TRYING SADDAM ■ EMPIRE-BUILDING ■ FS JURY DUTY?

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

$3.50 / MAY 2004

THE MAGAZINE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS

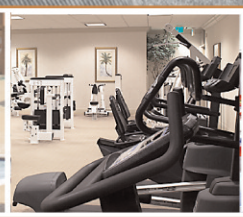
OUT OF AFRICA

Grass-Roots Progress Offers Reason for Hope

Temporary housing that serves you.

featuring Oakwood Falls Church

- Spacious, fully furnished accommodations complete with linens, housewares, electronics, utilities, housekeeping and more.
- Unequalled lodging value for U.S. civilian employees and cost reimbursable federal contractors.
- Rates within the TDY per diem.
- Proud participant in GSA's Federal Premier Lodging Program and the Army Lodging Success Program.
- Offering the federal traveler last room availability.
- Providing emergency housing worldwide through the USO.
- Worldwide FEMA-certified locations.
- Locations available throughout the U.S., Asia Pacific, U.K. and select European cities.



1.703.488.6837
1.800.888.0808
www.oakwood.com

EQUAL HOUSING OPPORTUNITY

Oakwood®

The Most Trusted Name In Temporary Housing Worldwide.[SM]

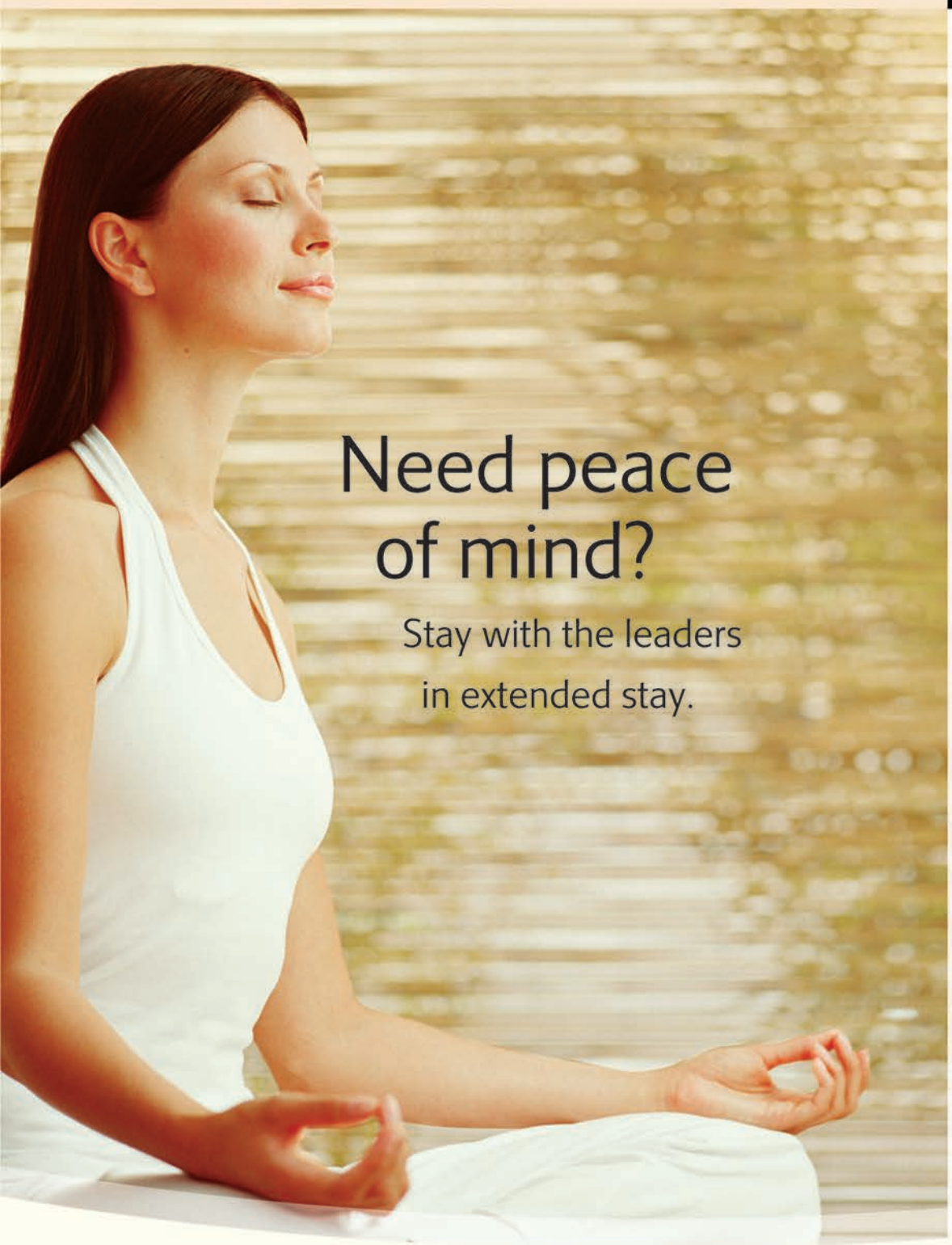
Clements International®
Global Insurance Solutions®

MissionsAbroad®
Everywhere you are,
every time you need us.

1.800.872.0067 or 1.202.872.0060

www.clements.com

Residence Inn and **TownePlace Suites** are specifically designed to meet the unique needs of travelers staying for weeks or even months at a time. We have been the leaders of extended stay lodging for over 25 years and in the business of providing exceptional quality, value and service for over 75 years.



Need peace of mind?

Stay with the leaders in extended stay.

Residence Inn Marriott

District of Columbia
Residence Inn Vermont Avenue

Maryland
Residence Inn Bethesda
Residence Inn Columbia

Virginia
Residence Inn Alexandria
Residence Inn Fair Lakes
Residence Inn Pentagon City
Residence Inn Merrifield

TownePlace Suites Marriott

Virginia
TownePlace Suites Chantilly
TownePlace Suites Falls Church

Marriott REWARDS.

YOUR MARRIOTT AWAITS®

www.StayatMarriott.com/Relocations

1-800-331-3131

CONTENTS

May 2004 ■ Volume 81, No. 5

FOCUS ON AFRICA

FEATURES

Page 18

COLUMNS

DEPARTMENTS

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

Editor
STEVEN ALAN HONLEY

Senior Editor
SUSAN B. MAITRA

Associate Editor
SHAWN DORMAN

Ad & Circulation Manager
ED MILTENBERGER

Business Manager
MIKKELA V. THOMPSON

Art Director
CARYN SUKO SMITH

Editorial Intern
DWIJEN JAYDEV MEHTA

Advertising Intern
WEI TAN

THE MAGAZINE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS

Foreign Service Journal (ISSN 0146-3543), 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037-2990 is published monthly with a combined July/August issue by the American Foreign Service Association, a private, non-profit organization. Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and does not necessarily represent the views of the *Journal*, the Editorial Board or AFSA. Writer queries and submissions are invited, preferably by e-mail. *Journal* subscription: AFSA Members - $13 included in annual dues; others - $40. For foreign surface mail, add $18 per year; foreign airmail, $36 per year. Periodical postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *Foreign Service Journal*, 2101 E Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037-2990. Indexed by Public Affairs Information Service (PAIS). The *Journal* is not responsible for unsolicited manuscripts, photos or illustrations. Advertising inquiries are invited. The appearance of advertisements herein does not imply the endorsement of the services or goods offered. FAX: (202) 338-8244 or (202) 338-6820. E-MAIL: journal@afsa.org. WEB: www.afsa.org. TELEPHONE: (202) 338-4045. Printed in the U.S.A. Send address changes to AFSA Membership, 2101 E Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037-2990.

Cover and inside illustrations by David Dean

The Earth's surface is 316,944,852 kilometers.

You'll need a car to get around.

• Exclusive Invoice-Based Pricing
• Custom Factory-Ordered Vehicles • Worldwide Delivery
• Worldwide Warranty • Satisfaction Guaranteed

Foreign Affairs Day is May 7th!
We salute all those striving to make the world a better place.

To place an order or for information on any of the following manufacturer models, please contact us at:

Web site: www.diplosales.com
E-mail: diplosales@diplosales.com
Phone: (516) 496-1806 Fax: (516) 677-3701

Diplomatic Automobile Sales

Diplomatic Automobile Sales is an authorized distributor for the Diplomatic Community overseas.

Audi Volkswagen Ford Lincoln Mercury Chevrolet Pontiac GMC Oldsmobile Cadillac Buick Hummer Chrysler Dodge Jeep

President's Views

Proud to Be Exceptional

By Louise K. Crane

I was recently reading a *New York Times* review of a book on the grand sweep of American history (*Freedom Just Around the Corner,* by Walter A. McDougall). The reviewer noted that the author was out of step with the academy because his premise smacked of the "exceptionalism" of America and the American character. The reviewer said this characterization is out of favor, arguing it suggests arrogance and superiority. I thought to myself that while exceptionalism may be out of favor and may indeed be suspect in some circles, it is an appropriate term to describe the Foreign Service.

AFSA did some research of our own on "exceptionalism"; specifically, those attributes that make members of the Foreign Service different from other government employees. The first stop was the legislative history behind the passage of the Foreign Service Act of 1980. It made for very interesting reading. The law states that "a career Foreign Service, characterized by excellence and professionalism, is essential to the national interest ..." and "the scope and complexity of the foreign affairs of the nation have heightened the need for a professional Foreign Service that will serve the foreign affairs interests of the United States ..." Finally, the Senate background report on the 1980 Act states succinctly that a new act was needed because there is a need to "provide a clear distinction between Foreign Service and Civil Service employment."

The Foreign Service is indeed different, and justifiably so. This "exceptionalism" is brought home to us each Foreign Affairs Day (Friday, May 7, this year) when we remember those colleagues who have died in the conduct of service and whose names are inscribed upon the AFSA Memorial Plaques in the State Department's main lobby.

AFSA recently reinforced that distinction when it agreed to a hardship service requirement to cross the threshold into the Senior Foreign Service. The world does not appear to be getting any safer and hardship posts are not growing any scarcer — quite the contrary, in fact. Several years ago AFSA endorsed a fair share requirement for those bidding on overseas positions and last year we agreed to strengthen the fair share bidding provisions. AFSA understands that "fair share" is one way to fill positions at hardship posts. However, even more it is a system of "sharing the sacrifice," providing all our members with a common ground of service.

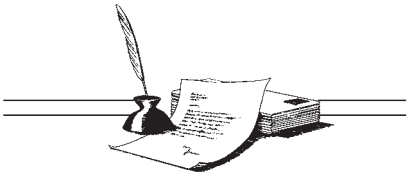
One-third of the Foreign Service has entered the ranks since 1998. These members are well aware of the dangers facing them, which often come from unexpected quarters. Places which for years were considered tranquil suddenly become unaccompanied posts or posts where dependents and nonessential personnel are ordered to depart. Families are separated for months or even years on end.

Since 9/11, the demand for greater sacrifice has proliferated. More and more posts — Baghdad and Kabul, Islamabad and Karachi — are unaccompanied. Today, more Foreign Service children have only one parent at the breakfast table than at almost any time in the last century. Nothing in the news suggests this trend will be reversed in the near future.

Yet a recent letter to the editor of the *Journal* seemed to deny the exceptional nature of Foreign Service employment. The author wanted to make sure that the Secretary of State didn't make service in Baghdad or Kabul a disincentive. He argued that employees who do serve there should not lose out on any monetary incentives, and should be rewarded in their future assignments and promotions. I posit that service in Iraq or any other dangerous place is a condition of service. By becoming members of the Foreign Service, employees accept the fundamental premise for its creation, which is to serve their country wherever the department says their service is needed.

There is little certain in this world, other than death and taxes — and the need for a dedicated and professional Foreign Service to help our leaders conduct foreign relations in an increasingly dangerous and uncertain world. For that reason, if no other, we are indeed exceptional — and proud to be so. ■

Louise K. Crane is AFSA vice president for State.



LETTERS

A Life Devoted to Public Service

Bob Schaetzel died last November. I lost a friend. Our country lost a classic public servant. Bob left quietly, as if to say that he'd had his time here, and it was time to move on. That, too, was Bob Schaetzel. He did not seek the limelight.

Yet he deserved it. I did not know Bob in his years on active duty in government, going back to the time of Dean Acheson, who was his personal friend. Those years peaked when he served as deputy assistant secretary of State and as ambassador to the European Community in Brussels, with his wife Imogen constantly at his side. Throughout his life, the E.U. and America's relationship with it was one of Bob's personal passions. He believed deeply that there were few things that mattered more for our country — and for Europe, as well — than working to deepen that relationship. He took personal pride in seeing that process go forward, though he worried in recent years that we were not giving it the priority it needed.

I knew Bob best beginning in the mid-1980s, after his retirement, when he took on another personal commitment — working to strengthen the public service of government. In 1986 he sensed a "quiet crisis" in the federal public service, and was a prime mover at the Brookings Institution to cope with it. The following year he became the board chairman of the privately funded National Commission on the Public Service, and persuaded someone who shared that concern — Paul Volcker, retiring from the Federal Reserve — to become its head. Three years later, as planned, that commission published its findings in "Leadership for America: Rebuilding the Public Service."

That report still stands tall today. It is cited by all concerned as one of the best and most eloquent analyses of that "quiet crisis" in the ranks of government service and what needs to be done about it — no less pertinent today than when Bob, Paul Volcker and their 34 partners presented it to the earlier President George Bush. Not all of its recommendations have become reality — sufficient reason for Volcker to pick up the reins again in 2002 and complete a second "Volcker Commission on the Public Service" report, published in early 2003.

Bob was not a front player in recent years, but his concern for the quality of the public service in government remained his constant passion. I'm sure if he had been asked in recent years what he enjoyed most and felt most proud of in his own time in government, he would have cited the first "Volcker Commission" report and his leadership in getting it launched. Skeptical by nature and often impatient, he would be the first to concede that it has fallen short in its accomplishments, knowing better than most how difficult change in government can be. But surely he knew as well that he had left a legacy of studies and recommendations that will remain a continuing stimulus for positive change.

L. Bruce Laingen
Ambassador, retired
Washington, D.C.

Welcome Home

In recent years AFSA has raised to State management the concern of many retirees about restrictions on their ability to access essential department services at the Truman Building. The message must have been heard. My recent experience, as a first-time user of the retiree badge, could not have been more positive and no doubt reflects the commitment of Secretary Powell and his team to honor those who have rendered service to the department. It also reflects AFSA's successful efforts on behalf of its retiree constituents.

Instead of walking up to the usually congested information desk, I proceeded to a separate nearby desk. When I showed my department retiree badge, the attendant pleasantly asked for a secondary ID and promptly proceeded to give me a bright yellow badge. She assured me that with it I could go unescorted around the building except for the secure areas. That was easy enough. Next, as I got in line to walk

through the metal detector, the guard made it as painless as possible. At the other side of the barrier yet another guard said: "Welcome home, sir. I'm sure it feels good to be back." That gesture, along with the courteous behavior of his other colleagues at the C Street lobby, gave me a good feeling about the institution and its people, and it reinforced my sense of "belonging." These individuals, along with State management, deserve our kudos.

Frank Almaguer
Ambassador, retired
Vienna, Va.

Thanks from a Tourist in Paris

I want to express my thanks for the care I received from employees of the U.S. embassy in Paris before, during, and after being hospitalized while vacationing there. The work of these dedicated employees goes relatively unrecognized back home. Few citizens understand what they do. As a thankful beneficiary of their fine care, I'm compelled to share my story, the story of an American tourist.

It happened several years ago, but is still fresh in my memory. A speeding car that failed to stop at the traffic signal hit me. Following emergency surgery for a badly broken shin, facial stitches, and a morphine drip for painfully bruised ribs and a torn rotator cuff, I regained weary consciousness. The hospital became "home" for the next eight nights, and there my relationship with our Foreign Service began.

Someone, perhaps from the hospital, immediately alerted Embassy Paris of my situation. Upon my second awakening, a kind and knowledgeable man named Tom was at my bedside. (Earlier another embassy representative had dropped by while I was semi-conscious,

before assigning someone to me.) Tom became completely abreast of the situation, arranged for the French to take proper care of me, and called my folks in Georgia. In a word, he was wonderful. Furthermore, he contacted the hotel and prompted them to watch over my stored luggage, thus helping to alleviate some worries. Beyond the call of duty, Tom visited regularly, lifting my spirits.

On most days, another staffer telephoned to provide updates on negotiations she conducted with the French government and the hospital over the incident. Karen was caring and attentive, exactly what a young man needs in a foreign land under those dreadful circumstances. Not speaking French, I was like a helpless dog at the vet. The embassy even explained the operations performed on me, after consulting with the surgeons.

After eight memorable days, I was allowed to leave the hospital. An uncle in the U.S. worked out a return flight, if only I could reach the airport. Voila! Along came Tom again. I was wheelchair-bound, and he pushed me and some bags through the hallways, negotiated with the hospital bureaucrats, and got me into a taxi with him. After securing my luggage at the hotel, Tom directed the driver to a special section of Charles de Gaulle Airport. He wheeled me inside, made some contacts, and then whisked me through special security and onto the plane, well ahead of time. He even explained the circumstances to the flight attendants so I'd be given special care.

A day after I got home, Karen again called to see about me. She and Tom were also gathering all the necessary paperwork I'd need to settle things with the French, and I received it promptly.

The moral of this entire episode is twofold and simple. First, employ-

ees of our Foreign Service are scattered abroad, always ready, willing and able to help when we need them. Second, if you must be run over by a car, try and do so in Paris! God bless our Foreign Service employees for a job well done.

Jimmy Hall
Douglasville, Ga.

We Are Not Princeton

I would like to correct a statement in your February 2004 issue. In the article "George Kennan: A Witness to History," William Lewis writes that "… Kennan departed Washington to take up an offer by an old friend and confidante, Robert Oppenheimer, to join Princeton's Institute for Advanced Study, the university's set-aside research center. …" Professor Kennan, a graduate of Princeton, is indeed an emeritus professor at the Institute for Advanced Study. However, the institute is not a "set-aside" or in any way part of Princeton University.

The Institute for Advanced Study is an independent, private institution whose mission is to support advanced scholarship and fundamental research in historical studies, mathematics, natural sciences and social science. We just happen to be located in the same town as that great institution, Princeton University. Perhaps because many of our professors teach at Princeton University (pro bono) and because we rented space from the university during the first nine years of our existence, the confusion persists. Although we have the highest regard for Princeton University, we are, as you might imagine, somewhat protective of our independence.

Allen I. Rowe
Associate Director and Treasurer
Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, N.J. ■

CYBERNOTES

Media Flunks Accountability Test on WMD

Events of the past two years point up the public's need to understand weapons of mass destruction and the role they play in both the formulation and justification of U.S. security policy. The public, understandably, relies on the media to keep it informed. But a study released March 9 by the University of Maryland's Center for International and Security Studies, "Media Coverage of Weapons of Mass Destruction," finds the media wanting.

Susan D. Moeller of the University of Maryland's Philip Merrill College of Journalism examined articles and transcripts from a range of "agenda-setting" print and radio news outlets in the U.S. and U.K. The study was focused on three three-week periods in 1998, 2002 and 2003 when major WMD stories broke: India's nuclear weapons tests in May 1998, the U.S. announcement of evidence of a North Korean nuclear weapons program in October 2002, and revelations about Iran's nuclear program in May 2003.

Most media outlets, the study found, represented WMD as a monolithic menace, failing to distinguish between weapons programs and actual weapons or to address the differences among chemical, biological, nuclear and radiological weapons.

Also, the media tended to conflate WMD and the phenomenon of terrorism. Further, the media provided little critical examination of the way officials framed events, issues, threats and policy options, and offered little coverage of alternatives beyond "pre-emptive war" and "regime change."

Differences in American and British coverage of WMD issues are documented as well. For instance, the British press gave greater attention to the ramifications of U.S. policy for other nations and to the work of international agencies such as the United Nations and the International Atomic Energy Agency. "These distinctions may reflect split loyalties in the U.K. between European and U.S. allies and

50 Years Ago...

The operation of any one of the largest Foreign Service posts costs the American taxpayer less than equipping and running a good anti-aircraft battery, and the cost of the entire Foreign Service abroad is certainly less than that of one combat division. Who can honestly say that this is a disproportionate cost for our "first line of defense"?

— Leon B. Poullada, FSO, in "Economy … True and False," *FSJ*, May 1954.

Site of the Month: FactCheck.org

http://www.factcheck.org/default.aspx

With the candidates all but designated and the presidential campaign off and running, a Web site like this one can be a real help. FactCheck.org, launched in December 2003, is a nonpartisan, nonprofit "consumer advocate" for voters that aims to reduce the level of deception and confusion in U.S. politics. "We'll focus initially on the 2004 presidential campaign, and post articles whenever we can document a statement that is false, misleading, incomplete or out of context," the site's authors say in their inaugural announcement.

Besides the individual reports, occasional articles look at the factual accuracy of the impressions candidates are trying to create. You can register to receive both by e-mail, and are encouraged to let FactCheck know if you think it has made a factual error.

Director Brooks Jackson, an author and journalist who covered Washington and national politics for 32 years with, successively, the Associated Press, the *Wall Street Journal* and CNN. At CNN Jackson pioneered the "adwatch" and "factcheck" form of stories debunking false and misleading political statements starting with the presidential election of 1992.

The Annenberg Political FactCheck is a project of the Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania. Judgments expressed on the site are those of the staff, not the Annenberg Center.

CYBERNOTES

press conventions that favor sharper questioning of official policy," states Moeller.

A summary version as well as the complete study, including the methodology used, detailed results and a set of recommendations for improving WMD coverage, are available online at **http://www.cissm.umd.edu/**.

Nation-Building: No More Reinventing the Wheel?

The State Department and USAID will add nation-building to their core missions if twin bills introduced in the House and Senate in late February are signed into law.

S.2127, the "Stabilization and Reconstruction Civilian Management Act of 2004," was sponsored by Sen. Lugar, R-Ind., Sen. Joe Biden, D-Del., and Sen. Chuck Hagel, R-Neb. The bill urges the president to create a Stabilization and Reconstruction Coordinating Committee to be chaired by the national security adviser. It also authorizes the development of an expert civilian response capability to carry out stabilization and reconstruction activities in a country or region that is in, or is in transition from, conflict or civil strife (see the bill summary at **http://thomas.loc.gov/**).

The legislation would have the Secretary of State establish an Office of International Stabilization and Reconstruction, a Response Readiness Corps of up to 250 personnel and a Response Readiness Reserve to augment the corps.

Finally, the Secretary of State, along with the Secretary of Defense and Secretary of the Army, is to establish a stabilization and reconstruction curriculum for use at FSI, the National Defense University and the U.S. Army War College.

An identical bill, H.R.3996, was introduced in the House of Representatives by Rep. Adam Schiff, D-Calif., and six co-sponsors.

"Over the past decade, the U.S. has made major investments in the combat efficiency of its forces," Ambassador James Dobbins, director of the RAND International Security and Defense Policy Center, testified at a March 3 hearing on the legislation (**http://foreign.senate.gov/hearings/2004/hrg040303a.html**). "There has been no comparable increase in the capacity of U.S. armed forces or of U.S. civilian agencies to conduct post combat stabilization and reconstruction operations. … Each time we have sent out new people to face old problems, and seen them make old mistakes."

"The facts speak for themselves: in nearly every operation from Somalia to Iraq, a lack of rapidly deployable civilian capabilities has left military forces performing tasks for which they do not have a comparative advantage and has extended the duration of their deployments," Dr. John J. Hamre, president and CEO of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, testified. CSIS set up a "Post-Conflict Reconstruction Project" in 2001 and in collaboration with the Association of the U.S. Army issued a report, "Play to Win," in January 2003 (**http://www.csis.org/isp/pcr/playtowin.pdf**).

Recently, the PCR Project led a team of experts to Iraq to perform the first independent assessment of reconstruction efforts there. The report, "Iraq's Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Field Review and Recommendations," is available at **http://www.csis.org/isp/pcr/IraqTrip.pdf**.

What Lies Ahead for Saudi Arabia?

Though world attention has for months been riveted on Iraq, as the occupation comes to an end there, the focus is bound to turn to questions of democratic reform in the broader Middle East. Saudi Arabia, arguably one of the most important and delicate pieces of the puzzle, is likely to come under increasing scrutiny.

Happily, there is plenty of material available on the Internet on developments in Saudi Arabia and issues in the U.S. relationship with this pivotal nation. The most up-to-date and prolific resource is the Web site of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (**www.csis.org**). In a comprehensive report titled "Saudi Arabia Enters the 21st Century," Anthony H. Cordesman examines "all of the major factors affecting Saudi Arabia's strategic, political, economic and military position and future implications of current trends" (**http://csis.org/burke/saudi21/index.htm**). The report has also been published in book form.

In December, Cordesman, the Arleigh S. Burke Chair in Strategy at CSIS, and three colleagues visited Saudi Arabia. The transcript of a public session Jan. 30, in which they shared their observations, makes for interesting reading (**http://csis.org/mideast/saudiforum.pdf**). Subsquent policy papers such as "The Prospects for Stability in Saudi Arabia in 2004" (Feb. 19, 2004) and "Ten

We need to remind ourselves and our partners of the message carried on the Great Seal of our Republic. … As President Harry Truman insisted at the end of World War II, the eagle will always face the olive branch to show that the United States will always seek peace. But the eagle will forever hold on to the arrows to show that, to be effective in seeking peace, you must have strength and the willingness to use it.

— George P. Shultz, from "A Changed World," a lecture he delivered at the Library of Congress, Feb. 11, **www.fpri.org**

Reasons for Reforging U.S. and Saudi Relations" (Jan. 30, 2004) — both on the Web site — are timely and thought-provoking.

For more background, the Council on Foreign Relations provides an introductory approach to U.S.-Saudi relations. "Saudi Arabia: Withdrawal of U.S. Forces," structured in a Q&A format, discusses the history of the U.S.-Saudi relationship (**http://www.cfr.org/background/saudiarabia_usforces.php**). In a report prepared for the Independent Task Force on America's Response to Terrorism, "Strengthening the U.S.-Saudi Relationship," the CFR offers recommendations to bolster U.S.-Saudi ties in areas such as oil security and the Arab-Israeli crisis (**http://www.cfr.org/pub4604//strengthening_the_ussaudi_relationship.php**).

In addition to these academic publications, information regarding U.S.-Saudi relations is available at the Saudi-American Forum (**www.saudi-american-forum.org**), the Saudi-U.S. Relations Information Service (**www.saudi-us-relations.org**) and the U.S.-Saudi Arabian Business council (**www.us-saudi-business.org**). These Web sites are geared toward examining and reporting the most recent significant developments.

The casual observer interested in a concise summary of Saudi history and current policies can also visit the Saudi Arabia Country Analysis Brief at the Energy Information Administration (**http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/saudi.html**), the CIA World Factbook (**http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/sa.html**) or the State Department's Background Note on Saudi Arabia (**http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3584.htm**). ■

SPEAKING OUT

Saddam Hussein's Trial: Due Process or Victor's Justice?

BY JASON D. SÖDERBLOM

By the time this issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* appears, six months will have passed since the capture of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein. After the initial flurry of celebration, he has virtually disappeared from the scene while undergoing interrogation by American military and intelligence officials. But how and where his trial is eventually conducted will largely determine whether world opinion views the verdict as legitimate — and will influence how history judges the U.S. role in Iraq.

All that is certain at this writing is that Saddam Hussein will eventually stand trial before a special Iraqi tribunal, as President Bush has already pledged, and that Iraqis will decide his fate. The core charges will probably include the big three: war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. Other former members of the Iraqi Ba'th government and others accused of crimes against humanity and genocide will also be tried in the Iraqi Special Tribunal.

On the surface, this would seem to be an emotionally satisfying method of proceeding. After all, the crimes took place in Iraq, so why not hold the trial there? Certainly the victims of Saddam's crimes deserve to see justice done and have it seen to be done.

But a local trial is not the best way to accomplish those twin goals, for the following reasons.

A Question of Legitimacy

First and foremost, any court convened and backed by an occupying army will be seen as meting out victor's justice — an expression of power politics, not the rule of law.

> *The Iraqi Special Tribunal does not meet Washington's stated objective of conducting a process that "withstands international scrutiny" — at least as presently constituted.*

Large swaths of the Arab and Muslim worlds are already predisposed to view the tribunal as illegitimate precisely because the U.S. backs it, no matter how many procedural safeguards are built into the process. (Coincidentally or not, the court's formation was announced by the Iraqi Governing Council just a week before Saddam's capture.)

This is even more true because the Bush administration has shown little interest in conducting fair trials in other contexts. For example, the breach of international humanitarian and human rights law (e.g., the U.N. Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the Third Geneva Convention dealing with prisoners of war — both ratified by the U.S.) at Guantánamo Bay is manifest.

This impression is further reinforced by the tribunal's narrow scope of jurisdiction. Most nations' criminal courts can prosecute all crimes committed in their territories, whatever the nationality of the perpetrator; indeed, that is one of the manifestations of sovereignty. The Iraqi Special Tribunal, however, can only prosecute Iraqi nationals and residents. The scope of its territorial jurisdiction has been manipulated to ensure that American citizens cannot be tried for their possible role in aiding and abetting the regime's human rights violations.

This restriction undercuts the Bush administration's stated desire for a complete and uncensored record of Iraqi atrocities and Saddam Hussein's role in them. It will therefore be seen as a way for Washington to avoid inconvenient questions about its long-standing ties to the former regime.

A "fair trial" requires the telling of the whole story. Iraqi history deserves a complete record of events, the most accurate narrative that can be unearthed. If that means giving Saddam a forum to publicly adduce evidence of his previous liaisons with U.S. governments (particularly during the 1980s, when he began acquiring and using biological and chemical weapons with Washington's acquiescence, if not aid), then so be it. Establishing good governance and an effective judiciary requires that Iraq start its post-Saddam era with a clean slate.

The statute establishing the Iraqi Special Tribunal is void of any serious attempt to ensure impartiality. It will effectively impose a blanket disquali-

fication on all judges who were members of Saddam's Ba'th party. To be sure, many of the Ba'thist judges should indeed be disqualified. Yet some who went on to become judicial officers joined the party not as partisans but because it was the only road to professional advancement in a one-party state. Doug Cassel, the Director of the Center for International Human Rights of Northwestern University School of Law, describes the dilemma clearly. "Once all Ba'th judges are disqualified, who will be left? Mostly judges who were victims of Saddam's regime. They or their family members were imprisoned, tortured or forced into exile by Saddam. No credible legal system allows victims to sit as judges in the trial of the alleged perpetrators."

Perhaps most troubling of all, the tribunal does not require that defendants' guilt be proven beyond a reasonable doubt, contrary to the legal standard employed in the U.S. and in most developed countries. Its standards of criminal responsibility make superiors responsible for crimes by their subordinates, and also allows soldiers to be convicted simply for following orders. International law since the Nuremberg trials has not allowed a defence of "just following superiors' orders," although it may mitigate a prison sentence. The problem is the manifest double standard employed by the U.S. Washington does not apply these same standards to its own military, so why impose them upon Iraqis?

"Rule of Law" vs. "Rule by Force"

For all these reasons, the Iraqi Special Tribunal does not meet Washington's stated objective of conducting a process that "withstands international scrutiny" — at least as presently constituted.

An alternative course would be to move the trials to an international forum, such as the International Criminal Court, as the U.N. Security Council has the authority to do. However, even if the U.S. did not veto such an initiative, the ICC only has jurisdiction over crimes committed after the court came into existence (July 1, 2002). Thus, it could not try Saddam and other defendants for some of their most notorious crimes, including the use of chemical weapons on Iraqi Kurds in 1988.

The victims of Saddam Hussein's crimes deserve to see justice done and have it seen to be done.

The Bush administration has now irrevocably committed to submit Saddam to the Iraqi Special Tribunal for trial. Fortunately, there is still time for Iraqi officials to take advantage of the safeguards already built into the tribunal's operating procedures to strengthen both the reality and perception of due process. For example, the statute creating the tribunal explicitly permits the appointment of non-Iraqi judicial officers per Article 4(d) of the Statute of the Iraqi Special Tribunal, and also provides for the court to have international advisers and monitors present during trials (though they cannot participate in the proceedings themselves). Such appointments would assist in the perception of a fair trial. But, it is unfortunate, to say the least, that international judges are not permitted to act in an investigative capacity.

Iraq should consider taking additional steps to enhance transparency. The best outcome would be the adoption of a hybrid court of Iraqi judges and international judges such as that used in the Special Court for Sierra Leone. This might provide an outcome that satisfies the international community, including Iranians and Iraqis. Such a court would need to have retroactive powers, however, as does the Special Court for Sierra Leone.

Unfortunately, it seems clear that the Sierra Leone model will not be followed in Iraq. But at a minimum, the Iraqi Governing Council could appoint both Iraqi and international judges to the Trial Chamber and the Appeals Chamber, at the discretion of the Governing Council. Such a set-up — a sort of "quasi-hybrid" tribunal — could strike a balance between reviving Iraq's judicial system and ensuring compliance with rule of law standards. On the one hand, the tribunal would serve a rehabilitative role by involving Iraqi judges. On the other, the active participation of respected international judges would provide the crucial perception and legitimizing fabric of fairness and impartiality. It would also convincingly acknowledge that not all of Saddam's victims were Iraqi.

The Quasi-Hybrid Tribunal as an Antiterrorism Initiative

The vision for a strong rule of law in Iraq is further motivated by the United States and its coalition partners' search for security. We have witnessed many violent counterterrorism initiatives aimed at aggressively responding to global terrorism and other legal belligerence. Yet there is a noticeable absence of the coalition of the willing nations to engage in coherent antiterrorism strategies. Such strategies are ultimately aimed at preventing belligerence before it occurs. For at the core of antiterrorism is a uniform adherence to the notion of rule of law and all that it entails.

Any court convened and backed by an occupying army will be seen as meting out victor's justice.

We must understand that as Iraqis awaken from the nightmare that was Saddam Hussein, global leadership through the rule of law is more important than ever. To promote a contrived trial of Saddam and other Ba'th Party members will set a dangerously low standard for future Iraqi governments. We must be wary of reinventing Iraqi cronyism in whatever guise, however convenient it may be simply to go through the motions of a trial to dispose of Hussein and his henchmen. Democracy deserves better.

The U.S. and the Iraqi Governing Council must therefore respond to Saddam's "rule by force" governance by demonstrating their commitment to the "rule of law." Any court that seeks to prosecute Saddam must be convened upon legitimate authority. It must be independent and impartial, and it must afford due process of law. Anything less will not only violate international law, but will undermine efforts to revive respect for the rule of law in Iraq. ■

Jason D. Söderblom is an analyst with the Terrorism Intelligence Centre in Canberra, Australia. He writes about risk analysis in relation to suicide bioterrorism, the rule of law, and the application of the laws of war. The views expressed here are not necessarily those of the Terrorism Intelligence Centre.

AFRICA CAN MAKE IT — AND HOW WE SHOULD HELP

David Dean

AMIDST THE DAILY DRUMBEAT OF DIRE NEWS FROM AFRICA, THERE ARE ALSO ENCOURAGING TRENDS. THE U.S. CAN AND SHOULD HELP FOSTER PROGRESS; HERE'S HOW.

BY TIBOR NAGY

The land of the "Horsemen of the Apocalypse" was how we described Ethiopia when briefing visitors during my last posting there (1999-2002). And regrettably, those of us who have spent time on the continent know that the term can apply to wide swaths of Africa. That's the bad news. The good news is that in those same briefings, we would also point out that beyond the grim reality of war, pestilence (HIV/AIDS) and hunger, there are, finally, encouraging trends: increasing availability of basic health services, growing school attendance (especially for girls), and, perhaps most importantly for the longer term, the government's genuine interest in fighting corruption and

decentralizing power. All these characteristics can be applied to more and more African states.

It was also in Ethiopia that I experienced one of the most encouraging moments of my 25-year career in Africa. Shortly before concluding my tour as ambassador, I accompanied then-Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill and well-known entertainer (and humanitarian) Bono to meet the Ethiopian leadership. During our very frank and lively discussion, Prime Minister Meles Zenawi forcefully advocated some of the same themes that have for years been such a hard sell for the U.S. government in Africa: the importance of the private sector in promoting economic progress; the necessity for a government to be accountable to its own people; the idea that food security does not necessarily come from food self-sufficiency, but from people having money to buy food; and, that the effectiveness of development funding must be evaluated constantly by results-based outcomes. Listening to the prime minister, I reflected on how starkly his views contrasted with so much of what I'd heard from Africans during most of my tenure there, going back to the late 1970s.

Western donors have come to the realization that for Africa to truly develop, economic and political liberalization have to move in tandem.

A Brief Retrospective

Until about 1990, representing official U.S. government positions in Africa was anything but fun. African "progressives" bitterly criticized us for pursuing "imperialist" or unwise policies — such as "constructive engagement" with apartheid South Africa. In addition, we maintained cozy and cordial relations with a number of unsavory leaders (some in power, some trying to fight their way in) because of their willingness, real or perceived, to stymie communism or provide stability in areas we considered geopolitically important. Aside from egregious human rights violations (which I believe most embassies did try to faithfully record in the annual reports), a leader's commitment to democracy, or bettering the state of his own people (and it was always a "he") were not key concerns for the U.S.; overcoming the threat posed by the Soviet Union was. I remember discussing a 1990 election in Togo with a journalist who questioned how the outcome — 99-plus percent for President Gnassingbe Eyadema — could have any democratic aspects; clearly it didn't, but I couldn't say that on the record.

It was certainly not U.S. policy to promote Africa's suffering, or even to acquiesce in it. It just happened that we overlooked the deepening misery there while concentrating on defeating communism. Helping the continent develop was very much an auxiliary activity to this primary objective — and our generosity was limited to our "pro-West" partners. Development aid was haphazard and ad hoc, with few long-term objectives and no systematic approach — the term "sustainable development" had not yet been invented. That there were successes is largely a credit to individual USAID mission directors and program officers dedicated to overcoming a culture that (in my view, at least) was focused on process, not outcomes, and tied up in a Gordian knot of congressional restrictions.

Our allies' approaches to continental development were just as limited, and even more self-serving; i.e., France's impetus to maintain hegemony throughout Francophone Africa, and Britain's efforts to protect business interests in Anglophone states. Even Japan, which had no cultural or historical ties to Africa, pursued a proactive policy to supplant other nations' products with its own. For example, in 1990 I attended a ceremony in Togo celebrating the "gift" of hundreds of Japanese trucks; as the French defense attaché remarked to me during the festivities, "guess where all the spares and replacement trucks will be purchased!"

To be fair, when we did become aware of cataclysmic events — like the 1984 Ethiopian famine — we reacted immediately and generously, even if the country was one of the most hostile to us. When asked why we should help Marxist Ethiopia, President Ronald Reagan replied that "a hungry child knows no politics." I recall a deeply

---

Ambassador Tibor Nagy's 25-year Foreign Service career (1978-2003) included tours as ambassador to Ethiopia and Guinea, and as DCM in the Seychelles, Togo, Cameroon and Nigeria. He is currently Associate Vice Provost for International Affairs at Texas Tech University in Lubbock, Texas.

shocked USAID Administrator Peter McPherson, just back from his first visit to the feeding camps, insisting that the U.S. would act immediately and massively to ease the suffering.

In the early 1990s we missed a good chance to help speed Africa's political and economic progress. Instead of formulating a new development strategy after the Soviet Union's demise, we found it more expedient to simply reduce — or eliminate — assistance levels in those countries whose dictators' political support was no longer needed. Togolese President Gnassingbe Eyadema, for example, must still ask himself why he went from being America's "friend" to a target of criticism in a matter of months. And it was easy to criticize African dictators because there was no geopolitical risk to the U.S. I recall a discussion I had with the Reverend Jesse Jackson in Cameroon in 1993, when he asked why the U.S. was so quick to condemn African states' undemocratic practices while tolerating similar behavior from certain Arab states; there was no easy response.

The Clinton administration can claim one of the major historic achievements in U.S.-Africa relations.

In addition to sanctioning former allies for authoritarian practices, there was the open question of how much democracy we should expect in Africa. A lively debate on this topic had ensued in 1990 among U.S. diplomats in the field and within the department, and continued to some extent throughout much of the decade. Several pioneering ambassadors recognized how important political liberalization was to the overall development process and went beyond Washington's mandate of pushing democratization, usually in the face of active hostility from their host country governments. For example, in the early 1990s Ambassador Frances Cook became anathema to the Cameroonian regime, even as her popularity soared among ordinary citizens, because she publicly challenged President Paul Biya's autocratic practices. As the decade progressed, Washington eventually caught up with the field in democratic fervor. By the mid-1990s, when U.S. Ambassador to Nigeria Walter Carrington was confronting the brutal and corrupt Abacha regime, he did so with Washington's enthusiastic support. Other Western donors had also evolved toward the view that for Africa to truly develop, economic and political liberalization would have to move in tandem.

Now, the only missing ingredient was the African leadership itself, a fact that African human rights and community activists, intellectuals, and oppositionists had long understood. An opportunity arrived with the emergence of a "new generation" of African heads of state — such as Alpha Konare (Mali), Meles Zenawi (Ethiopia) and Isaias Afworki (Eritrea) — leaders President Bill Clinton was quick to acknowledge as the vanguard for a "new" Africa. Unfortunately, the early promise never materialized, as a series of new disasters — the Rwandan genocide, the Ethio-Eritrean War, chaos in Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo), and the deepening HIV/AIDS pandemic — joined those still ongoing, such as the wars in Sudan, Somalia and the Mano River states. Despite the setbacks, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Susan Rice and National Security Council Africa Director Gayle Smith persisted, to the end of their tenures, in trying to resolve the crises and advancing Africa's interests. Consequently, the Clinton administration can claim one of the major historic achievements in U.S.-Africa relations: passage — over significant domestic opposition — of the African Growth and Opportunity Act in 2000.

Current Policy

The arrival of the Bush administration three years ago worried many Africans, who assumed that they, and their problems, would now largely be forgotten by the U.S. These initial concerns, however, were mitigated as President Bush, Secretary Colin Powell, and Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Walter Kansteiner all made clear that the administration would remain active vis-à-vis Africa. In addition, President Bush's team forcefully advanced part of the Clinton agenda (such as enthusiastically supporting AGOA and advocating increased resources to fight HIV/AIDS). Assistant Secretary Kansteiner's strong belief that Africa must strengthen its private sector and market-oriented mechanisms to truly develop was a timely complement to the continuing focus on political liberalization. This term has also evolved over the years from an initial focus on replacing long-term incumbents through "free and fair" elections to encompassing the full range of "governance" issues: e.g., corruption, judicial and civil service reform, political decentralization, telecom and Internet liberalization, etc. And

USAID's emerging strategy of favoring results-based projects and expanding corporate and other private sector partnerships complemented the State approach.

Concurrently, Africans were moving in the same direction, with a small group of leaders proposing a mechanism (which evolved into the New Partnership for Africa's Development) introducing a novel concept: African states which did not practice democracy and market-oriented economics should not benefit from the development assistance that NEPAD hoped to generate. The jury is still out as to whether or not this approach will go anywhere, but NEPAD — if correctly implemented — would be a good fit with the Bush administration's "Millennium Challenge" proposal. For once, the United States, other major bilateral and multilateral donors, and the African states themselves, while perhaps not marching to the same tune, are finally walking in the same direction.

What Next?

For the short term at least, Africa will remain vulnerable to unexpected disasters, but I am more optimistic now about the continent's future than at any time since I started my long association. Below are some trends, along with my informal report card and some suggestions on how the U.S. can help assure a positive outcome in each case:

• **Conflicts**. (Significant Improvement) One by one, Africa's major conflicts have been ending. As I write this, it appears that the Sudan may soon achieve peace, and there are even hopes for Somalia. African states are more willing to be active in resolving their own conflicts — from serving as troop contributors, to considering pre-emptive scenarios if potential disasters appear. I believe this trend will accelerate, but needs external support.

U.S. policy response. One of my greatest frustrations came when I was ambassador to Guinea and experienced first-hand the devastation wrought by a regional conflict (Sierra Leone in this case). Washington was reluctant to commit relatively few resources early (to stop the crisis before it fully developed), forcing it to provide signifi-

WHY SPEND YOUR CAREER IN AFRICA?

Over the past 25 years I've been asked that question by family, friends and colleagues — all wondering whether I was risking my family's well-being or just my career by limiting my postings to one continent. With the wisdom of hindsight, I know I made the right choice on both counts, and I urge those who haven't been to Africa to give it a try. Following are some reasons.

Making a Difference. Many join the Foreign Service to do work that really matters in the greater scheme of things. Africa is one of the few places left where one has a sense of being in physical contact with history. A tour at most posts there will entail "quality of life" hardships and gut-wrenching issues — political violence, famine, HIV/AIDS and others. But there is also the opportunity to make a difference. It can be at the community level — like improving the day-to-day lives of people struggling to obtain the basic necessities of life — or at the national level, such as persuading a government to serve its own people's welfare. And there are opportunities to save lives when crises hit, such as speeding relief supplies to famine victims, or helping to end disastrous conflicts.

Professional Growth. Embassy hierarchies in Africa are less rigid, so almost everyone interacts with senior management, and the embassy's "substantive" work is open to all. When I was ambassador in Guinea a few years ago, one of our junior officers went on to a much larger embassy in Europe. There he never lacked for electricity or opera, but felt a great loss, which can be explained by this 1998 account of our work in Conakry: "The Sierra Leone coup had just taken place and our post volunteered to take several thousand refugees who had been plucked out of Freetown by the *USS Kearsarge*. We had set up control rooms, established an airport operations center, and everyone was exhausted, having just completed processing the first large wave brought to Conakry by helicopters. We left a skeleton crew at the airport and headed out. I was almost home when I heard over the car radio that our airport crew was overwhelmed with unexpected new arrivals and they were calling for volunteers to come help. Almost immediately about a dozen of our folks — employees, contractors, spouses, private American citizens — most having just finished some other rotation, came on the radio offering to go immediately to the airport. At that instant I had a lump in my throat the size of a bowling ball, overcome with the realization that our mission was much more than a group of people who simply did great work, or even worked great together. We were a community that cared deeply about each other, ready to be mutually supportive to the point of exhaustion."

A Sense of Community. I've served at missions in Africa ranging from miniscule (five Americans in Seychelles) to large (hundreds in Nigeria) and found one commonality: a strong sense of community with a degree of caring for colleagues unmatched anywhere. When bad things happen — whether death, illness, divorce or children's school problems — the community is galvanized to help ease the pain and provide healing. I've attended community memorial services for those who died, and been called out at night to give blood for the injured. Invariably, family members who come in response to such events express amazement and gratitude at the level of community support for whatever happened. Because of the inherent difficulties of life and work, one's family status, sexual orientation or personal eccentricities matter much less than how much one is willing to contribute to the overall effort. Community trick-or-treating, Thanksgiving programs, Easter egg hunts, July 4th picnics and CLO trips are common. And speaking of Thanksgiving, I can't recall a single post where management didn't discreetly make sure that everyone was invited somewhere. My most memorable sense of community, though, was when our triplets were born in Harare — then the closest acceptable hospital to Zambia, where I was stationed. Colleagues at both missions went to extraordinary lengths to support us — including volunteering to spell us periodically during the days and nights of unending baby care.

Riches Amongst Poverty. Africa isn't the world's wallet — but it's definitely its heart. While it suffers from poverty, instability and occasional disaster, Africa is also boundless in its capacity for friendship, personal warmth and joy for life. Lagos may have the worst traffic in the world — a city of 10 million without a single working traffic light or stop sign — yet one feels much more hostility driving in D.C. among people who think the world will end if they miss the next stoplight. Traffic maneuvers which would bring apoplexy or curses in American cities usually draw smiles and waves. (Nigeria recently finished first among 65 nations for its degree of "happiness.") When I was in the Seychelles, the head of medical services told me that about the only people who suffer heart attacks there are tourists. A diet of rice and fish, fresh fruits and vegetables, a laissez-faire lifestyle and exercise in the course of living life (not in the gym) work wonders.

Despite having some of the worst roads in the world, my family and I have driven about 40,000 miles around much of the continent. Aside from experiencing some of the most spectacular scenery anywhere, those drives provided unfor-

gettable experiences and blessed our family. Shortly after the 9/11 attacks I visited an especially remote area in Ethiopia along the Eritrean border, which had suffered tremendously from the recent war between the two countries: most structures destroyed, livestock killed, wells poisoned, croplands turned into minefields, and people forced to live in caves during the conflict. (We had decided to focus USAID rehabilitation funds in this small area and rebuild much of the infrastructure, so I wanted to see progress first-hand.) When I arrived in the main village to cut the ribbon for the start of rebuilding, the local people asked to give me a very important message through an elder. I was expecting a shopping list of further needs; instead, the representative said the villagers wanted me to tell President Bush how sorry they were over what had happened in New York, and that they — the people of Irob — were praying for our country and were willing to help any way they could to fight terrorism. It was difficult for me to respond to these unselfish people who had suffered about as much as anyone could, but were concerned with easing America's pain. With such experiences, the hassles of daily life in the "developed" world are of little importance.

Career Advancement. If the above hasn't tweaked an interest in Africa, consider job rewards. Having served on promotion panels, I can confirm that working in Africa is career-enhancing. Across pay grades and professions, the major issue for panels is to separate those who genuinely stand out from the majority who perform capably. Africa can be advantageous on two counts: panels reward those who work well under exceptionally difficult circumstances, and those performing far above their grade. For example, being a General Services Officer will always be exponentially more challenging in Djibouti than Geneva. Furthermore, jobs in Africa usually entail greater responsibilities at lower-grade levels, making the description of the work and accomplishments stand out from other evaluation reports. Another career advantage in Africa is the large number of Deputy Chief of Mission positions, many at relatively junior levels. The Africa Bureau has historically shown great loyalty to its hardest-working employees by supporting them for these jobs, regardless of professional career track.

I will forever be glad that when the list of available assignments was handed out during junior officer training, I opted for Lusaka over London. I stayed in Africa throughout my 25-year career (with just one assignment back in Washington). And I can't imagine having had a better time for the past quarter-century.

— *Tibor Nagy*

cantly more funds later, to help reconstruct the shattered infrastructure and rehabilitate the traumatized population. There is definitely a sense among many Africans that the U.S. values African lives less than just about anyone else's, and no rhetoric to the contrary will change this outlook as much as action. We need to get over our historic reluctance to respond quickly and proactively to African crises (and I don't mean just issuing carefully worded official statements employing words such as "intolerable" and "unacceptable"). I would venture that beyond the humanitarian considerations, a post-action analysis would show that the opportunity cost of acting immediately would have been much less than what the U.S. government ended up paying in dollars and loss of continental goodwill.

• **Democratization**. (Significant Improvement) Despite tremendous cynicism about the continent's political prospects, I believe internal and external forces are finally driving Africa toward much greater democracy. The people want it, donors want it, and finally there are a group of African leaders who want it. Putschists can no longer count on autocratic neighbors supporting their illegal government takeovers. I believe the recent struggle between Didier Ratsiraka and Marc Ravalomanana in Madagascar was a turning point against the autocrats-for-life class. The old school supported Ratsiraka, the reformers Ravalomanana, and the African Union (as is its habit in controversies) did nothing. Ravalomanana's eventual triumph was a message for the continent that the scales have been tipped. Of course there will be reverses — probably with regularity in certain countries — but the state of democracy in sub-Saharan Africa will progress significantly.

U.S. policy response. I used to greatly annoy my donor group colleagues when I would tire of their unending debates over how many election observers were needed to assure fair elections and tell them that the number of observers didn't matter one iota if the government in question was unwilling to allow itself to be voted out of office. I believe we need to use our full arsenal of carrots and sticks to encourage governments to not only allow themselves to be voted out of office, but — just as importantly — to rule justly while in office. This is where it's essential for the U.S. to pursue a holistic approach in supporting the various components that play key roles in "democratization": e.g., voter education, anti-corruption efforts, judicial

reform, civil service reform, open information and telecom systems, private media, women's rights, local NGOs, etc. In my experience, I have often found other donors naïve, certain U.N. agencies too cozy with the government in power, and host governments doing only the absolute minimum to remain in the donors' good graces. American leadership — not just money — is essential.

Until about 1990, representing official U.S. government positions in Africa was anything but fun.

• **Development/economic indicators.** (Improvement) There is a French-language cartoon from years back which depicts African development assistance by showing a development bureaucrat who is observing an academician who is observing an NGO rep who is observing a consultant who is observing a genuine African farmer who is planting seeds. Thankfully, that model — which spent a great deal of development money funding outside "experts" — is no longer in vogue. I used to scandalize my colleagues by suggesting, only half tongue-in-cheek, that the best use of development money would be to drop it in the form of cash out of an airplane over the neediest parts of the country — since all individuals were rational economists and would use the money better than donors or recipient governments. The philosophical direction of development aid has shifted toward the pragmatic, and those nations that are liberalizing their economies, and improving governance and spending what they can on health and education for their people can expect dramatic improvements. Some countries are finally getting it: accepting a sovereign credit rating, private Internet service providers, stock markets, open banking, and assuring a relatively honest customs or licensing authority, etc., don't sound like critical elements for development, but they make a huge difference. As these countries make dramatic strides, both macroeconomically and in the quality of life for their people, the laggards will notice and will finally have to make changes as well. Within a decade, I believe, the majority of Africa will be in the "significantly improving" camp.

U.S. Policy Response. In my view traditional development has concentrated too much on process and not enough on results. I therefore enthusiastically support the proposed "Millennium Challenge" approach, and only regret it didn't come sooner. Helping those countries that are genuinely attempting to govern justly, meet their peoples' basic needs and implement sound economic policies makes sense. So does monitoring on the ground to assure that our assistance is garnering the desired outcomes, before releasing the next tranche of funding. We should also evaluate the efficiencies of all partners who receive U.S. government funding — in terms of how much of the money is spent on actual activities and how effective the results are — and only continue with those who meet established criteria. And we should partner more with innovative emerging NGOs, such as "A Glimmer of Hope," which was established through its founders' own dot.com profits and uses a business model in its rural development work. This means minimal bureaucracy (e.g., a one-page project application form), close consultation with recipients, including jointly agreed-to goals, very little spent on administrative expenses, and — most importantly — dramatic positive outcomes. The U.S. should encourage such an approach across the board, partner more with the private sector in general, and demand that large international organizations (such as UNDP, to which we contribute significant funds) also become more efficient.

• **HIV/AIDS.** (Mixed) The day before I left Ethiopia, the findings of a comprehensive survey financed by USAID broke my heart. The bottom line: while a majority of Ethiopians from various categories — the military, farmers, truck drivers, professionals — know how one can become infected with HIV/AIDS, only a minority were planning to change their own sexual behavior. At about the same time, though, I saw a report from Uganda showing how dramatically the HIV/AIDS infection rates had declined since President Yoweri Museveni had personally instigated an energetic government campaign to change people's attitudes.

U.S. Policy Response. Africa is a combination of Ethiopias and Ugandas — and in many states the death rate is yet to crest. One bit of good news: there has been a paradigm shift in how the rich world looks at HIV/AIDS in Africa. Finally, the West has come to accept that it has to provide increased resources to help Africa, including (and this is important) making treatment available to Africans. Someone who deserves per-

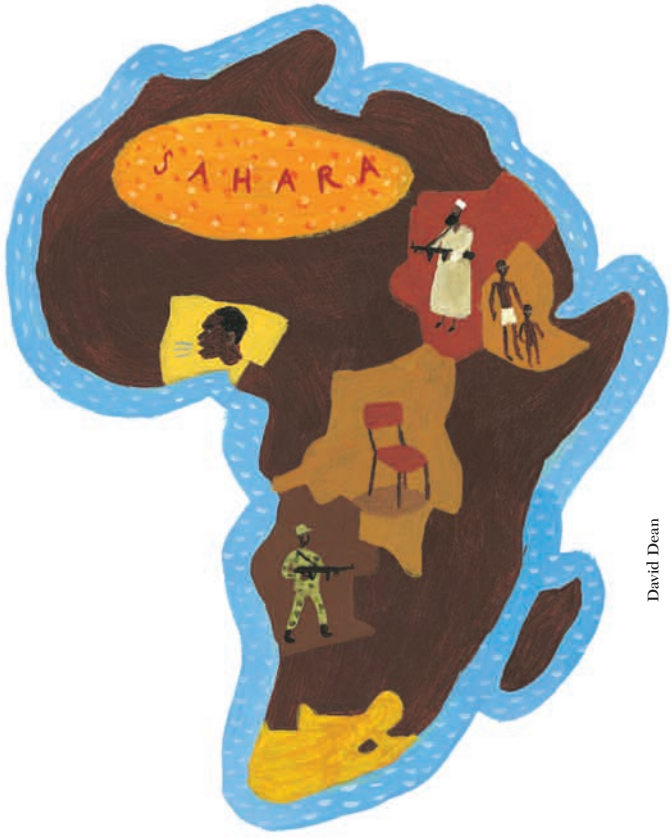
sonal recognition for changing many minds within the State Department bureaucracy — especially regarding our Foreign Service National employees — is former U.S. Ambassador to Kenya Johnnie Carson. Over the next decade there will be more success stories, treatment rates will increase and, hopefully, there will be new medical advances — so that HIV/AIDS in Africa, while still a great tragedy, will be nowhere near as devastating as pessimists predict.

One of the most memorable statements I heard about Africa was uttered during the meeting between Prime Minister Zenawi, Sec. O'Neill and Bono I described earlier. At one point, O'Neill, recounting the discussion he had with President Bush prior to his departure for Africa, said that they had agreed that if we accept the fact that a child born in Africa will never have the same opportunities for clean water, basic health services, education and economic advancement as a child born in America, then we are accepting permanent second-class status for much of humanity — and this should not be.

States which do not practice democracy and market-oriented economics should not benefit from development assistance.

It doesn't have to. There are finally mechanisms and trends in place to allow Africa to send those Apocalyptic Horsemen galloping (or at least trotting) away from the continent. For this to finally happen, though, we will have to stay engaged and provide leadership to donors, encouragement and resources to those states and leaders willing to move forward, and firm opposition to the remaining dinosaur dictators who need to leave the scene as quickly as possible. I predict that Africa really will make it, and sooner than most believe possible. ■

AFRICA'S BIG STATES: TOWARD A NEW REALISM



David Dean

MOST OF AFRICA'S BIG STATES ARE DYSFUNCTIONAL POLITICALLY, ECONOMICALLY AND SOCIALLY. HERE IS A NEW APPROACH TO THEIR PROBLEMS.

BY MARINA OTTAWAY, JEFFREY HERBST AND GREG MILLS

Big African states are among the least successful on the continent. Countries with a combination of a large land mass and a sizable population tend to be chronically unstable politically. They perform poorly economically, despite the fact that many are quite rich in natural resources and all have internal markets that should be capable of supporting economic growth. They have been among the least successful in overcoming the early post-independence legacy of single-party or military regimes and in moving toward democracy. Forty years after independence, most are still struggling to find a political system capable of holding together their diverse populations without constant strife.

Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly Zaire), Ethiopia, Sudan and Angola together account for about 40 percent of the population of sub-Saharan Africa. As a result, their chronic internal problems have repercussions that go well beyond their boundaries. The disintegration of the DRC has had particularly devastating consequences, affecting all the neighboring countries and even pulling in some farther afield, such as Zimbabwe. Sudan and Ethiopia have been engaged in a dangerous game of meddling in each other's civil wars for decades, greatly contributing to the instability of the entire Horn of Africa. War in the southern Sudan has a spillover effect in Uganda. Angola, which has the potential for rapid economic growth, instead exports refugees to neighboring countries. And Nigeria, which aspires to play the role of benevolent hegemon stabilizing West Africa, perennially teeters on the verge of an internal collapse that would have devastating consequences beyond its borders.

The big African states have so far not succeeded in establishing political and administrative systems capable of coping with the challenge posed by their size.

The only true exception to the uniformly negative picture presented by the big African states is South Africa. Though still facing a host of major socioeconomic problems, South Africa is a functioning state, with the strong administrative system and the transport and communication infrastructure that allow modern states to implement policies, collect taxes and deliver services in return. The unity of the state is not contested by its citizens. Although the dominant role of the African National Congress is a matter of concern, hampering true political competition, the country has developed a political system that is much more stable and democratic than is the case in other large states.

To be sure, many small states in Africa are also performing poorly politically and economically. And the domestic conflicts of some smaller states, for example, Liberia and Sierra Leone, are intertwined. More often, however, the problems of smaller states have little spillover effect. Somalia ceased functioning as a state over a decade ago, but its neighbors are not suffering as a result: Ethiopia, in fact, is probably better off, finally free of Somali claims on the Ogaden region. Furthermore, small and medium states in Africa do not present a uniformly bleak picture. Several are showing improvement in their economic and political performance. Although there are no truly consolidated African democracies yet, the countries that have made the most progress are small or medium-sized.

The international community has been extremely reluctant to intervene decisively in big African states. The same factors that make these states so dangerous — their size and the resulting particular complexity of their problems — also make the idea of intervention daunting. Confronted with conflicts that have caused hundreds of thousands of deaths over a long period of time, the international community has offered endless mediation but very little concrete help. Outsiders have also kept aloof from many conflicts in smaller countries, including the 1994 massacres in Rwanda that cost well over half a million people their lives.

However, there have been examples of interventions in smaller states. At present, there are some 13,000 U.N. peacekeepers in Sierra Leone, which has a population of 5.7 million, but only about 10,000 peacekeepers in the DRC, which has a population 10 times as large. The various U.N. missions to Angola in the 1990s were chronically understaffed and under-resourced; Margaret Ainstee, who led the mission at the time of the failed 1992 elections, quipped, in reference to U.N. Security Council Resolution 747, that she had been expected to fly a 747 with only enough fuel to power a DC-3. If a peace agreement is finally signed in Sudan, as appears possible at the time of this writing, the United Nations will have

---

Marina Ottaway is a senior associate in the Democracy and Rule of Law Project at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Jeffrey Herbst is professor of politics and international affairs at Princeton University and chair of the Department of Politics. Greg Mills is the national director of the South African Institute of International Affairs, a nongovernmental policy research institute based at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. *This article is reprinted by permission of the publisher, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2004 (www.ceip.org).*

to mount a major peacekeeping operation to ensure the success of the agreement. A robust intervention, if it were to take place, would represent a significant departure from previous reluctance to engage decisively in big states.

The international community needs a new approach to the problems of large African states. Allowing their problems to fester, the case all too often in the past, is a source of continuing hardship to their citizens and neighbors alike. The theoretical commitment to the territorial integrity of these large states does not help them stay together. Classic U.N. or other international interventions are almost impossible in large countries, because the resources of personnel and finances required are prohibitive, sapping the already scant political will of the possible intervenors.

Analyzing Dysfunctionality

Africa's big states, with the exception of South Africa, are dysfunctional politically, economically and socially. In the present conditions, these states do not serve the interests of their citizens, their neighbors, or the broader international community.

Despite the advantage for growth that large states with large domestic markets should theoretically enjoy, Africa's three most populous countries — Nigeria, Ethiopia and the DRC — have average per capita income under $300 a year, virtually unchanged in the last 20 years and representing a substantial decline in real income and living conditions for most citizens. Yet, Nigeria and the DRC are mineral-rich countries, and oil production in Nigeria has increased and continues to increase rapidly. Such per capita income is well below the average for sub-Saharan Africa, which has increased slightly to about $1,000 in the last 20 years. Even more striking, per capita income in countries with fewer than two million inhabitants has shown steady if unspectacular growth for the last 15 years and now tops $2,000. Including other indicators of welfare, such as those measured by the U.N. Human Development Index, only confirms the conclusion that big African states do very little for the welfare of their citizens.

These states have not been much kinder to their leaders, and small states are not dramatically different in this regard. Although some of the leaders have amassed huge fortunes while in power, most have not been able to remain in power very long and have been removed from office by force rather than by regular elections. Sudan and Nigeria top the list, each with 11 leadership turnovers since 1960. The DRC had eight turnovers, concentrated in the initial years of the republic and after 1998, with a long stretch under Mobutu Sese Seko in between. Ethiopia has experienced five turnovers. Only Angola has managed to avoid turnovers — when the first president died of natural causes, succession took place within the party. Even the UNITA opposition movement had unusually stable leadership under Jonas Savimbi.

The most serious dysfunctionality has affected the state itself. The big African states have so far not succeeded in establishing political and administrative systems capable of coping with the challenge posed by their size. They remain poorly governed and even more poorly administered.

The political failure has received the most attention. It is reflected in the civil wars that have afflicted all five countries at some point, and continue to afflict the DRC and Sudan. Angola was at war from its independence in 1975 until 2002, and the situation has barely stabilized even now. Ethiopia experienced war in Eritrea from the early 1960s until 1991, with conflict spreading to other regions during the 1980s. The conflict only ended with the recognition of Eritrean independence in 1991. Nigeria experienced civil war from May 1967 when the eastern region declared independence as Biafra until January 1970, when the defeated Biafra was reintegrated in the federation. War in the DRC started in 1998 and continues, notwithstanding multiple agreements and ongoing discussions. Sudan may be on the verge of an agreement to end the war that started in 1983 — the second round of a conflict whose first round lasted from 1956 to 1972. Even if the agreement is signed, however, the problem of Sudanese statehood will not be solved for good. Six years after the signing of the proposed agreement, Sudan is supposed to hold a referendum in which citizens will decide whether the country will remain united or whether the south will secede. The fact that neither side has been defeated militarily adds to the possibility that the conflict will resume.

These conflicts reveal the failure of big African states to reconcile their internal political, ethnic, and religious differences and to establish a political system capable of accommodating the demands and interests of various groups. It is these internal failures, rather than the interventions by outsiders pursuing their own agenda, that

explain the instability of the big states. Angola became the theater of a proxy war between the United States, allied with South Africa, and the Soviet Union, relying on Cuban personnel, only because the dissension between its leadership provided outsiders with an entry point. When the outsiders withdrew following a 1988 agreement, the war continued as a domestic phenomenon.

Nor can the conflicts in these states be attributed solely to the ambitions of specific leaders. Although all the countries have had their share of ruthless strongmen, conflicts have extended past the political life span of any individual. Angola may be the exception here. UNITA, the armed opposition group in Angola, was so dependent on its leader Jonas Savimbi that his death spelled the end of the fighting. It is too early to tell, however, whether Angola will be able to develop a system of government that can turn the cessation of hostilities following Savimbi's death into a real peace and economic and social development.

It is the internal failures, rather than the interventions by outsiders pursuing their own agenda, that explains the instability of the big states.

Even in countries where wars have ended, the development of a political system that can address the underlying problems has been elusive. Indeed, all the civil wars in big African states have been ended by a military victory, not a political agreement. In the aftermath of war, both Nigeria and Ethiopia have experimented with federal formulas in an attempt to prevent the conflict from recurring. Neither Nigeria's territorial federalism nor Ethiopia's ethnic federalism has solved the problem, however. In Angola, a government

flush with success is still trying to avoid real political reform, assuming that UNITA's disarray after Savimbi's death will allow it to win an easy victory in the forthcoming elections. The Angolan government, in other words, is still hoping it can build an internationally acceptable political façade without changing much.

The administrative failure of the big African states has received much less attention than the very obvious political failure, but the problem looms as large. Big African states do not control their territory well, do not have adequate administrative structures, and thus encounter serious problems in implementing policies and delivering services. None of the big states discussed here has been able to administer its entire territory effectively and in a sustained way over time. Despite the often-decried bloating of the civil service, big African states are today even more "underadministered" than they were in colonial days. In the most extreme case, that of the DRC, it is not only the administrative infrastructure that has disappeared, depriving the population of services and leaving unpaid teachers, civil servants, and soldiers scrambling to survive; the transport and communications infrastructure has disappeared as well. Restoring administration in big states at this point requires road building as much as civil service reform.

Although all the countries have had their share of ruthless strongmen, conflicts have extended past the political life span of any individual.

Big States Try to Face Their Problems

Some of Africa's big states have made a conscious effort to devise systems of governance to deal with the challenges posed by size and diversity. Others have simply ignored the problem. None has so far found a satisfactory solution likely to last.

Angola has systematically ignored the challenge of size. In keeping with the Portuguese legacy, the Marxist tradition of the early years of independence, and later more simply with the ingrained authoritarianism of the leadership, the country has been governed in a highly centralized manner. Angola has been painfully slow in adopting any kind of reform, either political or economic. The true impact of a centralized and bureaucratized system will become more evident if the country remains at peace and the government is forced to turn its attention to its long-neglected socioeconomic problems. The DRC has also failed to deal systematically with the governance challenges imposed by size. Theoretically, it has a centralized system; in practice, there is no authority exercising power except in limited areas. The result is a medieval mixture of local fiefdoms and contested territories, not a decentralized modern state.

Nigeria, Ethiopia and even Sudan, in contrast, have sought to address directly the problem of how to govern a large, diverse state but have not yet been successful in devising a lasting solution.

Nigeria. A federal state composed of three large regions at independence, Nigeria has tried to refine the federal formula since the end of the Biafra War. It has repeatedly increased the number of states, which now total 36. It has adopted a constitutional clause, subsequently copied by other African countries, that stipulates that a presidential candidate must show nationwide support by winning at least 25 percent of the vote in two-thirds of the states to be declared the winner. It has tried to provide representation for all major groups in the civil service and cabinet posts. It has tried different formulas for the distribution of oil revenue, most recently increasing the share that goes directly to state and local governments. None of these steps, however, has provided a real solution.

Increasing the number of states has eliminated the danger of a direct confrontation among large regions, but it has not eliminated traditional divisions. There is no longer a predominantly Muslim northern state, but there are now 12 states in the north and center of the country that have incorporated sharia, in a fundamentalist interpretation, in their laws. Increasing the number of states has not eliminated discontent. With several hundred different languages spoken in the country, the number of groups that could demand their own state is virtually endless. Similarly, the revision of the oil revenue distribution has not quelled the discontent of the population of the oil-producing Niger Delta. The new formula has also likely created the incentive for the formation of new states and led to the decentralization of corruption rather than to more accountable government.

Ethiopia. A loosely structured feudal empire until the 20th century, Ethiopia has also made repeated attempts to deal with the challenge of size and diversity. Ethiopia started directly confronting the problem of how to become a modern state after World War II. Emperor Haile Selassie tried to develop a formal bureaucratic administration, but it remained quite thin on the ground, never extending below the district level and leaving local communities to the authority of landlords and traditional authorities. Selassie also tried to develop a common Ethiopian identity and culture by making Amharic the language of instruction and government. In feudal style, he also tried to bridge domestic divides by carefully building a network of intercultural marriages for the royal family. It worked for a while, but after the emperor was deposed in 1974, the country started to fall apart.

The new, Marxist-oriented military regime sought to set up a centralized, party-dominated system. The outcome was disastrous. The regime did not have the tools to control the political and economical systems it envisaged. With the help of the Eritrean insurgents, ethnic liberation movements developed throughout the country. When the military regime was defeated by the Eritrean and Tigrean movements in 1991, Eritrea seceded, leaving the Tigrean insurgents to find a means to govern the divided country. The outcome was a bold experiment with ethnic nationalism. Ethiopia became a federation of ethnic states with a considerable level of autonomy. Following the example of the Soviet constitution, the Ethiopian constitution recognizes the right of nationalities to self-determination, even to the point of secession — and it remains to be seen whether such a right would be respected in practice any more than it was in the Soviet Union. The system is held together by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, a Tigrean-dominated amalgam of the ethnic parties of each region. The system has been successful in keeping together a country that in 1991 appeared headed for disintegration, but unity in the country remains somewhat precarious.

Sudan. Since independence, Sudan has wavered between attempts to deal with the discontent of its southern population through repression and attempts to devise a federal solution. In 1972, Sudan adopted an asymmetrical federal system, with a northern government ruling the entire country and the south having limited autonomy. In 1983, President Jafaar Nimeiri tried to break up the southern region into three provinces less threatening to Khartoum, and war resumed. The conflict was made worse when a radical Islamist movement took over in Khartoum and declared sharia the law of the country, including in the non-Muslim south. A second agreement, again giving autonomy to the south, may be in the offing, but, as argued earlier, even it does not claim to provide a definitive answer.

South Africa. It is worth considering briefly the case of South Africa, the only successful big state in Africa. Despite the size of the country, South Africa considered but rejected a federal solution. There are two explanations for this. First, the apartheid regime had attempted to maintain minority control by setting up 10 independent homelands that would be united with white South Africa in a "constellation of independent states." The attempt failed but also left a legacy of suspicion of decentralization. Second, the country already had a strong unitary system in place that allotted limited power to four large provinces — the original states that were merged in the Union of South Africa following the South Africa (Anglo-Boer) War of 1899–1902. With a functioning system in place, it was easier for South Africa to continue along the same lines, increasing the number of provinces from four to nine, each with an elected legislature and premier. At the same time, the South African government was also able to use its central control to equalize spending across the territory, transfer revenue among levels of government, and monitor the fiscal performance of the provinces. Arguably, South Africa was successful in part because it rejected extreme decentralization.

International Community Faces Big States

The international community has not dealt with big states as a separate category requiring a special approach. Rather, it has dealt with them on the basis of a mixture of political expediency and general principles that are often of scant relevance to the situation. Countries with economic or strategic interests in the big states have, not surprisingly, sought to protect those interests without much attention to the long-term consequences of their policies or the long-term needs of their countries. With the weakening of colonial ties, most recently those of France with its former colonies, and the end of the Cold War, expediency is now directed less at safeguarding interests than at avoiding the pressure to become involved directly in stabilizing troubled countries.

Three principles have governed the way African states have dealt with each other. The first is that African boundaries cannot be altered. This principle, which is also enshrined in the charter of the Organization of African Unity and its successor, the African Union, looks increasingly today like the legacy of a bygone era. It was plausible in the immediate aftermath of decolonization, when new countries did not want to open themselves up to one another's territorial demands. It was also in keeping with the historically unprecedented worldwide freezing of international borders that characterized the Cold War period. Since the late 1980s, however, more than 20 new states have formed, primarily in the Balkans and the former Soviet Union, but including one in Africa, Eritrea. Yet the international community remains theoretically committed to the territorial integrity of all African states.

The second principle is that the most effective political systems are decentralized, and in the big states, decentralization becomes federalism. Federalism is usually taken to mean a territorial arrangement, not one based on ethnic identities. The Ethiopian solution has been grudgingly accepted by the international community, but without enthusiasm. It is certainly not held up as a model on how to solve the problem of large, diverse states.

The third principle, which has only prevailed since the end of the Cold War, is that democracy and a strong bill of rights provide the solution to internal conflicts in states big and small. Political systems should be blind to ethnicity and religion and should not recognize the rights of groups. The United States is particularly emphatic on this point. There is nothing wrong with this third principle per se, but it bears little relation to reality. Ethnicity and religion are highly politicized in all African states, and even quite democratic, federal

states have problems in dealing with their ethnic and religious diversity once it has become politicized. The example of Canada, still struggling to find a solution to the problem of Quebec, is a sobering reminder that democracy and federalism are no panaceas.

A New Approach

Furthermore, the distance that separates Africa's big states as they are now from the ideal democratic, federal, decentralized state is enormous, and the international community has neither the tools nor the political will to help them across the chasm. The old formulas — territorial integrity, federalism, decentralization, and democracy — thus ring quite hollow. It is time to consider a different approach to big African states:

• Limit commitment to territorial integrity to defending states against outside aggression. The international system needs to protect countries from being attacked, but it should not try to offer a guarantee of survival to countries threatened by internal factions. Rather than declaring commitment to the territorial integrity of a state, the international community should put all political forces in a country on notice that the survival of their state is in their hands.

• Be clear about what constitutes external aggression. Iraq's invasion of Kuwait was a clear case of external aggression. When the neighbors of the DRC, including tiny countries that could never attack the Congo giant if it were a functioning state, send troops into a territory nobody controls, the international community needs to worry about state disintegration, not about external aggression.

• Do not advocate partition as a solution to the problem of big states or try to decide where the lines of partition should be, but accept partition if it happens. Africa does not need another Berlin Conference and more lines drawn on maps. Nor does it need the stubborn international determination to keep states alive that were dysfunctional at independence and are even more so 40 years later.

• Do not advocate federalism as an all-purpose solution. Federalism may eliminate the demand for partition in some cases, but this will only happen if the component units of the federal system reflect political reality. In the big, troubled African states, federalism will predominantly be based on ethnicity and/or religion. The role of the international community is not to dictate the boundaries of the component units, but to help the participants reach the needed compromises.

• Do not push democracy as a panacea. Though a good thing in itself, democracy is not a solution to the problems of big, dysfunctional African states. A democratic process can only take place when there is a functioning state. State-building should come first.

• Develop a model for international peacekeeping in large states. That such countries cannot be saturated with foreign military personnel does not mean that intervention should be purely symbolic, as has often been the case. Peace support operations should use decisive military force where necessary, but above all they must find a balance between rebuilding local armies, providing local security by invigorating police forces, and offering sound, impartial civilian administration.

• Do not burden the big African states with peacekeeping in smaller countries. With the exception of South Africa, big states are too dysfunctional to be encouraged to deal with conflicts in their regions. Even South Africa cannot carry too large a burden in this regard. Delegating peacekeeping in West Africa to Nigeria may look like a good way to avoid a major commitment by the United Nations or the major powers, but Nigeria and other big African states will become a force for stability and peace in their regions only if they find ways to manage their considerable political and economic problems. They must be encouraged to focus on their domestic problems first.

• Accept the fact that in 20 years the map of Africa is unlikely to look like that of today, let alone that of 40 years ago. ■

THE ANATOMY OF CHANGE IN AFRICA

David Dean

IN SMALL EVENTS AND EXPERIMENTS ACROSS THE CONTINENT, THE VOICE AND STRUCTURE OF CIVIL SOCIETY ARE STEADILY EMERGING.

BY CHARLES COBB JR.

Go to the grass roots to get the best measure of Africa's "successes," for the most meaningful developments in Africa are often small and practically invisible. Rarely are they considered "newsworthy" by the Western media. Indeed, even highly visible, praiseworthy efforts that are continental in vision, like NEPAD — the New Economic Program for African Development — or the awkward beginning steps being taken within the African Union toward what seems like a complete rearrangement of government-to-government relations on the continent, have their roots in steady, slow-moving currents that have been flowing from village to village and across national borders over the

past decade and a half. Unless you're looking for them, they are hard to see. Yet they are crucial for understanding the pace of progress in Africa, and the sources of pressure for change.

Here's one example: Not so long ago when he was visiting Washington, I had occasion to meet Paramount Chief Mukuni of the Mukuni community located about 10 kilometers from Victoria Falls in Zambia — an area heavily visited by tourists. The 57-year-old chief's full name is Munokalya Solika Mukuni III, and he is the 19th chief with Mukuni blood to head the Mukuni tribe. They are a poor community and weren't getting much from the tourist traffic; they still are not getting a huge amount. "Before, we just posed for pictures and let the tourists go," the chief told me. "Then we said, 'Wait a minute! We are getting very little benefit from tourism activities.'"

So three years ago, Chief Mukuni's community established the Mukuni Development Trust, which draws membership from each of the villages of the Mukuni chiefdom. Two people — a man and a woman — represent each village. The aim of the MDT, according to a brochure the chief gave me, is to place the Mukuni community "in a more favorable position … to promote the long-term conservation of biodiversity through active community resource management [and] to venture into commercial partnerships on behalf of the community."

Chief Mukuni is not talking about turning his people into exotic performing icons for incoming tourists. They've been trying to develop a type of tourism for the visitor who wants to catch a glimpse of ordinary life in an African community. Some new structures specifically aimed at tourists are in the works, however. They include a half-dozen lodges — "guest palaces," says the chief — that "let tourists come in and be chiefs for a while."

According to Chief Mukuni, the MDT now generates the equivalent of about $3,000 monthly from tourism. Among other things, that money helps pay school fees for the community's poorest children and is used to compensate local farmers for the crop damage caused "when elephants come from [Botswana President Festus] Mogae's country" just next door.

For many nations in Africa, tourism forms a critical part of national income, and Chief Mukuni's attitude that tourism must be linked with development and must be respectful of local communities resonates across the continent. In Tanzania, tourism is the number-one foreign exchange earner. Around the same time I met Chief Mukuni, I met Tanzania's tourism minister, Zakia Hamdani Meghji. Known as "Mama Utali" — Swahili for "Mother Tourism" — Minister Meghji told me that her government recognized that if the animals of Tanzania's famed game parks disappear, so does tourism; and so does a significant income flow. It is the local population who will determine that, she said. "If the animals are benefiting [people], then they are going to be protective of them."

I am old enough to remember "big man government" — the one-man or single-party authoritarian regimes of the 1960s and 70s when local communities were expected to do as ordered — and its disastrous effects on both national and local economies. Today, in many places I am hearing something different with regard to how government should respond to local voices: that it is important to pay attention to grass-roots voices. And this raises the odds of success for the broader plans for political and economic development under way across the continent.

The Backdrop to Success

There is a backdrop to the emerging recognition by African government leadership that people have to be involved in the decision-making that affects their lives. Africa today is filled with small experiments in locally controlled economic development. This is a breakthrough. For most of the 40 or so years during which these former European colonies have become independent, the "nation-building" process has been largely autocratic, even brutally dictatorial in some states. In 1989, however, a bright signal that this would no longer be acceptable suddenly flashed across the continent when the idea that people-power was a human right exploded from the most unexpected of places — Benin.

This West African nation, once known as Dahomey, was groaning under a repressive dictatorship installed by its president, Mathieu Kerékou, who had seized the government in a military coup d'etat 17 years before. University students and professors took to the streets in January 1989, and were soon joined by elementary and secondary schoolteachers and students. The state-run system had failed to

---

Charles Cobb Jr. is senior writer and diplomatic correspondent for allAfrica.com, the leading online source of news from and about Africa. He is the co-author, with civil rights organizer and educator Robert P. Moses, of Radical Equations: Civil Rights from Mississippi to the Algebra Project *(Beacon Press, 2001).*

pay salaries or scholarships for months, and they were all angry.

By June, almost the entire nation was on strike. There were daily street demonstrations; the country was near economic collapse. After a particularly ugly December demonstration in which five strikers were killed, Kerékou surprised the nation by apologizing for the violence and declaring that the Marxist ideology that had governed the state would be abandoned. (It is worth noting that this occurred about a month after the Berlin Wall fell.) He also announced that he would permit the formation of opposition parties. Kerékou called for a "national reconciliation conference" to sort out Benin's problems, and appointed an independent committee to organize it.

Africa today is filled with small experiments in locally controlled economic development. This is a breakthrough.

The conference opened on Feb. 19, 1990, with 520 delegates representing a cross-section of Benin that included businessmen, women leaders, students, union members, military personnel and politicians. Among the participants were some of Kerékou's most vehement opponents, so the debating was fierce, with Kerékou actually present during much of it. Though opposed to the conference, the military also participated. One of the generals threatened during a heated argument to stage a coup himself.

For the first six days of the nine-day conference, participants ducked a crucial issue that had come up often as the conference was being organized: whether the conference would lead to the formation of a new Benin government. However, the debate over whether the conference had the "sovereignty" to shape a future government was unavoidable. And just as suddenly as the strikes that had led to the gathering in the first place occurred (and also while Kerékou was absent), the conference decided that it *did* have sovereignty.

Conference participants elected a transitional govern-

ment to write a new constitution, and approached Kerékou with a deal permitting him to remain as head of state with greatly reduced power. To the surprise of many observers, Kerékou and the military went along with this. One year later, on March 24, 1991, Nicéphore Soglo became president of Benin after a free and fair, multi-party election that gave his party, the Union for the Triumph of Democratic Renewal, a majority of seats in parliament. Following his defeat, Kerékou asked to be forgiven for abusing power while in office, and the interim government agreed not to prosecute him.

The voluntary participation of the citizen through organizations or personal effort for reforms that create a fairer and freer society has taken root throughout Africa.

This was a remarkable outcome, and not just because it took place in Africa. The whole process, now known as the "sovereign conference," was broadcast live on national radio; much of it was filmed. Outside in the streets, people felt a wind of change blowing and followed the events inside with growing hope and enthusiasm, said conference organizing committee chairman Robert Dossou, a Benin University law professor and an opponent of the Kerékou government. "The sellers of transistor radios were doing the biggest business in the country. Everyone would buy himself a little transistor radio; and you would see them on their motor scooters in the street holding the handlebar with one hand and the radio with the other," Dossou added.

Benin's problems of poverty and underdevelopment still have not been solved. To put an ironic coda on this story, in the 1996 elections Kerékou regained the presidency, and he was re-elected in 2001. "The greatest change has been freedom," explained Robert Dossou to filmmakers from Blackside Productions, who went to Benin in 2000 to portray the sovereign conference movement for their series on contemporary Africa, "Hopes on the Horizon."

Freedom: The Engine of Civil Society

Though it doesn't itself solve problems immediately, freedom is nothing to sneer at. With freedom has come a greater voice for "civil society." The voluntary participation of the citizen through organizations or personal effort for reforms that create a fairer and freer society has taken root throughout Africa. People who were often spoken for or bossed around by the state have found their voices and are speaking for themselves with increasing authority. They work through churches, NGOs, trade unions, civic organizations, environmental groups and health care organizations, to name but a few. Often they challenge government certainties.

In Angola this past March, around 30 groups launched a "Campaign for a Democratic Angola." Much of their immediate concern is focused on getting the government to stop dragging its feet on elections. But a deeper aim of the group tells us something about civil society, and how important it is in what for decades has been an authoritarian regime. Angola's long war has ended, but "peace without democracy is a fantasy," says a spokesperson for the group. "We want to encourage government … to be open to other initiatives that are for the benefit of the country, not [just] of the [political parties]."

Benin's sovereign conference gave great encouragement to civil society's necessary and inevitable flourishing in communities across the continent. Some might argue about the importance of the events of 1989-1990, but there is little disagreement that whether pressing for fair treatment of women in the sharia states of northern Nigeria, seeking accountability from government, or ousting a military government (e.g., Nigeria), civil society can no longer be ignored or denounced as "subversive." Just this February, Angolan Deputy Minister for Environment and Urbanism Graciano Domingos called on civil society to organize debates on a new land bill that was approved by a government agency last November. It's too important for civil society not to be involved, he said.

"The 1990s brought a breath of fresh air, as new winds of democracy were establishing themselves. That was the proof to all our African leaders that they could no longer ignore civil society," says Leila Rhiwi of Morocco, president of the Association Democratique des Femmes du Maroc.

For many years political argument was easier to find, even in some of Africa's most oppressive hellholes, than economic freedom or opportunity. Across a remarkably broad range of political and governing philosophies,

African nation after African nation insisted that the state have primary control of economic practice. On stepping down from office in 1985, Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere acknowledged that he had made a mistake in trying to force people into the collective farming projects known as Ujamaa Villages. Even so, a remark Nyerere made in an interview shortly before his death in 1999 seems a useful thought to keep in mind while considering the development efforts under way in African nations today: "I must confess, I did not see myself as charting out something for the rest of Africa. One picks one's way."

Always a keen observer of the continent, speaking as an elder statesman in August 1996, Nyerere was hopeful about Africa. "A new leadership is developing in Africa," Nyerere told *The New York Times*. "The military phase is out." Next door in Uganda at that time, the much younger Yoweri Museveni and his government had already been tackling the HIV/AIDS problem head-on for 10 years, campaigning to raise public awareness of the deadly danger it posed with unusual frankness. The disease was a problem most African leaders were refusing to either acknowledge or face. HIV/AIDS has not vanished from Uganda, but the rate of infection has dramatically dropped. This success still sets the standard for fighting the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Africa.

Ruthless regimes like today's Equatorial Guinea run counter to African political acceptability, and even that regime feels compelled to pretend at being a multiparty democracy. The 1997 end of Mobutu Sese Seko's kleptocratic government in Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo), the end of Mozambique's 18-year civil war, and the end of apartheid in South Africa, all have to be counted great African success stories, confirming the appropriateness of Nyerere's hopeful attitude. A process of reconciliation is now under way in the bloodstained nation of Rwanda, which witnessed a genocidal horror just a decade ago. And a two-day summit in Kigali this past February of the nine African heads of state who comprise the implementation commission for the NEPAD Peer Review Mechanism made striking progress.

Education begins at home ...

The Fund for American Diplomacy educates the American public on how U.S. diplomacy affects America.

Help us teach.

Leave a legacy ... with an AFSA planned gift.

- An individual can establish a named endowment in honor or in memory of a loved one.
- A planned gift can reduce estate taxes.
- A planned gift can create valuable tax benefits.

For more information, please contact Planned Giving Director Lori Dec
TOLL-FREE: (800) 704-2372 ext. 504
PHONE: (202) 944-5504 • FAX: (202) 338-6820 • E-MAIL: dec@afsa.org

All inquiries are held in strict confidence with total respect for privacy. To ensure that exact intentions are carried out, estate-planning documents should be prepared in consultation with an attorney and/or financial advisor.

The AFSA Scholarship Fund bestows merit awards and financial aid scholarships to children of Foreign Service employees.

The Fund for American Diplomacy educates the public on how U.S. diplomacy affects America's national security and economic prosperity.

Taking Responsibility

Whatever the authoritarian inclinations are or were of many states, in terms of basic economic policy, all African states, each of them — semi-socialist Tanzania included — were mainly marching to the economic drumbeat of former colonial masters, the Bretton Woods institutions or the United States. As President Nyerere told me in an interview years ago: "No matter who we say we are, politically and economically, we are all in the Western sphere of influence." So it is significant that, while the debt burden remains crushing and there is still much unfairness in trade relations with G-7 nations, African leaders have come to realize that pointing fingers or clenching fists with loud shouts about neo-colonial exploitation or imperialist domination does not let them off the hook for much that has gone wrong in Africa.

Botswana, for example, became independent in 1966 as one of the world's poorest nations; annual per capita income was $100. Since then its annual growth rate has topped 7 percent. Botswana's stability and economic growth might be explained by diamond wealth, except that Nigeria, Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Sierra Leone also have great natural resources yet cannot be called successful in economic development. Much of the explanation for Botswana's success has to do with attitude, especially compared to the above-named nations whose officials often saw the great wealth provided by abundant natural resources as an excuse to steal.

By contrast, Botswana has seen it as a way to develop and has been careful about its sources of advice. So when the IMF offered to supply the Bank of Botswana with a deputy governor, the bank did not automatically accept him. Instead, Botswana officials flew to Washington to interview the candidate. And when drought battered the country in 1981, Botswana pulled its belt so tight that an IMF team had little to recommend in the way of structural adjustments, writes Joe Stiglitz in his 2002 book, *Globalization and Its Discontents.*

The attitudes of African governments seem to be changing as recognition grows that closer regional cooperation is necessary for development. In February, the 16-member Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa trade began negotiations for an Economic Partnership Agreement with the European Union. And in March, Southern African Development Community Executive Secretary Prega Ramsamy said that member countries (Angola, Botswana, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe) intend to create a regional common market in 2012. "The plan is to have member states sign a free trade agreement by 2008, customs union protocol in 2010 and a common market pact in 2012," said Ramsamy.

Across the continent examples abound of the great energy being put into strengthening regional economic organization. This past January, after negotiations that went into the early morning hours, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda signed a treaty that breathed new life into the moribund East African Community. The EAC had collapsed in 1977 because of conflict with Idi Amin as well as deep political differences. Under the treaty, tariff and non-tariff barriers will be lifted, a major step toward tapping the significant potential of a community with a combined population of over 90 million and a gross domestic product of about $25 billion. A joint communiqué issued from Arusha declared: "The heads of state observed that the customs union epitomized the will of the East African people to unite in strength and realize the faster socio-economic transformation of the region as a single market and investment area."

NEPAD: The Case for A New Africa

It is through the New Partnership for Africa's Development, however, that African leaders hope to make their most convincing case that a new Africa is emerging. Born out of three years of discussion among African heads of state, NEPAD was launched in October 2001. At its-heart, said *The Post* of Zambia in an editorial last November, "are African-initiated strategies to overcome the crisis of under-development." Key to NEPAD's vision is good governance, transparency in economic practices and the encouragement of private sector investment in Africa. NEPAD is tightly bound to the African Union, created in July 1999 as a replacement for the Organization of African Unity.

The A.U. says it subscribes to the right of collective intervention in situations of genocide, rejects military coups, and is committed to the promotion of gender equality. And unlike the old OAU, insist spokesmen for the organization, the new A.U. organization will do more than talk; it will be a real pan-African union. Last July the A.U. approved establishment of a Pan-African Parliament; it was inaugurated this March, and swore in a woman as president. The A.U. will implement specific plans

designed by NEPAD.

There is debate across Africa about NEPAD — whether or not it is a new way to hold out a tin cup for alms, whether civil society has been involved enough in the process, etc. — and it won't end soon. But one key component of the program seems a striking departure from modern African tradition and is linked to the "new Africa" that the African Union hopes to shape. A peer review forum comprised of African heads of state and government will monitor each other's performance on economic management, human rights, corruption and democracy. Teams of experts will travel to the countries that have enlisted for review.

African governments seem genuinely committed to this departure from the deeply held and often articulated shibboleth that there shall be no interference in the internal affairs of another state. And because this commitment centers on economies, it seems far more radical than, say, Nyerere's political and humanitarian decision to send in Tanzanian troops to help oust Uganda's Idi Amin 17 years ago. As of this writing, 16 nations have signed up for peer review. That may seem a small number on a continent of 54 eligible nations. But as one African ambassador, whose country has signed on to peer review told me recently, interference in another country's affairs is tricky. "It is going to take time for peers, like presidents, to think clearly about other countries," he said. Try to imagine the United Sates agreeing to subject itself to peer review by Canada and Mexico!

This unfolding story is worth watching. The continent's leaders have made "a very important commitment in terms of a new direction" to achieve recovery and development, says Professor Wiseman Nkuhlu, who chairs the steering committee of the NEPAD Secretariat. Speaking in February to a luncheon hosted by the Sullivan Foundation in Washington, Nkuhlu added: "We believe that Africa is [now] better organized to engage the developed countries." Indeed, history may well record the demands Africa makes on itself because of NEPAD as one of the continent's greatest successes in the beginning years of the 21st century. ■

AGOA: OPENING DOORS

David Dean

THE AFRICAN GROWTH AND OPPORTUNITY ACT HAS HELPED INCREASE AFRICA'S INVOLVEMENT WITH THE GLOBAL ECONOMY. BUT MORE NEEDS TO BE DONE.

BY ANTHONY CARROLL

At a Senate Finance Committee hearing on March 10, 2004, United States Trade Representative Robert Zoellick stated that the African Growth and Opportunity Act had been an unqualified success. He cited increases in imports from Africa of $14.1 billion, a rise of 55 percent since the signing of the legislation in May 2000. Ambassador Zoellick implied that AGOA was an example of the power of trade agreements as an engine of growth and a valid instrument of United States foreign policy in the 21st century.

Zoellick could also have cited the increased role that Africa plays in the arena of global trade policy. Indeed, the

whole Doha Development Round and the recent breakthroughs in the WTO negotiations on intellectual property provisions pertaining to pharmaceuticals are positive examples of United States-Africa cooperation fostered by AGOA's passage.

Notwithstanding Amb. Zoellick's testimony, however, Africa still remains mired on the fringes of the global economy. In a recent study by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the share of African exports in world trade fell from 6 percent in 1980 to 2 percent in 2003. Africa typically receives less than 3 percent of global foreign investment flows, and this would be much less were investments in hydrocarbons excluded. One does not have to be an expert in international trade or foreign policy to see the economic hardship suffered in Africa.

Africa's economic marginalization was the catalyst for AGOA.

A Long Battle

It was this economic marginalization that was the catalyst for AGOA. In 1994, Rep. Jim McDermott, D-Wash. (a former regional medical officer in Zaire), and his visionary chief of staff, Mike Williams, embarked upon a mission to "think outside the box" and use U.S. trade legislation as an engine to pull economic growth then rather than push it with development assistance.

Several factors contributed to this bold vision. First, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, foreign assistance for African nations in return for support of U.S. policy would be less viable. Moreover, even if it were forthcoming, U.S. foreign assistance was viewed as an ineffective lever for change. In the 1980s the failed states of Sudan, Liberia and Zaire were the largest recipients of such assistance and the performance of the multilateral institutions was not much better.

Second, with the evolution of a rules-based global trading regime under GATT and the WTO, African countries would be caught in the vise of declining market access agreements. This was particularly true of access to the European Union under the Lome Convention due to the E.U.'s eastward expansion. Declining protective tariff levels for infant industries in developing nations also put pressure on Africa.

As in most trade legislation that emanates from the House Ways and Means Committee, the first steps were tentative. In the GATT Reauthorization Bill of 1996, Congress directed the Clinton administration to devise a five-year plan of trade measures that would mitigate Africa's economic tumult. When the first such report was delivered to Congress one year later, members on both sides of the aisle were incensed with the paucity of new ideas. As a result of this woeful response, a core of Ways and Means Committee members, including the powerful Phil Crane, R-Ill., and Charles Rangel, D-N.Y., decided to take the lead on the issue. The result was the first incarnation of the African Growth and Opportunity Act in 1998.

AGOA was a foray into terra incognita because it was both a trade act and a development act. In its trade regime AGOA provided eight years of duty-free access for an expanded list of 6,000 items under the Generalized System of Preferences. It also created a special program whereby African apparel (a non-GSP item) manufactured in all but the most developed African countries would enjoy duty- and quota-free access to the U.S. market, even if it was made from Asian fabric. This focus on apparel was modeled on the successes of the Far East and the Caribbean in launching their industrial base with the apparel industry.

The development side of AGOA was also sui generis. It directed, inter alia, that the U.S. government create technical assistance programs and investment funds to help Africa integrate with the global trading system. In addition, the legislation called for establishing an annual forum of government and business leaders to monitor and enhance AGOA. It also directed the U.S. Trade Representative's office to negotiate free trade agreements with African nations and regional groupings and created a new assistant U.S. trade representative for Africa.

Anthony Carroll is managing director of Manchester Trade Ltd., a Washington-based business advisory firm (www.manchestertrade.com). He has over 20 years of experience working on African trade and investment issues, beginning as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Botswana in the late 1970s. He is a frequent speaker for the State Department.

Although the bill was touted as an unconditional extension of U.S. market access to Africa, it did require that an African country be deemed eligible by the administration in accordance with a set of criteria embracing general notions of good governance. (As of this writing, 38 African countries have been deemed eligible.) Additionally, to qualify for apparel benefits, countries must have negotiated with the U.S. government a system that prevents transshipment of otherwise non-qualifying apparel. This system sets minimum standards for customs enforcement and specifies a format under which all such exports are to be listed. (At this time, 17 countries have a qualifying anti-transshipment "visa" system in place.)

Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni has praised AGOA as the most important single development in African relations with the developed world since independence.

Thanks to broad bipartisan support, the AGOA bill overcame the House of Representatives' traditional resistance to trade bills in 1998. Unfortunately, the bill then died, in large part due to opposition from White House senior staff and the now-disbanded American Textile Manufacturers Institute. This was despite the fact that African apparel imports represented less than 1 percent of total U.S. imports.

Undeterred by this defeat, early in 1999 Rep. Rangel (and his staffer Rosa Whitaker, who would later become the first assistant U.S. trade representative for Africa) and Rep. Crane enlisted powerful new allies: Rep. Ed Royce,

U.S. IMPORTS FROM SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

($MILLIONS CUSTOMS VALUE)

COUNTRY	2001	2002	2003	COUNTRY	2001	2002	2003
Angola	3,095.9	3,122.7	4,264.3	Madagascar	271.6	215.8	383.7
Benin	1.3	0.7	0.6	Malawi	77.9	70.8	76.9
Botswana	21.0	29.3	13.7	Mali	6.1	2.6	2.4
Burkina Faso	5.0	2.9	0.9	Mauritania	0.3	0.9	0.9
Burundi	2.8	0.7	5.9	Mauritius	277.9	280.6	298.1
Cameroon	101.6	172.1	214.0	Mozambique	7.1	8.5	8.4
Cape Verde	1.5	1.8	5.6	Namibia	37.3	57.4	123.2
Central African Republic	2.4	2.0	2.0	Niger	4.6	0.9	4.0
Chad	5.7	5.7	22.4	Nigeria	8,774.8	5,945.4	10,393.6
Comoros	10.6	5.3	4.0	Rwanda	7.2	3.1	2.6
Congo	473.8	182.1	432.8	Sao Tome & Principe	0.3	0.4	0.1
Congo, Dem. Rep.	154.0	204.1	174.5	Senegal	103.8	3.6	4.5
Cote d'Ivoire	333.1	376.4	489.7	Seychelles	23.7	26.3	13.0
Djibouti	1.0	1.9	0.6	Sierra Leone	4.6	3.8	6.5
Equatorial Guinea	463.9	501.9	903.5	Somalia	0.3	0.3	0.2
Eritrea	0.1	0.4	0.3	South Africa	4,432.6	4,034.1	4,637.6
Ethiopia	29.1	25.7	30.5	Sudan	3.4	1.4	2.8
Gabon	1,659.7	1,587.5	1,969.5	Swaziland	64.9	114.5	162.1
Gambia	0.5	0.3	0.1	Tanzania	27.9	24.8	24.2
Ghana	186.9	116.3	81.9	Togo	12.6	2.7	5.6
Guinea	87.8	71.6	69.2	Uganda	17.7	15.3	34.9
Guinea-Bissau	0.0	0.0	1.9	Zambia	15.6	7.9	12.5
Kenya	128.3	188.6	249.2	Zimbabwe	90.8	102.8	56.6
Lesotho	215.3	321.7	393.3	**TOTAL**	**21,286.8**	**17,891.4**	**25,644.3**
Liberia	42.6	45.8	59.5				

Source: U.S. Customs Service

R-Calif., and former Ways and Means Chairman Bill Archer. With their help, the AGOA bill moved quickly through the House to adoption on a close vote and received resounding support in the Senate. Throughout the process, the African ambassadors and trade ministers in home capitals and the U.S. private sector played an active role in rallying support for AGOA from all quarters, including the faith-based community. Unlike the previous round, President Clinton decided to spend real political capital on AGOA's passage and in May 2000, he signed the bill in front of thousands of supporters on the south lawn of the White House.

Despite AGOA, Africa still remains mired on the fringes of the global economy.

In 2002, an amended version of the act (known informally as "AGOA 2") was passed with equally broad bipartisan support. This legislation corrected some of the technical problems in the original incarnation and added Namibia and Botswana to the list of countries eligible for the "special rule" allowing for export to the U.S. of African textiles woven from Asian fabric. There is an "AGOA 3" now working its way through Congress that would extend the general market access provision until 2015 and the special rule on third-country fabrics for another two to four years.

Winners and Losers

In a recent visit to the United States, Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni praised AGOA as the most important single development in African relations with the developed world since independence. Indeed, as Amb. Zoellick testified, there is much to be happy about. In terms of apparel imports alone, Africa has experienced a threefold increase, all thanks to AGOA.

Yet while Pres. Museveni and Amb. Zoellick are certainly not alone in effusively praising AGOA, the legislation has not been totally successful.

First, AGOA is not as inclusive as it should be. The original design of the bill included market access preferences for African agricultural goods as well as textiles. Both categories of goods are produced in most African countries. However, vested U.S. interests in this area and the executive branch's traditional desire to address agricultural market access at the WTO level, precluded any preferences for such crops as sugar, cotton and rice. In a 2003 report, the World Bank predicted that AGOA imports would dramatically increase if these other items were included.

Second, in part due to these product exclusions, only a handful of African countries have been able to take significant advantage of AGOA. Over 75 percent of the increase of non-petroleum exports to the U.S. under its terms are enjoyed by just six countries: Lesotho, South Africa, Madagascar, Swaziland, Kenya and Mauritius.

A case in point is Nigeria, which is America's fifth-largest supplier of oil and the largest oil producer, by far, in Africa. It is also potentially the largest beneficiary of AGOA in terms of total monetary benefit, although 93 percent of these benefits derive from hydrocarbons or hydrocarbon-related products. Yet while Nigeria has been deemed eligible for AGOA, it has yet to qualify for its AGOA visa — nearly four years after the bill was signed into law.

Part of the problem has been structural, insofar as Nigeria's competitive advantage lies in large-scale fabric production, a category denied benefits under AGOA. However, much of this delay is also due to sheer administrative recalcitrance, legislative in-fighting and weak private sector organizations with limited engagement with government decision-makers. Although a new economic reform team and an energized private sector are now in place, observers are awaiting whether renewed commitments to change are rhetorical or real.

Third, those countries that have benefited from AGOA, with the possible exception of Madagascar, already enjoy a far higher standard of infrastructure (e.g., roads, ports, power, water supply and telephone service) than other African countries. This is equally true when it comes to the quality of the labor force, which is not only a function of educational level but is also related to the existence of a formal economy. For example, while Ethiopia is eager to benefit from the act, its labor force is at a very rudimentary skill level. Moreover, the scourge of HIV/AIDS has decimated the limited supply of skilled labor in Southern and East Africa.

South Africa is perhaps the best example of a country able to take advantage of AGOA. It has enjoyed the greatest economic "bounce" from AGOA, with manufacturing imports to the United States up several hundred percent in four years. Not only has the volume of imports

increased, but so has the range. For example, all the BMW Series 3 cars and Mercedes C Class cars bought in the U.S. are manufactured in South Africa.

In addition, both the South African apparel and textile industries have benefited substantially from AGOA, with over 50,000 new jobs created, according to South African industry associations. Moreover, South African companies are establishing manufacturing and sourcing presences in other African countries to supply the U.S. market.

A fourth factor is the administrative culture of any given African country. Kenya, South Africa and Mauritius worked diligently to inform their private sector of the opportunities AGOA presents, while other countries have not even concluded their visa arrangements four years after passage.

Finally, apart from AGOA itself, many African countries have governance and efficiency problems that severely hamper their ability to supply products to a global marketplace driven by supply-chain efficiencies.

Building on AGOA's Achievements

AGOA has clearly brought about an increase in Africa's involvement with the global economy. (See table, p. 45.) It has also helped serve U.S. foreign policy interests in pursuing the global WTO trade agenda and even in combating terrorism. However, more needs to be done on a variety of fronts to ensure that this progress is not lost, especially in a climate of increased competition from Asia, especially China.

More generous market access for goods Africa can produce competitively is one part of the solution. Another would be rapid reform of the agricultural provisions of the WTO; currently, agricultural export credits and subsidies in OECD countries total $300 billion a year.

The U.S. government has already instituted the broadest and deepest commitment of any country in the world toward solving Africa's health crisis, but much more needs to be done. As part of that effort, U.S. companies and nongovernmental organizations are launching

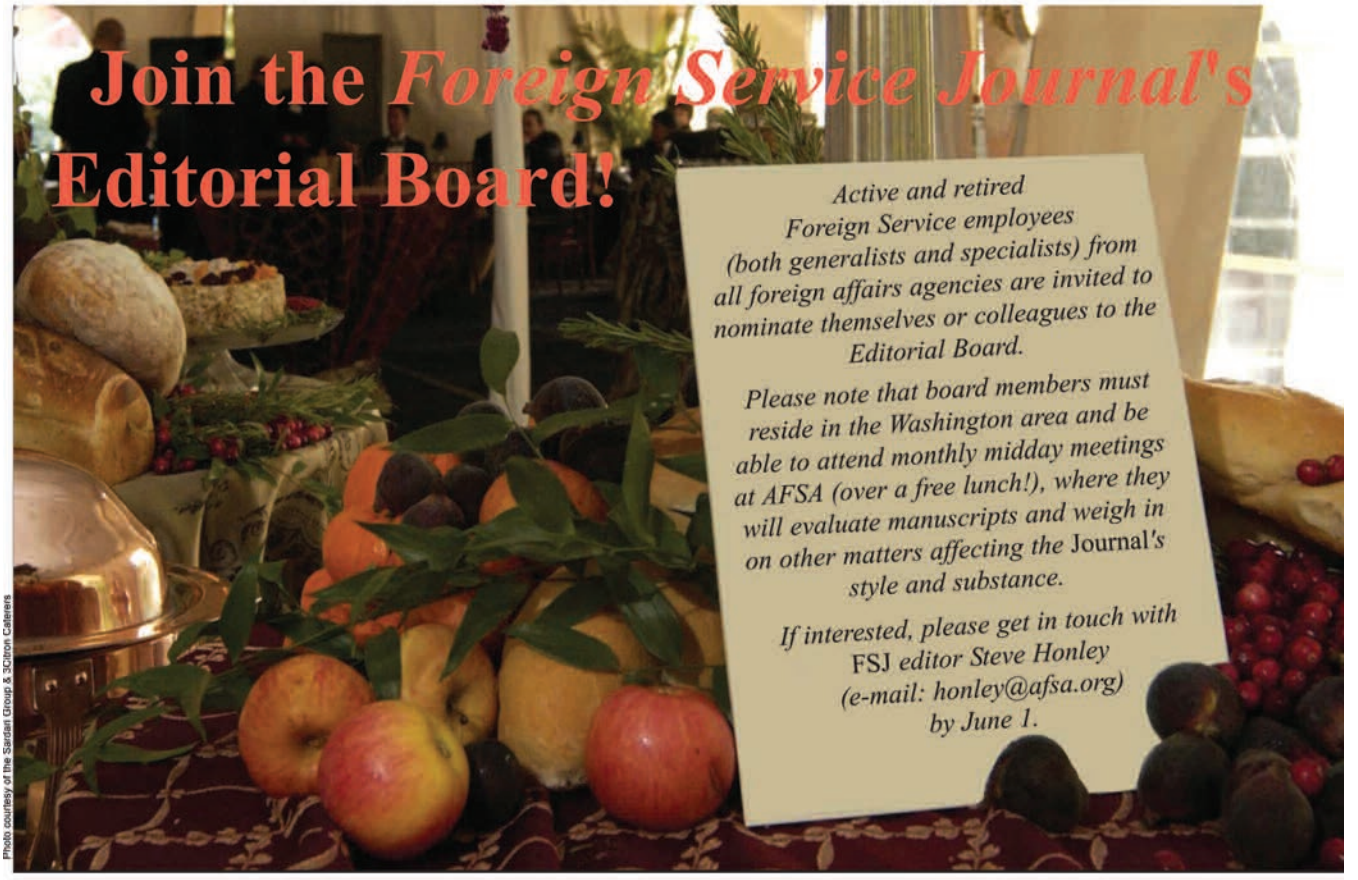


Photo courtesy of the Sardari Group & 3Citron Caterers

new initiatives to provide critical medicines and technical assistance to Africa. The U.S. government not only continues to support the Global Fund to Fight HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria but also is providing significant levels of new funding to equip Africa to confront its health system challenges.

Among the more promising ideas for helping Africa is the Bush administration's Millennium Challenge Account. The MCA will provide up to $15 billion in new economic assistance to Africa to complement existing U.S. government technical assistance programs, especially those addressing trade capacity development.

Unlike conventional assistance programs, however, MCA will be directed to those countries that have met high standards for economic governance and will create an opportunity to forge partnerships between U.S. companies and their African counterparts. This will create needed leverage to boost foreign direct investment flow and technology transfer to Africa. Some of these projects could also be directed at mitigating risk for projects aimed at improving African infrastructure.

The Doha Development Round is an example of United States-Africa cooperation that AGOA's passage has fostered.

Last, and most importantly, African governments and private business persons have begun to recognize that providing a proper enabling environment for business growth is the highest priority on the agenda. For fostering that welcome trend, Rep. McDermott's decade-old vision of AGOA deserves a share of the credit. ■

Mandela, My Hero

David Dean

Nelson Mandela is loved and respected worldwide for his courage, integrity and charisma. But his softer side came to the fore one memorable day.

By Helen Lyman

I first met Nelson Mandela when my husband Princeton and I had only been in South Africa a few months — a very turbulent few months. Mandela had been released from prison two years earlier. There was progress toward a majority-rule government, and most South Africans, "black," "white," and "colored," were passionate about avoiding civil war. But the political reality was still a dizzying roller coaster ride. One day some seemingly insurmountable difference would suddenly be, at least partially, resolved — but then the next day the newspapers would be full of the graphic descriptions of riots following a township killing. After each horrific

event all sides would blame each other and call off negotiations. The outcome of this march toward a democratic government was still unknown.

It was during these unsettled times that my husband and I arrived in South Africa. We had high hopes and some fears of what his tenure as the American ambassador would bring. The African National Congress, Mandela's political party, did not harbor friendly feelings toward the United States. The U.S. had come to the anti-apartheid movement rather late and, in the ANC's opinion, was still not giving it enough support. The white-ruled South African government, for its part, did not trust us because it felt we were *too* aligned with the forces intent on replacing it.

Mandela was able to convince most black South Africans to give nonviolence a bit longer to prove itself.

By April 1993, conditions were not much improved. But fortunately, there were men like Nelson Mandela who were able to convince most black South Africans to give nonviolence a bit longer to prove itself. Another was Chris Hani, who, like Mandela, had great charisma and popularity. He was a dynamic young man with the ability to control the youth vigilantes, who were becoming dangerous.

A Planned Excursion

That's how things stood one day as we, and the DCM and his wife, were sitting in our living room in Cape Town. We were waiting to hear that a visiting congressional delegation had boarded their bus and were on their way to see the Cape Flats townships. We were all exhausted from ensuring that the delegation was having a safe, informative trip, which we hoped would send them back to the U.S. with more determination to aid the South African struggle. Today the group had a full day planned, leaving the four of us free. This Sunday seemed made for hiking on the famous Table Mountain. Nature had blessed this part of the country by surrounding it with two oceans and then adding several magnificent mountain ranges and forests.

It was relaxing to be in the presence of good friends with whom I could just be myself, sip my coffee, wear my old jeans, sink into a soft chair, anticipate the planned hike, and wait for the call that would signal the end of our responsibilities for the visiting Americans. We felt we had earned this rare chance to be out of the spotlight and just enjoy ourselves the way other people did.

When the phone rang, I eagerly reached for my backpack with no premonition of what was to come. Once I realized, from my husband's part of the conversation, that something had gone wrong, my disappointment was overwhelming. But the horror of what had happened quickly put all thoughts of beautiful, peaceful Table Mountain out of my head. Chris Hani had been assassinated and we knew immediately that the country had lost the very man, after Mandela, most capable of keeping order in the townships. We had lived through the American riots after the assassination of Martin Luther King, and feared for the future of South Africa's hope for a peaceful transition.

Soon we learned of the ANC's plans to have two memorial services for Chris Hani. One would be for the diplomatic community and would take place in Johannesburg, the major business city in the country. The other would take place a day earlier on a football field in Soweto, a teeming black township of five million people. My husband decided to attend both of these services. I objected on the grounds that the one in Soweto was sure to be dangerous; there had already been several reports of violence around the country. He insisted that he would be safe — so I insisted that, if it was not dangerous, I would go along. I thought that argument might keep him safely at home. But my plan backfired and, along with my husband, I found myself being driven to the football field accom-

---

Helen Lyman accompanied her FSO husband Princeton Lyman on assignments to South Korea, Ethiopia, Nigeria and South Africa. Her career went from teaching first grade to teaching computer skills at the State Department. Currently she is writing her memoirs and volunteering at Common Cause and the Colorectal Cancer Network.

panied by an armed American security employee. There was one bulletproof vest, my husband's size, hanging in the car.

To the Stadium

As we drove toward the stadium, I became increasingly fearful as we heard the angry shouts of the young men walking to the service. Fires had been set, and rocks were being thrown at the steel military and police vehicles that were visible all along the road. Although we arrived early, the stadium was already packed and people were standing everywhere in order to see, including the rooftops of the small buildings around it.

Mandela is loved and respected for his charisma, courage and leadership, but it is his kindness and sensitivity to others that have made him my hero.

So it was that we found ourselves the only diplomats and, indeed, the only white faces that I could see, at the entrance of a football field crowded with 10,000 agitated ANC and communist mourners.

Once inside the stadium, the ambassador and I were taken over by four huge men wearing red shirts with "Communist Party" printed in large black letters on the front and back of the shirts. Trying to smile and not show our nervousness in the midst of the chaos and noise, we explained who we were and were greatly relieved when we realized that these tough looking young men had became our self-appointed body guards. We sincerely hoped that they were up to the job. Very unceremoniously, two of these hefty men held my husband's arms down by his sides, lifted him off the ground and literally carried him through the crowds. The two others did the same for me. Thus they transported us safely across the length of the stadium, to the platform where they thought we belonged.

During this time my heart rate was going through the roof and I felt we had been stupid to come to this event. In our protected white world we could not comprehend the feelings of the masses around us. Later, much later, we were able to joke that, were we to have appeared on American TV surrounded by men in Communist Party shirts, our stay in South Africa might have ended quite abruptly. Politically correct or not, they kept us from any threat of harm and, looking over the livid faces of the crowd chanting anti-everything slogans, we were grateful for their protection.

We sat through increasingly irate speeches and became ever more concerned about where this outrage would take the crowd and where it would take the country. When Nelson Mandela finally arrived on the scene, even he seemed in danger of losing control of the crowd; he was booed several times when he spoke out against taking revenge. In the end, to our great relief, he did manage to quiet the people, partly by stressing the fact that it was, after all, a white woman who had taken down the license plate number of the car of Chris Hani's assassin. After his speech Mandela was told of my husband's presence and we were informed that he was coming over to greet my husband.

I was (and am) used to standing in the background while my spouse conducts business at receptions and dinner parties and all manner of social occasions. I am rather shy, and especially uncomfortable around celebrities. So it was with relief that I stepped back as a world hero stepped up to speak to the American ambassador who, by attending a memorial service, was expressing his support of Mandela's goals for South Africa. Mandela noticed me in the background and our eyes met. Although he did not know me, he seemed to size up the situation immediately. I could feel him thinking: "Awwww, poor thing, she's shy." And then, in spite of the tension we could still feel in the stadium — in spite of the concern he must have had about what he needed to say and do in the next few days to keep the black population's anger from erupting into a violence that would kill his dreams of a peaceful change of government — over he marched to give me a hug.

Nelson Mandela is loved and respected worldwide for his charisma, courage, and the fact that he is a strong leader whose integrity is legendary. But as that encounter demonstrated, it is his kindness and sensitivity to others that have made him *my* hero. ■

FROM THE AFRICA FILE: THE BUILDING BLOCKS OF SUCCESS

In early March, we sent an appeal via AFSANet asking members with experience at African posts to share brief vignettes about ways the U.S. has helped foster positive change, or could do so. We thank all Foreign Service personnel who shared their observations and experiences. In fact, we received so many thoughtful responses that we will run more next month.

— Susan B. Maitra, Senior Editor

MEMBERS SHARE STORIES OF PROGRESS FROM AROUND THE CONTINENT.

Conflict Resolution and Development Go Hand in Hand

Under the bright African sky on a hot summer afternoon, over 2,000 women, men and children gathered around the local meeting place. Imagine a sea of colors: people dressed in their brightest batik, curious children in ragtag outfits, government officials decked out in suits, military men in fatigues and traditional leaders draped in ceremonial cloth. Faces were lit with happiness, sadness, remembrance and forgiveness as mothers lamented lost sons and fathers bemoaned lost solidarity. People from different families, villages and ethnic groups had come together for the first time in over 20 years to talk about peace: to voice their grievances and start to repair the damage inflicted by civil war. The people met for two days, both to share in cultural events (theater, dance and sport) and to hold an inclusive dialogue.

I am part of the team in USAID's Senegal mission that sponsors local and international NGOs to organize community peace-building activities such as the ceremony described above, using traditional means to break pacts of revenge and end the circle of violence in the Casamance region of southern Senegal. In response to one of the longest-lasting conflicts in Africa, a low-level war for succession that has affected over one million people, we designed a special program that could meet development needs in such an unstable environment.

The program rationale posits that if the people responsible for and affected by the conflict have the opportunity to improve their economic well-being, political empowerment in development issues and social cohesiveness, then much of the discontent that indirectly fuels the fighting would be decreased, direct channels for reconciliation would be increased, and peace will ensue. Our approach has been to remain neutral on a political level, facilitate dialogue between the belligerent parties, implement activities without formal peace accords, directly fund reconciliation activities, and assist and empower the people harmed by the fighting — not always by focusing on the conflict.

For example, without spotlighting the rebellion, our NGO partners have assisted communities to identify their strengths/weaknesses and prioritize problems. Solutions are co-funded, complementing community resources. Assistance mechanisms are flexible and quickly implemented, with an eye to local capacity-building and sustainability. Solutions have included canoe transport for isolated islands, health huts and school classrooms, community grocery shops, and labor-saving devices such as grain mills.

Economic development via the private sector has also been an effective tool. Our NGO partners took local natural resources (cashew nuts, sesame seeds) and taught private entrepreneurs to produce and/or process them, to manage their businesses, and then created marketing channels to sell production. The result: new jobs and income that will continue after development funding ends. Less poverty equals less discontent.

Peace in the Casamance is, unfortunately, not yet a signed deal, but momentum at many levels has increased. The government and rebel forces have made noticeable progress in the last year via formal meetings and announcements on key issues. Refugees and internally displaced people have started to voluntarily return.

The U.S. has been the only outside actor in the Casamance since 2000, and there is satisfaction now, in 2004, in seeing other members of the international community follow suit. We believe that U.S. development activities in the Casamance have greatly contributed to increased stability and reconciliation.

I truly believe that the community level must not be leapfrogged for larger, more unwieldy schemes.

Perhaps if these types of activities were implemented *before* a conflict erupts, much suffering and instability could be avoided altogether.

Kathryn Lane
Casamance Coordinator
USAID Mission/Senegal

There's No Leapfrogging the Community Level

During the mid-1990s, after the closure of our USAID mission, I worked as the democracy and human rights coordinator as well as special self-help coordinator at Embassy Banjul in The Gambia. With the ambassador's approval, I made decisions on funding and dispensed taxpayer money to projects. Many good projects were launched, but at the same time projects were canceled that were not on track.

Personally, I had had enough of money being thrown at unsustainable, unrealistic projects. I had witnessed the closure of our local USAID mission, which quite literally disappeared without a trace. I was at once saddened and angered, not by the closure itself, but rather the fact that it could be closed down and practically nothing of the massive amounts of time and effort expended on development remained manifest in the country.

I am a fan of the self-help program. I truly believe that well-directed small investments at the community level are the key to sustainable development, and that the community level must not be leapfrogged for larger, more unwieldy schemes.

I have also come to realize that, without a doubt, women are the key to project success. I watched as the women and girls of the villages headed out to the fields every morning and returned from their toils with the setting sun, while many of the men seemed to lounge around under the shade of the baobab trees sipping tea and smoking cigarettes. This led me to review several years worth of self-help files, and conduct follow-up visits to numerous project sites. Almost without fail, those projects run by women and for women were the successes.

The following guidelines that I employed will, I am confident, ring true elsewhere:

• The idea for a project must be completely indigenous. Offer advice and guidance, but the initial impetus and the subsequent management must be local.

• The smaller and simpler the project, the greater the likelihood of success and, more important, sustainability.

• Focusing on community-oriented women's groups and local women's organizations will ensure that projects will benefit more than a handful of individuals.

• While one-time investments on things like school buildings, perimeter fences, and equipment are quick and easy, money-making ventures are better for the community in the long run. Chicken farms, wells for community gardens, arts and crafts centers are all viable sustainable projects.

• Be sure to include an educational element (i.e., money raised will go into building new schools, buying school supplies, etc.).

Michael Kelly

Working for Justice

One would never guess that South Africa's "Big Five" game animals are playing a role in an ambitious new project to achieve a more effective and accessible justice system. The lion, elephant, rhino, leopard and buffalo inspired a unique training program to help thousands of Department of Justice employees drive the restructuring of court support services in South Africa.

"Re Aga Boswa," which means "we are rebuilding" in the Sotho language, is a comprehensive effort to transform court services, redefining the court environment as the nucleus of service delivery. It is a partnership of South Africa's Department of Justice and the local NGO, Business Against Crime, with USAID.

KwaZulu-Natal's court system, where the new court services support model has been piloted, has been fundamentally transformed — not just by structural adaptations to service delivery, but by recognizing Department of Justice staff at every level as the fuel behind a new engine. To prepare for the changes, Re Aga Boswa designed the "Habits Training Program." It focuses on developing a partnership between multiple role players. A story called

"Changing Landscapes" tells the tale of South Africa's "Big Five" game animals and the roles they play during the course of a migration to new pastures. The animals are used in the training programs, notably in a board game that tests the negotiation skills of players, their patience and their own roles in the workplace.

Seventy-five members of the Department of Justice have been trained as facilitators and multipliers of the Habits Training Program. Not only have court workers at every level discovered skills that may have forever gone untapped, but the Department of Justice learned the power residing within its own people. "Habits Change" seminars have boosted morale and reduced worker absenteeism. The project marks the first time hundreds of employees received on-the-job training, and has led to a commitment by the justice minister to allocate each employee an hour every week for training purposes.

The New Court Support Services Model is expanding to service three additional provinces. Dr. Biki Minyuku, Re Aga Boswa's director and program director at Business Against Crime, says: "The best investment we have made is in the minds of people. People are our most strategic resource."

Reverie Zurba
Information Officer
USAID, Pretoria

Two Success Stories from Nigeria

1. Midwives No Longer Flee Calabar Mothers

Midwives in Nigeria's Cross River state used to scamper away from women in the midst of painful childbirth if the mothers were suspected of living with HIV. In at least one major Calabar hospital, though, midwives trained in a U.S.-funded infection prevention program over the last four years now assist with all deliveries, regardless of HIV status.

With this newfound focus on treating all patients regardless of any HIV stigma, doctors at the University of Calabar Teaching Hospital said they could do their job better. One doctor said the best part of the U.S.-funded infection prevention program is that it has helped save lives by conquering an unnecessary fear over HIV. "That is where the beauty of the infection prevention program comes in," she said.

Since 2000, the U.S. Agency for International Development has worked with local partner Engender Health to fund more than $30,000 of equipment and printed materials for the Calabar hospital. Beyond the training materials to prevent infections, the U.S. funded the construction of a theater for performing surgical contraceptive practices, training for staff counselors and outreach to remote local government areas.

2. Oiling The Wheel Of Progress

In rural Imo state, women leaders have high hopes that a single palm oil processing center funded by the U.S. government can spur economic progress and democratic development.

"It will improve the life of women and other people there," said Monica Okorafor, a member of the women's organization installing the palm oil "digester." The machine is the first step in empowering people together to address their common problems, Okorafor said.

With a grant of the equivalent of $1,400, the Obiwuruotu Women's Organization, a group dedicated to women's empowerment in the Imo village of the same name, is working with Enugu's Global Health and Awareness Research Foundation to install the palm oil digester this year. The money comes from the U.S. Ambassador's Special Self-Help Fund.

The U.S.-funded machine can pound, press and extract one pound of palm kernels in three minutes and produces an entire drum of palm oil in less than three hours. The 200 women members of the Obiwuruotu organization plan to use the digester to make oil used in cooking, soaps and machinery, using the scraps from the machine as poultry feed.

For less than 15 cents, the women can buy a bunch of palm kernels that the machine can turn into a bottle of oil that sells for the equivalent of nearly a dollar. The women also plan to rent the machine out for the use of neighboring villages. With the profits from the machine, the women plan to buy new tools, expand their community meeting facilities and provide small loans to other women entrepreneurs.

Obiora, the founder of GHARF, said these community benefits are just as important as the money gained from the machine's operation. Her "greatest pleasure" is seeing attitudinal change for adolescents and women, especially as they discover new ways to be involved in democracy and decision-making, she said.

Mike Hankey
Information Officer
U.S. Consulate General, Lagos ■

Neo-Imperialism and U.S. Foreign Policy

The Bush administration has argued that the 9/11 attacks ushered in a new geo-strategic reality requiring new domestic and foreign policy approaches. This is a false and dangerous premise.

By Louis Janowski

American foreign policy at its best combines a clear understanding of our national interests, the limits of our power, and the real and psychological needs of the American people. Effective foreign policy in our democracy has always been a combination of realpolitik and moral idealism. Pearl Harbor remains the classic example: a Japanese attack created the catalyst that allowed President Franklin Roosevelt to unite the American people behind moral and idealistic policies which successfully structured U.S policies and advanced U.S. interests for the remainder of the 20th century.

Yet the U.S. foreign policy record over the past half-century has been mixed. All too often, our political leadership appears to suffer from attention deficit disorder and the dangerous, self-destructive behaviors that too often accompany ADD.

The Vietnam War failed the test of meeting a clearly defined and limited national interest. In addition, the realities of conducting guerrilla warfare meant that the average American perceived a nightmare rather than an idealistic and moral crusade for a better world. Both the Korean and Persian Gulf Wars had clear causes, limited objectives (recall President Harry Truman's dismissal of Gen. Douglas MacArthur over widening the scope of the Korean War) and wide global support. The Persian Gulf War was a good example of clear causes, limited objectives, morality, and broad international support. By contrast, Somalia was an example of unrealistic moral idealism combined with a lack of concrete national interest.

The 2003 invasion of Iraq failed to meet these criteria. It lacked virtually every element of this formula for success: a clearly defined casus belli, an overriding national interest, limited goals, and international legitimacy. Indeed, the Bush administration was able to win popular support for the war only by pandering to the worst fears of the American public, conjuring up a link of terror between the secular nationalist Ba'thist rulers of Iraq and the diametrically opposed pan-Islamic religious fundamentalists of al-Qaida. The two represent essentially opposing ends of the political spectrum in the Middle East with little in common other than shared anti-Americanism.

Equally unbelievable was the portrait of an "axis of evil" linking Iran and Iraq (and North Korea). Saddam Hussein's invasion of Iran and the ensuing 1980-88 Iran-Iraq War render such a linkage a grotesque distortion of historical reality, as does the participation of several senior officials from the current Bush administration in the Reagan administration's efforts to cultivate Saddam during that period.

More generally, the Bush administration has attempted to argue that the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center ushered in a new geo-strategic reality requiring new domestic and foreign policy approaches. This is a false premise. All that changed with 9/11 was a naive assumption that somehow the U.S. — unlike any other nation — could involve itself in ever-expanding external acts without potential negative or retaliatory responses on its territory.

In this regard, it is useful to recall that terrorism is specifically designed to cause overreaction. Perhaps terrorism's greatest success in the past century was Austria-Hungary's

Lou Janowski was a Foreign Service officer from 1966 to 1988, serving in Jeddah, South Vietnam (the Mekong Delta with the CORDS program), Paris, Addis Ababa (twice, the second time as DCM), Nairobi, New York and Washington. A graduate of the Armed Forces Staff College, he lives and works in Madison, Wisc.

overreaction to the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand by a Serbian Pan-Slav "terrorist" which, in turn, led to World War I and the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Empire Building

The 9/11 attacks have been used to redefine U.S. foreign policy along neoconservative lines. The new policies emphasize unilateralism, unlimited objectives, and the use of military force as a primary adjunct to policy. This set of characteristics has little in common with historic U.S. policy, which until the 1940s emphasized isolationism, limited foreign policy objectives and an aversion to the use of military force outside the Western Hemisphere.

In one respect, the neoconservatives do harken back to the past in their approach to foreign policy. Unfortunately, they do so by invoking the now-obsolete political-military premises of the Cold War, such as a perceived need for overwhelming military superiority. The administration's proposed military budget of $401 billion for FY 2004-2005 is as great as those of the next six powers combined. Where is the threat to justify this expenditure? Ongoing efforts to expand the forward deployment of U.S. forces to areas such as Central Europe and South Asia can hardly be justified on the basis of a military threat to the territorial integrity or national existence of the United States or of our principal allies. There was a sound rationale for a forward projection of U.S. forces during the Cold War. But there is no basis for transforming forward defense into a strategy of unilateral global political-military imperialism, as we are in the process of doing.

President Dwight Eisenhower's farewell address, in which he warned of the dangers posed by the "military-industrial complex," was perhaps the last example of a leadership vision coupling an emphasis on adequate power with an understanding of the dangers that excessive power creates. Since Eisenhower, American political leadership has actively sought an ever-expanding role on the world stage and an expansion of military presence into far-flung regions of the world where U.S. interests are marginal at best.

In an era of half-trillion-dollar budget deficits, can we afford the empire we seem to be building?

For the sake of argument, however, let us assume that the only way for the United States to remain secure in the post-9/11 environment is to forge an empire. The basic ingredients for success at such an enterprise are: skillful diplomacy to forge strong alliances; the ability to formulate and implement rational decisions based on realistic threat assessments; sound decisions about when to use military force; and the wherewithal to support the demands of running and defending a global presence (e.g., a sound economic base, military hardware and human resources).

Keeping Bad Company

The long-term viability of any American empire will be based on the ability to make alliances with nations and leaders who support the long-term goals and values of American democracy while, to the extent possible, avoiding alliances of convenience with known bad actors. Yet in the case of Iraq, we reversed that formula. Nearly all our major allies were strongly opposed to the war, and the few who stood with us did so despite strong domestic opposition. Thus, major by-products of the war have been a fundamental weakening of the NATO alliance, rifts in the longstanding unity of the West, and the undermining of pro-American governments in the Arab and Muslim worlds.

The war on terror demonstrates a similar inconsistency on the other side of the equation. In our zeal to acquire new allies against al-Qaida, the Bush administration seems willing to overlook the very same human rights violations and brutal suppression of democracy that the State Department details in its latest set of worldwide country reports. Countries like Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Pakistan were quick to learn that lesson, and others seem poised to follow in their footsteps.

This phenomenon is nothing new, regrettably. In Afghanistan, U.S. covert operations in support of Islamic fundamentalists fighting the Soviets two decades ago paved the way for the Taliban to fill the vacuum created when Moscow withdrew. When we eventually turned to tribal surrogates to help us oust the Taliban, we conveniently overlooked the fact that some of them were major players in the international drug trade. The result? Afghanistan today is the world's largest source of opium and heroin prices have fallen around the globe. It is, therefore, hard to make a convincing case that Afghanistan is any less a global danger to U.S. interests now.

Getting the Threat Right

Whether or not one believes that the Bush administration politicized the findings of the intelligence community concerning Saddam Hussein's alleged weapons of mass destruction programs, that debate underscores the need for sound analysis of often-

Effective foreign policy in our democracy has always been a combination of realpolitik and moral idealism.

ambiguous and incomplete indications regarding what our foes are doing and planning.

Understandably, the various components of the U.S. intelligence community frequently disagree among themselves when it comes to assessing the data, but in general, the most unrealistic threat assessments tend to come from the Defense Intelligence Agency and the other military intelligence services. This is so for several reasons. First, military commanders understandably want to ensure that they do not inadvertently endanger their troops by underestimating the forces they face. Second, DOD budgets are directly related to threat projections, while State, CIA and NSA budgets lack this seminal link. Third, DIA assessments frequently ignore political, economic and cultural factors, and therefore misread both enemy intentions and capabilities. For example, the military threat the Soviet Union posed during the Cold War was never as serious as estimated. And in the post-Cold War period, our experiences in the Balkans, Iraq and elsewhere have clearly demonstrated the gaps between the military threat projected by DOD and actual conditions on the ground.

In the case of Iraq, Gen. Eric Shinseki and other combat-seasoned

Calling All FS Authors!

The November 2004 *Foreign Service Journal* will include a list of recently published books by Foreign Service-affiliated authors.

FS authors who have had a book published in 2003 or 2004 that has not previously been featured in the roundup, are invited to send a copy of the book, along with a press release or backgrounder on the book and author, to:

Susan Maitra, **Foreign Service Journal**
2101 E Street, NW, Washington, DC 20037

Deadline for submissions is Sept. 1.

military officers were fully aware that our lack of cultural and language capability would seriously limit the utility of modern arms, particularly in non-traditional warfare. They therefore requested force levels higher than they otherwise would have. Yet the White House rejected the requests, citing the ability of our troops to destroy all conventional military resistance in Iraq. But the administration neglected to take into account the importance of destroying or forcing the surrender and disbanding of Iraqi units in place and securing weapons and ammunition dumps to ensure that most Iraqis perceived the likelihood of successful unconventional warfare as poor. It also ignored the reality that terrorism and unconventional warfare are the logical by-products of overwhelming military inferiority.

The other side of the threat assessment coin is formulating an appropriate response. Just as even the best analysts sometimes either overestimate or underestimate potential threats, policy-makers tend to favor the use of force to keep other countries from assessing U.S. decision-makers as weak or uncertain.

American military dominance has resulted in both the overuse of military force and errors in how we have applied it. Overuse is a natural result of being able to use military force in almost any scenario; as the saying goes, when you have a hammer, every problem looks like a nail. But it also reflects the desire for quick solutions to complex problems, and the political reality that the use of military force builds short- to midterm political support at the polls.

The potential for error exists in large part because there are major disconnects in our system between global political, economic, social and political-military knowledge and national decision-making power.

U.S. policy-makers have ignored President Eisenhower's warning about the dangers posed by the "military-industrial complex."

America's foreign and strategic policy decision-making structures are so complex and multi-layered, and actual "on-the ground" knowledge is so far removed from those with decision-making authority, that serious mistakes are inevitable. The collapse of the Soviet Union and its empire from within is an excellent example of this type of structural problem. The Soviet centralized economic planning system worked reasonably well when the system it ran was a relatively simple one. But as the Soviet Union became economically mature and far more complex, centralized planning became incapable of meeting the varied tasks it faced. A similar reality is faced by American foreign policy today, with a potentially parallel outcome.

Then there is the problem of developing the human resources necessary for maintaining a global empire. After all, "smart" weapons systems are only as "smart" as those who operate them. It is exceptionally difficult to identify, track and destroy irregular forces and terrorists when you don't speak the local language or understand the local norms and mores — much less the broader culture and its complicated subcultures. What was true in Vietnam 35 years ago is just as true today in Iraq and Afghanistan. Yet no administration has been willing to commit the funds to ensure that U.S. diplomats, intelligence operatives and military forces have adequate linguistic, cultural and area-specific skills.

Despite our relative under-investment in these areas, our military, intelligence and diplomatic services have amassed an immense amount of knowledge (especially compared to what the political leadership of the day possesses). But power rivalries at both the political and bureaucratic levels and complex hierarchical structures work to keep knowledge and power apart. The longtime rivalry between the FBI and the CIA was one of the main factors that prevented solid intelligence about terrorist training in U.S. flight schools from cutting through multiple levels of bureaucracy and preventing the 9/11 terrorist attacks.

Following 9/11, top Defense Department officials chose to confine decision-making and intelligence assessment with respect to Iraq to a small group of like-thinking individuals (the "Office of Special Plans"). The result was that policy was made in secret by individuals with only a limited knowledge of the region, who never allowed their recommendations to face the open and ongoing scrutiny of the entire intelligence community (much less the political system). The outcome demonstrated manifold errors. There were no weapons of mass destruction. The assumption that Iraqi Arabs would warmly welcome the U.S., particularly given our longstanding support for Israel, failed to stand up in the light of day. Exiled Iraqis were not warmly welcomed upon their return. The assumption that Iraq's clan structure — where nepotism is a virtue, not a vice — is amenable to democracy appears to be either a misguided assumption or a cynical ploy.

Finally, the administration's insis-

tence on requesting military force levels well below what the Joint Chiefs wanted, and its refusal to draw up clear-cut plans for occupation and exit, clearly created conditions more favorable to insurgency, costing hundreds of American lives.

Again, the lesson is that decision-makers need to have access to, and be willing to consult, those diplomats, analysts, troops and agents with first-hand knowledge of conditions on the ground. For this to occur, of course, a certain amount of humility is required by the political leadership as well as a fair amount of structural change to reduce the rigidity of our foreign affairs bureaucracies.

When he first arrived at State, Secretary Powell stunned the bureaucracy by occasionally leaving the 7th floor and personally going to desk officers to seek out knowledge. Coming from a military background and drawing on his experiences in Vietnam, Powell was undoubtedly aware that bad news is repeatedly filtered by multiple levels of bureaucracy before it reaches senior decision-makers. And, as any problem works its way through the system, more and more filtering is done by officials who, no matter how competent or capable, are less likely to have adequate knowledge of the realities on the ground. Furthermore, they have bureaucratic reasons not to disturb the status quo and existing chains of power and control. Few are prepared to appear disloyal by failing to cheerlead administration priorities and policies of the moment. Bureaucratic advancement is as much the result of the absence of perceived error as it is of actual accomplishment.

Paying the Tab

Finally, in an era of half-trillion-dollar budget deficits, can we afford an empire?

One of the major consequences of seeking a global political-military empire is the relegation of critical domestic and global economic, financial and other policy questions to secondary status rather than addressing them as key issues.

The unilateralist neoconservative policies of today are a badly mutated descendant of our isolationist heritage.

Except for the United States, almost every developed nation (and many aspiring to that status) has placed economic and financial policies, not political-military objectives, at the top of their respective agendas since the end of the Cold War. And, in large part, they did so precisely because they knew U.S. leadership — for its own reasons — was prepared to carry the burden for them. This was a rational decision both because of the lack of a pressing threat and in view of the lesson learned by other developed states from 1939 to 1989: namely, empires are expensive. The average citizen of a former colonial power may today regret the loss of his or her perceived superiority by association with an empire, but he or she certainly does not regret no longer having to pay the extravagant costs of maintaining an imperial system.

United States policy-makers desperately need to pay more attention to America's pressing financial and economic needs. Cordell Hull is almost completely forgotten today, but he deserves to be remembered not only for being the longest-serving Secretary of State in history (1933-1944) but for being the last one to concentrate on promoting U.S. economic interests.

Admittedly, the collapse of the global economic and financial order left him and FDR with no alternative, but it is still disheartening to see how far we have gone in the opposite direction.

Today, U.S. policies seem to be assisting a collapse of the very international financial order we created in the aftermath of World War II. The disconnect between the United States and Western Europe on trade matters is growing. American restrictions on steel imports have caused greater harm to U.S. steel fabricators and consumers than the benefits they provided to domestic steel producers, and provoked threats of retaliatory measures from Europe, China and Japan. Coincidentally or not, Washington sharply increased subsidies to American agribusiness on the eve of global discussions on finding a way to increase and rationalize global agricultural trade, with predictable results.

If the United States were a minor player on the world stage instead of the major funding source for the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, those organizations would be demanding that the U.S. administration make major fiscal and economic policy changes. The United States' staggering trade deficit (5 percent of GDP) would have to be addressed, as would its addiction to foreign investment capital to finance that trade deficit. The IMF and the World Bank would also demand progress toward a balanced U.S. budget. The rapid fall of the U.S. dollar relative to other major currencies over the past two years is a clear indication that investors worldwide are today far less comfortable with investing in the United States. Whatever else one may think of the policies of

the Clinton administration, its fixation on a strong dollar and balanced budgets was, in part, based on a clear understanding of the need to assure foreign investors of the long-term strength of the U.S. economy.

A Return to Core Competencies

The impact of American unilateralism and its concentration on political-military matters is obvious. There is a vacuum of leadership in other international policy areas, be they political, economic, legal, or environmental. The vacuum exists by definition. If you have a unilateral policy, you can't lead, because you have been unwilling to make the compromises necessary for others to follow.

As with domestic issues, success in foreign policy means meeting the often-conflicting needs of concerned parties. For example, if we had shown some regard for the views of the United Nations and our traditional allies as we prepared for war (or even afterward), we might not be bearing the costs almost entirely alone — and the situation in Iraq, not to mention its prospects, would likely be considerably brighter. Compare the current mess with the handling of the Persian Gulf War. There, patient diplomacy ensured that the financial, political and human costs to the U.S. were minimal — as opposed to the open-ended costs of the present "Coalition of the Willing" in Iraq.

The unilateralist neoconservative policies of today are a badly mutated descendant of our isolationist heritage. Isolationism at least had the clear advantage of limited objectives, keeping the United States from entering two world wars until a national consensus existed for intervention. Our late entry into both conflicts spared the United States from most of the human, social and financial consequences of those two great conflicts.

Of course, isolationism is dead, buried by technology that makes it outmoded except in backwaters such as North Korea and Burma. But the concept of limiting commitments on the basis of national interest and real needs makes as much sense today as it always has. American foreign policy today needs to re-examine its commitments worldwide and redefine them. Our 60-year relationship with Europe is crumbling, and better solutions exist than moving U.S. military bases from Western to Central Europe.

U.S. foreign policy toward the Middle East has been a disaster since 1967. An even-handed policy with respect to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict would do more to reduce the threat of anti-American terrorism than any other step we could take. We also need to question why, in view of the end of the Cold War and a vastly changed energy situation worldwide over the past three decades, we need a military presence in the Persian Gulf.

In sum, the primary need of the United States today is to greatly reduce U.S. commitments worldwide. The existing U.S. decision-making and intelligence structures are no more capable of running a global empire (at least one in accord with the moral and democratic views of the American public) than the centralized Soviet system was of controlling a far less complicated global equation.

In the language of the business community, the United States needs to get back to its core competencies. In the 21st century, there is no reason for Americans to play the "Great Game" in the mode of 19th century European elites — particularly when no vital U.S. interests are at stake. To follow such a course is, in the words of Talleyrand, "Worse than wrong, monsieur. It is stupid." ■

Preparing for Promotion Panel Season

Whether you view a stint on a promotion panel as a public service or the equivalent of jury duty, here are some tips to make the experience less onerous.

By David T. Jones and Stephen T. Smith

Each year, scores of active-duty Foreign Service personnel are tapped for service on a promotion panel. Not all are senior-level (two FP-4 employees were on the 2003 S-VI board "to review the official performance folders of office management specialists in class FS-6") but four career ministers and a public member reviewed the files of MC officers for promotion. The basic rule is that you don't rate your peers or superiors. Panelists are a mix of Washington-based and overseas employees. Some actively volunteer, while others say in the course of discussions with the Human Resources Bureau that they're willing to serve. Others are between assignments or in Washington for some reason and are "volunteered."

Those who have been toiling in cold climates may welcome the prospect of two months in lovely, semi-tropical Washington during the summer, but many Foreign Service employees regard it as the equivalent of doing jury duty, at best. (The most cynical may view it as an opportunity to do onto others as they have been done unto.)

Although the uninitiated may assume selection for a promotion panel is akin to being struck by lightning, it is actually fairly commonplace. For the 2003 promotion process, 17 boards were convened, consisting of 93 individuals. We anticipate the same number of panels for 2004. There is one public member on every panel, but that still leaves 76 slots for Foreign Service employees.

In addition, two boards met separately to determine performance pay awards, incorporating another 11 individuals. Also, on an irregular basis, there are special panels convened to review grievance cases and possible errors regarding promotion. Finally, in keeping with the concept of a unified Foreign Service, State Department officers serve on the promotion panels of other foreign affairs agencies, such as the Foreign Agricultural Service.

In Lake Wobegon, all the children are above average. Judging from EERs, apparently many of them grow up to be Foreign Service officers.

If you project these numbers over the 20-plus years of a standard FSO career, especially when you move into more senior levels (as you do not rate your peers or superiors), you can conclude that there is a fair chance that you will eventually be one of "the chosen."

Incidentally, the concept of the "public member" may seem puzzling. Why should the State Department subject its most important procedural function — the selection of its best and brightest employees — at least partly to an outside educator, consultant, reporter, or the like? After all, this is not the norm for intelligence agencies, military services, or Justice Department lawyers, let alone for state and local officials, such as police or fire departments.

The answer is simple: State believes that to combat the impression of elitism so often cited in commentaries critical

---

David Jones, a retired Senior Foreign Service officer, is a longtime contributor to the Journal. *Stephen Smith is an active-duty Senior Foreign Service officer. Both officers have served on promotion panels, Mr. Smith most recently in 2003.*

of U.S. diplomats, greater openness in their promotion is obligatory. For that reason, the public member has been part of the process for over a decade, an innovation widely regarded as a success. These individuals are selected on the basis of several factors: prominence in their professions, being "well and favorably known" to senior people at State, and (where possible) demographic representation. (Although one might imagine them to be babes in the thickets of State Department bureaucratese, this does not appear to be the case.)

Let the Games Begin

Let us assume that you see the promotion panel experience for what it is: a public service for your diplomatic colleagues to determine who is most ready for greater responsibilities. What can you expect, and how should you prepare?

You can come to the promotion panel assignment "cold"— just as you can go to a new post with minimal preparation or begin your swimming lessons by being thrown into icy water over your head. But it is advisable to familiarize yourself with the procedural precepts for the selection boards (which are revised at least in some detail each year) as well as the detailed commentary on the skills to be assessed for promotion: leadership; managerial; interpersonal; communication/foreign language; intellectual; and substantive knowledge. In 2004, the procedural precepts will also include community service and security awareness.

To be sure, these documents are not as exciting as the latest whodunit, but they are no more arcane to work through than the instruction manual for programming your VCR/DVD player. And the criteria should already be at least somewhat familiar, given that they are the same ones under which you have been writing the year's efficiency reports.

In addition, it is useful to at least read through the annual set of department cables discussing lessons learned from the previous year's panels regarding effective Employee Evaluation Report preparation. While these comments are directed toward raters/reviewers and employees being rated, they also provide insights into the thinking of previous board members.

Given the sheer volume of the work, some might also recommend taking a speed-reading course. But in most cases that is not necessary.

Into the breach. Not all boards meet at the same time of year or for the same length of time; panels reviewing mid-level candidates for promotion tend to have heavier workloads than those considering senior employees. In any case, panels are released when they finish their work.

Following the director general's "atta boy, go-get-'em" introductory speech, panelists settle in for a lot of reading. One five-person panel that co-author Steve Smith served on last year reviewing FS-2 political and management officers had to assess approximately 160 administrative and 240 political officers over an eight-week period, going through copious files covering each employee's entire career. The numbers vary but that is a fairly typical workload.

The process. The basic procedures have not changed much for over a decade. The candidates' files are divided into batches of about 40, which are randomized, not alphabetical. Smith's panel did the management officers first and then the political officers. All panel members read every file in the batch.

One significant recent innovation is that all files are now stored on computers rather than on paper. There is a significant advantage in this approach as it permits all panel members to access the same file simultaneously instead of having to wait for someone else to finish it. Moreover, a screen menu permits you to examine not only each year's EERs but the "kudos" (e.g., meritorious step increases, departmental commendations, and so forth) sides of the files at the same time. Circumstances for viewing are comfortable; the screens are large, and the lighting is good. However, if you prefer to have a "hard copy" in your hands, tough luck — files cannot be printed out. (Welcome to the paperless universe!)

The reading process is extended and exacting. Some panels face upwards of 5,000 pages of material — usually densely packed and sometimes arcanely drafted. The time constraints are tight, leaving only about two minutes per file. Fortunately, the traditional mandate to "read back five years or to last promotion" of EERs now is less rigid. Depending on the circumstances of the individual, panel members may only read back one to three years at this stage.

Remember that you have good technical support staff available to clarify points. They have years of experience and provide the year-to-year continuity and institutional memory that facilitates panel action.

Ranking the candidates. When all panel members finish each 40-file tranche, they vote, ranking each candidate as "promotable," "mid-ranked" or "low-ranked." If you know someone well (perhaps you've been their rating officer at post), you are supposed to recuse yourself, but casual acquaintance (being in the same car pool or having mutual friends) is not grounds for recusal. And in any case, everyone knows your choices.

To be "promotable," a candidate must be so designated by at least one panel member. There is a legal congressional requirement to identify 5 percent as "low-ranked," and the rest are "mid-ranked." This process continues until all of the batches of candidate files have been reviewed.

From traditional wisdom about over-inflated EERs, you might expect to be faced with attempting to determine the virtues of 100 angels contending to become archangels. That, however, is not the case. Indeed, it is almost eerie the extent that panel members agree on the placement of specific files. The "promotables" typically establish a pattern of success early in their careers and continue to perform at that level, while the "mid-ranked" majority are productive, valuable members of the Service but not usually destined for its highest levels.

• **The promotables.** Once the rough cut of all the files is complete, the Office of Performance Evaluation provides the actual promotion numbers available — invariably fewer than those the panel has deemed worthy. Then the real challenge begins. There is detailed comparison — using a complex point-scoring system — for the promotables. For each 40-candidate tranche, every panel member must assign four "10s", four "9s", and so on down to four "1s." Those scores are then totaled. Thus, with a five-person panel, the absolute top score a candidate could receive would be 50 and the lowest would be 5.

At that stage, the candidates are rank-ordered and the panel discusses the lineup. Evaluators are free to change their scores — but if you add a point to one candidate, the scoring system forces you to subtract a point from another officer. Final placement is determined by total score of the five panel members; ties are voted on as well. Those just above and just below the "promote line" may also be revoted upon: one common approach is to reread the files of the five candidates on each side of the promotion line, going back to the last promotion, before producing a final list of individuals recommended for promotion.

Although more candidates may be ranked for promotion than actually promoted, that should not bother you. First, promotion numbers could change. Second, it is important for the record that an officer be designated as promotable rather than simply "mid-ranked."

• **The low-ranked.** This remains a degrading element of the "up or out" system. It smacks of the ancient British naval custom of courts-martial, even executions, for relatively less successful officers simply to keep the others in line. Just as for the "promotables," the panel re-examines the "low-ranked" to determine whether they are more appropriately placed in mid-level. If they are low-ranked, the panel determines whether they should be referred to a performance standards board for possible selection-out; a justification statement is required when an individual is referred to that board. We also noted who should get counseling letters (these are required for the low-ranked, but can go to other officers, including those promoted).

What to Look for — Or Watch Out for

• **Time in class.** Even budding superstars should demonstrate light-up-the-sky brilliance for a number of years consecutively to be rewarded. But steady, if not stellar, performance can also lead to promotion. All else being equal, length of service is the determining factor.

• **Actual accomplishments.** It is tedious, but necessary, to sort through the EER verbiage and determine whether the candidates have had a variety of hardship assignments and whether their assignments had substantive content rather than a coordination role with no responsibilities. The superstaffer in Foggy Bottom may be highly visible and adept at working the system, yet do little beyond shuffle paper faster than his or her peers and jump higher when a principal yells "frog." Conversely, a lower-level FSO at an obscure post or deep in the bowels of the department may have advanced U.S. interests through substantive accomplishments, and that should count even if the job seems to lack flash.

• **Quality, not quantity.** Although delivering hundreds of demarches or drafting sheaves of cables demonstrates that a candidate is busy, a Foreign Service officer is more than a FedEx agent. It is what the candidate accomplishes substantively for U.S. mission objectives that should be noted. The same is true of predictions about trends in the host country: yes, it is nice to know that the officer is a good fortune teller, but it is important only if the prediction is incorporated into U.S. policies, contingency plans, or other activities that have a direct effect on the bilateral relationship.

• **Overseas time.** Diplomatic life overseas is less and less "fun" for many reasons; the hatred and anger of host-country residents can be palpable. In particular, being blown up used to be a once-in-a-lifetime concern, but now it is a day-to-day fear in many, perhaps most posts. Thus, those who have willingly served in hardship posts deserve special attention.

• **EER drafting skills.** You will have to slog through a lot of dense, even turgid, prose, replete with acronyms and jargonesque commentary. Consequently, when you encounter a rater or reviewer who is a rhetorical craftsman, it is tempting to reward the rated employee out of sheer relief. But what should catch your attention are specific examples that substantiate the all-too-commonplace superlatives. Yes, the candidate walks on water and turns it into wine during the stroll. But the important point is exactly how much distance was covered and what vintage is the wine.

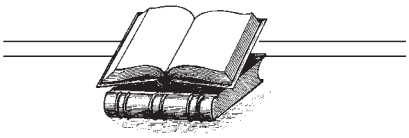
• **Grade inflation.** In Lake Wobegon, Garrison Keillor tells us, all the children are above average. Judging from the rampant grade inflation in EERs, apparently many of them grow up to be Foreign Service

officers. Honest, let alone serious, criticism is rare, even though the evaluation precepts insist that no one is perfect. The vast majority of raters and reviewers genuinely want to avoid damaging their colleagues' career prospects, even when they are not performing well and could benefit from constructive guidance early rather than later. But raters are also painfully aware that tough written criticism, especially early in a two- or three-year assignment, is likely to poison the rater-ratee relationship throughout the remainder of the tour — and perhaps prompt a counter-strike grievance action from the rated officer, who concludes that there is nothing to be lost by a litigious riposte to criticism.

• **Constructive criticism.** The "areas for improvement" box inspires all manner of creativity. Most writers are aiming to craft minimally critical prose that will pass your sniff test and allow the employee to be mid-ranked. But also be alert for the raters who insert a stiletto so skillfully that the ratee doesn't even notice the wound.

• **The employee self-statement.** This section of the EER has appropriately earned the "suicide box" label. It may well be the most important writing that an FSO does each year — partly because the acceptable style of comment keeps changing, so the rated officer must be alert. Most are now smart enough to avoid reacting to the criticism of verbosity with five pages of rebuttal, but you will still find inappropriate challenges to comments by the rating or reviewing officer and jeremiads against department policies. At the other end of the spectrum, deciding whether to toot one's own horn (and how loudly) remains an art form. Watching FSOs waver between the Scylla of self-deprecating modesty and the Charybdis of exuberant self-congratulation is instructive. But at a minimum, when the EER reflects a hallelujah chorus of praise, the smart officer avoids writing "AMEN!" in all caps.

Service on a promotion panel can be a meaningful career experience. Just as a stint with the Board of Examiners provides an insight into the quality of new entrants, an assignment to a promotion panel offers a chance to assess whether the system is fair in its judgments of officer quality. Perhaps it is unsurprising that the general conclusion is that the process is scrupulous and fair (those successful within a system rarely denounce it), but the mechanics of the process are constantly reviewed; the American Foreign Service Association passes on the annual precepts for promotion; and public members provide a regular sanity test. But ultimately, the system is only as effective — and fair — as those administering it. ■



BOOKS

Bully's Pulpit

An End to Evil: How to Win the War on Terror
David Frum and Richard Perle, 2003, Random House, $25.95, hardcover, 279 pages.

REVIEWED BY RICHARD MCKEE

Despite this book's grandiose title, readers seeking a dispassionate analysis of the roots of terrorism or a credible strategy for defeating it should skip *An End to Evil: How to Win the War on Terror.* What they will find in this "manual for victory" is a passionate defense of the Bush administration's foreign policy and its ideological roots.

Although David Frum, credited with authorship of President Bush's catch phrase "axis of evil" (i.e., Iraq, Iran and North Korea), is listed first, the book is pure Perle. He is a veteran advocate of "realism" in U.S. foreign policy. Perhaps for that reason, charter axis member North Korea receives just a cursory discussion — though this is perhaps a wise choice, in that Pyongyang's nuclear arms present a proliferation, not a terrorist, threat.

For Perle has other threats in mind, arguing that "the roots of Muslim rage are to be found in Islam itself." Promised paradise if they die for the faith, many Muslims have declared war on a decadent and overbearing America that props up the princes and presidents who "sentence them to live in choking, miserable, polluted cities ruled by corrupt, incompetent officials" — a fair, if simplistic, assessment.

Far from bringing victory in the war on terror, Perle and Frum's approach would actually ensure its prolongation.

But then he contends, unconvincingly, that "The Arab-Israeli quarrel is not a cause of Islamic extremism." Rather, it is the Muslims' "underlying cultural malaise."

Thus, in his view, creating a Palestinian state would not diminish terrorism. Instead, the U.S. should force neighboring Arab states to grant Palestinians citizenship. The injustice aside, doing so would only undermine Israel's security by destabilizing its neighbors.

After denouncing the two previous administrations' "weak" and "passive" responses to terrorist provocations, Perle writes that the U.S. attacked Iraq because "We had to strike back hard after 9/11, to prove that terrorism was not winning." As a bonus, states that collude with terrorists, such as Iran and Syria, got the message: "You're next."

To help justify the Iraq war, Perle claims falsely that Czech intelligence remains convinced that 9/11 hijacker Mohammed Atta met an Iraqi intelligence officer in Prague in 2001. He draws tortured distinctions between Iraq's supposed "stockpiles" of weapons of mass destruction and "programs" for producing them. He argues that the U.S. erred in refusing to allow Ahmed Chalabi — convicted of bank fraud in Jordan, self-declared purveyor of erroneous intelligence to the Pentagon, lacking popular support — to form a provisional Iraqi government. And he contends that American-inspired democracy in Iraq will spread throughout the Muslim world — a romantic fantasy, at best.

Perle and Frum enthusiastically endorse "Bush's rule that you are either with us or you are with the terrorists," despite the fact that their own acute analysis of Pakistan tacitly concedes that Islamabad is playing both sides. At the same time, their readiness to threaten, and follow through on, the unilateral use of force, their disdain for allies' views and interests (impeding intelligence cooperation), and their reluctance to recognize the legitimizing role the United Nations can play in places like Iraq, would all ensure no end to the evil of terrorism.

Back at home, Perle impugns the resolve and, implicitly, the patriotism of his American detractors for questioning his enthusiasm for restricting U.S. residents' freedom of speech and mobility. Dismissing criticism of the Patriot Act's intrusiveness, he urges the creation of a domestic political intelligence agency, blasting the FBI and the CIA for bureaucratic inertia and incompetence.

But he saves his most egregious slurs for the State Department and the Foreign Service, who, he alleges, disloyally seek to maintain good relations with foreign governments at the expense of American interests as defined by the president. So to "democratize" U.S. foreign policy, he advocates a sharp increase in the

number of political appointees at all levels — though one suspects he would not push that particular remedy in the event of a Kerry victory in November.

A retired FSO, Richard McKee was from 1999 to 2001 a terrorism analyst in INR, covering Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and other countries. He is now the executive director of Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired (DACOR) and the DACOR Bacon House Foundation. The views expressed here are his own.

Drugs and Thugs 101

Narcotics and Terrorism: Links, Logic, and Looking Forward
Robert B. Charles, Chelsea House Publishers, 2004, $22.95, hardcover, 126 pages.

REVIEWED BY JONITA I. WHITAKER

Narcotics and Terrorism: Links, Logic, and Looking Forward is the third volume in the series "Securing the Nation: Issues in American National Security Since 9/11." This compact text is aimed at young readers and provides a concise overview of two related threats to national security: narcotics trafficking and terrorism — and of U.S. efforts to defuse them. It serves as an effective call to action to deny terrorism its means of support, including illegal narcotics trafficking proceeds.

The author, Robert B. Charles, is assistant secretary of State for international narcotics and law enforcement affairs. He previously served as staff director and counsel to the House National Security Subcommittee, as well as chief staffer to the Speaker's Task Force on Counternarcotics. He identifies common elements of terrorist organizations and details the modus operandi of several major groups, including al-Qaida, al-Jihad, Hamas, Hezbollah, and the Shining Path. For each, Charles charges that narcotics proceeds and money laundering are key to their operations and continued existence.

Charles' lucid depiction of the narcotics-terrorism linkage and the need to take action to dismantle it are the book's strong suits.

Addressing what he calls the "American addiction," Charles focuses on U.S attitudes and practices with respect to narcotics. While drug use and addiction are driven by availability, purity, price and cultural norms, he argues that effective education and leadership can make a substantial difference in reducing drug use and the flow of drug revenues to terrorists.

Charles quotes the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy as stating that roughly half of the world's 28 major terrorist organizations are funded by illegal drug sales. To further crystallize this linkage, he describes areas where geography joins terrorism and drug trafficking, such as Afghanistan, Pakistan and the Central Asian republics, where al-Qaida and heroin co-exist, and Colombia, Peru and Bolivia, where the FARC, ELN, and other organizations are found alongside cocaine production. Tracing money used by terrorist organizations back to drug trafficking provides evidence of this link.

Charles notes that the convergence between terrorists and drug traffickers is growing. Drug availability is increasing, leading to higher purity and greater profits. This dynamic should bring a new sense of urgency to international cooperation to combat the nexus. Instead, while the tragedy of 9/11 led to a heightened interest in countering terrorism, that trend has not been paralleled by similar attention to the narcotics side of the equation. This, in turn, has led to wider societal damage, including growing emergency and long-term health care costs, the need for increased law enforcement, environmental degradation, and impaired labor productivity.

Legalization is not the answer, Charles contends. That approach would only result in increased use as drugs become less expensive, access grows easier, and social stigma against use decreases. But there are other options to attack the problem: drug prevention education, better law enforcement and border protection, stronger international cooperation, and more and better medical treatment. However, these approaches are no substitute for rising to the challenge of combating narcotics and terrorism while respecting human rights and observing laws.

Overall, Charles' lucid depiction of the narcotics-terrorism linkage and the need to take action to dismantle it are the book's strong suits. While it is clear from his exposition that it is necessary to attack illegal narcotics trafficking to fight terrorism, it is less apparent that this approach is sufficient without also addressing other root causes of terrorism, such as a lack of economic opportunities, unfulfilled expectations, and the tumult of living in traditional societies caught unprepared by global changes. Recent

events in Afghanistan serve to underscore the association between narcotics and terrorist activity, with the twin perils rising in parallel. This disheartening trend renders Charles' arguments all the more compelling.

Jonita I. Whitaker is a program officer in the Department of State's Bureau for International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement.

The Pink Purge

The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government
David K. Johnson, University of Chicago Press, 2004, hardcover, $30.00, 277 pages.

REVIEWED BY STEVEN KERCHOFF

In February 1950, Sen. Joseph McCarthy, R-Wisc., delivered a now-famous speech claiming that 205 card-carrying communists were working for the State Department, a claim that would fuel the so-called Red Scare. A week later, Deputy Under Secretary of State John Peurifoy testified before Congress, denying that the department employed any communists. He noted, however, that State had dismissed 202 individuals considered "security risks," including 91 homosexuals.

Like a pebble setting off an avalanche, that comment would help lead to the ouster over the next quarter-century of thousands of employees from their jobs with the State Department and other federal agencies, for no reason other than their (perceived) sexual orientation. Yet for all its ongoing impact on the lives of gays and lesbians, this purge has remained far less widely known than the contemporaneous Red Scare, both in popular memory and in historical scholarship — until now.

In *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government*, David K. Johnson documents the sheer vehemence of the campaign. He begins by noting that "in 1950s culture, lavender was the color commonly associated with homosexuality, as evidenced by references to the 'lavender lads' in the State Department." (Such notions also played off longstanding popular notions of the diplomatic corps as effete intellectuals more inclined toward negotiation and appeasement than action and war, a band of "cookie pushers in striped pants.")

McCarthy frequently asserted that "practically every active communist is twisted mentally or physically in some way," and identified homosexuality as a prime maladjustment providing the impetus toward communism, thereby giving the Red Scare a lavender tinge. So the news that State had fired 91 homosexuals gave credibility to these vague charges, even though McCarthy himself had no part in the employees' removal.

Faced with mounting congressional pressure, Secretary of State George C. Marshall's Personnel Security Board quickly established security principles with a dual test for loyalty/security. The board excluded communists and their associates, and also individuals who exhibited signs of character weakness, including "habitual drunkenness, sexual perversion, moral turpitude, financial irresponsibility or criminal record," from eligibility for security clearances. This dual standard would become the model for other federal agencies during the Truman and Eisenhower administrations, and would last into the 1990s in some parts of the government.

This was true even though a 1950s investigation by Sen. Clyde Hoey, D-N.C., failed to find a single example of a homosexual American citizen who had been blackmailed into disclosing state secrets (nor has one ever been identified). Yet his committee reported that all government intelligence agencies "are in complete agreement that sex perverts in government constitute security risks." Those findings fueled the Eisenhower administration's "clean up the mess in Washington" campaign, which focused most sharply on the State Department.

Shamefully, State officials, concerned that homosexuals fired from the department would find employment with international organizations, urged the United Nations to carry out similar purges. The Eisenhower administration also began to pressure its NATO allies to exclude homosexuals from government positions.

Johnson's meticulously researched book, a revision of his dissertation submitted at Northwestern University, sheds new light on this shadowy episode. He makes masterful use of primary source material not available until 2000, when the full records of what Johnson deems "the most extensive congressional investigation into the employment of homosexuals in government" were finally released. Johnson also conducted oral history interviews with gay and lesbian Americans who lived and worked in Washington during the purges, such as Frank Kameny.

This valuable work contributes to a new body of diplomatic history research which illuminates how Americans' "... anxieties about gender and morality affected the formation of America's Cold War foreign policy." ■

Steven Kerchoff is a Foreign Service Information Resource officer with the State Department. He is currently assigned to the Bureau of International

In Memory

George Frederick Bogardus, 86, retired FSO, died Nov. 27 at Suburban Hospital in Washington, D.C., of pneumonia and other complications after a long illness.

Mr. Bogardus' Foreign Service career, which began in 1941, took him to Montreal, Mombasa, Prague, Algiers, Toronto, Hamburg, Saigon and Stuttgart. He had a brief stint with the Office of Strategic Services during World War II, after which he rejoined the State Department. Before retiring in 1970, he was a political adviser to the Air Force and, for a short time, to the Defense Department.

Mr. Bogardus was a native of Des Moines, Iowa. He graduated from Harvard University in 1939. He was a member of the Holland Society of New York, the Candlelight Waltzes, and the Westmoreland Congregational United Church of Christ. His hobbies included golf, chess, bridge, play reading and history.

Survivors include his wife of 61 years, Virginia Webb Bogardus of Bethesda, Md., and two daughters, Janet Bogardus of San Francisco, Calif., and Margaret Termini of Philadelphia, Pa.

Virginia Devine, 84, wife of retired FSO John E. Devine, died Feb. 18 in Washington, D.C., of respiratory failure.

Mrs. Devine was born in the District of Columbia and lived in Chevy Chase, Md., until the age of 13, when she moved to New York City with her mother, Marie. Marie was an actress, and Virginia would attend school during the day and at night sit backstage doing her homework and watching rehearsals. She graduated from Bennington College in Vermont with a degree in art in 1939, and returned to New York City.

During this time, she interviewed with John Devine, who worked as a documentary film producer. The two fell in love, and married in 1942, at which point John Devine entered the Foreign Service and Virginia Devine resigned herself to a life in the diplomatic fishbowl. For the next 25 years she and her growing family traveled the world, accompanying Mr. Devine on postings to Cairo, Hamburg, Bonn, Vienna, Heidelberg and, in between, Washington, D.C. Mrs. Devine hosted diplomatic dinners and parties and forged many new friendships.

Following Mr. Devine's retirement in 1970, they settled in Washington, D.C., where Mrs. Devine took up the difficult and challenging work of art restoration at the Corcoran Gallery of Art. She also wrote articles for various publications, including the *Washington Post.*

In a eulogy, son John Devine Jr. drew this portrait of his mother: "Virginia Devine loved to read, travel and was keenly aware of her surroundings. She loved art and the theater; she loved to cook and paint, and was articulate and brash. She was an intellectual, private and nonconforming woman. She could discuss the philosophy of modern art and the goings-on at the World Series while hosting a formal dinner for 50 guests from 35 countries."

Mrs. Devine is survived by her husband, John E. Devine of Washington, D.C.; a son, John R. Devine of Los Gatos, Calif.; and a daughter, Kate Williams of Washington, D.C.

Robert A. Fearey, 85, retired FSO and the last U.S. civil administrator of the Ryukyu Islands, died Feb. 28 at his home in Washington D.C. after a brief illness.

Mr. Fearey was born in Garden City, N.Y. He graduated from Groton School in 1937 and Harvard University in 1941. Immediately after graduating he went to Tokyo to serve as Ambassador Joseph Grew's private secretary. After a period of internment in Embassy Tokyo following the attack on Pearl Harbor, and subsequent repatriation, he settled in Washington. Excluded from military service by an eye ailment, he went to work in the State Department unit responsible for planning the occupation of Japan. His paper on postwar agrarian land reform was adopted by Gen. Douglas MacArthur, leading to profound changes in Japan's agricultural economy.

Following Japan's surrender, Mr. Fearey returned to Tokyo with Ambassador George Atcheson, political adviser to Gen. MacArthur. In 1950 and 1951 he assisted John

Foster Dulles in the negotiation of the Japanese peace treaty, and was technical adviser to the Japanese Peace Conference in San Francisco in 1951. In 1952 he joined the United States Mission to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization — first in London, then in Paris.

In 1959, after a year's study at the National War College in Washington, Mr. Fearey returned again to Tokyo. There he assisted Ambassador Douglas MacArthur III in the negotiation of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty of 1960. On returning to Washington, he became officer-in-charge of Japanese affairs and then director of East Asian affairs (Japan, Korea and Taiwan). He served from 1966 to 1969 in Honolulu as political adviser to the commander-in-chief Pacific, with the rank of minister. From 1969 to 1972 he was the civil administrator of the Ryukyu Islands. Mr. Fearey was awarded the Japanese government's Order of the Sacred Treasure for his role in negotiating return of administrative control over the islands to Japan in May 1972.

Returning to Washington once more, Mr. Fearey served successively on the National War College faculty, as special assistant to the Secretary of State and chairman of the Inter-Departmental Committee for Combatting Terrorism, and as special assistant to the Coordinator for Population Affairs. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1979 and joined the Washington-based Population Action International, where he continued working until a few years before his death.

Mr. Fearey wrote a number of books and articles, including *The Occupation of Japan* (MacMillan, 1950), and served as a vital source for historians of the war with Japan. A selection of Mr. Fearey's papers may be found online: *Might the Pacific War Have Been Avoided?* December 1991 (www.connectedcommunities.net/raf); *The Occupation of Japan: Economic Policy and Reform,* April 1978 (www.connectedcommunities.net/landreform); and, *International Terrorism*, March 1976 (www.connectedcommunities.net/terrorism).

He is the recipient of the Department of the Army's Decoration for Distinguished Civilian Service. He was a member of the Hasty Pudding (DKE) and Spee Clubs at Harvard, the Metropolitan Club, Chevy Chase Club and DACOR Bacon House.

Mr. Fearey was an avid player of racquet sports. In 2000 and 2001 he was ranked fifth nationally in the 80-and-over bracket for hardball by the U.S. Squash and Rackets Association.

Surviving are his wife, Shirley Granum Fearey; five children, Seth G. Fearey of Menlo Park, Calif., Barbara F. West of Bethesda, Md., Ann L. Fearey of Jupiter, Fla., Peter C. Fearey of Bainbridge Island, Wash., and Paul L. Fearey of McLean, Va.; and 10 grandchildren. The family maintained a residence in the Spring Hill section of Bethesda, Md., for over 40 years before moving to Washington D.C. in 1998.

William DeSales Killea, 85, a retired FSO who spent most of his career with the U.S. Information Agency, died of congestive heart failure May 9, 2003, at the Jefferson Retirement Community in Arlington, Va.

Born in Scranton, Pa., Mr. Killea was raised in Oswego, N.Y. He was a 1941 ROTC graduate of the University of Kentucky, where he was president of the Sigma Chi fraternity. He served with the Army in World War II as a tank commander and battalion staff officer with the 11th Armored Division of the Third Army, and saw combat during the Ardennes, Rhineland and Central Europe campaigns. His military decorations include a Bronze Star.

Mr. Killea joined the State Department in 1950 and began serving abroad the next year with an assignment for USIA in Mexico City. He was subsequently posted in Pakistan, Peru, Nigeria, Austria and Iran. Interspersed with his overseas assignments were tours in Washington, including an assignment with the Federal Emergency Management Agency. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1975 and moved to Eugene, Ore. He relocated to San Diego in 1981, and came back to the Washington area in 1998.

His wife of 37 years, Anne Killea, died in 1980. Survivors include two daughters, Kathleen A. McIntire of Wintergreen, Va., and Anne K. Killea of Arlington, Va.; a son, William R. Killea of Chatham, N.J.; eight grandchildren; and a great-grandson.

Raymond Frank Kohn, 87, retired FSO, died Jan. 15 at Mease Countryside Hospital in Safety Harbor, Fla.

Mr. Kohn was born in Bemus Point, N.Y. He was an Army veteran of World War II, and served as an operations officer at the Medical Field Service School in Carlisle, Pa. In 1948, he and a group of former soldiers co-founded the Penn-Allen Broadcasting Co. in Allentown, Pa.

In 1958, Mr. Kohn moved to Washington, D.C., where he was manager of WGMS-FM, Washington's commercial classical music station. In 1959 he became business manager of the National Symphony Orchestra, and worked with Jacqueline Kennedy to organize the

first presidential inaugural concert in January 1961.

Mr. Kohn joined the Foreign Service in 1963, and served on the staff of the U.S. committee for UNESCO. He retired from the State Department in 1976, and relocated to Florida.

In retirement he pursued interests in gardening, spectator sports and environmental causes, and was active in programs at On Top of the World.

Survivors include his wife of 62 years, Maribelle; a sister, Ruth Fisk of Buffalo, N.Y.; two nephews, Chris Kohn of Fairfax, Va., and Norman Kohn of Doraville, Ga; and two nieces, Barbara Sanders of Richmond Hill, Ga., and Kathie Labys of Morgantown, W. Va.

George Thomas Lister, 90, retired FSO, was widely known as "Mr. Human Rights" for his 60-year career with the Department of State that focused largely on the promotion of democracy and human rights. He died Feb. 4 of aspiration pneumonia at the Washington Home in Washington, D.C. He had Parkinson's disease.

Mr. Lister was born in Chicago, Ill. He was educated in New York City, including a short stint at the Professional Children's School. He graduated from the City College of New York (Evening Session), which he attended for seven years while working as a bank teller during the day.

Mr. Lister served as a Foreign Service officer during the first half of his long career, specializing in Eastern European and Latin American affairs. His postings included Warsaw, Moscow, Rome, Regensburg, Bogota and Buenaventura.

During his 1957-1961 assignment as a political officer in Rome, Mr. Lister played a key role in initiating contact with the Italian socialists and persuading them to end their cooperation with the communists. Lister's role was described briefly in Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.'s 1965 book on the Kennedy administration, *A Thousand Days*, and discussed in detail at a 1993 University of Massachusetts symposium, "One Hundred Years of Italian Democratic Socialism." He returned to Washington in 1962.

Mr. Lister was very active both inside and outside the government in the promotion of human rights. In the early 1970s he cooperated with Rep. Don Fraser, D-Minn., and Sen. Tom Harkin, D-Iowa, in their call for a higher priority for human rights in U.S. foreign policy and the creation of a State Department human rights bureau. Mr. Lister held several positions in what is now the Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs, and was named its first human rights officer in 1974. He retired in 1981. For most of the next 20 years, working as a foreign affairs officer and unpaid expert, he served as senior policy adviser in the department's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, working on human rights problems worldwide.

George Lister's human rights efforts were recognized in numerous countries. In 1992, the government of Chile presented him with an award for his help in restoring democracy there. In 1998, he was invited to the South Korean presidential inauguration of Kim Dae Jung, in recognition of Lister's early help to him during the latter's painful years of exile and house arrest. His efforts on behalf of human rights and democracy were also recognized by the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Poland and the Philippines.

In 1997, Mr. Lister was nominated for the Warren Christopher Award, for "sustained outstanding achievement on behalf of democracy and human rights." In 1998, the United Nations Association gave him an award for "tireless commitment and dedication to the promotion and protection of human rights."

George Lister leaves behind a lasting legacy and many devoted friends worldwide. As New Mexico Gov. Bill Richardson, who worked with Mr. Lister in Washington, told the *Washington Post*: "There are probably a lot of people who have human rights in their titles, but the conscience of human rights is gone."

Mr. Lister is survived by his wife, Dr. Aleta Lister of Washington, D.C.

Howard Meyers, 86, retired FSO, died Feb. 6 at the Washington Hospital Center in Washington, D.C., of complications following coronary artery bypass surgery.

A graduate of the University of Michigan (1937) and the Harvard Law School (1940), Mr. Meyers practiced law in New York City before joining the U.S. Army Counterintelligence Corps in 1942. He served in the Counterintelligence Corps until 1946, with overseas assignments in New Guinea, various Philippine Islands and Japan. He returned to Japan to be chief of the Criminal Affairs Branch in the Government and Legal Sections of the Supreme Commander, Allied Powers, Japan. While there, from 1946 to 1949, he was engaged in revisions of the basic Japanese law codes.

Mr. Meyers joined the Department of State in November 1949, and subsequently the Foreign Service. Initially, he was a specialist in international security issues, and then was the principal staff officer responsible for developing State

Department policies on arms control and international atomic energy problems. He participated as an adviser, senior State Department representative and member of U.S. delegations to conferences in Paris, New York, and London from 1951 to 1957. In postings to London (1956-1959), Brussels (1959-1962) and Tokyo (1970-1972), he concentrated on arms control and atomic energy issues in bilateral relations and in a multilateral context in the first U.S. mission to the European communities. Similarly, most of his Washington, D.C., assignments centered on atomic energy issues, base rights, military faculties and defense operational questions, first as director for operations in the Office of Political-Military Affairs (1962-66), and later as director of the Office of Strategic and General Research (1973-74), where he was responsible for intelligence and technical support for SALT II, Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction and bases and facilities issues.

He was staff director of the Presidential General Advisory Committee on Arms Control and Disarmament and, later, special assistant to the director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (1974-1977). In his last Foreign Service assignments (1977) he headed two U.S. delegations to international arms control conferences in Geneva, and served as U.S. representative to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, acting as co-chairman with the Soviet representative.

Mr. Meyers retired from the Foreign Service in May 1977, but continued to work in the Department of State until 1996. He helped to establish the department's centralized document declassification system and served as a senior reviewer, responsible for the final decisions to release or deny the release of State Department documents. From 1982 to 1996 he was a member of the Department of State Board of Appellate Review, which was responsible for, among other functions, adjudicating appeals of loss of U.S. nationality overseas. From 1984 to 2003, he was an arbitrator for the Attorney-Client Arbitration Board of the District of Columbia Bar.

A founding member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (London), Mr. Meyers had been a governor of the Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired and a trustee of the DACOR-Bacon House Foundation. He was a member of the Asiatic Society (Tokyo), the American Foreign Service Association, the Asia Society, the Arms Control Association, and a Chevalier du Tastevin (the Burgundy Wine society).

Survivors include his son, Nicholas MacBride Meyers, his daughter-in-law, Jennie Harvell, and his grandson, Dylan Alexander MacBride Meyers, all of Falls Church, Va. His wife of 48 years, Hope Lewis MacBride Meyers, died in 1991. A daughter, Elizabeth Hope Meyers, died in 1980.

Norma Louise Milikien, 68, retired member of the Foreign Service, died Feb. 4 after a brief illness.

Born in San Antonio, Texas, Ms. Milikien moved with her parents to Anthony, N.M., when she was 4 years old. A 1953 graduate from Gadsden High School, she obtained a bachelors degree in business administration from New Mexico A&M in 1957, and a master of library science degree from Texas Women's University in 1975.

Ms. Milikien joined the Foreign Service in 1965, and she was posted to Tananarive (now Antananarivo), Kabul, Brussels, Lagos and Tunis. She resigned in 1974 to return to college for her master's degree, and worked as a library director in Texas until 1980. In 1981, she returned to USIA, and was subsequently posted to Harare, Tunis and Karachi.

Following her retirement in 1994, Ms. Milikien traveled extensively around the United States and Canada, exploring and rediscovering her homeland.

Survivors include a sister, Loy Doty of Alamogordo, N.M.; two brothers, Stephen Milikien of Big Spring, Texas, and Timothy Milikien of El Paso, Texas; 20 nieces and nephews, and numerous friends whom she loved dearly. In lieu of flowers, the family requests that contributions be made to the American Library Association or any library.

William Washington Smith, 83, retired FSO, died July 10, 2003, in Portsmouth, N.H. He lived in Swansea, Mass.

Born in New York City, Mr. Smith was a son of the late Christopher and Catherine (McGarty) Smith. A Navy veteran of World War II, Mr. Smith served as a Boatswain's Mate First Class. He received the Asiatic-Pacific Ribbon with one star, Philippine Liberation Ribbon, American Theater Ribbon and Victory Ribbon.

Mr. Smith joined the Foreign Service in 1949. His postings included Seoul, Paris, Palermo, Saigon, Baghdad, Tehran, Dakha, Manila and Washington, D.C.

Following retirement in 1975, Mr. Smith summered in York Beach, Maine, and wintered in Montevideo.

Survivors include a brother, Thomas F. Smith Sr. of Swansea, Mass.; two nephews, Thomas F. Smith Jr. of Swansea and James Smith of

Eatontown, N.J.; three nieces, Tracy DePietropaolo of Downingtown, Pa., Marcia Miller of Basking Ridge, N.J., and Sally Dixner of Fairfield Glade, Tenn.; and several grand-nieces and grand-nephews.

John W. Vonier, 83, retired FSO, died from complications from Parkinson's disease on Jan. 1 at Mt. Vernon Hospital in Alexandria, Va.

Born in Michigan, Mr. Vonier was drafted into the U.S. Army in 1942. After intensive German language studies at the University of Illinois, he was sent to Central Europe. At the end of World War II, he joined the Occupation Authority, and later the Foreign Service. He served 13 years in Germany, where he met and married his wife Christiana.

Mr. Vonier was posted to Meshed, Iran, in 1955. He studied Arabic at the Foreign Service Institute in Beirut in 1962, and was then posted to Amman as a cultural affairs officer in 1964, to Kuwait in 1965, and Saudi Arabia in 1968. He also served in Lebanon and the Sudan before retiring from the Foreign Service in 1970.

Mr. Vonier is survived by his wife of 50 years; a daughter, Karen Vonier of Woodbridge, Va.; and a son, John E., daughter-in-law Nancy and two grandchildren, Kelsey and Christopher, of Richmond, Va.

Julius W. Walker Jr., 76, retired FSO and ambassador to several African nations, died Dec. 5 of congestive heart failure at his home in Washington, D.C.

Julius Waring Walker Jr. was born in Plainview, Texas. He attended the Virginia Military Institute and joined the Marine Corps just as World War II was coming to a close. He graduated from the University of Texas at Austin and received a master's degree in international affairs from George Washington University in 1973. He was also a graduate of the National War College.

Ambassador Walker joined the State Department as a press officer in 1956, after having worked as a grocery store manager, a claims adjuster for an insurance company, a reporter for the *Waco Tribune-Herald* and a television station announcer.

Much of Amb. Walker's 33-year Foreign Service career was spent in Africa, including a tour as ambassador to Burkina Faso from 1981 to 1984. Following retirement in 1989, Amb. Walker was called back as acting ambassador to Cameroon and then to Chad. Other postings include Malta (as consul), Chad (as deputy chief of mission), Burundi (as political officer) and London.

Amb. Walker was charge d'affaires in Monrovia on April 12, 1980, when Army Master Sgt. Samuel K. Doe led a coup d'etat against the oligarchy that had ruled Liberia since its establishment in the 19th century. As the U.S. ambassador was on sick leave, Walker was in charge. His recollection of the negotiations with Doe and his co-conspirators following their assassination of Liberian president William R. Tolbert Jr. is recounted in his obituary in the *Washington Post*. Walker promised to relay their request for American aid, but insisted that the killings stop. Although Doe agreed, the country soon descended into chaos. Walker assured the 6,000 Americans in the country that they would be safe, yet he himself was held up and nearly shot on the second day after the coup. Some Americans left, but Mr. Walker and the embassy staff stayed. He was awarded the State Department's Superior Honor Award.

In Washington, Amb. Walker served as a personnel and international relations officer and director in the offices of international conferences, African regional affairs and the directorate for transportation and communication agencies. In the mid-1980s, he led an inspection team auditing embassy operations around the world. He retired as diplomat-in-residence at the National Council of World Affairs Organizations.

Following retirement, Mr. Walker lectured on foreign policy and the Foreign Service to World Affairs Councils, Elderhostel and other groups. He taught at the Foreign Service Institute, and led teams that trained diplomats from Kazakhstan, Albania, Ukraine and other East Bloc nations. He also acted in productions of the Great Falls Players, Port City Playhouse and St. Mark's Players. He was president of the board of the International Eye Foundation and a director of the Harvest With Heart hunger organization.

Surviving are his wife of 47 years, Savannah Tunnell Walker of Washington, D.C.; three children, Savannah Waring Walker of Pelham, N.Y., Lucile Lenore Walker of Washington, D.C. and George Julius Stewart Walker of New York, N.Y.; and two grandsons. ■

Send your "In Memory" submission to:
Foreign Service Journal
Attn: Susan Maitra
2101 E Street NW,
Washington DC 20037,
or e-mail it to
FSJedit@afsa.org,
or fax it to
(202) 338-8244.
No photos, please.

Real Estate

Real Estate

Real Estate

Real Estate

Real Estate

Advertising Index

When contacting one of our advertisers, kindly mention you saw their advertisement in the Foreign Service Journal.

Real Estate

REFLECTIONS

My First Christmas In Africa

BY MARK WENTLING

As I stare blankly out the window I am transported back to 1970 and my humble room in the Adjakpo family compound in the village of Agu-Gadzapé, Togo. After three months as a Peace Corps Volunteer, learning how to fit in where I would never really fit, it was my first Christmas in Africa. I began thinking about what to do for Christmas. Everybody in our congested compound, always vibrantly alive with people doing their daily chores and what they had to do to survive the poverty that engulfed them so profoundly, liked the idea of doing something special to celebrate Christmas. They had no money but they did, however, tell me how nice it would be if I held a party.

I assessed my meager resources to see what kind of party I could pull off for 30 or more people. I scraped together some money for a 20-liter bottle of cheap Algerian wine at Chez Henri's general store and some yams and chickens at the open market for the preparation of fufu. As with any party in the world, ample food and drink was the key. Also essential would be some music. I brushed off my battered old battery-powered Phillips record player and bought the eight size-D batteries required for its operation. As the sound was not too loud, some people in the compound showed me how to amplify it by placing the two speakers on top of huge calabashes (giant gourds that grow on trees). Then, because the party was at night, there was the problem of adequate lighting. I splurged and bought, from the Yoruba-Anago store, an Aladdin lamp that could, if properly handled, make the space outside my room as bright as day.

The spirits from the mountain had invaded our party.

The big day finally arrived and all the women prepared a feast. The pounding of fufu could be heard for hours, and when the music began, the pounding got in sync with it. The village was scoured for the favorite dance tunes of the time. This included James Brown, Jimmy Cliff and the colossus from the Congo — Franco and His OK Jazz Band. People ate and drank and the wine quickly disappeared. Then, local brew — palm wine and its stronger relative, sodobi — materialized out of nowhere. Like magic, the compound filled with people, some known and some not, who began to dance — two steps to the right then two steps to the left, again and again.

It was as if the entire compound began to levitate and sway to the steps of the crowd that was moving in mesmerizing unison. For a few hours, it was as if the entire world was swaying with the sounds coming out of the little Phillips record player, which sounded impossibly loud. I was carried away to some never-never land, only to wake up the next morning wondering what had happened. I was not alone in this feeling. For days afterward, the compound was abuzz with rumors that even the spirits from the mountain had invaded our party and transported us all to a state of ecstasy that alcohol alone could not have achieved.

My stature in the village was much elevated. People were not only thankful that I had organized such a wonderful party but were impressed that the spirits had looked so favorably upon me. Even the local witch doctors began to look at me differently. The talk was that I had certain powers with regards to the animistic spirits they worshiped and respected. All began to say that I was a very special "Komla" (Tuesday's child). My reply was that the gods must have blessed the old Phillips record player. But, as I was to learn many times more, there is no telling what kind of magic can happen after midnight under a full moon in Africa. ■

Mark G. Wentling (aka "Komla Amerika Agu") retired from USAID in 1996. He now resides in Maputo. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • May 2004

BUILDING A CONSTITUENCY

AFSA-PAC: SECOND REPORT

BY TOM BOYATT, AFSA-PAC TREASURER

Although it is hard for those of us involved to believe, AFSA-PAC is just over two years old. With respect to the committee's context and operational environment, we have been climbing a steep learning curve.

For example, AFSA-PAC is subject to the campaign finance laws as well as the rules, regulations and advisory opinions of the Federal Elections Commission. Many of the regulations we find ourselves dealing with are designed for larger, partisan PACs. We are small, totally bipartisan, and our agenda is limited to furthering the interest of the Foreign Service and its people. Nevertheless, we must respond and report in a system designed to deal with the "big guys." To illustrate, because the *Foreign Service Journal* goes to a few hundred non-AFSA members, the following disclaimer is required of AFSA-PAC: "Contributions will be screened, and those from persons outside the restricted class (non-AFSA) will be returned."

Then there is the matter of congressional protocols regarding fundraising. Most members of Congress participate in fundraiser receptions hosted by their "Committees to Re-elect." We have learned that it is important to make contributions — in person if possible — at these occasions. This is the customary practice. It is also useful in helping us become part of the process, and presents an occasion to chat with the senator or representative on matters of mutual interest.

In terms of our objectives, AFSA-PAC had a very good second year of operation. Contributions increased 20 percent, as did our support for friends of the Foreign Service, particularly those on the appropriations and authorization committees. The most important new development was a very helpful meeting with the staff of the Senate Appropriations subcommittee for the State Department. In addition to opening this dialogue, we continued our discussions with the chairman and staff of the House Appropriations subcommittee. Our contributions certainly do not mean that we "bought" our way into these and other meetings. AFSA has a reputation for representing the men and women of the Foreign Service and its retirees, and this is an important niche. However, our PAC contributions underline the fact that we are supportive and appreciative of our friends on the Hill, and that, too, is an important message.

In closing, let me repeat the most important point from last year's report: Constituency building is cumulative over time in its impact. Every year that we are a positive part of the process adds to our effectiveness. We will continue to seek your support in these efforts and to report our ongoing results. □

Inside This Issue:

FOREIGN AFFAIRS DAY 2004

Join AFSA for Retiree Homecoming and Trip to the Hill

AFSA hopes that you have made plans to attend this year's Foreign Affairs Day on Friday, May 7, and AFSA's Day on the Hill on Thursday, May 6. Invitations have been sent to all those who attended last year's event, as well as all new

Continued on page 6

Note: "AFSA-PAC: First Report" can be found in the February 2003 *AFSA News* at www.afsa.org/news/archives.cfm.

AFSA President Called to Serve (Again) in Iraq

In mid-March, AFSA President John Limbert returned to Iraq for another temporary assignment. As he is one of the department's best Arabic speakers, none of us were surprised that Amb. Limbert was again needed on the ground there. We hope to have him back at the helm of AFSA some time in May. In the meantime, AFSA State Vice President Louise Crane is acting president.

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

AFSA AUDIT 2003

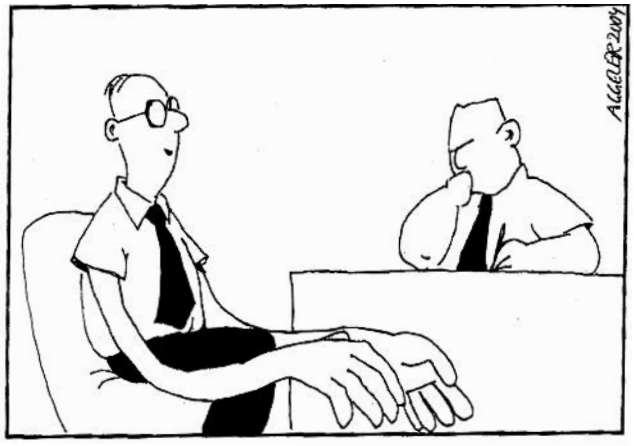
The AFSA Audit will be posted on the AFSA Web site by May 14 and will not be published in *AFSA News.*

Worldwide Availability & Iraq

Before the close of the first real Baghdad bidding season, over 800 bids had been logged for Baghdad positions. This overwhelming response to Secretary Powell's call for volunteers affirms what AFSA has been emphasizing to the media, on the Hill and with the public: the Foreign Service is available for worldwide service, no matter how dangerous or difficult the post, and will meet the diplomatic challenge. This is an important rebuff to our critics.

Life in the Foreign Service

■ BY BRIAN AGGELER, FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER



"I THINK MY REAL STRENGTH WOULD BE DOING PUBLIC OUTREACH."

Welcome to New Staff

AFSA was pleased to welcome two new staff members in March. Meijing Shan has joined the membership staff in the new position of Web site and database associate. She received her bachelor's degree in English from Xuzhou Normal University in China. Before moving to the U.S. in 2000, she worked as a coordinator at the Foreign Affairs Office of the Nanjing University of Economics. She received her M.A. in computer science from Southeastern University in 2002. Before joining the AFSA staff, she worked as a database assistant at the Cosmetic, Toiletry, and Fragrance Association in Washington, D.C. She can be reached at shan@afsa.org or (202) 338-4045, ext. 523.

Cory Nishi has joined the AFSA staff to replace Lindsay Peyton as membership representative. Born and raised in Hawaii, he came to the Washington area for college. He graduated from George Mason University in 2003 with a B.S. in management information systems. He can be reached at nishi@afsa.org or (202) 338-4045, ext. 525.

FCS AFSA in the Loop

FCS AFSA Vice President Charles Ford has established weekly meetings with the director of human resources and has an informal system to consult and resolve issues of concern to AFSA members. He also meets monthly with the deputy director general. He welcomes suggestions on how to best use these occasions to address member concerns.

The next midterm bargaining session will take place in August, and FCS AFSA encourages members to send input as to the three most important issues AFSA should try to advance. Please send input by mid-July to charles.ford@mail.doc.gov or by fax to (202) 482-9088.

Briefs • Continued on page 5

How to Contact Us:

AFSA HEADQUARTERS:
(202) 338-4045; Fax: (202) 338-6820
STATE DEPARTMENT AFSA OFFICE:
(202) 647-8160; Fax: (202) 647-0265
USAID AFSA OFFICE:
(202) 712-1941; Fax: (202) 216-3710
FCS AFSA OFFICE:
(202) 482-9088; Fax: (202) 482-9087

AFSA WEB SITE: www.afsa.org
AFSA E-MAIL: afsa@afsa.org
AFSA NEWS: afsanews@afsa.org
FSJ: journal@afsa.org
PRESIDENT: limbert@afsa.org
STATE VP: cranelk@state.gov
RETIREE VP: jones@afsa.org
USAID VP:wcarter@usaid.gov
FCS VP: charles.ford@mail.doc.gov
FAS VP: Laura.Scandurra@usda.gov

AFSA News
Editor Shawn Dorman: dorman@afsa.org
(202) 338-4045 x 503; Fax: (202) 338-8244
On the Web: www.afsa.org/news

Staff:
Executive Director Susan Reardon: reardon@afsa.org

Business Department
Controller Kalpna Srimal: srimal@afsa.org
Accounting Assistant Steven Tipton: tipton@afsa.org

Labor Management
General Counsel Sharon Papp: papps@state.gov
Labor Management Attorney Zlatana Badrich: badrichz@state.gov
Labor Management Specialist James Yorke: yorkej@state.gov
USAID Senior Labor Management Advisor Douglas Broome: dbroome@usaid.gov
USAID Office Manager Asgeir Sigfusson: asigfusson@usaid.gov
Grievance Attorneys Harry Wilkinson: wilkinsonhg@state.gov, and **Charles Henderson:** hendersonch@state.gov
Office Manager Christine Warren: warrenc@state.gov
Law Clerk Marques Peterson: petersonmo@state.gov

Member Services
Director Janet Hedrick: hedrick@afsa.org
Representative Cory Nishi: nishi@afsa.org
Web site & Database Associate Meijing Shan: shan@afsa.org
Administrative Assistant Ana Lopez: lopez@afsa.org

Outreach Programs
Retiree Liaison Bonnie Brown: brown@afsa.org
Director of Communications Thomas Switzer: switzer@afsa.org
Congressional Affairs Director Ken Nakamura: nakamura@afsa.org
Corporate Relations/Executive Assistant Austin Tracy: tracy@afsa.org
Scholarship Director Lori Dec: dec@afsa.org
Professional Issues Coordinator Barbara Berger: berger@afsa.org

Governing Board:

PRESIDENT: John W. Limbert
STATE VICE PRESIDENT: Louise K. Crane
USAID VICE PRESIDENT: Bill Carter
FCS VICE PRESIDENT: Charles A. Ford
FAS VICE PRESIDENT: Laura Scandurra
RETIREE VICE PRESIDENT: George F. Jones
SECRETARY: F.A. "Tex" Harris
TREASURER: Danny Hall
STATE REPRESENTATIVES: Pamela Bates, Cynthia G. Efird, Scot L. Folensbee, Raymond D. Maxwell, John C. Sullivan, Jim Wagner
USAID REPRESENTATIVE: Thomas Olson
FCS REPRESENTATIVE: William Crawford
RETIREE REPRESENTATIVES: Gilbert Sheinbaum, David E. Reuther, Theodore S. Wilkinson, III, Stanley A. Zuckerman
IBB REPRESENTATIVE: Alex Belida
FAS REPRESENTATIVE: Michael Conlon

LEGISLATIVE UPDATE

The 150 Account & the Budget Process

Congress officially began the long funding process for Fiscal Year 2005 when the Senate passed Senate Concurrent Resolution 95 on March 11, by a 51-45 vote, and the House passed House Concurrent Resolution 393, by a 215-212 vote. The administration's request for the International Affairs Account in FY05 is $31.519 billion. The Senate budget resolution would allocate $31.970 billion for foreign affairs, while the House would allocate $26.886 billion, $4.6 billion below request.

The Senate and the House must meet in conference to resolve the differences between the resolutions. Chief among these differences is the role that the Senate-proposed "Pay-Go" budget enforcement authority and alternative House proposals will play. Differences in funding proposals are not that great in terms of budget allocations. In conference, the final numbers for the International Affairs Account and the other accounts usually end up being somewhere between the Senate and the House's proposed allocations, which means that the numbers will be below the administration's request.

As we continue into the appropriations part of the funding process, the key questions are: Will the final budget resolution be closer to the Senate number or the House number, and what programs in the 150 account will have to be cut and by how much?

The closeness of the budget resolution votes (nearly party-line) indicate the difficulties that will be confronted during this election year as Congress works to do the people's business, show concern about the deficit and position members for the elections. AFSA will continue to be engaged in this process, working to maximize funding for the 150 International Affairs Account. □

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

Keeping the Faith

In March, I attended my second regional conference for entry-level employees, this one in Warsaw. I returned as impressed with the employees serving in Europe as I was with those in the East Asia and Pacific region whom I met at the January Manila conference. In addition, I gained a new appreciation for the rigors of serving in Central Asian posts.

One-third of all Foreign Service employees have been hired since 1998. This means the department is blessed with a remarkably energetic, resilient and eager population of specialists and generalists. Because of hiring freezes in the 1990s, many new employees have been given responsibilities previously reserved for experienced mid-level officers. They have acquitted themselves exceedingly well.

The mid-level deficit meant that some of these new-entry employees have not had full-time supervisors. I spoke with several employees who had been supervised by a string of WAE (when actually employed, retired FS) bosses. I do not mean to denigrate the worthy retirees, but in the cases brought to my attention, the temporary supervisors did not leave behind comments for EERs, which left their ratees in a bit of a lurch.

Naturally, new-entry professionals are concerned about tenure.

Naturally, new-entry professionals are concerned about tenure. They want it and are working hard to get it, but the workings of the Commissioning and Tenure Board are opaque. For example, if the board decides to defer a decision on a candidate on the first review, the candidate is due a letter explaining why (AFSA requested this and management agreed). The board is supposed to issue the letter shortly after it meets to allow the candidate time to correct shortcomings or gain new experience. Unfortunately, the board is too often late in getting out its letters. In Warsaw, I met one candidate who had yet to receive his letter from the June 2003 board and another who received his letter eight months after the board had met.

The tardiness of the explanatory letters does not engender faith in the system. Leaving names off the lists of those to be reviewed for tenuring, forgetting administrative promotions for a whole class of specialists, and other bureaucratic missteps weaken faith in the system. If any system demands faith, it is the system that governs the Foreign Service, because we are essentially self-governing. Members of the Foreign Service administer the Foreign Service: there is no permanent managerial class to do it. We administer the discipline and craft the training. We are in charge of peer review (i.e., promotions and awards) and handle assignments. Lack of trust in one area of the administration may well spill over into other areas. This must be avoided at all costs. The integrity of the system must be maintained.

AFSA will focus on improving the administration of the Foreign Service. The deluge of those hired under the Diplomatic Readiness Initiative has yet to crest. The first of the large entry-level classes come up for their first tenure review in March 2005. There is time to streamline operations, automate them to the extent possible, and otherwise prepare to provide these employees the level of attention and follow-through they have every right to expect in return for their enthusiastic service in some very difficult and dangerous places. □

V.P. VOICE: **USAID** ■ BY BILL CARTER

Lots of Baggage — Small Suitcase

What to jettison as we pack for the jet? Any FS employee worth his or her frequent-flyer miles has faced this dilemma many times. Now, with the introduction of the new annual evaluation form (AEF) on April Fools Day, this same dilemma must be dealt with in the form of work objectives, performance measures, skill areas, sub-skills and "potential," and must be verbally compacted into one narrative section. Sorry, sports fans, to write a column on all this AEF rigmarole so close on the heels of the last rating cycle, but my conscience and your careers made me do it!

Since the beginning of time and before, there has been an infinite variety of AEF formats and I am convinced that there will never be a completely satisfactory methodology — consider this just another "way station" on the endless road trip toward AEF nirvana. Many will point out the shortcomings of this latest iteration, but we will all have to live with it for the short term, so it is best to understand what the changes are — and deal with them. One hope for the new form is that it will cut down immensely on the time spent writing the AEF. Instead of two long pages of narrative, there is now only one. All those complaints about missions and offices closing down for the month of April while AEFs get written should now subside. From now on, they will only be closed for two weeks.

One hope for the new form is that it will cut down immensely on the time spent writing the AEF.

By the time this column is published, the new rating period will be 45 days old and new work objectives should already be in place. Are they? Under the new guidance, ongoing work objectives are to appear under the "Role in the Organization" section. On the new form, there can be only three work objectives and these should be special or unusual assignments. In addition, only two performance measures are permitted under each work objective.

The skill areas have been reduced from six to four, and the performance standards have been redefined for each grade. There are four sub-skills under each skill area. One tricky new fandangle is that the rater must discuss at least one sub-skill at the next higher grade level from that of the rated employee. The theory is that this will help employees strengthen skills that may enhance their career development. Hopefully, reality will follow theory.

A major change is that rating officers and appraisal committees can no longer make promotion recommendations. To repeat, promotion recommendations are impermissible. This puts a greater onus on the performance boards to ferret out those who should get promoted, without the benefit of explicit recommendations. There is a new requirement for the rater to comment on an employee's potential. While this is not intended to be a surrogate for a promotion recommendation, it should nevertheless provide some insight to performance board members.

Reverting back to past practice, the rater must again share the draft AEF with the rated employee. The rater may then tailor alterations to the draft AEF based on discussions with the employee.

Those are some of the new AEF highlights. I know … about as much fun as chewing on chalk. But remember: You pack the AEF suitcase, but others will open it. So make sure you have packed everything and packed it well. □

KEEPING IN TOUCH WITH MANAGEMENT

AFSA Meets with USAID Administrator

On March 15, AFSA President John Limbert and USAID VP Bill Carter met with USAID Administrator Andrew Natsios and some of his staff to review AFSA programs and agenda. Ambassador Limbert began the meeting by complimenting the high-level efforts to produce the joint State-USAID Strategic Plan (a document that sets forth the Secretary of State's direction and priorities for both organizations in the coming years and clearly delineates the joint objectives shared by the two agencies) and asked that AFSA be kept closely involved as implementation moves forward.

In the discussions that followed, Natsios pledged his full support to help secure overseas pay comparability for all FS employees and to regain USAA membership for new USAID Foreign Service members — both hot button issues for AFSA. Carter raised the need for much greater transparency in the selection process for senior positions, noting that some senior positions were not advertised and in other cases candidates outside of the service were selected over in-service FSOs.

AFSA asked the administrator for reconsideration of some funding priorities, criticizing the exorbitant amounts spent on "re-blocking" (making offices contiguous after reorganization) while a student loan repayment program, training and business class travel and other "investing-in-the-employee" initiatives have gone under-funded or unfunded. AFSA also asked that USAID explore alternative dispute resolution techniques as a way of possibly avoiding time-consuming grievances. AFSA will be scheduling periodic follow-up meetings to review progress and to continue this promising dialogue. □

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

Continued from page 2

Annuity Overpayment Claims: A Retiree Nightmare

In a Feb. 27 letter to the assistant secretary for Resource Management and the chief financial officer, AFSA expressed concern and offered suggestions regarding the manner in which the Retirement Accounts Division is handling annuity overpayment cases. AFSA has heard from 16 retirees who have been informed by RAD that they had received annuity overpayments and would be required to repay amounts ranging from $3,500 to $65,000.

The written notices to these retirees have been officious and perfunctory. The retirees reported that RAD has not been responsive to their inquiries, does not provide adequate information about the criteria used for judging waiver requests, and has been dilatory in adjudicating requests for waivers.

AFSA suggested to management that the department give relief to those retirees who relied in good faith on past retirement division miscalculations. One alternative would be to limit recovery claims to the last three years of overpayment. The IRS permits amendment of tax returns for only the previous three years, so if an overpayment claim is based on a longer period, the retiree cannot recoup overpaid taxes for the extended period. In addition, AFSA sent a letter to the director general urging the State Department to develop a retiree Web site so that retirees can access their annuity statements, make changes in their pension accounts and keep current on issues related to retirement such as open seasons for health plans.

AFSA is closely following this issue and encourages retirees who receive overpayment claims to contact AFSA Retiree Liaison Bonnie Brown at brown@afsa.org or (202) 338-4045, ext. 509.

USAA Saga Continues

In late February, AFSA received a response to AFSA President John Limbert's most recent letter requesting reconsideration of USAA eligibility for new USAID, FSC and FAS Foreign Service employees. You will recall that USAA originally said that eligibility required that an agency have a specific mission statement demonstrating that it was involved in national security. Therefore, AFSA's most recent letter to USAA contained the new State-USAID Strategic Plan, which makes an unmistakable linkage between USAID's work and national security. The AFSA letter also contained other supporting documentation to bolster the clear case that commerce and trade play an important role in our nation's security as well.

Nevertheless, USAA replied that it does not intend to alter its policy. In their own words: "We do not share your conclusion that development assistance in its many forms is what our Board had in mind when eligibility was established for FSOs in the diplomatic corps." AFSA is accustomed to protracted campaigns and this is going to be one of those. We intend to pursue other avenues to regain eligibility, and we welcome suggestions from members.

Need the 2004 FS Pay Table?

To assist members, AFSA has posted the 2004 Foreign Service Pay Chart on the AFSA Web site. Find it at: www.afsa.org/2004pay.cfm.

FLEXIBLE SPENDING ACCOUNTS BILLING ERROR

Some of you will have noticed that you were billed twice in pay period 3 for your allotment to the Flexible Spending Account (dependent care and/or health care). This is because the FSAFEDS billing system made an error with the PP3 allotments for all State Department subscribers.

FSAFEDS reports that they have worked closely with the State Department to rectify this situation. Refunds are being issued and accounts should have been made whole either before or shortly after the March 4 payday.

The important downstream effect of this error is that all subscribers should expect to receive a 1099 statement by Jan. 31, 2005, in the amount of the refund. Since the deduction was taken pre-tax and is now being returned, it must therefore be included as income when you report your earnings for the 2004 tax year.

FSAFEDS has apologized for this error. If you have questions or need assistance, call FSAFEDS toll-free at 1 (877) FSAFEDS (372-3337) from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. Eastern time and a benefits counselor can assist you.

Briefs • Continued on page 9

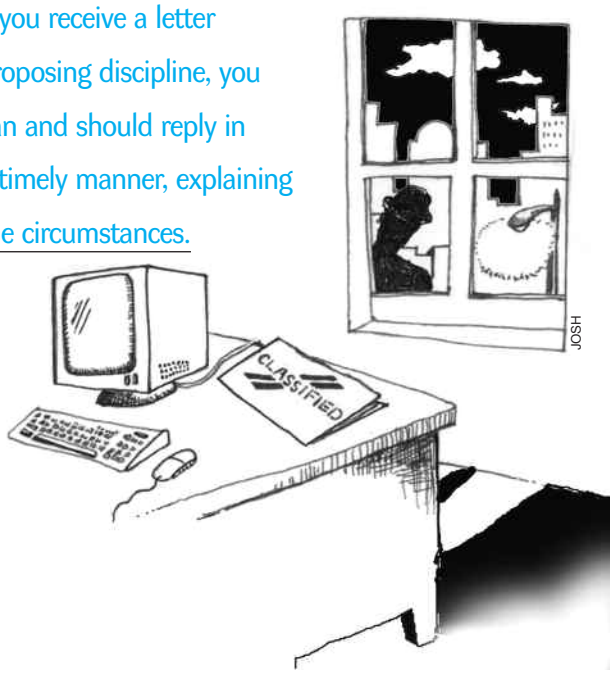
EYE ON SECURITY

If a Discipline Letter Comes, Call AFSA

The State Department's discipline statistics for 2003 were released in February. The department proposed 205 employees for discipline cases. For 133 of those individuals, the reason was "accumulating security infractions." AFSA urges all employees to adopt good security practices. AFSA understands that many of you work under difficult conditions: you may be working long hours and be fatigued; you face innumerable deadlines; you receive innumerable official visitors. Whatever the working conditions, you are still responsible for maintaining security. A clean-desk policy, sign-out sheet, and a buddy system can all help to reduce the number of security infractions.

The most common cause for issuance of a discipline proposal is when an employee incurs three security infractions within a three-year period. Other causes include the misuse of a government credit card, government computer or government vehicle.

If you receive a letter proposing discipline, you can and should reply in a timely manner, explaining the circumstances.



If you receive a letter proposing discipline — a reprimand, a suspension, a separation for cause — you can and should reply in a timely manner, explaining the circumstances. AFSA is ready to assist and recommends you contact the AFSA labor management office before sending your response. From the date of receipt of the letter, you have 30 days to respond if you are overseas, and 15 days if you are in the U.S. You have the right to submit a written response and to meet with the deciding official if you request such a meeting. The deciding official is usually one of the deputy assistant secretaries in the human resources division. That official then decides whether to uphold the discipline proposal, mitigate it to a lesser discipline, or throw the entire proposal out.

If you did not actually commit the infraction for which you are proposed for discipline, AFSA can help you draft an effective response. Even if you did commit the infraction, there may have been mitigating circumstances, and it will help your case to inform the deciding official about it. AFSA can help with that as well. If you choose to meet or speak with the deciding official, we can help you prepare for this meeting or phone call and can represent you at the meeting/teleconference. In legal parlance, possible mitigating circumstances are known as the "Douglas Factors." They allow you to point out, for example, that you have never been proposed for discipline before, that you have a spotless record, etc. These mitigating factors can be found at 3 FAM 4375. The principle of "similar penalty for like offense" should also be followed, meaning that the discipline proposed in your case should be similar to the penalty meted out in like cases, taking into account mitigating and aggravating factors (see 3 FAM 4374).

AFSA does not advocate that employees attempt to avoid a fair penalty for a breach of the rules, but we are available to help ensure that you receive fair and adequate consideration. For example, AFSA has succeeded in proving that certain career-ending allegations of visa fraud never happened. If, in the end, you are disciplined, a letter from the deciding official goes into your official performance file and is seen by tenure and promotion boards. You have the right to put your own letter in your file responding to the discipline letter. AFSA can offer guidance on the tone and content of this letter. Finally, you are entitled to grieve a discipline letter, and our attorneys can assist you with this process.

AFSA is here to assist you, so please contact us if you receive a discipline letter. □

Foreign Affairs Day • Continued from page 1

retirees. If you have not received an invitation and want one, e-mail foreignaffairsday@state.gov, or contact Peter Whaley at (202) 663-2383.

The 2004 AFSA Memorial Plaque ceremony will take place during Foreign Affairs Day to honor those Foreign Service personnel who lost their lives while serving their country abroad in foreign affairs.

AFSA encourages retirees to join us for Day on the Hill. We have established a new tradition (this is year four): accompanying Foreign Service retirees to Capitol Hill either the day before or the day after Foreign Affairs Day, when so many retiree colleagues are in town. AFSA arranges meetings with congressional representatives and staff, providing a unique opportunity to discuss the Foreign Service and diplomacy with key legislators. Add your voice to AFSA's in support of the Foreign Service. For more information, contact Austin Tracy by e-mail: tracy@afsa.org or toll-free: 1 (800) 704-2372, ext. 506. □

PLANNED GIVING

Give Back to the Service & AFSA

In April, AFSA kicked off a new year-long initiative to increase the number of "planned gifts" to the association. Planned giving is a popular way to have a lasting impact on a favorite institution. It involves the bequest of a major gift to an organization, usually through a trust or a will. These gifts can be set up to continue in perpetuity.

A planned gift to AFSA provides a unique opportunity to leave a legacy of support for the Foreign Service. There are many potential tax advantages in making planned gifts, and it is never too early to consider this option. AFSA has established relationships with financial and legal professionals who can assist members with estate planning to determine what type of investment fits their needs, whether it be a bequest or an investment that generates income for the donor.

AFSA encourages employees and family members to consider planned gifts to either or both of two critical AFSA funds: the AFSA Scholarship Fund and the Fund for American Diplomacy. The scholarship fund supports children of Foreign Service families with college education expenses. Financial aid and merit awards are bestowed in the name of the donor or loved one.

Planned giving is a popular way to have a lasting impact on a favorite institution.

The Fund for American Diplomacy supports a variety of public programs to raise awareness of the importance of diplomacy and the U.S. Foreign Service. The FAD activities help educate the American public through programs including the AFSA Speakers Program, the popular High School Essay Contest and the Foreign Service Elderhostel program.

If you want to explore how a planned gift to AFSA can augment your trust or will, contact Planned Giving Director Lori Dec. She can help you determine whether this option for giving back to the career that served you well or leaving your mark on AFSA is appropriate for you. She's reachable by phone: (202) 944-5504, or toll-free: 1(800) 704-2372, ext. 504; or by e-mail: dec@afsa.org. □

ADVICE FROM FS MEMBERS

Where to Retire?

About two years ago, Roy and I moved into a brand new cottage at Collington in Mitchellville, Md., midway between Washington and Annapolis. We chose Collington for several reasons. First, although sponsored by the Episcopal Church, it is ecumenical. Second, it is close to Washington, with a shuttle bus to and from the New Carrollton Metro stop almost every hour during the day and early evening. Third, it is home to many retired Foreign Service employees as well as retired journalists who have served overseas. After a long and satisfying career in the Foreign Service, it was a delight to find a retirement community filled with kindred spirits. And finally, Collington is a life-care community with a well-staffed clinic and a comprehensive care nursing unit.

There are all of the usual amenities, and some that are unique, such as a florist shop that is run by the residents and provides fresh floral arrangements throughout the community. The local community college teaches many courses here, including autobiographical writing, philosophy and Tai Chi, as well as exercise classes. Outside speakers frequently give lectures on a variety of timely subjects, while the music committee provides instrumental and vocal concerts. My only regret is that Roy was unable to enjoy all of the amenities, as he died only a few months after we moved to Collington. His passing has been more bearable because of the many friends, old and new, that I have found here.

Betty W. Atherton
Mitchellville, Md.

The following might be useful for the "Where to Retire" slot, but if so, please ask readers not to blab it around: there could be a stampede. The place is Uzes, in the Midi region of France, near Nimes. Uzes is a medieval/Renaissance cathedral and market town of 8,000, full of history and handsomely restored and protected architecture.

In some ways, Uzes is a typical Midi town: a tunnel of plane trees over the main street during the hot dry summer, plenty of sidewalk cafés, charming crooked streets full of visual treats and trendy boutiques and a bustling Saturday market. Four real seasons, but not exaggerated. In other ways, it is atypical: a remarkable public library in a restored 17th-century seminary; an annual summer baroque music festival; year-round classical music concerts of surprising quality; a sizeable resident community of cultured and discreetly well-heeled Dutch, Swiss, Germans, English and Scandinavians; and a moderately-priced "universite populaire" (community adult education facility) offering informal non-credit cultural and recreational courses.

The peaceful surrounding countryside is markedly broken and undulating, green, smiling and prosperous: vineyards, orchards, farms, olive groves, lavender fields, and forests of pine and cypress. Despite at least 25,000 years of human habitation, the country 10 minutes away by car is a real boondocks, where you should watch out for wild boar. Much of it could be Tuscany, but much less built-up than the now-chic Provence of Pagnol or Peter Mayle.

Practical info: Most shopping and services are available, including the main medical specialties, within a 10-minute walk. The cost of living is moderate to high. Opportunities for employment: virtually nil.

Richard S. Dawson
Uzes, France □

HOME SALES & CAPITAL GAINS

New Law Offers Tax Breaks for FS Homesellers

BY JAMES YORKE, LABOR MANAGEMENT SPECIALIST

The Military Family Tax Relief Act, signed into law on Nov. 11, 2003, contains the long-awaited provision that assists military and Foreign Service personnel who sell their principal residence. The provisions are complex, and a careful reading of the regulations and your own situation are required.

Under a law enacted in 1997, you had to live in your house for two years out of the last five in order to exclude gain on the sale of the residence, and thus avoid paying capital gains tax. The new law allows you to extend this five-year period for up to 10 years of extended duty overseas or at a domestic location that is more than 50 miles from the residence that you are selling. In other words, you must have owned and lived in the house for two years out of the last 15, of which no more than 10 years can be disregarded for absence at a duty station overseas or more than 50 miles away (see examples below).

This, in a nutshell, means that if you are thinking of selling your house now, you must have owned and used it as a home for any two years in total since 1989. The periods making up the two years need not be consecutive or contiguous. For any five of the 15 years since 1989 you can have been anywhere, so long as two years were spent in the house. For the other 10 years, you must have been overseas or more than 50 miles away on Foreign Service orders.

If you sold the house on or after May 7, 1997, however, you would have had to have owned the house and used it as a home for any two years since May 7, 1982, with any five of the 15 years since 1982 spent anywhere, so long as two years were spent in the house. For any 10 years, you must have been overseas or more than 50 miles away on Foreign Service orders.

Two very important points about this new law:

1. The change applies to home sales after May 6, 1997, so the 15 years must go back from no earlier than that date. Normally, an amended return must be filed within three years of the original return's due date, but the new law gives qualifying taxpayers who sold a home between May 6, 1997 and Jan. 1, 2001, until Nov. 10, 2004, to file an amended return. (The gains on a house sold in 2001 would have been reported on the 2001 tax return, due April 15, 2002, so the amended return would be due by April 15, 2005.)

2. If you qualify for a refund of capital gains tax, you must file an amended 1040, with the words "Military Family Tax Relief Act" in red at the top. If you need a copy of an earlier year's return, you may use Form 4506, "Request for Copy or Transcript of Return."

JOSH

If you qualify for a refund of capital gains tax, you must file an amended 1040, with the words "Military Family Tax Relief Act" in red at the top.

The IRS has provided examples to help taxpayers understand the new home sale exclusion rule:

Example #1: Mr. Green owned a house in Georgia and lived there from December 1988 until deployed overseas in January 1991. When he returned to the U.S. in July 1999, he was stationed 90 miles from the house. Preferring not to commute this distance, he sold the house four months later, realizing a gain of $150,000. Because he had not used the house as his principal residence during the five years preceding the sale, he reported this capital gain on his 1999 return. Under the new law, he can disregard both the 8.5 years he was overseas and the four months after his return to the States, since he was stationed more than 50 miles from old residence. His five-year test period for ownership and use now consists of the five years before January 1991, when he went overseas. Since he owned and lived in the house for more than two years during this test period, he may exclude the gain on the sale. He must file an amended return by Nov. 10, 2004, to recover the capital gain tax paid on the 1999 return.

Example #2: Assume the same facts as Example #1, except that when Mr. Green returned to the U.S., his duty station was 40 miles from the house. Only the time overseas may be disregarded, because his duty station after returning to the U.S. was within 50 miles of the old residence. He can still claim the exclusion, and must file an amended return by Nov. 10, 2004, to recover the capital gain tax paid on the 1999 return.

Example #3: Col. White owned and lived in her Ohio house for three years before being stationed overseas in January 1988. She was still overseas when she sold the house in January 2003. She may disregard only 10 of her 15 years overseas, so her 5-year test period consists entirely of years in which she did not live in the house, leaving her not eligible for the home sale exclusion.

Clearly, Foreign Service members will have individual circumstances that differ in detail from these examples. If you have any questions or need advice, please contact AFSA. Incidentally, some AFSA members have already claimed this rebate successfully. □

This is the first in our series "On the Lighter Side," humor from members of the Foreign Service community. Send your submissions (under 500 words, fiction & cartoons welcome) to afsanews@afsa.org.

ON THE LIGHTER SIDE

A Meeting of Minds

BY JOHN BOYLL

Staff meetings are a lot like services at my old church — required events where you must sit quietly in one spot for an agonizingly long time while one person, typically of dubious authority, blabbers on endlessly about how bad things are.

In the office world, however, meetings are as unavoidable as nose hair, so we should learn to live with them (meetings or nose hair, take your pick). Like church, meetings have rules. By not following them, you risk being sucked down screaming into the earth's crust.

There are two rules for success at any meeting. First — the yellow note pad. When the meeting authority speaks, you take notes. This convinces the authority that you are listening intently, and makes him/her think, 'That Boyll is a real go-getter. Promotion material.'

Conveniently, however, nobody ever checks to see what you actually write: 'Will this person ever shut up? I've heard more interesting speakers at the County Weed Control Board.'

The second rule of meeting success — if asked to speak, say "Nothing to report." If you fail to say "Nothing to report," everyone else instantly despises you for trying to look good before the authority and for drawing the meeting out even longer.

After that, however, there are no firm rules. So long as your body is anchored in the chair next to your colleagues, your mind is allowed to wander to distant galaxies. My mind often makes it past Neptune before zooming back for a change in topic and a required taking of notes.

Take my last meeting. Having counted the number of ceiling tiles (64) at least three times to be sure I had not missed the partial tiles along the left side of the room — which only count as half tiles, making the calculation a little more difficult — I am struck by a thought ...

The nose is a very well-placed organ. I cannot imagine a better place on the entire body for the old honker to be located. What if it was in your armpit? You'd have to lift your arm to smell things.

Quiet stillness is the wellspring of creativity, they say. They might be right. I notice Max, the colleague to my left. Judging by his facial expression, his mind is somewhere near the Crab Nebula.

Max suddenly turns and whispers, "If the world stopped spinning, wouldn't we be sucked right down into the earth's crust?" I believe he is right. Centrifugal force is the only thing keeping us from being welded into the earth's mantle by gravitational pull.

Then I begin thinking — if gravity were suddenly turned off, the same force would fling us off the face of the earth into outer space. Cool ... My thoughts, by this time so random that they could be used to select winning lottery numbers, are rudely interrupted.

Meeting Authority: "Boyll, any words of wisdom?"

You will recall, the only correct response is "Nothing to report." The real danger in having a mind of one's own, it turns out, is the temptation to actually speak it.

Me: "You know, I really like Spanish olives."

Church and meetings are not the same after all. In meetings, you are often directly responsible to the speaking authority and not just to God. God, I believe, is a much more forgiving type. □

John Boyll is an FSO with the State Department. He has served in consular positions in Manila and Frankfurt, and is currently assigned to Mexico City.

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

Continued from page 5

AFSA Personal Property and Transit Insurance

Did 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, the cost is the same as it was in 1973, just $.75 per $100 of basic coverage.

The AFSA Plan — only available to AFSA members — was the first to offer full replacement-value coverage for personal property, and to offer it for no additional charge. The rate remains the same even for high-risk posts. The AFSA Plan also offers the broadest personal property coverage available anywhere. It includes coverage for earthquake, flood, mysterious disappearance, breakage of non-fragile articles, denting and scratching. Coverage is even available for storage in the United States. Personal liability insurance, if selected, applies worldwide. The claims process is based on an honor policy: it is simple and friendly, and does not require the completion of forms. While on assignment abroad, consider taking advantage of the AFSA Plan.

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

CLASSIFIEDS

PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

BUSInESS/RESIdEnTIAl oRgAnIzIng services: "The Chaos Counselor:" paper management, financial records, moving/relocation. Member Nat'l. Assoc. of Professional Organizers. Background in clinical psychology, experience working with ADD clients and chronically disorganized. Foreign Service spouse. Worldwide availability.
Tel: (202) 298-7872.
E-mail: thechaoscounselor2003@yahoo.com.

LEGAL SERVICES

ATToRnEY WITH 22 years successful experience SPECIALIZING FULL-TIME IN FS GRIEVANCES will more than double your chance of winning: 30% of grievants win before the Grievance Board; 85% of my clients win. Only a private attorney can adequately develop and present your case, including necessary regs, arcane legal doctrines, precedents and rules. **Call Bridget R. Mugane** at Tel: (202) 387-4383, or (301) 596-0175.
E-mail: fsatty@comcast.net
Free initial consultation.

ATTORNEY

gRIEvAnCE ATToRnEY (specializing since 1983). Attorney assists FS officers to correct defective performance appraisals, to reverse improper tenuring and promotion board decisions, secure financial benefits, defend against disciplinary actions and obtain relief from all forms of discrimination. Free Initial Consultation. Call **William T. Irelan, Esq.**
Tel: (202) 625-1800, Fax: (202) 625-1616.
E-mail: wtirelan@vais.net

WIll /ESTATE PlAnnIng by attorney who is a former FSO. Have your will reviewed and updated, or new one prepared: No charge for initial consultation.
M. Bruce Hirshorn, Boring & Pilger
307 Maple Ave. W, Suite D, Vienna, VA 22180. Tel: (703) 281-2161,
Fax: (703) 281-9464.
E-mail: mbhirshorn@boringandpilger.com

PlACE A ClASSIFIEd Ad:
$1.25/word (10-word min.) First 3 words bolded free, add'l bold text $2/word, header, box, shading $10 ea. Deadline: 20th of the month for pub. 5 weeks later.
Ad Mgr: Tel: (202) 944-5507,
Fax: (202) 338-6820.
E-mail: miltenberger@afsa.org

TAX & FINANCIAL SERVICES

TAX RETURn PREPARATIon And PlAnnIng from a CPA firm specializing in expatriate taxation. Home of JANE A. BRUNO, the author of "The Expat's Guide to U.S. Taxes." Tax return preparation, tax consultation and financial planning. Contact us at:
Tel: (954) 452-8813, Fax: (954) 452-8359.
E-mail: americantaxhelp@gkrcpas.biz
Visit our Web site:
www.americantaxhelp.com

FREE TAX ConSUlTATIon: For overseas personnel. We process returns as received, without delay. Preparation and representation by Enrolled Agents. Federal and all states prepared. Includes "TAX TRAX" unique mini-financial planning review with recommendations. Full planning available. Get the most from your financial dollar! **Financial Forecasts Inc.,** Barry B. De Marr, CFP, EA, 3918 Prosperity Ave. #230, Fairfax, VA 22031
Tel: (703) 289-1167, Fax: (703) 289-1178.
E-mail: finfore@aol.com

PRoFESSIonAl TAX RETURn PREPARATIon: Thirty years in public tax practice. Arthur A. Granberg, EA, ATA, ATP. Our charges are $75 per hour. Most FS returns take 3 to 4 hours. Our office is 100 feet from Virginia Square Metro Station, Tax Matters Associates PC, 3601 North Fairfax Dr., Arlington, VA 22201. Tel: (703) 522-3828.
Fax: (703) 522-5726.
E-mail: aag8686@aol.com

ATToRnEY, FoRMER FoREIgn SERvICE oFFICER: Extensive experience w/ tax problems peculiar to the Foreign Service. Available for consultation, tax planning, and preparation of returns:
M. Bruce Hirshorn, Boring & Pilger
307 West Maple Ave., Suite D,
Vienna, VA 22180. Tel: (703) 281-2161.
Fax: (703) 281-9464.
E-mail: mbhirshorn@boringandpilger.com.

U.S. TAX TIME IS HERE: Living abroad? James Burgess Associates, Ltd. Certified Public Accountants. Need help with U.S. taxes from an online tax preparer with 30 years' experience? Check out our Web page for free interview software. Give us a call or send us an e-mail. 6105-A Arlington Boulevard, Falls Church, VA 22044-2708. Tel: (703) 534-9320.
E-mail: jimb@jbaltd.com URL:www.jbaltd.com

RolAnd S. HEARd, CPA
1091 Chaddwyck Dr.
Athens, GA 30606
Tel/Fax: (706) 769-8976
E-mail: RSHEARDCPA@aol.com
- U.S. income tax services
- Many FS & contractor clients
- Practiced before the IRS
- Financial planning
- American Institute of CPAs, Member

FIRST CONSULTATION FREE
WWW.ROLANDSHEARDCPA.COM

FInAnCIAl AdvISoR: Stephen H. Thompson, Legg Mason Wood Walker Inc. Member NYSE, Member SIPC (Retired Foreign Service officer).
Tel: (202) 778-1970, (800) 792-4411.
Web site: www.sthompson.fa.leggmason.com
E-mail: shthompson@leggmason.com

---

vIRgInIA M. TEST, CPA: Tax service specializing in Foreign Service/overseas contractors. **ConTACT InFo: (804) 695-2939, FAX: (804) 695-2958.** E-mail: VTest@aol.com

PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

KdH PRoPERTIES SERvES the property management needs of clients in the close-in communities of McLean, Falls Church and Arlington. We have over 30 years experience in renting and managing. We are REALTORS and belong to the Northern Virginia Association of Realtors. We manage: single-family homes, townhouses, condo units, as well as small community associations. We would be honored to serve as your property manager. Our manager has earned and holds the designation of Certified Property Manager. Contact us for more info. Tel: (703) 522-4927, or
E-mail: kdhproperties@mris.com

WJd MAnAgEMEnT IS competitively priced, of course. However, if you are considering hiring a property management firm, don't forget the old saying, "You get what you pay for." All of us at WJD have worked for other property management firms in the past, and we have learned what to do and, more importantly, what *not* to do from our experiences at these companies. We invite you to explore our Web site at **www.wjdpm.com** for more information, or call us at (703) 385-3600.

CLASSIFIEDS

PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

H.A. GILL & SON, INC.: Family-owned and operated firm specializing in the leasing and management of fine single-family houses, condominiums and cooperatives in Washington, D.C. and Montgomery County since 1888. While we operate with cutting-edge technology, we do business the old-fashioned way: providing close personal attention to our clients and their properties. We provide expertise in dealing with jurisdictional legal requirements, rent control, property registration and lead paint requirements. We closely screen all tenant applications and are on-line with Equi-fax Credit Information Services which provides our firm with instantaneous hard-copy credit reports. You can rest assured while you are abroad that your property will be in the most capable hands. Please call John Gill Jr. at (202) 338-5000 or e-mail him at:

PIED-A-TERRE PROPERTIES, LTD: Select from our unique inventory of fully-furnished & tastefully decorated apartments & townhouses all located in D.C.'s best in-town neighborhoods: Dupont, Georgetown, Foggy Bottom & the West End. Two-month minimum. Mother-Daughter Owned and Operated. Tel: (202) 462-0200. Fax: (202) 332-1406. Email: info@piedaterredc.com www.piedaterredc.com

TEMPORARY HOUSING

SHORT-TERM RENTALS

CORPORATE APARTMENT SPECIALISTS: Abundant experience working with Foreign Service professionals and the locations to best serve you: Foggy Bottom, Woodley Park, Cleveland Park, Chevy Chase, Rosslyn, Ballston, Pentagon City. Our office is a short walk from NFATC. One-month minimum. All furnishings, housewares, utilities, telephone and cable included. Tel: (703) 979-2830 or (800) 914-2802; Fax: (703) 979-2813.
Web site: www.corporateapartments.com
E-mail: sales@corporateapartments.com

1768-74 U. ST/ADAMS MORGAN: Unique, spacious 2-BR apts w/terrace. In newly renovated historic bldg. Individual HVAC units, controlled entry system, hdwd flrs, all new appliances including W/D. Pkg. avail. For appt. call: (917) 567-4811.

TOWNHOUSE-POOL-TENNIS FSO TDY to Afghanistan Sep 04-Aug 05 will rent furnished 2-bdrm condo. Cable/ utilities included. 10 minutes to FSI. On bus line to Metro. Tel: (703) 302-7454.

FURNISHED LUXURY APARTMENTS: Short/long-term. Best locations: Dupont Circle, Georgetown. Utilities included. All price ranges/sizes. Parking available.
Tel: (202) 296-4989, E-mail: rlicht@starpower.net

TEMPORARY HOUSING

WASHINGTON, D.C. or NFATC TOUR? EXECUTIVE HOUSING CONSULTANTS offers Metropolitan Washington, D.C.'s finest portfolio of short-term, fully-furnished and equipped apartments, townhomes and single-family residences in Maryland, D.C. and Virginia.

In Virginia: "River Place's Finest" is steps to Rosslyn Metro and Georgetown, and 15 minutes on Metro bus or State Department shuttle to NFATC. For more info, please call (301) 951-4111, or visit our Web site: www.executivehousing.com

GEORGETOWN QUARTERS: Exquisite, fully-furnished accomodations at the East End of Georgetown. Short walk to World Bank and State Department. Lower floor of three-level home built in 1803 and renovated in 2003. Private front and rear entrances, eight-foot ceilings, fireplace, marble bathroom with jacuzi and shower, granite and stainless steel kitchen, washer and dryer, walk out to tiered rear garden great for entertaining. Street parking and limited car/pick-up sharing with management. Dishes, flatware, towels, linens and light maid service included. Preference for single person or couple. Rate commensurate with housing allowance. Contact owner at: rraysol@aol.com or Tel: (202) 625-6448.

MORTGAGE

BUYING OR REFINANCING A HOME? Save money with some of the lowest rates in 40 years. Jeff Stoddard specializes in working with the Foreign Service community overseas and in the U.S. Call today and experience the Power of Yes! ® Tel: (703) 299-8625. E-mail: jeffstoddard_wamu@compuserve.com

---

WHY DO SO MANY FOREIGN SERVICE PERSONNEL USE AMERICAN STANDARD MORTGAGE?

1. Rates as low as 2.95%
2. Minimal paperwork
3. Fast/superior services

We have experience handling the mortgage process for clients who are out of the country. If you are purchasing or refinancing a home please call Jim Fagan at (703) 757-5800, or e-mail james.fagan5@verizon.net
Foreign Service References Available.

REAL ESTATE

JOANN PIEKNEY/ PRUDENTIAL CARRUTHERS REALTORS: Complete professional dedication to residential sales in Northern Virginia. I provide you with personal attention. Over 22 years' real estate experience and Foreign Service overseas living experience. JOANN PIEKNEY. Tel: (703) 624-1594, Fax: (703) 757-9137
E-mail: jpiekney@yahoo.com.
Web: www.foreignservicehomes.com

HEADED TO D.C.? Start planning now for house hunting in Northern Virginia. Let my 16-plus years of experience providing FS personnel with exclusive **Buyer Representation** work for you. My effective strategy for home buying will make the transition easier for you and your family!

Contact **MARILYN CANTRELL**, Associate Broker, ABR, CRS, GRI at McEnearney Associates, 1320 Old Chain Bridge Rd., McLean, VA 22101. Tel: (703) 790-9090, ext. 246; Fax: (703) 734-9460.
E-mail: **marilyn@marilyncantrell.com**
www.marilyncantrell.com

LOOKING TO BUY, sell or rent property in Northern Virginia? This former FSO understands your needs and can help you. David Olinger, GRI Long & Foster, Realtors Alexandria/Mt. Vernon Office. Tel: (703) 960-8900, ext. 246. Fax: (703) 960-1305.
E-Mail: david.olinger@longandfoster.com

WASHINGTON STATE ISLANDS: Spectacular views, wonderful community, climate, boating, hiking. Access Seattle & Vancouver, B.C. Former FSO Jan Zehner, Windermere Real Estate/Orcas Island. Tel: (800) 842-5770; www.orcas-island.com
E-mail: janz@rockisland.com

FLORIDA

LONGBOAT KEY, BRADENTON/ SARASOTA: Area will exceed expectations. Don't miss owning in Florida. Resales, new homes, rental management and vacation rentals. Dynamic growing company offering personalized professional service. Contact: Sharon E. Oper, Realtor (AFSA Member) Wagner Realty. Tel: (941) 387-7199.
E-mail: lbk@comcast.net

NO STATE INCOME TAX enhances gracious living in Sarasota, the cultural capital of Florida's Gulf Coast. Contact former FSO **Paul Byrnes,** Coldwell Banker residential sales specialist, by e-mail: byrnes@family-net.org

CLASSIFIEDS

VACATION

FURnISHEd vACATIon HoME: Florida University Park Sarasota/Bradenton area short- or long-term. Large, elegant turnkey furnished pool villa with lake view in golf course community; 2 bdms, 2-1/2 baths plus den, fireplace. Near airport and beaches and Sarasota's theaters, shops and restaurants. Contact: Pauline Kemps, Jeannette & Rossi; Tel: (941) 953-6000.
E-mail: Pkemps@leasingsarasota.com

UnIvERSITY PARK SARASoTA/ BRAdEnTon AREA: Short- or long-term: Large, elegant turnkey furnished pool villa with lake view in golf course community; 2 bdrms, 2-1/2 baths plus den, fireplace. Near airport and beaches and Sarasota's theaters, shops and restaurants. Contact: Sandy Greiner, Wagner Realty; Tel: (941) 794-2246 or toll-free: (888) 691-1245.

JUPITER BEACH, FI : Ocean front 3-bedroom, 2-1/2 bath condo available with pool, gym and tennis. Golf courses close by. Minimum three months rental. Tel: (703) 960-3386, E-mail: addygene@yahoo.com.

PAI M SPRIngS, CAI IFoRnIA: Beautiful house, 3 BR, 3 baths, spectacular mountain views, jacuzzi, private. Available winter 2004. $3,000 monthly three-month minimum.
E-Mail: pscadoc@hotmail.com.

HII ton HEAd ISI And: South Forest Beach. Vacation rental: spacious 2-story villa, 2 bedrooms + convertible bed, 2.5 baths. Two blocks from beautiful beaches. Tennis courts and 2 on-site swimming pools. Prime golfing nearby. Walking distance to restaurants, shops, and many vacation and kid-friendly activities. E-mail: masseeandsumana@yahoo.com.

---

noRMAndY, FRAnCE: Large farmhouse estate near D-Day Beaches. www.laporterouge.net or Michele Lemmon (202)667-6756

WEST Co AST BARBAdoS: Diplomat's gracious totally furnished 3BR home, sea view, deck. Off-season rental $1,000/wk. Minutes to beachs, golfing, shops, restaurants. Contact: Zabriskie, Tel: (301) 587- 4956
E-mail: pegnairobi@hotmail.com.

BOOKS

CAPTAIN HOGAN: SAILOR, MERCHANT, DIPLOMAT ON SIX CONTINENTS. By Michael Styles. True story of adventurous Irish-American late-18th/early-19th centuries. Available from SixContinents.home.att.net, and

---

old ASIA/oRIEnT BooKS BoUgHT Asian rare books. Fax: (212) 316-3408.
E-mail: arbs@erols.com

JUNGLE PATHS AND PALACE TREASURES (non-fiction). Set in India, a world of fabulous palaces, temples, crowded towns and remote jungles, monsoons, tigers and strange customs. See *FSJ*, Nov. 2003, page 23, for description. ***River of Pearls*** (non-fiction): travel, history, Asia adventure, on the press now. $18.95 + shipping = $20.15. Contact: Mary Seniff Stickney, 71 Fisherman's Cove, Ponte Vedra, FL 32082.

"doUg And WAHWEE: I IFE And I AUgHTER ABRoAd WITH THE MACARTHURS".
FInAI CAI I for anecdotes. Stories or vignettes about Career Ambassador Douglas MacArthur II and his colorful, sometimes controversial wife, Laura Barkley (Wahwee) MacArthur, daughter of Truman's Vice President. Please e-mail to: consultimate@sidney.heartland.net
NLT June 1st, or, send by post to: Thomas R. Hutson, 510 East Street, P.O. Box 121, Thurman, IA 51654-0121. If you have questions, Tel: (646) 251-9835. **Target date for publication and holiday gift-giving is at year's end.**

SHOPPING

110 - 220 vol T STo RE
MUI TI-SYSTEM EI ECTRonICS

PAI -SECAM-nTSC Tvs,
VCRs, AUDIO, CAMCORDER, ADAPTOR, TRANSFORMERS, KITCHEN APPLIANCES
gMS WoRId WIdE PHonES
EPoRT WoRId EI ECTRonICS
1719 Connecticut Ave NW
(Dupont Circle Metro. Btwn. R & S Sts.)
TEI (202) 232-2244 (800) 513-3907
E-mail: export@covad.net
URL: www.220AV.TV
nEW I oCATIon
1030 19TH ST.nW (between K & L Sts.)
Washington, D.C. 20009,
TEI (202) 464-7600.
InQUIRE ABoUT oUR PRoMoTIonS
government & diplomat discounts

nUTRITIonAI SoI UTIonS vITAMInS And THIngS: Herbs, vitamins, homeopathics, flower remedies, body care, books, and more! We offer high quality products that produce dependable health benefits. Visit us at www.yellnutrition.com to question our knowledgeable staff and to place your orders or call us at (703) 271-0400.

BUSINESS CARDS

BUSInESS CARdS printed to State Department specifications. 500 cards for as little as $37.00! Herron Printing & Graphics (301) 990-3100; or
E-mail: sales@herronprinting.com

PET TRANSPORTATION

PET MovIng MAdE EASY. Club Pet International, is a full-service animal shipper who specializes in local, national and international trips. Club Pet is the ultimate pet care boarding facility in the Washington Metropolitan area. Located in Chantilly Virginia, Club Pet is A.B.K.A. Accredited, and licensed by the U.S.D.A. as well as the TSA as an Indirect Air Carrier. Tel: (703) 471-7818 or (800) 871-2535; www.clubpet.com;

TAXI WASH, D.C. METRO AREA

AIRPoRT ACCESS SEdAn & I IMoUSInE SERvICES: Local and long-distance services door-to-door. For airport transfers, business meetings, sight-seeing and special events. Serving Washington, D.C., Maryland and Virginia 24/7 to the airports: Dulles, Ronald Reagan and BWI. Call (202) 498-8708, or (202) 625-0300. Book rndtrip, get $5.00 off. www.limo-access.com

MISCELLANEOUS

SHIPPIng

PI AnnIng To MovE ovERSEAS? Need a rate to ship your car, household goods, or other cargo going abroad? Contact SEFCO-Export Management Company for rates and advice. Tel: (718) 268-6233.
Fax: (718) 268-0505. Contact Joseph T. Quinn.
Visit our Web site at www.sefco-export.com

IndEPEndEnT SCHool oPTIonS: Finding the best school placement for each child in the Washington Metro area.
www.independentschooloptions.org.

CLASSIFIEDS

PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

BUSInESS/RESIdEnTIAl oRgAnIzIng services: "The Chaos Counselor:" paper management, financial records, moving/relocation. Member Nat'l. Assoc. of Professional Organizers. Background in clinical psychology, experience working with ADD clients and chronically disorganized. Foreign Service spouse. Worldwide availability.
Tel: (202) 298-7872.
E-mail: thechaoscounselor2003@yahoo.com.

LEGAL SERVICES

ATToRnEY WITH 22 years successful experience SPECIALIZING FULL-TIME IN FS GRIEVANCES will more than double your chance of winning: 30% of grievants win before the Grievance Board; 85% of my clients win. Only a private attorney can adequately develop and present your case, including necessary regs, arcane legal doctrines, precedents and rules. **Call Bridget R. Mugane** at Tel: (202) 387-4383, or (301) 596-0175.
E-mail: fsatty@comcast.net
Free initial consultation.

ATTORNEY

gRIEvAnCE ATToRnEY (specializing since 1983). Attorney assists FS officers to correct defective performance appraisals, to reverse improper tenuring and promotion board decisions, secure financial benefits, defend against disciplinary actions and obtain relief from all forms of discrimination. Free Initial Consultation. Call **William T. Irelan, Esq.**
Tel: (202) 625-1800, Fax: (202) 625-1616.
E-mail: wtirelan@vais.net

WIll /ESTATE PlAnnIng by attorney who is a former FSO. Have your will reviewed and updated, or new one prepared: No charge for initial consultation.
M. Bruce Hirshorn, Boring & Pilger
307 Maple Ave. W, Suite D, Vienna, VA 22180. Tel: (703) 281-2161,
Fax: (703) 281-9464.
E-mail: mbhirshorn@boringandpilger.com

PlACE A ClASSIFIEd Ad:
$1.25/word (10-word min.) First 3 words bolded free, add'l bold text $2/word, header, box, shading $10 ea. Deadline: 20th of the month for pub. 5 weeks later.
Ad Mgr: Tel: (202) 944-5507,
Fax: (202) 338-6820.
E-mail: miltenberger@afsa.org

TAX & FINANCIAL SERVICES

TAX RETURn PREPARATIon And PlAnnIng from a CPA firm specializing in expatriate taxation. Home of JANE A. BRUNO, the author of "The Expat's Guide to U.S. Taxes." Tax return preparation, tax consultation and financial planning. Contact us at:
Tel: (954) 452-8813, Fax: (954) 452-8359.
E-mail: americantaxhelp@gkrcpas.biz
Visit our Web site:
www.americantaxhelp.com

FREE TAX ConSUlTATIon: For overseas personnel. We process returns as received, without delay. Preparation and representation by Enrolled Agents. Federal and all states prepared. Includes "TAX TRAX" unique mini-financial planning review with recommendations. Full planning available. Get the most from your financial dollar! **Financial Forecasts Inc.,** Barry B. De Marr, CFP, EA, 3918 Prosperity Ave. #230, Fairfax, VA 22031
Tel: (703) 289-1167, Fax: (703) 289-1178.
E-mail: finfore@aol.com

PRoFESSIonAl TAX RETURn PREPARATIon: Thirty years in public tax practice. Arthur A. Granberg, EA, ATA, ATP. Our charges are $75 per hour. Most FS returns take 3 to 4 hours. Our office is 100 feet from Virginia Square Metro Station, Tax Matters Associates PC, 3601 North Fairfax Dr., Arlington, VA 22201. Tel: (703) 522-3828.
Fax: (703) 522-5726.
E-mail: aag8686@aol.com

ATToRnEY, FoRMER FoREIgn SERvICE oFFICER: Extensive experience w/ tax problems peculiar to the Foreign Service. Available for consultation, tax planning, and preparation of returns:
M. Bruce Hirshorn, Boring & Pilger
307 West Maple Ave., Suite D,
Vienna, VA 22180. Tel: (703) 281-2161.
Fax: (703) 281-9464.
E-mail: mbhirshorn@boringandpilger.com.

U.S. TAX TIME IS HERE: Living abroad? James Burgess Associates, Ltd. Certified Public Accountants. Need help with U.S. taxes from an online tax preparer with 30 years' experience? Check out our Web page for free interview software. Give us a call or send us an e-mail. 6105-A Arlington Boulevard, Falls Church, VA 22044-2708. Tel: (703) 534-9320.
E-mail: jimb@jbaltd.com URL:www.jbaltd.com

RolAnd S. HEARd, CPA
1091 Chaddwyck Dr.
Athens, GA 30606
Tel/Fax: (706) 769-8976
E-mail: RSHEARDCPA@aol.com
- U.S. income tax services
- Many FS & contractor clients
- Practiced before the IRS
- Financial planning
- American Institute of CPAs, Member

FIRST CONSULTATION FREE
WWW.ROLANDSHEARDCPA.COM

FInAnCIAl AdvISoR: Stephen H. Thompson, Legg Mason Wood Walker Inc. Member NYSE, Member SIPC (Retired Foreign Service officer).
Tel: (202) 778-1970, (800) 792-4411.
Web site: www.sthompson.fa.leggmason.com
E-mail: shthompson@leggmason.com

---

vIRgInIA M. TEST, CPA: Tax service specializing in Foreign Service/overseas contractors. **ConTACT InFo: (804) 695-2939, FAX: (804) 695-2958.** E-mail: VTest@aol.com

PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

KdH PRoPERTIES SERvES the property management needs of clients in the close-in communities of McLean, Falls Church and Arlington. We have over 30 years experience in renting and managing. We are REALTORS and belong to the Northern Virginia Association of Realtors. We manage: single-family homes, townhouses, condo units, as well as small community associations. We would be honored to serve as your property manager. Our manager has earned and holds the designation of Certified Property Manager. Contact us for more info. Tel: (703) 522-4927, or
E-mail: kdhproperties@mris.com

WJd MAnAgEMEnT IS competitively priced, of course. However, if you are considering hiring a property management firm, don't forget the old saying, "You get what you pay for." All of us at WJD have worked for other property management firms in the past, and we have learned what to do and, more importantly, what *not* to do from our experiences at these companies. We invite you to explore our Web site at **www.wjdpm.com** for more information, or call us at (703) 385-3600.

CLASSIFIEDS

PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

H.A. GILL & SON, INC.: Family-owned and operated firm specializing in the leasing and management of fine single-family houses, condominiums and cooperatives in Washington, D.C. and Montgomery County since 1888. While we operate with cutting-edge technology, we do business the old-fashioned way: providing close personal attention to our clients and their properties. We provide expertise in dealing with jurisdictional legal requirements, rent control, property registration and lead paint requirements. We closely screen all tenant applications and are on-line with Equi-fax Credit Information Services which provides our firm with instantaneous hard-copy credit reports. You can rest assured while you are abroad that your property will be in the most capable hands. Please call John Gill Jr. at (202) 338-5000 or e-mail him at:

PIED-A-TERRE PROPERTIES, LTD: Select from our unique inventory of fully-furnished & tastefully decorated apartments & townhouses all located in D.C.'s best in-town neighborhoods: Dupont, Georgetown, Foggy Bottom & the West End. Two-month minimum. Mother-Daughter Owned and Operated. Tel: (202) 462-0200. Fax: (202) 332-1406. Email: info@piedaterredc.com www.piedaterredc.com

TEMPORARY HOUSING

SHORT-TERM RENTALS

CORPORATE APARTMENT SPECIALISTS: Abundant experience working with Foreign Service professionals and the locations to best serve you: Foggy Bottom, Woodley Park, Cleveland Park, Chevy Chase, Rosslyn, Ballston, Pentagon City. Our office is a short walk from NFATC. One-month minimum. All furnishings, housewares, utilities, telephone and cable included. Tel: (703) 979-2830 or (800) 914-2802; Fax: (703) 979-2813.
Web site: www.corporateapartments.com
E-mail: sales@corporateapartments.com

1768-74 U. ST/ADAMS MORGAN: Unique, spacious 2-BR apts w/terrace. In newly renovated historic bldg. Individual HVAC units, controlled entry system, hdwd flrs, all new appliances including W/D. Pkg. avail. For appt. call: (917) 567-4811.

TOWNHOUSE-POOL-TENNIS FSO TDY to Afghanistan Sep 04-Aug 05 will rent furnished 2-bdrm condo. Cable/ utilities included. 10 minutes to FSI. On bus line to Metro. Tel: (703) 302-7454.

FURNISHED LUXURY APARTMENTS: Short/long-term. Best locations: Dupont Circle, Georgetown. Utilities included. All price ranges/sizes. Parking available.
Tel: (202) 296-4989, E-mail: rlicht@starpower.net

TEMPORARY HOUSING

WASHINGTON, D.C. OR NFATC TOUR? EXECUTIVE HOUSING CONSULTANTS offers Metropolitan Washington, D.C.'s finest portfolio of short-term, fully-furnished and equipped apartments, townhomes and single-family residences in Maryland, D.C. and Virginia.

In Virginia: "River Place's Finest" is steps to Rosslyn Metro and Georgetown, and 15 minutes on Metro bus or State Department shuttle to NFATC. For more info, please call (301) 951-4111, or visit our Web site: www.executivehousing.com

GEORGETOWN QUARTERS: Exquisite, fully-furnished accomodations at the East End of Georgetown. Short walk to World Bank and State Department. Lower floor of three-level home built in 1803 and renovated in 2003. Private front and rear entrances, eight-foot ceilings, fireplace, marble bathroom with jacuzi and shower, granite and stainless steel kitchen, washer and dryer, walk out to tiered rear garden great for entertaining. Street parking and limited car/pick-up sharing with management. Dishes, flatware, towels, linens and light maid service included. Preference for single person or couple. Rate commensurate with housing allowance. Contact owner at: rraysol@aol.com or Tel: (202) 625-6448.

MORTGAGE

BUYING OR REFINANCING A HOME? Save money with some of the lowest rates in 40 years. Jeff Stoddard specializes in working with the Foreign Service community overseas and in the U.S. Call today and experience the Power of Yes! ® Tel: (703) 299-8625. E-mail: jeffstoddard_wamu@compuserve.com

---

WHY DO SO MANY FOREIGN SERVICE PERSONNEL USE AMERICAN STANDARD MORTGAGE?

1. Rates as low as 2.95%
2. Minimal paperwork
3. Fast/superior services

We have experience handling the mortgage process for clients who are out of the country. If you are purchasing or refinancing a home please call Jim Fagan at (703) 757-5800, or e-mail james.fagan5@verizon.net
Foreign Service References Available.

REAL ESTATE

JOANN PIEKNEY/ PRUDENTIAL CARRUTHERS REALTORS: Complete professional dedication to residential sales in Northern Virginia. I provide you with personal attention. Over 22 years' real estate experience and Foreign Service overseas living experience. JOANN PIEKNEY. Tel: (703) 624-1594, Fax: (703) 757-9137
E-mail: jpiekney@yahoo.com.
Web: www.foreignservicehomes.com

HEADED TO D.C.? Start planning now for house hunting in Northern Virginia. Let my 16-plus years of experience providing FS personnel with exclusive **Buyer Representation** work for you. My effective strategy for home buying will make the transition easier for you and your family!

Contact **MARILYN CANTRELL**, Associate Broker, ABR, CRS, GRI at McEnearney Associates, 1320 Old Chain Bridge Rd., McLean, VA 22101. Tel: (703) 790-9090, ext. 246; Fax: (703) 734-9460.
E-mail: **marilyn@marilyncantrell.com**
www.marilyncantrell.com

LOOKING TO BUY, sell or rent property in Northern Virginia? This former FSO understands your needs and can help you. David Olinger, GRI Long & Foster, Realtors Alexandria/Mt. Vernon Office. Tel: (703) 960-8900, ext. 246. Fax: (703) 960-1305.
E-Mail: david.olinger@longandfoster.com

WASHINGTON STATE ISLANDS: Spectacular views, wonderful community, climate, boating, hiking. Access Seattle & Vancouver, B.C. Former FSO Jan Zehner, Windermere Real Estate/Orcas Island. Tel: (800) 842-5770; www.orcas-island.com
E-mail: janz@rockisland.com

FLORIDA

LONGBOAT KEY, BRADENTON/ SARASOTA: Area will exceed expectations. Don't miss owning in Florida. Resales, new homes, rental management and vacation rentals. Dynamic growing company offering personalized professional service. Contact: Sharon E. Oper, Realtor (AFSA Member) Wagner Realty. Tel: (941) 387-7199.
E-mail: lbk@comcast.net

NO STATE INCOME TAX enhances gracious living in Sarasota, the cultural capital of Florida's Gulf Coast. Contact former FSO **Paul Byrnes,** Coldwell Banker residential sales specialist, by e-mail: byrnes@family-net.org

CLASSIFIEDS

VACATION

FURnISHEd vACATIon HoME: Florida University Park Sarasota/Bradenton area short- or long-term. Large, elegant turnkey furnished pool villa with lake view in golf course community; 2 bdms, 2-1/2 baths plus den, fireplace. Near airport and beaches and Sarasota's theaters, shops and restaurants. Contact: Pauline Kemps, Jeannette & Rossi; Tel: (941) 953-6000.
E-mail: Pkemps@leasingsarasota.com

UnIvERSITY PARK SARASoTA/ BRAdEnTon AREA: Short- or long-term: Large, elegant turnkey furnished pool villa with lake view in golf course community; 2 bdrms, 2-1/2 baths plus den, fireplace. Near airport and beaches and Sarasota's theaters, shops and restaurants. Contact: Sandy Greiner, Wagner Realty; Tel: (941) 794-2246 or toll-free: (888) 691-1245.

JUPITER BEACH, FI : Ocean front 3-bedroom, 2-1/2 bath condo available with pool, gym and tennis. Golf courses close by. Minimum three months rental. Tel: (703) 960-3386, E-mail: addygene@yahoo.com.

PAI M SPRIngS, CAI IFoRnIA: Beautiful house, 3 BR, 3 baths, spectacular mountain views, jacuzzi, private. Available winter 2004. $3,000 monthly three-month minimum.
E-Mail: pscadoc@hotmail.com.

HII ToN HEAd ISI And: South Forest Beach. Vacation rental: spacious 2-story villa, 2 bedrooms + convertible bed, 2.5 baths. Two blocks from beautiful beaches. Tennis courts and 2 on-site swimming pools. Prime golfing nearby. Walking distance to restaurants, shops, and many vacation and kid-friendly activities. E-mail: masseeandsumana@yahoo.com.

---

noRMAndY, FRAnCE: Large farmhouse estate near D-Day Beaches. www.laporterouge.net or Michele Lemmon (202)667-6756

WEST Co AST BARBAdoS: Diplomat's gracious totally furnished 3BR home, sea view, deck. Off-season rental $1,000/wk. Minutes to beachs, golfing, shops, restaurants. Contact: Zabriskie, Tel: (301) 587- 4956
E-mail: pegnairobi@hotmail.com.

BOOKS

CAPTAIN HOGAN: SAILOR, MERCHANT, DIPLOMAT ON SIX CONTINENTS. By Michael Styles. True story of adventurous Irish-American late-18th/early-19th centuries. Available from SixContinents.home.att.net, and

---

old ASIA/oRIEnT BooKS BoUgHT Asian rare books. Fax: (212) 316-3408.
E-mail: arbs@erols.com

JUNGLE PATHS AND PALACE TREASURES (non-fiction). Set in India, a world of fabulous palaces, temples, crowded towns and remote jungles, monsoons, tigers and strange customs. See *FSJ*, Nov. 2003, page 23, for description. ***River of Pearls*** (non-fiction): travel, history, Asia adventure, on the press now. $18.95 + shipping = $20.15. Contact: Mary Seniff Stickney, 71 Fisherman's Cove, Ponte Vedra, FL 32082.

"doUg And WAHWEE: I IFE And I AUgHTER ABRoAd WITH THE MACARTHURS".
FInAI CAI I for anecdotes. Stories or vignettes about Career Ambassador Douglas MacArthur II and his colorful, sometimes controversial wife, Laura Barkley (Wahwee) MacArthur, daughter of Truman's Vice President. Please e-mail to: consultimate@sidney.heartland.net
NLT June 1st, or, send by post to: Thomas R. Hutson, 510 East Street, P.O. Box 121, Thurman, IA 51654-0121. If you have questions, Tel: (646) 251-9835. **Target date for publication and holiday gift-giving is at year's end.**

SHOPPING

110 - 220 vol T STo RE MUI TI-SYSTEM EI ECTRonICS

PAI -SECAM-nTSC Tvs,
VCRs, AUDIO, CAMCORDER, ADAPTOR, TRANSFORMERS, KITCHEN APPLIANCES
gMS WoRI d WIdE PHonES EPoRT WoRI d EI ECTRonICS
1719 Connecticut Ave NW
(Dupont Circle Metro. Btwn. R & S Sts.)
TEI (202) 232-2244 (800) 513-3907
E-mail: export@covad.net
URL: www.220AV.TV
nEW I oCATIon
1030 19TH ST.nW (between K & L Sts.)
Washington, D.C. 20009,
TEI (202) 464-7600.
InQUIRE ABoUT oUR PRoMoTIonS
government & diplomat discounts

nUTRITIonAI SoI UTIonS vITAMInS And THIngS: Herbs, vitamins, homeopathics, flower remedies, body care, books, and more! We offer high quality products that produce dependable health benefits. Visit us at www.yellnutrition.com to question our knowledgeable staff and to place your orders or call us at (703) 271-0400.

BUSINESS CARDS

BUSInESS CARdS printed to State Department specifications. 500 cards for as little as $37.00! Herron Printing & Graphics (301) 990-3100; or
E-mail: sales@herronprinting.com

PET TRANSPORTATION

PET MovIng MAdE EASY. Club Pet International, is a full-service animal shipper who specializes in local, national and international trips. Club Pet is the ultimate pet care boarding facility in the Washington Metropolitan area. Located in Chantilly Virginia, Club Pet is A.B.K.A. Accredited, and licensed by the U.S.D.A. as well as the TSA as an Indirect Air Carrier. Tel: (703) 471-7818 or (800) 871-2535; www.clubpet.com;

TAXI WASH, D.C. METRO AREA

AIRPoRT ACCESS SEdAn & I IMoUSInE SERvICES: Local and long-distance services door-to-door. For airport transfers, business meetings, sight-seeing and special events. Serving Washington, D.C., Maryland and Virginia 24/7 to the airports: Dulles, Ronald Reagan and BWI. Call (202) 498-8708, or (202) 625-0300. Book rndtrip, get $5.00 off. www.limo-access.com

MISCELLANEOUS

SHIPPIng

PI AnnIng To MovE ovERSEAS? Need a rate to ship your car, household goods, or other cargo going abroad? Contact SEFCO-Export Management Company for rates and advice. Tel: (718) 268-6233.
Fax: (718) 268-0505. Contact Joseph T. Quinn.
Visit our Web site at www.sefco-export.com

IndEPEndEnT SCHool oPTIonS: Finding the best school placement for each child in the Washington Metro area.
www.independentschooloptions.org.

Government Solutions

Intelsat Government Solutions Corporation sets the global standard

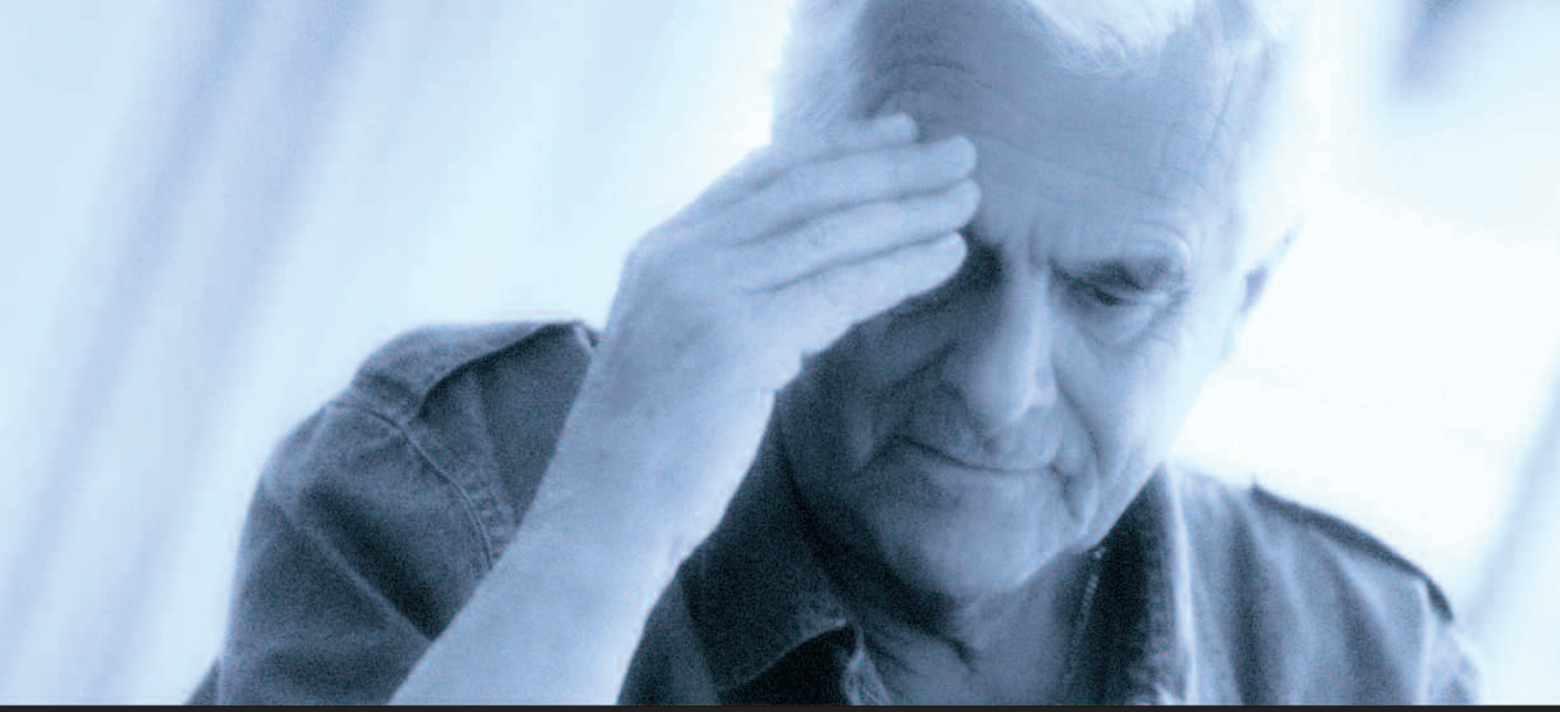
As the challenges of the world change, your need for reliable telecommunications remains constant. For almost 40 years Intelsat has provided governments with satellite communications solutions for voice, data, video and imagery. Today those solutions feature truly global coverage and an unmatched, 99.997 percent reliability. Experience, technical superiority, flexibility and service make Intelsat Government Solutions Corporation the supplier of choice for your communications needs.

Contact us at +1-202-243-4000 or via email at government.solutions@intelsat.com

www.intelsat.com

building on 40 years of leadership

Intelsat
Government Solutions Corp.



What You Need to Know

About the Federal Long Term Care Insurance Program (FLTCIP)

The government is not providing the insurance.
The government is not subsidizing the premiums.
The government is not guaranteeing the benefits.

FLTCIP is a group program. After September 30, 2008, the premium and benefits may change.

One size does not fit all. An AFSA Representative can help you select the plan best for you.

AFSA Plans offer an indemnity option, survivorship benefit, limited pay option, restoration of benefits, lower premiums and discount plans for family members. FLTCIP does not.

If You Are Young (Seventy or Below), Healthy and/or Married, the Federal Program Is Not Your Best Option.

Contact The Hirshorn Company or visit hirshorn.com for information about your best option: the AFSA Long Term Care Plan.

AFSA Desk The Hirshorn Company

telephone 800 242 8221 | facsimile 215 247 6366 | www.hirshorn.com | afsainfo@hirshorn.com

AFSA Sponsored Long Term Care Plan *The Very Best in Long Term Care Insurance*