally of the U.S., Turkey also maintains full diplomatic and economic ties with Baghdad. Turkey has no sympathy for a dictator like Saddam Hussein, but a vast majority of the country's 67 million citizens — 99 percent of them Muslim — is against a war in neighboring Iraq. Turks believe that an Iraq war would threaten Turkey's own political and economic stability.

Ankara is apprehensive that Iraqi Kurds might seek to create an independent state in northern Iraq amid uncertainties in the wake of Saddam's overthrow, thus creating a permanent source of instability in the region. Having defeated its own secessionist Kurdish rebellion in 1999, Turkey fears that the establishment of an oilrich Kurdish state on its southeastern border will once again incite its Kurdish population. Pledges by two prominent Iraqi Kurdish groups that their objective was to live in a federal Iraq and not to pursue independence after a war did not convince the Turks. U.S. assurances that Washington would not allow Iraq to split in a post-Saddam era have also failed to ease Turkish concerns.

On the economic front, Turkey feels its already struggling economy could receive further disastrous blows due to hostilities in Iraq. Turkey experienced its worstever financial crisis in February 2001, and is still trying to recover through an austerity program supported by loans worth tens of billions of dollars from the International Monetary Fund. The country lost more

Ms. Deniz Arslan Enginsoy is Washington bureau chief for the Anatolia News Agency of Turkey.

than \$50 billion due to sanctions in place against Iraq since the beginning of the 1990 Persian Gulf crisis. Ankara complains that its calls for compensation of these losses have failed to produce results, and claims that another war could fully wreck the Turkish economy.

### Addressing Turkey's Concerns

Throughout the negotiation process with Turkey, Powell's State Department played a major role, along with the Pentagon and the U.S. Treasury Department. Powell assigned one of his lieutenants, Under Secretary Marc Grossman, the duty of carrying out talks with the Turkish government. Grossman accompanied Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz and Treasury Under Secretary John Taylor on several trips to Ankara.

To relieve Turkey's concerns, U.S. officials have said that in exchange for cooperation in the war, Turkey would receive as much as \$14 billion, most of it in the form of loan guarantees. A small fraction was planned in the form of grants, and in addition the United States was expected to provide some military equipment assistance worth a few billion dollars. In return Washington requests that it be allowed to deploy troops on Turkish soil to open a second war front against Saddam's forces in northern Iraq. Turkey's southeast is the most suitable location through which U.S. troops could conduct operations into Iraq's north. The U.S. also wants to use a number of Turkish air bases, including Incirlik, already home to nearly 50 U.S. fighter aircraft, and some ports to support the military operation. But stationing foreign troops on Turkish soil for any length of time requires parliamentary approval.

Turkish public opinion, reflecting broader international dissent over what many foreigners see as an American fixation on getting rid of Saddam no matter what the consequences, has overwhelmingly opposed the war, with thousands of Turks gathering in frequent protest demonstrations. While the government's concerns have focused more on possible political and economic outcomes of the war, Turkish public opinion has emphasized the possibility that tens of thousands of innocent Iraqis could lose their lives in a military confrontation.

U.S. assurances that a democratic administration in Baghdad would succeed Saddam's tyranny and that a new Iraq, living in peace and harmony with its neighbors, would appear has had little effect on Turkish

public opinion. Most Turks believe that a war would not be a solution, but would instead aggravate problems in the Middle East. According to opinion polls, nearly 80 percent of the Turkish people oppose military action.

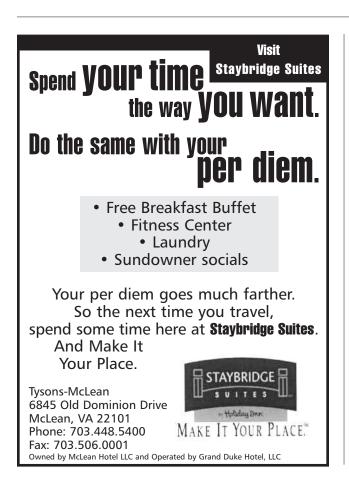
Despite this negative public assessment, however, the Turkish government was aware that it also had responsibilities to the United States, Ankara's closest Western ally. Saying "no" to Washington would inevitably have an adverse impact on the "strategic partnership" in place between the two countries for decades. In short, Turkey's civilian and military leadership has been confronted with a dilemma: Ankara has serious concerns over a war in Iraq, but failure to cooperate with Washington could weaken ties with a critical ally.

# A Patient Approach

The U.S. understands that Turkey will face serious losses in case of war with Iraq, so at this writing, painstaking negotiations are continuing.

As a professional soldier, Secretary Powell knows the mechanism and consequences of using military force very well, and that is why he insists that only actions that are the outcome of consensus will succeed in the international arena, and that only such moves prevent problematic consequences. Powell began to emphasize a military solution toward the end of January, not because he realized his earlier stance was wrong, but because he saw that the U.N. arms inspection scheme was not working in the desired way. He came to the point of declaring that a war might be inevitable only after he had pushed diplomatic efforts to their limits.

Maybe I would go too far by saying this, but I tend to see Secretary Powell as "the conscience" of the current U.S. administration in dealing with many international matters, especially Iraq. I believe his internationalist and patient approach is the right one, because after all — no matter what happens in Iraq — we all will continue to live in the same world and work with each other.



Northfield MT Herman

# FOCUS ON POWELL

# SECRETARY POWELL: AN AMERICAN SAMURAI?

n the cinematographic history of any country there are some unforgettable characters who embody that society's core cultural values. Kambei, the leading character in Akira Kurosawa's masterpiece, "Seven Samurai" (1954) — a film that still influences directors half a century after its release — is such a hero for the Japanese people. The veteran samurai, the central figure of this work of art, exquisitely personifies the spirit of Bushido — the code of ethics of the samurai — which is still embraced and cherished by the Japanese nation.

In the mind of many of my compatriots, Secretary of State Powell recalls, for various reasons, the image of this samurai leader. First of all, there is a striking resemblance in the facial structures of Powell and Kambei

(played by Takashi Shimura). More importantly, the two men's personalities project similar val-

"Seven Samurai" is about some farmers, viciously and periodically raided by cruel bandits, who hire seven "ronin" (masterless) samurai to defend their village. The setting is Japan's medieval Period of Warring States, an era marked by chaos, mistrust, cruelty, deceit and despair. Against this backdrop, the film portrays heroic humanism underpinned by courage, justice, benevolence, honor, fealty and self-denial. The power and beauty of this masterpiece, some critics say, lie in the contrast of the values of that historical era with those held by the seven masterless (and therefore

considered "losers" in those days) samurai, the movie's

These values are most fully exemplified in the taciturn Kambei, their leader. Kambei survives the fierce battles with the bandits and successfully defends the farmers and their village, but four samurai are killed. "And again we lost," says Kambei in the coda of the movie, one of the most moving and meditative single lines in modern Japanese cinematography.

Kambei's values are drawn from the code of ethics forged through such war-torn periods that recurred intermittently throughout Japan's medieval history from around the tenth century until the nation was pacified under the Tokugawa Shogunate in the early 17th century. These values came to be known as Bushido, the Japanese version of chivalry.



IN THE MIND OF MANY JAPANESE, COLIN POWELL RESEMBLES KAMBEI, THE CENTRAL CHARACTER IN KUROSAWA'S FILM "SEVEN SAMURAI."

By Hiro Aida

### Powell and Kambei

Why does Colin Powell remind us so much of Kambei?

First of all, the world in which we now live is all too similar to the society inhabited by Kambei and the six other samurai in the film: one marked by chaos, violence and fear. The Sept. 11 terrorist attacks and their aftermath, in particular, take us back to the pre-modern warring days of the film. At the very least, they remind us of the existence of medieval, Hobbesian elements in our post-modern, globalized world.

Second, Powell's personal background has clearly shaped a man of strong character. Born in Harlem, New York, to an immigrant family from Jamaica,

the young Powell fought in a jungle-like society, not only in the mean streets of New York, but also in the Army. He survived the Vietnam War as a young officer, and experienced several other wars fought by America, including the brief 1989

Panama conflict and the 1991

Persian Gulf War. While most people in developed countries have been living in a peaceful and comfortable modern world, Powell has seen life in some of the most dangerous, anarchic parts of the globe. These experiences entitle

him, I believe, to be called a samurai-warrior.

Third, consider Powell's personal way of life and his attitudes toward it. Contrary to popular American belief, the samurai is not a gory killer-warrior. On the contrary, he embodies the aggregate of values called Bushido, which constitute a way of life. The first time I read the Washington Post piece by Bob Woodward last November about "Powell in the Icebox," an excerpt from his book, Bush at War, I was immediately struck by a sense of familiarity. The story described the secretary of State as not being able to square his relationship with the president. Responding to his deputy, Richard Armitage, who prodded him to request a private meeting with the president as other principals did, Powell reportedly said that if President Bush wanted to see him, he was always available. He also said that he saw the president all the time at meetings, where he was able to express his views.

This is a typical samurai attitude, which the Japanese treasure. Seeking a private meeting with your boss without being asked is not graceful, at least in the Japanese culture. If you have something to say to your boss, you must be able to say it, whether in public or private. So why not in public? Powell's attitude also reflects another trait highly valued in Bushido: taciturnity combined with stoicism.

I am sure many of my compatriots were struck with the sense I felt when they read that excerpt from Woodward's book: here is a "real man."

Hiro Aida is the Washington bureau chief of Japan's Kyodo News and author of the book Who Starts War?: The Gulf War and The U.S. Congress (in Japanese; Kodansha, 1994).

Powell's attitude

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Another aspect of Powellian Bushido is his reluctance to be a warrior. It was well-known that he was hesitant to go into the Persian Gulf War in 1991 when he was Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. I repeat, the samurai is not a bloodthirsty warrior. He may kill but only when he needs to do so to save a life — or something more precious than

life, such as honor. Being a reluctant warrior is quite samurai-like.

# **Principled Stands**

Related to this is a strong sense of duty, which is also very important in the Bushido value system. It is obvious that Powell sees his role as the top United States diplomat who helps sort out international conflicts, no matter how difficult they are, through peaceful means. He seems to believe that even hinting at the use of force would be "undiplomatic" and therefore inappropriate, though he has to do so from time to time. Some say, "once a soldier, always a soldier." But his credo as secretary of State could very well be, "no matter how long I was a soldier before, as a diplomat, my diplomatic mission must be accomplished."

For these reasons among others, Secretary Powell appeals to the traditional sense of values, which is a sort of aesthetic mannerism, held dear by the Japanese people. The more he is besieged in internal debates of the administration by the so-called hard-liners — or "sharks," as some call them — the more Powell gains the empathy of the Japanese. As the film makes clear, samurai are often doomed to be losers, and the Japanese see beauty in the samurai's principled defeat.

Nor are such debates limited to international questions. We also saw how principled Powell was in his recently expressed views on the issue of the University of Michigan's affirmative action practices, even though his point of view did not prevail within the administration.

Being a dyed-in-the-wool Japanese conservative, I feel this conservative administration is full of revolutionaries or revolutionaries-turned-conservatives, not true conservatives. Revolutionaries are vocal while conservatives are taciturn. Revolutionaries love to see blood while conservatives hate it. For me,

Washington sometimes looks like a world in the looking glass.

So Edmund Burke, the true conservative, might have been right: "The age of chivalry is gone: that of sophisters, economists and calculators succeeded." Not only here but also in Japan and, maybe, everywhere. So, I am afraid Powell might be on the losing side on more issues in the future, too.

Finally, aside from Powell's public demeanor, I hear much about his tenderness toward officials working under him. During my time in Washington, I have learned that such solicitude is rather unusual in this highly political town teeming with ambitious people.

### **The Roosevelt-Bush Connection**

Inazo Nitobe (1862-1933), Japanese academiciandiplomat and author of the book, *Bushido* — *The Soul of Japan* (1900), argued, "No matter how different any two cultures may appear to be on the surface, they are still cultures created by human beings, and as such have deep similarities." He also said, "The heart of the Japanese people will never change, no matter how things may seem to change on the surface."

It is a well-known story in Japan that President Theodore Roosevelt was so moved by Nitobe's book (originally written in English, not Japanese, by the way) that he gave copies to his friends. It is even said to have prompted Roosevelt to actively mediate peace talks ending the 1904-05 Russo-Japanese War. In fact, the 1905 Treaty of Portsmouth that resulted won him the Nobel Peace Prize.

Nitobe later became under-secretary of the League of Nations, created to avoid the horrendous bloodshed seen in World War I. The League eventually failed, in part due to non-participation by America and in part due to Japan's military adventurism.

Since it is often said that Theodore Roosevelt's work inspires President Bush, I hope one day he will more fully understand the spirit of Bushido that his secretary of State typifies.



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# RECALLING PAST CRISES AND EVACUATIONS: PART II

AFSA MEMBERS AND THEIR FAMILIES SHARE MORE EXPERIENCES RELATED TO EVACUATIONS AND LIFE AT POSTS LOCATED IN DANGER ZONES.

Instead of a guerrilla with

an AK-47, the noise I heard

was a cow scratching his

flank against our cabin.

Editor's Note: Last month, we presented some of the thoughtful and moving responses to our call last November for AFSA members and their families to share brief vignettes relating to evacuations and life at posts located in danger zones. Here are more of their responses. Again, our thanks to all who shared their experiences.

— Steven Alan Honley, Editor



# We're Number One

In the mid-1960s, Venezuelan guerrillas shot up Embassy Caracas, kidnapped the minister of the interior

and tortured him gruesomely to death, and otherwise did their best to destabilize a still-nascent democracy. One Friday afternoon, I, a USIA press officer on my first tour, was told in an embassy meeting that I was the guerrillas' number-one candidate for kidnapping. I was given a cannister of mace for protection and told to vary my route to work, home

and other destinations. As it happened, I was already planning to leave the next morning, with my wife and three young children, for a much-needed week's vacation at a remote, isolated retreat on the eastern Caribbean shore. Go ahead, our security officer said — if you really want to.

We did, and after passing several checkpoints manned by Venezuelan soldiers who waved their submachine guns energetically, I edged our Rambler station wagon, with family inside, onto a homemade raft that was to be poled across a last river in the far boonies. The captain, a toughlooking hombre brandishing a thick pole, came to the driver's window for payment and a gruff charla (chat). The front of his T-shirt sported an emblem for elite Ministry of Interior troops; when our Charon turned and walked away (to take us further into the sticks), the back of his T-shirt was revealed: a large "1." Shades of the Friday briefing! My wife and I exchanged looks.

The crossing went well, but on finally rolling up a sandy pathway to the super-rustic Club Miami, it turned out that we were the only customers for a week under the palms. Our decent-sized one-room cabin — open plan, cots only — had wooden half-walls and screens to the roof; simple for anyone to penetrate, right? Now, where was that mace? But after a good swim and dinner that first night we were soon lulled to sleep by the quiet creep-andretreat of the waves.

> A little before 2 a.m., I sat upright in the cot. A scratching sound from the other side of the half-wall continued; guerrillas working toward the front door? I reached over and touched my wife's arm. When she awoke, I put a finger to my lips, pointed toward the half-wall and eased out of my cot to crawl on hands and knees to the wall. I inched up the wall, drew

in my breath and peeked through the screen. Instead of a guerrilla with an AK-47, though, a big-horned cow was scratching his flank against the outside of the wall.

The next afternoon, we watched a small biplane slip in over the palms, land on the primitive strip behind Club Miami and taxi up. Now what? Who steps out but Charlie Reed, a U.S. Air Force friend from Caracas, just checking up on us. In the end, we had a "number-one" rest, but always — then and later, especially for three years in the Soviet Union — there was the awareness of those who weren't so lucky.

> Eli Flam USIA, retired Port Tobacco, Md.





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# It's a Small World

There is just one moon And one golden sun, And a smile means Friendship to everyone. Though the mountains divide, And the oceans are wide, It's a small world after all.

That was the song that we awoke to in the Disneyland Hotel on Jan. 16, 1991, the day the Gulf War was declared. We had just been evacuated from Pakistan, and somehow the saccharin-sweet melody and lyrics did not compute with what we had experienced in the months leading up to the war and on our 36hour flight from Pakistan.

Although the government of Pakistan officially supported the U.S. and its allies in the Gulf War, most Pakistanis rallied behind Saddam Hussein. Tensions hovered in the orange zone, and I remember feeling like a potential target because I was American. I would drive a circuitous route to my friend Fran's house to avoid driving past the Iraqi embassy. Fran decided to take a proactive approach to the Iraqis — she waved at the guards as she drove by, hoping that international politics would not be played out at the individual level.

The evacuation had started with a surreptitious knock on the door by our USAID deputy executive officer at 3 a.m. on Jan. 14. He had been working around-the-clock trying to get all the tickets in order for the chartered flights out of Islamabad. The plane hopscotched from Islamabad to Karachi to Bangkok to Manila to Tokyo, and finally to Los Angeles, where we planned to overnight before my husband departed to Washington, D.C. The boys and I planned to return to Salem, Ore., where our sons had been enrolled in elementary school.

In Saigon, we were greeted by cheerful embassy dependents unaware that they would be going through the same upheaval in short order.

Our strategy was to put the boys in a school they were familiar with. We needed a respite from too much reality, so we decided to spoil ourselves with some fantasy before being separated for six months.

I remember feeling a disconnect with the 24-hour news coverage from CNN about our enemies, the Iraqis, and the "It's a Small World" melody blasting from the loudspeakers advocating brotherly love. More than oceans divided the allies from the Iraqis. Recent history suggests that a gulf still exists between them and us, but I'm hopeful that common sense can prevail to prevent yet another war in Iraq. As the lyrics go, "There's so much that we share, that it's time we're aware, it's a small world after all."

> Pam Anderson Dhaka, Bangladesh



# **Evacuating Nha Trang,** Vietnam

April 1, 1975

When the North Vietnamese launched their military offensive in Vietnam's central highlands in March 1975, we at the consulate general in Nha Trang did not know that within a month, the presence of our South Vietnamese allies and of the United States would be swept away from our region - indeed from all of the northern half of South Vietnam. But at the least. from the onset of the offensive, it was clear that the military initiative was in the North's hands and that there was no early prospect of a counter of fensivesouthern though consulate management vetoed reporting this, apparently because such judgments would not have been well-received by embassy leadership in Saigon. And quickly enough it became apparent that the South Vietnamese not only were retreating on a wide front, but were on the verge of being routed.

In these circumstances, early and effective planning for an evacuation should have been our priority. The mindset coming from the embassy, however, was to project full confidence in our allies. This in turn was taken to mean that evacuation planning and implementation should be downplayed. Efforts at evacuation began, but without full urgency.

Early on April 1, we learned that the South Vietnamese military command had departed Nha Trang. We left helter-skelter the same day, improvising a helicopter landing area at the consulate and taking those Vietnamese employees with us who had the good sense or good fortune to be near at hand. As we departed, Nha Trang was falling into chaos; I vividly recall marauding South Vietnamese soldiers pointing their weapons at us as we choppered away.

In Saigon, we were greeted by cheerful embassy dependents who appeared to have little sense of what we had just been through — or that they would be going through the same in short order. Ambassador Graham Martin received us at the embassy, affirming bravely that a reduced South Vietnam

"Cochinchina" — would be viable. I was invited to stay on in the embassy, but sensing that our evacuation from Saigon would be at least as improvised as our departure from the north, I chose to leave as soon as I could assemble a new wardrobe (my possessions having been left behind in Nha Trang) and acquire a plane ticket.

The lesson here is the obvious one, that policy goals and evacuation planning may appear to conflict, posing difficult choices. My own view is that by failing to give evacuation the priority it deserved, we made the wrong choices in Vietnam in 1975. Indeed, I believe we made wrong policy choices in Vietnam going back to the 1950s, but that is another story.

> David Adamson Washington, D.C.



# Starting Off with a Bang

On June 16, 2001, my husband and I left our life in Los Angeles to go to Washington, D.C., where I would begin my new career in the Foreign Service.

Three weeks later, I was given my first assignment: Islamabad. We were scheduled to leave for Pakistan on the first of November. However, following the events of Sept. 11, I was notified by my career development officer that Pakistan was under ordered departure status, and since my position was classified as non-emergency, I would remain in Washington until further notice.

My first assignment in the Foreign Service, and I was evacuated before I even got to post!

By December 2001 the ordered departure was lifted for employees only; family members remained under evacuation.

It was hard leaving my husband

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in Washington and going to my first assignment alone. I didn't know what to expect in many ways, since the entire experience was brandnew for me. During my two-day journey to Pakistan, I experienced a wide variety of feelings and emotions. In addition to starting this exciting new career/life solo, I left not even knowing when my husband would be able to join me.

Upon my arrival, I was greeted with warm, open arms. Yet even though everyone did their best to make me feel comfortable and welcome, I could sense the sadness, loneliness and low spirits in people throughout the embassy. I adjusted by throwing myself into my job and working seven days a week, trying not to focus on being separated from my husband, as hard as that was.

Two months later, the ordered departure for family members was lifted. My husband was able to join me in Pakistan!

Then, three short weeks after his arrival, there was a terrorist attack at a church near the embassy, and within a week, Pakistan was once again under evacuation status. My husband had to leave after a brief, three-week reunion.

Shortly thereafter, it was insinuated that Pakistan would become an unaccompanied post once the evacuation was lifted. I immediately submitted a request to curtail, went back to Washington under evacuation status and was given a new assignment to New Delhi.

We were scheduled to leave Washington on June 4, 2002. Three days before that, India went into an authorized departure status due to tensions with Pakistan. Once again, I was caught up in an evacuation before I even got to post! Fortunately, that evacuation was shortlived and was lifted in July.

Thus, I found myself in evacuation status three times less than a

I found myself in evacuation status three times in my first year with the Foreign Service.

year after entering the Foreign Service.

Even though all the uncertainty and living in limbo during the first year was hard for me, it was even more difficult for my husband. During each evacuation, he was unsure whether he should find a job, take some courses, or just wait, since evacuations can be in effect for one month, or up to six.

In essence, a year of ongoing evacuations set him back a lot as far as his job situation was concerned. However, now that we are settled in New Delhi, we cling to the hope that we have "paid our evacuation dues" and can enjoy the remainder of our tour in India evacuation-free!

> Kyla J. Seals OMS, Political Section Embassy New Delhi

# $\sim$ **Adversity Brings People Together**

During 35 years in the Foreign Service I was blessed never to have been evacuated from a post, as mine was always one of those "essential" jobs. But I well remember being told, soon after arriving at my first assignment, to read the evacuation plan. It went into great detail about how the Marines would back up through the embassy in case security was breached, ending up in the Communications Office. We could "use the bar from a bar lock safe to

protect ourselves or hide under a desk or behind a cabinet and hope not to be detected." Soon afterward, things got a little dicey and schedules for evacuation were drawn up. One of the teenage dependents told me she'd be leaving on the first plane and asked me when I would leave. I answered, "I don't think I do leave."

I did, however, experience life at several posts during evacuations. My experience was that everyone became closer.

I went to Cairo while our mission there was still an interest section rather than an embassy. everyone lived on the compound and anything that happened included everyone assigned. During my tour, the Kissinger visits and the peace talks took place, the cover came off our eagle and the flag went up, and we became an embassy. The personnel who were there before this happened had a special closeness.

During Desert Storm, I served as information management officer in Damascus. The embassy staff became quite small and there was a special comraderie evident. I remember one weekend when I offered to let TDY Information Management Office operators and technicians come over to my house to wash clothes. I then decided to cook dinner and called around for anyone not working to come by for spaghetti. The TDY personnel were astounded to find the ambassador, DCM and various other officers showing up. While it is true that relationships are normally tighter at smaller "hardship" posts, circumstances such as these make them even more so. I'd like to say, too, that once you've had an experience like this with anyone, your friendship is always just a little stronger.

> Judy Chidester Las Cruces, N.M.

The embassy evacuation plan suggested we "use the bar from a bar lock safe to protect ourselves or hide under a desk or behind a cabinet and hope not to be detected."



# Evacuation from San'aa. Yemen

This is a brief account of my son William's memories of being evacuated from Yemen during the civil war there in 1994. He was 9 then and is 17 now.

Boom! AtttAtttTaaaAAttttt. Those were the noises that I woke up to one May morning in 1994. Yay! Fireworks! I was just 9 years old and I had slept over at a friend's house. We had just started to eat breakfast when the "fireworks" began, and we were excited. We were still dancing around when my friend's dad walked in, and said, "those aren't fireworks, it's war." And that was the beginning of the short-lived Yemeni Civil War for me.

My friend began crying, but his older sister and I ran around some more. The circumstances did not worry us because at the time we were still too young to realize the potential danger involved. However, our parents did.

The war, even though not immediately life-threatening, created a lot of tension and difficulties. The



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nce again the Foreign Service Journalis seekind works of fiction of up to 3,000 words for it Story lines or characters involving the Foreign Service are preferred, but not required. The top storie selected by the Journals Editorial Board, will be lished in the July/August issue and on the Journals Web site. The writer of story will receive an hono raium of \$250.

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We were still dancing around when my friend's dad walked in, and said, "those aren't fireworks, it's war."

annual summer fiction is sue. fact that I had been at a friend's house was a difficulty. Our family was split up, and could not be immediately reunited. Needless to say, I was thrilled, because I would be able pub to spend a few more nights with my buddy than planned. When my dad finally did pick me up, I could tell by eachis mood that this thing was actually very serious. We drove home, where most of our necessities were packed up, ready for evacuation.

> As we waited for the day of evacuation to arrive, we had to stay in our basement, because our house was located between two hills on which anti-aircraft guns constantly blazed bullets into the sky directly overhead. While we were in our basement, we had no electricity; although the electricity faithfully went out every night in Yemen, not having it at all was yet another annoyance to be dealt with.

> There was a lot of scrambling being done in the embassy trying to figure out a way for us to be evacuated. All planes had been grounded at the airport, and so we would have to be evacuated on American military C-People were still nervous, because even though the North Yemen government called for a short ceasefire of their anti-aircraft guns, the Yemenis had already mistakenly shot down one of their own fighters. Thankfully, the evacuation went off

without mishap, even though the C-130's were very old indeed, and were not in any case meant for the transport of civilians. As we all sat in the netting, and lay back exhausted, the poorly-pressured bay area of the plane caused a good majority of "travelers" to become quite airsick. Still, we were safe and we were going home, and that was all that mattered.

> Bill Stewart Washington, D.C.

# ~\\

# A Curious Definition of Hardship

It was Dec. 17, 1998, a Thursday morning in Herzliya Pituach, a suburb of Tel Aviv. President Bill Clinton had just departed the country after a historic four-day visit to Israel, Ierusalem, and the Occupied Terrorities. I was asleep, catching up on rest lost during the long workdays of the presidential visit. The telephone woke me. "Pack your bags," said my colleague. "The post has moved to ordered departure status."

After gathering my dazed wits ("What the heck?! The president was just here!"), I leaped into clothes and raced to the chancery. Yes, we were told, Washington had ordered the post to go to ordered departure status, though Amb. Martin Indyk had protested the order since he doubted its necessity. Among the suggestions which had long been discussed at our post was the idea of an internal evacuation point. In our case, we all felt that it would make more sense for families to be moved temporarily to Beersheva, where they could be held in a wait-and-see mode so as to evaluate the necessity for a full evacuation. This suggestion, so far as I know, has never been seriously considered.

We were still USIA employees then, so, after determining that there was no way to avoid the evacuation, I got on the phone to our area office. If I had to go to the U.S. just before Christmas, Washington was not the place I wanted to be. I have no family there. It took all day, but I got permission to go to my home leave address instead of Washington, with the understanding that I would have to be on leave since I could not report for work.

After finally getting my orders, I raced home. I had about an hour to pack our bags before we had to leave for the airport. With no idea how long the evacuation would last, whether I would be working in Washington, or whether my son would have to start school in the States, I threw a jumble of items into the suitcases. I mainly remember packing all of my son's Christmas presents. I did not pack any of the things I had thought I would pack in such a situation (like family photo albums, important documents) because I did not think it likely my possessions would be destroyed in my absence, but I did take two big bags for each of us with a variety of clothes.

We caught a charter flight as directed by the embassy, along with many of our colleagues. The charter put us into Kennedy International Airport at 4 a.m. in the morning. At that hour, the inter-terminal buses are not running, but we nevertheless had to go immediately from the terminal where we landed to a different one since our connecting flight was departing at 6 a.m. I still have a vivid memory of trying to push a cart loaded with four big bags uphill in very cold weather while at the same time holding onto my son's hand. When he started to cry, mainly from the cold, but also from tiredness and fear, I had to stop. I unloaded the cart, unlocked each of the bags until I located his overcoat, bundled him up, then started out again. We made the connecting flight, but just barely.

Exhausted, we finally made it to

# At that point, I rebelled. No way was I going to return to Tel Aviv just before Christmas...

my mother's house. We were lucky that I had a parent who was willing and able to provide us a temporary haven. I checked in with the office the following day, only to be told that it was likely that the ordered departure status would be lifted before Christmas, and we would then have a day or two to return to post. At that point, I rebelled. No way was I going to return to Tel Aviv just before Christmas, let alone on Christmas Day. In the end, we returned to Tel Aviv on Dec. 29.

Despite the evacuation; despite the fact that Israel is the only post for which I have ever been issued a gas mask, atropine, and instructions on sealing my house in case of a biological or chemical attack; despite the fact that Israel is the prime target of suicide bombers and became even more of a target after the second intifada began in September 1999, Israel was designated a non-hardship post. I was, to put it mildly, surprised to learn that after three years of working in Israel and Gaza I was a "fair share" bidder.

So it happened that after 18 years on the job, serving at six different posts, most of them hardship and one of them a danger-pay post, I finally got evacuated — from a supposedly non-hardship post.

> Julie Gianelloni Connor Counselor for Public Affairs U.S. Embassy Santiago, Chile



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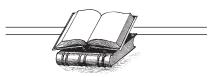
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# BOOKS

# **America's Authentic Imperialism**

### First Great Triumph

Warren Zimmermann, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002, \$30.00, hardcover, 562 pages with index.

REVIEWED BY HARRY C. BLANEY III

Ambassador Warren Zimmermann's latest book, First Great Triumph, could hardly be timed better in its appearance. Just as we are poised on the brink of war with Iraq, it takes us back to a key decade in U.S. diplomatic history — the one beginning in 1898 with the war with Spain, which he says "began the long process of preparing the United States for global leadership."

His central thesis is that America's global ambitions were formed a century ago by five "remarkable men by any measure" namely, Secretaries of State John Hay and Elihu Root, naval strategist Capt. Alfred T. Mahan, Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge and, not least, President Theodore Roosevelt.

Zimmermann does not flinch from terming these men imperialists, despite the baggage long associated with that concept for many of us. But he does qualify his assessment somewhat by contending that "they created an authentic American imperialism that was confident in its objectives but modest in its application." The complication is that most of the putative originators of the doctrine would disavow the word — as I believe would

Zimmermann does not hesitate to call Teddy Roosevelt and his cohorts "imperialists," despite the baggage that term carries for many.



Woodrow Wilson and almost all of the leaders American Zimmermann says took up the same cause during the past century. Furthermore, while the term "imperialism" suggests a purposeful policy, Zimmermann himself says that "American imperialism was an inspired amateurism" and he notes that Roosevelt disavowed the term in McKinley's 1900 re-election cam-

So why does he believe the term fits these men? For starters, he assumes that each late-19th century U.S. incursion or military action was part of a deliberate strategy to conquer and permanently control regions beyond its own territory inhabited by foreign societies, as the British, French, Japanese, Germans, and Belgians were already doing.

But I am not convinced that such was the clear and unambiguous intention of our national leadership a century ago. Rather, what they sought to do was to extend the influence and trade of America and to strengthen American defenses.

Take, for example, Zimmermann's account of Theodore Roosevelt's determination to build the Panama Canal. For all his rhetoric about the Monroe Doctrine and manifest destiny, Roosevelt's main goal was not to occupy either Columbia or Panama, but to build a shorter route for American ships between the two oceans to project power and defend American coasts.

Still, whatever one thinks of some of Zimmermann's analysis of the roots of American imperialism, he is clearly right that a key legacy of these five men was "their preparation of the United States to be a great power." He is also correct that the American concern with preparedness for war that Roosevelt and Mahan, in particular, launched won no less a convert than [Woodrow] Wilson himself.

Zimmermann then brings us full circle by assessing our present challenges on the global stage. He worries that "since the end of the Cold War, both the power and self-confidence that sustained this centurylong international influence has been eroding," and cites the weakening of the U.S. presidency and the decline of "usable" American power. While he approves of our leadership in the Persian Gulf War, the Kosovo campaign, and the Afghanistan

# Books<del>-~</del>

intervention of 2001, he deplores the more general tendency to avoid committing U.S. forces where any risk to them is involved or the outcome is uncertain. Yet at the same time, he says, many in Congress are wedded to triumphal rhetoric "...without doing much to make that power relevant or acceptable to others." He concludes that the age of imperialism is "dying" and says what is coming is still undefined, but expresses the hope that Americans will learn the danger of treating alien peoples as inferior and of "exaggerating the value of war..." Most importantly, he says that "imperialism, like slavery, debases rather than enhances democracy ... "

Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge wrote in 1914 that "We have at last become a world power in the finer sense, a power whose active participation and beneficent influence are recognized and desired by other nations in those great questions which concern the welfare and happiness of all mankind." Valuable as this book is as a work of historical analysis, perhaps Zimmermann's greatest achievement is prompting any serious reader to ponder whether America, the world's sole superpower, can still make that claim today — and on what basis.

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

# A Powell **Bibliography**

Just two years into his tenure in Foggy Bottom, bookshelves are already beginning to fill with titles dedicated to Secretary of State Colin Powell. No doubt more are on the way. Only the passage of time provides true historical perspective, but as long as the research is sound, books about contemporary politicians can help give some understanding of their backgrounds and political philosophies.

Readers interested in hearing from the man himself might consider his best seller My American Journey (Colin L. Powell, with Joseph E. Persico, Ballantine, 1996,





\$6.99, paperback, 644 pages). Powell describes his life as the son of Jamaican immigrants in the South Bronx, his rise through the ranks of the Army and subsequent political career.

In Colin Powell: Soldier/Statesman, Statesman/Soldier (Ballantine, 1992, \$5.99, paperback, 369 pages), Howard Means uses 120 interviews, including one with Powell, to recount the secretary of State's military career from Vietnam to the Reagan years, and then considers his modest start in life and rise to power.

While not solely devoted to Powell by any means, Bob Woodward's Bush at War (Simon and Schuster, 2002, \$28.00, hardcover, 400 pages), a narrative description of the inner workings of the Bush administration immediately after the Sept. 11 attacks, gives an account of Powell's role in the administration and his relationship with Bush. This work is based on hundreds of interviews with White House insiders, government records and a four-hour interview Woodward conducted with President Bush at his Texas ranch.

Admirers from a wide variety of political persuasions have praised the secretary of state for his managerial style. In The Leadership Secrets of Colin Powell (McGraw-Hill Trade, 2002, \$21.95, hardcover, 278 pages), Oren Harari gives his interpretation of the key aspects of Powell's leadership methods. (Powell did not contribute directly to this book.) Harari, a professor of management and consultant, based his analysis on Powell's autobiography (My American Journey, noted above) and his speeches.

A general before taking over at State, Powell follows a long line of African-Americans in uniform. The African-American Soldier: From Crispus Attucks to Colin Powell (Michael Lee Lanning, Citadel Press, 1999, \$16.95, paperback, 320 pages), a historical narrative, describes the challenges that he and other African-Americans have faced in the U.S. armed forces over the past two centuries.

As the founding chairman of the national non-profit organization America's Promise — The Alliance for Youth, Powell has inspired a number of books for young readers. These include Colin Powell: A Man of Quality (Libby Hughes, iUniverse. com, 2000, \$12.95, paperback, 188 pages), and Colin Powell (Junior World Biographies Series) by Melissa Banta (Chelsea House Publishing, 1994, \$8.65, library binding, 79 pages), both intended for children between the ages of 9 and 12.

> — Stephen E. Mather, Editorial Intern

# SUMMER FICTION

nce again thereign Service Journaleeking works of fiction of up to 3,000 words for its annual fiction issue. Story lines or characters involvin Theith@wn Write" (p. 20), there was an Foreign Service are preferred, but not required. top stories, selected by Johnenals Editorial Board, will be published in the July/August issue and oxfothmeals Web The writer of each story will receive an honorarium Foreign Service. This book is definitely site. \$250.

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### Correction

summeth the December 2002 focus, "In +inadvertent error of attribution in the first entry concerning Margaret Bender's book, Foreign at Home and Away: Foreign-Born Wives in the U.S. a woman's story, an immigrant's story and a Foreign Service story with relevance to all people living and working abroad, but Ambassador Marion Creekmore did not say that. He said: "Margaret Bender has written an illuminating, highly readable book on the challenges that confront foreign-born spouses of U.S. Foreign Service officers. Her subjects are courageous, committed, and inspiring. ... This engaging book, which I strongly recommend, also provides important insights on the demands faced by all Foreign Service spouses."





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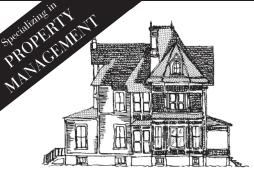


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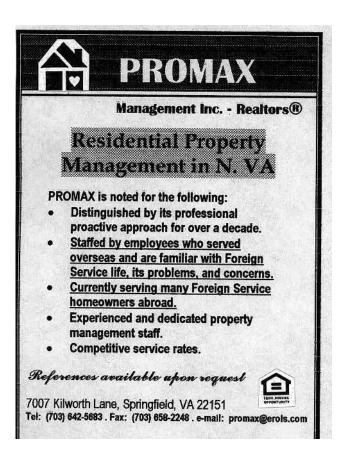
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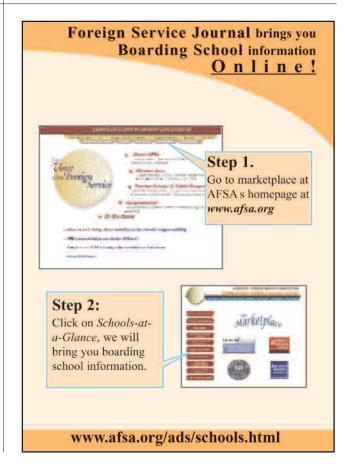
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<sup>(1)</sup> SP-swimming pool, FC-fitness center, TC-tennis courts, CC-conference center, DC-day care, PG-playground, RD-roof deck CB-Complimentary continental breakfast, BC-business center (2) GS-garden-style, HR-high rise, LR-low rise, TH-town homes



# REFLECTIONS

# Searching for the Past in St. Helena

By Terry Abrams

had come to St. Helena, a territory of Great Britain, via a ship, which is the only way you can come to this airport-deprived island. Armed with guidebook knowledge about its 1,000-foot-high cliffs, I expected to see a forbidding place focusing on the past. After all, St. Helena is famous for being Napoleon's place of exile after his defeat at Waterloo. He spent the final six years of his life there and died in Longwood House, now filled with Napoleonic memorabilia. Instead I found a green gem of an island, with astonishing contrasts of stark deserts, flax-filled valleys, soft pastures and wandering cows. And Jonathan the tortoise. I seemed to be the only one afraid of Jonathan. No other tourist seemed surprised to find a 200-yearold turtle on this remote island.

Plantation House, Jonathan's home as I secretly thought of it, was built in 1792 as a country residence for the honorable governor of the East India Company. Today it is used for the current governor of St. Helena and by Jonathan and his younger friends, Emma, David, Myrtle and Fredrika. Though the

Terry Abrams is a freelance travel writer based in Washington, DC, who has written about Vienna, South Africa, and Iceland. Though her travels have taken her all over the world, she's been uniformly afraid of large reptiles. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."

St. Helena remembers the past, but it's also a quirky place.



house itself is off-limits unless invited in, I was free to wander the grounds, to admire the beautiful flowers and tread my way carefully through giant tortoises.

Our first stop was Napoleon's Tomb, which oddly enough is unoccupied. Napoleon Bonaparte chose this spot as his final resting place in 1821, but his body was returned to France in 1840. Nevertheless, a guard stands sentry there, sternly overseeing the large, blank gravestone. The gravestone is blank because authorities could not agree whether he should be called "Emperor" or a more lowly "General." The opposing sides never agreed while he resided in St. Helena, so the grave has no inscription at all.

Napoleon and his grave, home and bathtub are huge draws for the tourist trade. As we made our way up the mountain to see Longwood House, we were astonished to see how relaxed the cows were. Casually crossing the road, the livestock seemed to think they owned the

byways. Which, as a matter of fact, they do, according to our guide. When Great Britain imposed stricter sanitary standards on milk production in St. Helena, the cow-owning locals decided enough was enough and freed the livestock. Now cows roam at will, and whoever wants to milk them, draws up a pail. Much easier, the guide explained, to let everyone have some.

When I arrived at Longwood House, I was particularly pleased to see the lovely flower gardens that Napoleon had designed, including sunken paths, a pond and a gazebo. Inside, the house seemed a mix of the mundane and the historic. It was interesting to see the emperor's bathtub (a nasty tin affair), a cloak and hat, the bed he died in, and the original billiard table and cues. They jostled for space with Longwood House souvenirs, such as hats, T-shirts and postcards. It seemed an ignoble end for the man who would run the world.

When I ended the tour by walking the streets of Jamestown, the capital, I did not feel alone. After all, Napoleon walked here, as did Captain Bligh, Arthur Haley, Charles Darwin, and Captain James Cook. The island reminded me of colonial conquest, slavery, the age of sailing ships, war, and exile. St. Helena is an island that remembers the past, but it's also a beautiful, quirky place where cows roam free, sentries guard an empty grave, and tortoises mow the lawn of the governor's house. But I still would watch out for Jonathan.

# AFSAMEWS.

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# Annual Report 2002

# A Message from AFSA President John K. Naland

With your continued support, AFSA made substantial progress during 2002 across a range of issues:

**INTERING TO YOU AND PROMOTING YOUR INTERESTS:** AFSA made progress on numerous bread-and-butter issues during 2002 that served to make the Foreign Service a better place in which to work and live. A sampling of those accomplishments is contained in the month-by-month listing that begins on the second page of this Annual Report.

For example, we convinced the State Department to convene a working group to seek ways to make service at hardship posts less of a hardship. AFSA representatives were active participants in that working group which, at year's end, forwarded 60 proposals to senior management (31 of which AFSA originally proposed and 14 of which addressed issues impacting non-hardship as well as hardship posts).

On Capitol Hill, we overcame White House opposition to convince Congress to approve Virtual Locality Pay and PIT retirement buyback. We continued to lobby, so far without success, for Overseas Comparability Pay, for a repeal of the dual compensation cap faced by retirees, and to give retirees the same ability as active duty

employees to pay their health insurance premiums with pre-tax dollars. At year's end, we appeared to be within striking distance of amending the tax code concerning residency requirements for the exclusion of capital gains on the sale of a residence.

At State, we persuaded management to adopt over a dozen AFSA proposals aimed at reforming the personnel system. At USAID, we urged management to increase training and support resources and to strengthen workforce planning and career development. At FCS, we broke the logiam to secure approval of several long-pending agreements. At FAS, we finalized re-negotiation of AFSA's contract.

As we do each year, AFSA helped hundreds of members with inquiries and problems concerning such things as allowances, assignments and transportation. AFSA's attorneys assisted over 200 members with discipline cases, grievances, security clearances and investigations. We worked to keep you informed via weekly update messages reporting on developments impacting member's careers and lives.

SEEKING ADDITIONAL RESOURCES FOR DIPLO-MATIC READINESS. AFSA worked to support the president's budget request to increase funding for staffing, security, information technology and facilities. We submitted congressional testimony, met with members of

Congress and their staffs, and placed op-ed articles in major daily newspapers.

In our second annual Day on the Hill effort, we led 60 Foreign Service retirees, AFSA staff, and AFSA officers to Capitol Hill urging funding for diplomatic readiness. During the year, AFSA formed our own political action committee, AFSA-PAC, to raise our profile with

the senior lawmakers who play the key role in setting our agencies' funding levels.

AFSA's speakers program arranged 252 appearances in 33 states by retired Foreign Service members to explain to public audiences the importance of funding diplomacy. AFSA retirees led 16 one-week adult-education programs on the Foreign Service under the auspices of the Elderhostel organization, reaching an audience of over 800 retired professionals from all over the U.S.

When the year ended without Congress passing any appropriations, we rededicated ourselves to continuing the fight in 2003.

**DEFENDING THE FOREIGN SERVICE AND TELLING OUR STORY:** We rushed to the defense of our consular colleagues when some in the media and Congress unfairly criticized them for failures largely attributed to inadequate information sharing by the intelligence community and to understaffing forced by budget cuts during the 1990s.

AFSA placed 31 articles explaining the Foreign Service to the American people in media outlets such as the *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal, Los Angeles Times*, and *Houston Chronicle*. In addition, AFSA statements were carried on CNN, CBS, NBC, ABC, Fox News, BBC, NPR, and several regional talk-radio programs.

above, AFSA expanded and strengthened its lobbying and outreach efforts. AFSA's Foreign Service Journal, completing its first full year under Editor Steven Alan Honley, received widespread compliments for its responsiveness to readers' interests. We expanded AFSA News, adding new features including "Retirees in Action" and "Family Member Matters," and posting it on the AFSA Web site each month.

Responding to AFSA's activist agenda, 990 new-hire employees became dues-paying members in 2002. At years end, total membership stood at 11,674 passing its previous record set in 1995 on the eve of the dramatic downsizing of the Foreign Service at State and USAID.

**CONCLUSION:** AFSA is only as good as its most recent accomplishments, so we will continue to work hard in 2003 to actively promote the interests of our members around the world. As always, we will look to our members for ideas, support, and encouragement.



# YEAR IN REVIEW

# **January**

To avoid damage to credit and ATM cards by U.S. Postal Service irradiation, AFSA persuaded the State Department Federal Credit Union to use alternate delivery methods for the cards. Also convinced Blue Cross/Blue Shield to ship prescription drugs by commercial shipper.

AFSA President John Naland and AFSA State Vice President Louise Crane met with Secretary of State Colin Powell, at his invitation, to discuss Foreign Service personnel issues.

Secured a decision from the Foreign Service Grievance Board confirming that the Foreign Commercial Service must abide by open assignments system rules by advertising all vacancies and accepting bids.

AFSA and other groups met to devise a legislative strategy to reduce the impact of the Government Pension Offset provision on retirees.

The Fund for American Diplomacy (formerly the AFSA Fund) raised \$27,000 to support AFSA's outreach efforts. During 2002, AFSA's Speakers Program doubled its volume to 252 Foreign Service speakers reaching audiences in 33 states and Washington, D.C.

Met with House and Senate staff members on a provision to allow people employed under Part Time, Intermediate, or Temporary (PIT) appointment between 1989 and 1998 to buy back time to count toward their retirement in the same way it did for those before and after that period.

Persuaded Blue Cross/Blue Shield to provide up to a year's supply of certain prescription drugs to overseas members.

During 2002, AFSA placed 31 articles advocating increased support for U.S. diplomacy in leading media outlets such as the *Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, Los Angeles Times*, and *Houston Chronicle*. AFSA statements were broadcast on CNN, CBS, NBC, ABC, Fox News, BBC, and NPR.

Asked Secretary Powell to appeal to the USAA insurance company to open their membership to Foreign Service Specialists. He did and USAA changed its policy.



# **February**

Successfully convinced 7State to seek a private zip code from the U.S. Postal Service to alleviate the

hardship caused by long delays during the pouch crisis.

Sought an exception of the 90-day limit for storage of effects for all new entry DS agents who have to go to the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center for four months.

Briefed a delegation from the Foreign Ministry of Bosnia-Herzegovina on how to organize and support overseas diplomats.

Won State endorsement of 11 AFSA proposals to reinvigorate the Foreign Service, including making leadership and management training a prerequisite for promotion.

The AFSA-sponsored Coalition for American Leadership Abroad (COLEAD) hosted a breakfast on Capitol Hill for over 20 House and Senate staffers to discuss the Foreign Service and other international affairs issues.

Assistant U.S. Trade Representative Florizelle Liser spoke to AFSA's International Associates, a group of multinational corporations interested in supporting diplomacy and the Foreign Service.

# March

Presented AFSA-sponsored Matilda W. Sinclaire Awards to seven Foreign Service members for achievement in the study of hard languages. Three honorable mentions were also awarded.

Reviewed State's proposed new Alcohol and Drug Abuse Program regulations and persuaded State to emphasize treatment rather than disciplinary action.

Convinced State to increase the reimbursement of professional liability insurance premiums to \$125 and to extend eligibility for reimbursement to information management officers, facilities maintenance officers, and narcotics affairs section directors.



Established AFSA-PAC to build a stronger constituency for the Foreign Service on Capitol Hill.

Urged Congress to

support Virtual Locality Pay to change the way that retirement annuities are calculated to remove the disincentive to retiring from an overseas post.

# **April**

AFSA President Naland met with Foreign Service retirees in Houston and Austin, Texas.

Persuaded State to stop charging annual leave on local holidays except during R&R or home leave.

Successfully sought action from State to ensure that Virginia tax authorities do not charge state income or state sales taxes based on an employee's mail being sent to the 20189 zip code.

Submitted testimony to the House and Senate Commerce, Justice, and State Appropriations Subcommittees highlighting the importance of State's Diplomatic Readiness Initiative and the need to expand security overseas to include soft targets.

Using AFSA's input, DS issued guidance on dual citizenship reaffirming the policy of weighing the entire situation when making determinations.

Reached agreement with State on changes to the Core Precepts for promotion to reflect a greater emphasis on management skills.

# May



AFSA and Secretary Powell added the names of 13 Foreign Service employees who lost their lives in the line of duty to the AFSA Memorial

Plaque, bringing the total number to 209.

During AFSA's second annual Day on the Hill event, some 60 AFSA members and staff met with 38 different House and Senate offices to discuss issues facing the State Department and the Foreign Service.

After being contacted by AFSA, the Senate Foreign Relations committee released the FCS Senior Foreign Service promotion and awards lists that had been lost three times.

State agreed to nine AFSA proposals relating to Foreign Service specialists, including several aimed at increasing promotion opportunities for office management specialists.

The *Foreign Service Journal* devoted an entire issue to the concerns of Foreign Service families.

# YEAR IN REVIEW



Awarded 25 Academic and Art Merit Awards totaling \$28,000 to Foreign Service high school seniors.

Met with the Office of Overseas Schools to address Special Education needs of Foreign Service children.

Met with the Language School at FSI to express concerns about language training.

Filed two institutional grievances against FCS for bad faith bargaining concerning commissioning and tenure regulations and home leave rules.

# **June**



Secretary Powell presided over AFSA's annual awards ceremony. Ambassador Thomas Pickering received AFSA's Award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy and Alice Pickering was recognized

for contributions as a Foreign Service spouse. AFSA also conferred its annual awards for constructive dissent, as highlighted in the *Washington Post* story "At State, Giving Dissent Its Due."



Secretary Powell presented a special posthumous AFSA award for constructive dissent to the family of Hiram Bingham IV, who issued over 2,500 life-saving visas to Jews and anti-Nazi activists from 1939 to1941, in violation of State Department policy. The *Foreign Service Journal's* cover story highlighted Bingham in one of the most read and requested issues in years.

Helped to establish and solicit contributions to a fund to defray the cost of retirement celebrations for Foreign Agricultural Service officers.

Reacted quickly to lobby against an amendment in Congress that would have moved the visa function from the State Department to the Department of Homeland Security.

Completed negotiations on the 2002 State procedural promotion precepts, including separate paragraphs on equality of consideration and security awareness.

Made eight proposals to State to reform the assignments process, including adding a fair share service requirement. State subsequently rejected all proposals.

Working with DACOR, launched a newsletter for "Friends of the Foreign Service" whose membership is open to relatives of Foreign Service employees, graduates of AFSA's Elderhostel programs, and others interested in the Foreign Service.



Secretary Powell presented a certificate to the winner of AFSA's 2002 National High School Essay Contest, Elizabeth Carlisle of Montana,

whose essay on the role of the Foreign Service was selected as the best of the 888 submitted.

AFSA membership climbed to 11,232, passing the previous record set in 1995 on the eve of the dramatic downsizing of the Foreign Service at State and USAID.

# July

Posted the scoring process for AFSA's Merit Awards on the AFSA Web site to make it more transparent to student applicants and their parents.

Proposed a change to the per diem payment rates when in training at FSI, so that the 50 percent rate that began at 60 days would be extended to 180 days instead of dropping to 25 percent at 120 days.

Retirees in Colorado Springs inaugurated an Elderhostel program, bringing to seven the number of states in which the one-week programs on the Foreign Service have been presented.

Continued to lobby for an exception for Foreign Service members to the 2-in-5 years rule on the exclusion of capital gains tax on the sale of a primary residence.

Distributed an absentee voting guide to help overseas members exercise their right to vote.

# August

Signed an agreement with FCS on home leave usage, increasing the amount that employees may take without providing special justification.

Distributed \$62,500 in financial aid awards to 69 Foreign Service undergraduates.



To enhance professionalism in the Foreign Service, AFSA proposed that the director general send a letter to all new hires stressing the importance of dedication in the face of hardships. The DG adopted a modified version of our proposal.

State adopted the AFSA proposal to form a working group to improve the quality of life at hardship posts. AFSA, using member input, forwarded 42 suggestions that formed the basis for the working group's deliberations in November and December.

AFSA President Naland hosted a reception for retiring Foreign Service members.

AFSA-PAC raised over \$30,000 and made an initial distribution of \$16,000 to 22 senators and representatives during its first year of existence.

For the first time in the history of the Grievance Board, AFSA successfully obtained interim relief from separation for a career-conditional USAID officer. The decision was based on allegations that the selection board misinterpreted the meaning of words in an evaluation.

Negotiated favorable terms of release of a USAID career-conditional officer that took into account the family situation.

# September

The Fund for American Diplomacy was approved for inclusion in the Combined Federal Campaign for the first time. The AFSA Scholarship Fund typically raises \$19,000 a year from the CFC.

Followed up with the Office of Personnel Management on the progress of a review of the government-wide rules governing travel in duty status and the payment of overtime when in travel status of law enforcement officers.

Appealed to State to resolve the problem of new entry specialists who are assigned to the Washington, D.C. area — often on short notice — and who do not receive per diem while in training or adequate time to find permanent accommodations.

# YEAR IN REVIEW

President Bush signed into law the State Department FY 2003 Authorization Bill containing AFSA-supported provisions on PIT retirement benefits, Virtual Locality Pay, and other issues.

AFSA provided extensive advice and support to the producers of National Geographic's documentary "Ambassador: Under Fire Overseas," which aired nationally on Sept. 4, presenting very positive images of American diplomats.



In AFSA's first-ever videoconference, a senior State Department trade negotiator explained U.S. trade policies to some 300,000 households in northern Indiana via a regional cable network.

AFSA President Naland met with Foreign Service retirees in Northern Virginia.

## October

Convinced FAS management to accept changes implemented by State governing business-class travel for permanent change of station travel.

Signed an agreement (under negotiation since 1999) with FCS obligating it to make career candidates brought in under the ill-fated integration program eligible for commissioning consideration.

Signed a settlement agreement with Commerce regarding the Unfair Labor Practice filed on grievance adjudication, which resulted in the negotiation of new grievance processing procedures for the Foreign Commercial Service.

Signed an agreement with Commerce guaranteeing the implementation of the service needs differential policy within the FCS.



The Foreign Service Journal focused on India, in concert with a major conference on that country held at DACOR.

The AFSA Scholarship Fund received the final installment

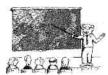
of an \$800,000 bequest from the estate of Naomi M. Mathews and her late husband, Ambassador Elbert George Mathews. This was the largest bequest in AFSA's history.

Presented proposals to State management to counter State's plan to provide security

information to the promotion boards and temporarily remove names from promotion lists.

Met with DS to express our interest in ensuring the safety of family members at overseas posts.

Met with State's new chief financial officer to discuss customer service for Foreign Service annuitants.



Retirees presented AFSA's 44th oneweek Elderhostel program in Arlington, Va. Six D.C.-area

retirees traveled to Chautauqua, N.Y. to present the 66th such program overall since 1996.

USAID AFSA successfully overrode spurious objections (made on purely personal grounds) from an overseas director to a properly-made assignment of a career USAID officer.

AFSA President Naland met in London with 155 entry-level employees from 56 posts.

# November

Convinced FAS management to abandon an outdated procedure and process senior Foreign Service step increases 3 months earlier; i.e., with those for all other FS officers.

Made the case to management (again) that State allow all FS-4 generalists to be considered for promotion to FS-3 at the same interval as other officers after they enter the Foreign Service.

AFSA President Naland met with Foreign Service retirees in Florida.

AFSA intensified a several-year effort to convince Congress to pass the capital gains tax exclusion for Foreign Service personnel. It passed both the House and Senate in the "Armed Forces Tax Fairness Act," but the full Congress failed to give final passage to the bill before adjourning for the year.

As a result of AFSA's requests, State's retirement office inaugurated a toll-free number for annuitants to use in contacting their counselors.

The number of people receiving updates on AFSA activities via the AFSANet e-mail service passed 5,400.

# December

The Foreign Service Journal's third annual roundup of books by Foreign Service-affiliated

authors featured some 40 titles in a wide range of genres.

Met with the new assistant secretary for diplomatic security to discuss DS career paths, security clearance revocations and probations, delays in completing security clearances, and the financial difficulties experienced by agents whose initial assignment is in the Washington area.

Filed an appeal with the Foreign Service Grievance Board on behalf of five FS-4 junior officers challenging State's implementation of the September 2001 entry-level salary policy. Provided information to numerous FS-3 midlevel officers who may grieve the same policy.

Finalized renegotiation of AFSA's contract with FAS management after eight months' work. The new contract improves the transparency of many FAS actions including those governing assignments, selection board paneling, leave without pay, time-in-class extensions, and lateral entry.

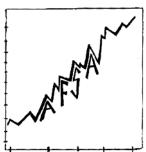
Reached final agreement with State on a change in the precepts for the Commissioning and Tenure Board.

AFSA was the subject of a *Washington Post* editorial for the first time in a piece entitled "A Foreign Service PAC."

AFSA opened negotiations with USAID on changes in the evaluation skills matrix, promotion precepts, and rating timeline.

AFSA convinced the Army and Air Force Exchange System to open online ordering from its catalogue to all overseas Foreign Service members.

Nancy Leary established an AFSA Perpetual Academic Merit Scholarship in the name of her late husband, John C. Leary.



During 2002, AFSA hosted 23 recruitment luncheons for new generalists and specialists and three retirement champagne toasts for retiring members. A full 86 percent of Foreign Service new hires joined AFSA in 2002 (totaling 990 new members). Membership stood at 11,674 at year's end.

# Staff

# Finance and Administration



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

Standing: Executive
Director Susan Reardon.
Seated, from left:
Accounting Assistant
Christa Nyamekye and
Controller Kalpna Srimal.

# Foreign Service Journal



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

Clockwise from left: *AFSA News* Editor Shawn Dorman, Advertising & Circulation Manager Ed Miltenberger, Business Manager Mikkela Thompson, Editor Steve Honley, Associate Editor Susan Maitra. Not pictured: Art Director Caryn Suko.

# Labor Management



- □ Negotiations□ ProtectingBenefits
- ☐ Grievance Counseling
- □ OIG & DS Investigations
- □ Member Inquiries
- □ Informing the

Standing, from left: Grievance Attorney Harry Sizer, AFSA Labor Management Office Manager Christine Warren, USAID AFSA Office Manager Suzan Reager, Labor Management Specialist James Yorke. Seated, from left: Labor Management Attorney Zlatana Badrich, General Counsel Sharon Papp, Grievance Attorney Neera Parikh. Not pictured: Senior Labor Management Advisor Doug Broome.

# **Outreach Programs**





Congressional Affairs Director Ken Nakamura.

Clockwise from left:
Professional Issues
Coordinator Barbara
Berger, Director of
Communications
Tom Switzer, Corporate
Relations/Executive
Assistant Marc Goldberg,
Retiree Liaison Ward
Thompson.

### Public Outreach

- □ Speakers Bureau
- □ Elderhostel
- □ Memorial Plaque
- □ Foreign Service Day
- □ Diplomats Online
- □ AFSA Awards

# **Congressional Affairs**

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

### Retiree Services

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

# **Member Services**



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

Standing: Membership Director Janet Hedrick. Seated, from left: Membership Representative Lindsay Peyton and Administrative Assistant Ana Lopez.

# **Scholarships**



Scholarship Administrator Lori Dec.

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

# Governing Board

Seated, from left: State Vice President Louise Crane, Treasurer Thomas Boyatt, President John Naland, FCS Vice President Peter Frederick, Retiree Vice President Bill Farrand. Front row, standing, from left: USAID Representative Woody Navin, Executive Director Susan Reardon, USAID Vice President Joe Pastic, Retiree Representative David Reuther, General Counsel Sharon Papp, Retiree Representative Bill Harrop, AAFSW Representative Margaret Bender, State Representative Roy Perrin. Back row, standing, from left: Retiree Representative Dick Scissors, State



Representative John Weis, State Representative George Colvin, Secretary Tex Harris, Retiree Representative Ted Wilkinson, FAS Vice President Ed Porter. Not pictured: State Representative Pamela Bates, State Representative John Boulanger, State Representative Lynn Sever, FCS Representative James Joy, FAS Representative Eric Wenberg.

# The Foreign Service Journal Editorial Board



Seated, from left: Tatiana Gfoeller-Volkoff (incoming), Arnold Schifferdecker (Chairman), Judith Baroody

Standing, from left: Mark W. Bocchetti, Maureen S. Dugan (outgoing), Elizabeth Spiro Clark, Hollis Summers, Carol A. Giacomo, William Wanlund, Ted Wilkinson (Governing Board Liaison).

Not pictured: Laurie Kassman, Caroline Meirs

# www.afsa.org

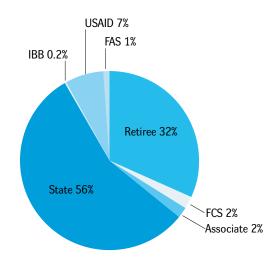
The total number of individual visitors to the AFSA site increased approximately 14 percent in 2002. The average number of users per day was 352, up 10 percent from last year. There was a significant increase in the percentage of visitors to the site who accessed specific files rather than just browsing the main pages.

AFSA encourages all members to visit the AFSA Web site at www.afsa.org and to sign up for the AFSANet e-mail service designed to provide updates on items of interest to the foreign affairs community.

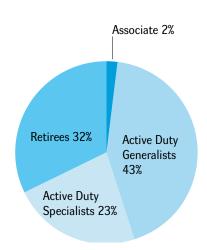


## ∽ AFSA Annual Report 2002 ∽

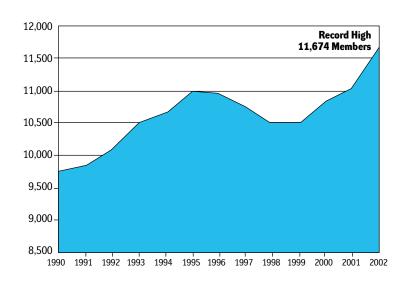
#### **Membership by Constituency**



#### **Membership by Function**



#### **Total Membership 1990 to 2002**



## **Budget in Brief**

INCOME	
Dues	1,670,000
Foreign Service Journal Advertising	439,000
Insurance Programs	25,000
Legislative Action Fund	60,000
Publications and Other	44,500
Professional Programs and Outreach	333,600
Scholarships	343,155
TOTAL	2,915,255

#### **EXPENSES**

Membership Programs	948,857
Foreign Service Journal	665,043
Legislative Affairs	165,357
Professional Programs and Outreach	447,004
Scholarships	334,539
Administration	345,841
Contribution to Endowment and Reserves.	8,614
TOTAL	2,915,255

## ∽ AFSA Annual Report 2002 ∽

#### **AFSA** in 2002: By the Numbers

- 5 Foreign affairs agencies represented by AFSA
- 13 Fallen colleagues added to the AFSA Memorial Plaque
- 26 Professionals on AFSA's staff
- 38 AFSA articles and letters placed in newspapers around the nation
- 94 Foreign Service students receiving AFSA-awarded scholarships
- 200 Members represented by AFSA lawyers in grievances
- 535 Lawmakers receiving AFSA's Foreign Service Journal
- 888 Students participating in AFSA's High School Essay Contest
- 990 New Foreign Service members joining AFSA
- 5,400 Subscribers to the AFSANet e-mail service
- 11,500 Attendees at AFSA speaker programs nationwide
- 11,674 AFSA members at year's end
- 2,915,255 Dollar amount of AFSA's annual budget

### Benefits of AFSA Membership

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

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

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

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

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

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

**FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:** Our monthly magazine offers provocative articles that will keep you current on developments in the foreign affairs profession.

**AFSA NEWS:** AFSA's monthly newsletter, inside the *Foreign Service Journal*, highlights issues impacting your daily life.

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

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

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

**AFSA SCHOLARSHIPS:** AFSA grants approximately 100 merit and financial need scholarships a year to Foreign Service family members. Since 1926, AFSA has awarded approximately \$4,306,000 in scholarships.

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

**AFSA LETTER:** Bimonthly newsletter exclusively for retired members.

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

**AFSA WEB SITE:** Online member area including member directory and member forums. **MAGAZINE DISCOUNTS:** Member-only discounts to major foreign affairs journals.

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

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

#### **AFSA Core Values**

## The American Foreign Service Association

Established in 1924

#### **MISSION**

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

#### **VISION**

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



- RESPONSIVENESS: We listen to our members and actively promote their interests.
- **EFFECTIVENESS:** We act with a sense of urgency, get results, and make a difference.
- **INTEGRITY:** We demonstrate openness, honesty and fairness in everything we do.
- EFFICIENCY: We carefully expend our resources where they can have maximum impact.
- **COMMUNITY:** We foster teamwork, respect each other, and enjoy our time together.
- **COURAGE:** We encourage responsible risk-taking in order to achieve results.
- PATRIOTISM: We are faithful to the grand and enduring ideals that gave our nation birth
- EMPOWERMENT: We trust each other to give our best efforts guided by these core values. □

## **AFSA Meets with Secretary Powell**

FSA President John Naland and Vice President Louise Crane met with Secretary Colin Powell at his invitation on Jan. 22. Director General Ruth A. Davis and State Department Chief Labor Management Negotiator Susan Moorse also participated. The meeting was a useful opportunity to exchange views on progress made during the secretary's first two years on the job.

Secretary Powell opened the half-hour session saying that he felt it important to meet with AFSA from time to time so that AFSA leadership could tell him what was on the minds of his Foreign Service troops. Naland thanked him for everything that he has done during his first two years to revitalize the Department of State and to begin to obtain the sustained infusion of resources for people, facilities and information technology that State so desperately needs.

The secretary expressed well-deserved pride in what has been accomplished to date on the diplomatic readiness front, highlighting recent successes including the implementation of State's student loan repayment program (the first in the federal government) and securing (at AFSA's suggestion) USAA membership eligibility for active-duty Foreign Service specialists.

AFSA and the secretary talked about the vital importance of securing needed funding — particularly for embassy security upgrades and the Diplomatic Readiness Initiative—in the still pending FY 2003 budget request and the soon-to-be-presented FY 2004 budget request. Naland then outlined AFSA's extensive lobbying and outreach efforts in support of those budget requests.

Naland stressed the need to implement Overseas Comparability Pay to close the inequitable pay gap that exists between overseas Foreign Service members and the domestic federal civilian workforce. He briefed the secretary on the progress of the Hardship Service Incentives Working Group. He told the secretary that the Foreign Service stands ready to continue to staff the front lines of U.S. diplomacy in the

months ahead, only requesting that he act prudently to evacuate non-essential personnel and family members if the need arises. The secretary said he was following security issues hour by hour.

AFSA expressed concern about continuing gaps between what consular employees are expected to accomplish and the resources given to them to do their vital work. Secretary Powell detailed just how tough his fight had been last summer to keep the visa function and said he had no doubt that the decision to keep the visa function at State had been a wise one. On the outreach front, Naland suggested that the Bureau of Public Affairs make a stronger effort to "tell our story" to domestic audiences in order to build a long-term constituency for the foreign affairs agencies. The secretary described his practice of going into the State (and AFSA) Web sites "late at night" to check how we are presenting ourselves to the world.

The secretary thanked AFSA for the strong support of his push to require leadership and management training along with other efforts to change the corporate culture of the Foreign Service.

AFSA expressed serious concern about employee angst caused by uncertainty over the role, if any, USAID development professionals will play in the coordination and implementation of the most important U.S. development initiative in a generation: the Millennium Challenge Account. AFSA urged the secretary — in line to be the chairman of the board of the planned Millennium Challenge Corporation — to make provision for detailing experienced USAID Foreign Service officers to both the Washington headquarters and any field offices of that corporation. In addition, we urged the secretary to bring USAID under the umbrella of his Diplomatic Readiness Initiative so that the organization could benefit from the same kind of workforce planning review that in 2000 laid the groundwork for the current effort to rebuild State's hollowed out workforce.

Secretary Powell and his management team have achieved an extraordinary record of accomplishments on diplomatic readiness issues over the past two years. But much work remains to be done. AFSA stands ready to contribute to that effort.  $\square$ 

#### RECOGNIZING OUTREACH ACHIEVEMENTS

#### **AFSA Establishes New Retiree Award**

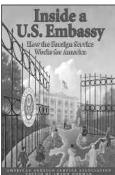
n January, the AFSA Governing Board created a new award, the AFSA National Alumni Service Award, for Foreign Service retirees throughout the United States, to recognize outstanding achievements in helping build public support for American diplomacy. The award, consisting of a certificate and a permanent listing of the winner's name at AFSA headquarters, will go to AFSA members selected by the governing board's executive committee. There is no limit on how many members may receive the award.

The activities to be recognized by the award may include, but are not limited to, speaking, lecturing or writing on diplomacy and foreign policy, assisting in Foreign Service recruitment, conducting congressional or media outreach in support of the Foreign Service, contributing to public education programs in these areas, or leading or facilitating the efforts of other retirees to increase their fellow citizens' understanding of America's role in the world and of the importance of American diplomacy.

AFSA expects that this award will recognize some colleagues outside the Washington, D.C. area who may not be able to travel to Washington. The certificates will be delivered to them by mail and announcements of the award will be made in AFSA publications and in press releases to their local newspapers. Recipients may subsequently be honored in person when AFSA representatives visit their areas and/or when recipients attend AFSA's Foreign Affairs Day reception. The awards committee welcomes nominations. To submit a nomination or for more information contact AFSA's Retiree Liaison Ward Thomson at thompsonw@afsa.org or (202) 338-4045, ext. 528 or toll-free 1(800) 704-2372, ext. 528. □



#### NOW AVAILABLE: Inside a U.S. Embassy

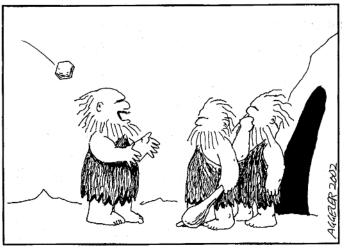


You can now order your copies of the all-new edition of Inside a U.S. Embassy: How the Foreign Service Works for America, published by AFSA. Invite your friends and relatives to share the reallife experiences of work and life in the Foreign Service: the coups, the evacuations, the heroics, the hardships and the everyday challenges.

Inside a U.S. Embassy can be ordered through a link on the AFSA Web site at www.afsa.org/inside. Phone orders can be placed by calling 1 (847) 364-1222.

#### Life in the Foreign Service

BY BRIAN AGGELER. FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER & CARTOONIST



"I RAISED OUR ISSUES WITH MANAGEMENT AND THEY SAID I WOULD GET **SOMETHING BACK FOM THEM RIGHT AWAY!"** 

## Foreign Affairs Day Set for May 9 Foreign Affairs Day, the annual homecoming for retired

State Department employees, will be held this year on Friday, May 9. The day will again include the AFSA Memorial Plaque ceremony, to be held in the Acheson Auditorium. To date, there are six names to be added to the plaque, including that of Laurence Foley, the USAID officer murdered by terrorists in Jordan in October 2002. Secretary Powell is scheduled to preside over the ceremony.

Attendance at Foreign Affairs Day was up dramatically the past two years. The event offers a great opportunity to see old friends and catch up on doings at Foggy Bottom. Mark your calendars now so you can join AFSA for these important events. Invitations will be mailed in early March. The guest list includes everyone invited last year and everyone newly retired in 2002. To make sure you're on the list, e-mail foreignaffairsday@state.gov, or telephone Peter Whaley at (202) 663-2383.

#### AFSA Foreign Affairs Day Reception

Last year's AFSA reception at the Foreign Service Club was a great success, and AFSA plans to have another reception during this year's Foreign Affairs Day. More details will follow in the April AFSA News. AFSA invites all participants to enjoy another opportunity to relax and mingle with former colleagues at the conclusion of the day's

#### AFSA's Day on the Hill 2003

On May 8, 2003, AFSA will again lead a group of retired Foreign Service personnel to visit their senators and representatives on Capitol Hill. Please join AFSA to support the Foreign Service, our foreign affairs agencies and American diplomacy. Look for more

information in next month's AFSA News and in your Foreign Affairs Day mailing.



**Briefs • Continued on page 13** 

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# Reinventing Development Assistance?

BY JUDY SLATER, AFSA USAID FORUMS MANAGER

y the time this article goes to press, the Bush administration will have prepared draft legislation for creation of the Millennium Challenge Corporation, a public corporation tasked with managing the administration's Millennium Challenge Account. The concept of the MCA has been well-received by members of the international development field, including the NGO-PVO community, and by both political parties. However, AFSA USAID cautions about the devil lurking in the details. Both advocates and skeptics have published fact sheets, opinion pieces, studies and reports since Bush first announced the creation of a Millennium Challenge Account in March 2002. There are still many unknowns. It is hard to predict how such an institution will be structured, function and succeed in carrying out the "fresh approach to aid" that the Bush administration has proposed.

We at USAID need to understand that a new U.S. federal development corporation managing up to \$5 billion per year will have direct implications on our agency's way of doing business, workload, development assistance delivery objectives and Foreign and Civil Service careers. To address these issues, in December 2002 AFSA began a series of open meetings and online correspondence with USAID overseas personnel, and established a special Web site to solicit input from as many AFSA members and other USAID and State employees as possible.

On Jan. 22, AFSA President John Naland met with MCC Chairman-designate Colin Powell and strongly urged the inclusion of experienced USAID Foreign Service officers in the management and implementation of the MCA at both the Washington and country levels. In

February 2003, an interagency MCC working group and members of the Office of Management and Budget wrote and submitted a draft bill to Congress. We want to ensure that employee concerns reach the committees studying this bill.

During our December meetings, professionals from USAID and State questioned how the MCC will affect their careers and the work they do, who will be eligible to work for the corporation, what will be the incentives and benefits of being detailed there, and how, under the MCC programs, participating countries will prepare proposals, implement programs, and provide adequate program monitoring and financial accountability. We think these processes should heavily involve overseas USAID missions.

The best way the MCC can succeed in its "innovative mission" is to ally with USAID and coordinate efforts.

USAID has decades of institutional memory and overseas presence and thousands of person-years of professional experience in all of the difficult tasks and responsibilities enumerated above. makes eminent sense for the new MCC to draw on USAID's body of knowledge and experience. Senior Bush administration officials recognize the wealth of "best practices" developed by USAID, but we want to see in detail how USAID missions will be involved directly. For instance, will USAID and MCC programs overlap, conflict, or create synergies? Or, will MCC missions eventually replace USAID missions, making some USAID functions obsolete? We hope not.

The Hill and the interagency MCC working group should realize that block grants, host-country contracts and national development programs are not new ideas. The MCC legislation should take into account the career development needs of

our government's Foreign Service cadre—indeed of all the government's international development professionals. USAID has been there before, in every sense. It has handled procedural and onsite needs via its missions and has tested what works and what does not work for similar large-scale programs in countless countries.

We concur that the MCC is a good idea, especially if it is a response to some of USAID's cumbersome, overly bureaucratic approaches to development. However, USAID has learned many lessons it can share with the MCC staff. Big money thrown at development and a more selective eligibility process for less corrupt grantee countries looks promising on paper, but the bottom line remains — host countries will get the most out of the millions of dollars that will flood their national accounts only if the manpower and expertise already exist on the ground. And they do.

The best way the MCC can succeed in its "innovative mission" is to ally with USAID and coordinate efforts. USAID already has mechanisms in place to review grant proposals and implement grant programs. The two institutions should initiate a joint pilot program in an eligible host country as soon as possible. Such a program would be a practical application of a possible alliance and it could occur immediately, within the current legislative framework. The MCC working group and OMB could gather performance data about the program and test its success rate and impact. Cooperation between the two development assistance institutions would serve U.S. interests and the host countries better than the agencies working separately but simultaneously toward similar goals. USAID as an institution is in the best position to help the MCC succeed. We hope that the Hill is listening, and will take concerned employees' comments and suggestions into account as it revises the MCC bill.

AFSA USAID has a created a discussion forum on the AFSA Web site at www.afsa.org. Contact the AFSA USAID office at (202) 712-0843. AFSA's USAID VP Joe Pastic's e-mail is jpastic@usaid.gov, and AFSA USAID Forums Manager Judy Slater's e-mail is aidproject@afsa.org. □

V.P. VOICE: STATE BY LOUISE CRANE

## **Security at State**

ince October 2000, the Department of State has implemented a series of policies to enhance its employees' security awareness. First, discipline for security infractions and violations was tightened. It used to be that an employee had to incur three security incidents within a three-year period before discipline kicked it. Now, discipline (including letters to personnel files) kicks in after only 18 months. At the same time, it became mandatory for rating officers to comment on any pattern of failing to safeguard classified material.



Both the Core Precepts and the Procedural Precepts that guide the annual promotion boards' work were revised to strengthen the importance of the proper handling, storage and safeguarding of classified material for tenuring and promotion. Because some discipline letters remain in an employee's performance file until the individual is promoted, selection boards now have greater knowledge of employees' security practices. The department has made employees' security records a significant factor when selections are made to fill coveted chief of mission, deputy chief of mission and principal officer positions, as well as senior domestic assignments. Otherwise qualified employees have been chagrined to discover that their poor security practices had knocked their names off the list.

The department's most controversial decision was to remove temporarily from the lists of employees recommended for promotion, performance pay, presidential pay and MSIs, those whose security records totaled more than 30 points. Their names are reinstated only after they had undergone intensive security retraining. AFSA opposed the practice of removing names from lists on the grounds that it skirts dangerously close to undermining the integrity of the promotion panels. Instead, AFSA has urged that all employees with 30-plus security points undergo intensive retraining. We believe the goal here is to enhance security awareness, not punish people further for past security lapses. Some of these employees may have already been disciplined for the security lapses.

It takes time for new policies to take effect. AFSA believes the department's new policies are working well. Those whose past security problems washed them out of competition for senior positions of responsibility are now more security conscious. Surely those who want to become DCMs and COMs are more careful about security now, because they don't want to damage their chances to advance.

The Bureau of Human Resources' own statistics provide some proof and basis for speculation. The Office of Employee Relations in HR handles discipline, from the misuse of a government vehicle and misuse of the Internet to security. In 2002, the office dealt with 198 cases, over half of which involved security. While the outcome of many cases are still pending at this writing, the office did issue 28 letters of reprimand that will be seen by this year's selection boards. Six individuals were suspended, some for as many as six days. Successive promotion panels will see these records. While many only received letters of admonishment, which are not placed in performance files, they serve to put individuals on notice that future security lapses will have serious consequences.

Good security practice is as much a part of national security as visa issuance is. It is also a component of employees' careers. AFSA believes State's employees have gotten the security message, loud and clear.  $\Box$ 

### AFSA Personal Property and Transit Insurance

id you know that as a member of AFSA you could be taking advantage of the only insurance program to offer personal effects and transit coverage everywhere outside the United States without restriction? For over 25 years, AFSA has offered comprehensive personal property insurance to its membership. Today, more than 1,000 members are enrolled in our various insurance programs. For personal property insurance, they pay the same rate they paid in 1973, just 75 cents per \$100 of basic coverage. This program, underwritten by Chubb, remains unique. There is nothing else quite like it, and it is available only to members of AFSA.

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The AFSA plan was the first to offer full replacement value coverage for personal property, and for no additional charge. The rate remains the same even for high-risk posts. No matter whether you are stationed in Paris, Islamabad or Kuala Lumpur, your coverage will cost the same and will not be denied.

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For more information on AFSA insurance programs, please contact AFSA Member Services at (202) 338-4045, ext. 525 or member@afsa.org. □

#### **AFSANEWSBRIEFS**

Continued from page 10

## Congratulations to the Sinclaire

Winners
AFSA would like to congratulate the winners of the 2002 Matilda W. Sinclaire Awards for achievement in the study of hard languages and their associated



cultures. Each of the nine winners below will receive \$1,000 and a certificate of recognition.

Albanian **Brian Shott** Mark A. Pekala Estonian Sandra Kaiser Greek John Stepanchuk Greek Henry Haggard Korean Mark Draper Latvian Jonathan Floss Lithuanian William Davnie Lithuanian William Mozdzierz Polish

All candidates for this award are nominated for outstanding accomplishments in the course of language study by the languagetraining supervisors at the School of Language Studies of the Foreign Service Institute.

This language award program was established by a bequest from former Foreign Service officer Matilda Sinclaire to the American Foreign Service Association in 1982. The purpose of her \$175,000 beguest was to "promote and reward superior achievement by career officers of the Foreign Service of the United States while studying one of the 'hard' languages under the auspices of the Foreign Service Institute of the Department of State." The guidelines were amended in October 2001 to expand eligibility for the awards to any career and career-conditional member of the Foreign Service from the Department of State, USAID, FCS, FAS or IBB. Sinclaire languages are those that have proven relatively difficult for native English speakers to learn and that normally require eight months or more of intensive study.

The first awards, of \$1,000 each, were given out in 1985 to seven individuals who distinguished themselves in the study of Arabic, Hebrew, Russian, Thai, and Turkish. (Note: FSO John Stepanchuk, one of the original winners for his achievement in Turkish, is also one of the 2002 award winners for Greek. He has also achieved superior linguistic scores in Russian, Ukrainian, and Lithuanian.) Over \$146,000 has been awarded to Foreign Service members who have received recognition for their superior language skills through this program.

Briefs • Continued on page 14

#### V.P. VOICE: FCS BY PETER FREDERICK

### **Grievances and Professionalism**

s reported in my December 2002 e-mail update, AFSA withdrew the unfair labor practice charge of failure to negotiate in good faith on the issue of grievance adjudication in return for FCS's agreement to provide data and negotiate the grievance adjudication procedure. The Foreign Service Grievance Board also announced during November and December two decisions, both in support of the Foreign Commercial Service officers who had appealed FCS's denial of their grievances. Based on this information, I can report



that since AFSA began representation of FCSOs, we have filed 34 grievances against FCS on behalf of FCSOs, 70 percent of which were denied by the FCS grievance staff. In 15 percent of the cases, the FCS staff granted the requested relief, and in 15 per-

cent it granted partial relief. During the same time period, 23 grievances were appealed to the FSGB, of which 26 percent were settled before a decision was reached, 30 percent were granted full or partial relief, and in 45 percent of the cases the FSGB upheld FCS's denial.

Our officers have been granted relief in 68 percent of the filings.

This information affects AFSA on two fronts: as a union and as a professional association. The fact that over half of the

grievances denied by FCS are upheld at the FSGB level indicates that our officers may not be given a fair hearing on the agency level. As a result of the Unfair Labor Practice we began negotiations of the grievance adjudication process in late January. Since our officers have been granted relief in 68 percent of the filings, one can assume AFSA is doing a good job of grievance counseling, although, of course, some of the people had outside lawyers and some probably represented themselves.

Of perhaps greater concern is how these statistics reflect on the professionalism of our Service. Evaluation-based grievances are unique in that the grievant and the evaluating officer are both FCSOs and potentially AFSA members. Over 80 percent of the grievances related to EERs. Well-prepared EERs can be a good management tool and a benefit to one's career. EERs that are grievable do nothing to promote the professionalism of our Service.

If AFSA takes its role as a professional association seriously, it should provide indepth counseling to the rating officers in FCS, and FCS should welcome the input! Because of the size of the Service and the average time it takes to become a manager, the average State FS member probably receives six or seven EERs before being asked to prepare one on another officer. Thus, the evaluating officer has some experience on which to draw when preparing an EER. An FCSO could be asked to prepare an EER as soon as he/she is tenured.

I have supervised FCSOs for over 18 of my 20 years in the Service, writing literally hundreds of evaluations and/or reviewing statements. I do not recall receiving any training or advice (other than a list of inadmissible comments). If management truly wants to join AFSA in raising the level of professionalism in our Service, management should work with us to develop a detailed training program to help supervisors prepare clear, accurate, career-enhancing evaluations. With training, supervisors would be better able to write effective EERs, including documented constructive criticism, without needing to fear the grievance process. □

#### **AFSANEWSBRIEFS**

Continued from page 13

#### **An Amplification:** Follow-Up to the January Q&A on Transportation

If you return to Washington, D.C., for longterm training of more than one year, you will be formally assigned to FSI on PCS orders. If your training is for between six and 12 months, you will have the option of being assigned or detailed on TDY. If your training is less than six months, you will be placed on TDY.

It is State Department policy that tandem couples must choose the same option when they come to D.C. for between six and 12 months of training.

#### **AFSA Tax Guide**

In case you missed the AFSA Tax Guide last month in AFSA News, you can find it on the AFSA Web site at www.afsa.org/news (click on the February AFSA News). The guide includes an update on current tax regulations as well as a state-by-state guide to current state-specific tax regulations.

#### **Video Contest for Embassy Kids**

The Foreign Service Youth Foundation and the Overseas Briefing Center announce the Eighth Annual worldwide contest for production of a video depicting life for children and teens at post. Videos must be produced by Foreign Service kids ages 10 through 18. The top three winners will receive cash awards.

Foreign Service children and their parents come to the OBC to research new and prospective assignments. They want to see what life would be like for them at post, not just from an adult's perspective. These families appreciate the viewpoints of younger members of the Foreign Service community on such topics as housing, schooling, recreational facilities, community life. They also appreciate a view of the city from a kid's perspective. The KidVid contest is open to Foreign Service children ages 10 through 18. The contest deadline is April 15.

For a complete list of rules and eligibility guidelines, visit www.fsyf.org or contact Maureen Johnston at the Overseas Briefing Center by e-mail: JohnstonM5@state.gov; by phone: (703) 302-7277; or fax: (703) 302-7452.

#### FSO Publishes Children's Book

Calvin T. Watlington, the financial management officer in Tegucigalpa, has written and published a children's book entitled Zoe. The book is primarily for children ages 5 to 7. It introduces the concept of diversity to children in terms they can understand. Watlington hopes the book will help children embrace each other's differences. For more information, contact Calvin Watlington at caldans@ebonylaw.com.

#### **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/lafform.html. Make checks payable to "Legislative Action Fund." Every contribution makes a difference and is appreciated.

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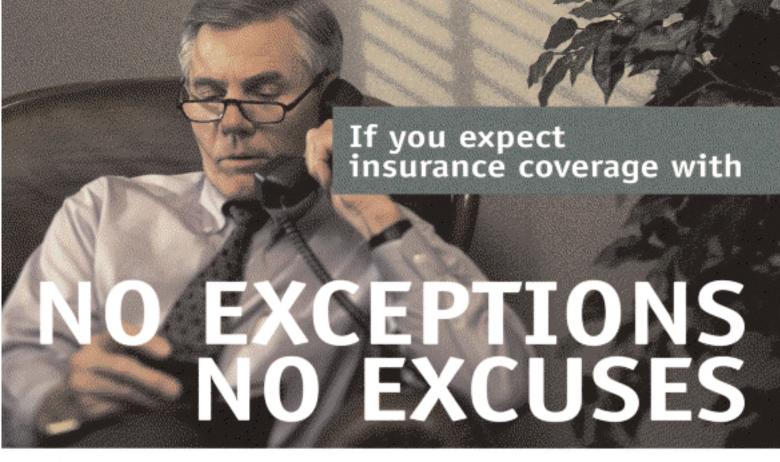
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