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# CONTENTS

November 2005 Volume 82, No. 11

### FOCUS ON FS AUTHORS

### 25 / IN THEIR OWN WRITE: BOOKS BY FOREIGN SERVICE AUTHORS



Once again we are pleased to feature a compilation of recently published books by Foreign Service-affiliated authors. In addition to seven memoirs of Foreign Service life, this year's selection is highlighted by a strong history section, a wide-ranging

offering of fiction — in particular historical fiction —and a lively grouping of works on people and places. By Susan Maitra

### COLUMNS

### 5 / PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Overseas Comparability Pay: Defining Issue and Litmus Test By J. Anthony Holmes

### 19 / SPEAKING OUT

Leadership at State By Prudence Bushnell

### 22 / FS Know-How

FLO Is Here to Help with Career-Employment Issues By Donna Ayerst

### 80 / REFLECTIONS

Beans Love Cilantro By Donna Scaramastra Gorman

### FEATURES

### MORE CEREMONY, MORE HISTORY, MORE THANKS / 49

Those of us in the Foreign Service need to do a better job of formally acknowledging our debt to mentors and colleagues.

By Marc Grossman

### LEARNING FROM DAYTON / 51

A decade after its signing, the Dayton Peace Agreement still offers valuable lessons about humanitarian intervention, peacekeeping and post-conflict reconstruction. By Theodore Tanoue

### RESCUE AT URMIA / 56

In an obscure corner of Persia following World War I, an underestimated consul became an unlikely hero. By David D. Newsom

### **D**EPARTMENTS

LETTERS / 7 CYBERNOTES / 16 MARKETPLACE / 18 **BOOKS / 66** IN MEMORY / 69 INDEX TO ADVERTISERS / 78 AFSA News / **CENTER INSERT** 

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

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# President's Views

### Overseas Comparability Pay: Defining Issue and Litmus Test

By J. Anthony Holmes

As of early October, AFSA has received almost 2,000 responses to the survey of our 8,100 State active-duty members launched in August. This sur-



vey confirmed what we already knew: getting overseas comparability pay (OCP, aka "locality pay") for non-senior FS personnel posted overseas is overwhelmingly our members' highest priority.

We've made significant progress on the locality pay issue over the past few years, in part because State Department management has shared our analysis of both the fundamental unfairness and the medium-term threat to recruitment and retention that the pay gap represents. Our success three years ago in achieving "virtual locality pay" to stop the erosion of FS annuities was an important step. However, you will recall that virtual locality pay was always billed as an interim measure until overseas and Washington pay could be equalized.

Today, as I write in early October, we have never been closer to achieving the legislative breakthrough we seek. But formidable obstacles remain to gaining OCP. The primary one is continued opposition by the White House and OMB based on cost and budgetary impact. (The proposed three-year phase-in will cost \$28 million this year

J. Anthony Holmes is the president of the American Foreign Service Association. If there were ever a Secretary in a position to reverse OMB's veto of locality pay, Condoleezza Rice is it.

and \$110 million over three years.) So far, neither AFSA nor the previous State Department management's big push last year has been able to attain the administration's blessing for OCP. So even if it is, as several senior department officials tell us, the department's "highest priority" employee-related issue, we nonetheless are facing a situation where department principals cannot support the issue on the Hill due to the "official" White House position.

As we enter this year's budget legislation end game, we have two important advantages that give rise to at least some hope. First, even though we have not yet succeeded with a standalone bill or in finding a champion in the Senate, the House included language granting OCP in its FY 2006 authorization bill. Thus, though it will be tough, there is some possibility that the conferees who will craft the FY-06 foreign operations budget might be persuaded to include some of the House bill's provisions, including our OCP authority. I believe that a serious, no-holds-barred effort now, which AFSA has already begun, just might succeed. Even if it does not, this effort will only increase our chances in FY-07, which seems to be the timeline the department has in mind for its next attempt.

The other reason for optimism is that we have a new Secretary of State with an unparalleled relationship with the president and unrivaled influence at the White House, who has succeeded in re-centering foreign policy back at the State Department. Secretary Rice has made a number of statements about her determination to take care of the department's employees and her personal interest in and focus on good management. If there were ever a Secretary in a position to reverse OMB's veto of OCP, Condoleezza Rice is it. We believe that if she asks the president for what department principals tell us is her "highest priority" for taking care of her people, he will say yes. This is necessary because the simple fact is that Congress is not likely to grant something that it believes the administration opposes. The key to ending that opposition is in the Secretary's hands.

By the time you read this column, the battle almost certainly will have been fought and the results or lack of them will be apparent. AFSA has no illusions about the difficult road ahead. But we also have been struck by the Secretary's encouraging words and have been looking for actions to put them into effect. From our perspective, Secretary Rice's willingness to use her personal political capital and special relationship at the White House on this and other resource issues will be the litmus test for her intention to follow through on her many, much-noticed statements of support of the department's personnel.

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# LETTERS

### Is Something Wrong at DS?

I am an analyst for the National Ground Intelligence Center and command a unit of the U.S. Army Reserve. I was disturbed by the recent coverage in the September Foreign Service Journal, the Washington Post and on NPR regarding the Bureau of Diplomatic Security, and want to share my own experience with your readers.

Last year, a man I knew as a loyal American and a respected member of the Army Reserve unit I commanded had a promising State Department career derailed following the revocation of his security clearance by Diplomatic Security/Personnel Security. That action followed a background investigation by the Diplomatic Security Bureau, during which I was interviewed.

As an intelligence and former lawenforcement professional, I have used interviewing techniques I learned at the military police and intelligence schools and the Utah State Police Academy. I have myself been interviewed as part of background investigations on other individuals. By doctrine, these interviews require the investigator to ask straightforward questions, taking care not to influence or direct the statements of the interviewee. Given the subjective nature of the clearance process, the investigator should faithfully record the honest sentiments of the interviewee. I was stunned by the comportment of the DS special

agent who interviewed me.

That agent quickly made it clear that he had formed preconceived ideas prior to my interview, struggling to direct my statements to fit his paradigm. My experiences with the subject of the investigation had been favorable, but when I conveyed that to the DS agent, he became argumentative and aggressive. When I didn't support his theories, he pressured me to agree with him and attempted to distort my own words to match his preconceptions. He used interview techniques more suited to browbeating a confession out of a criminal suspect than to eliciting information for an objective investigation. He found very little of what I said worth recording, and I wonder now whether the interview was recorded faithfully. When it was clear I wouldn't change my assessment of the employee, he terminated the interview, making it very clear that he held me in disdain.

I am not a State Department employee and, thankfully, DS/PSS cannot influence my own TS/SCI clearance. However, had I been a State Department employee, I would have feared for my own clearance and felt very intimidated by the agent's bullying. If my experience is any indication, there might be something very wrong in DS.

> Ruben G. Toyos Lieutenant Colonel. U.S. Army Reserve Charlottesville, Va.

### It Could Be You

The September issue focusing on diplomatic security raises more questions in my mind than it answers. You have presented articles that view security issues on two very different levels: global and individual. As I recall, measures to keep us safe from terrorist threats were taken as budgetary resources permitted. ambassador, in my introduction to our post's annual planning document, I always underlined that our embassy was a sitting duck for terrorist attack – which it was. Yet in the three years I served at that post, we never received verbal or written acknowledgement of the predicament.

I would strongly argue that the DS role is no more "thankless" a job than any other in the Foreign Service. Characterization in that vein not only ignores the important contributions of everyone else on the Foreign Service team, but also begs the question of which parts of our organization are getting generous slices of the resource and personnel pies, and why. Security is essential, but let's not forget that DS's primary role is to help the department carry out its mission.

I am far more concerned about the way that some DS personnel apparently carry out their tasks at the individual level. The article "Security Clearance Suspension: Know Your Rights" tells me that in suspending a security clearance, DS is likely not to protect an officer's rights and interests. It suggests that someone merely

# LETTERS

suspected of being a security risk (whether for allegedly leaking information to an enemy or for allegedly having an unhappy marriage) has fewer rights than someone charged with treason, where anyone accused must be assumed innocent until proved guilty — not in the eyes of the investigators, but in a court of law. That's the American way; it's what we stand for as a nation.

Lest my concern be confused with melodrama, just look at the "Left in Limbo" article. Either one of those individuals could be you! They enjoy no real protection and their careers are in ruin whether they are innocent or guilty.

Let me suggest that there is a "clash of cultures" in progress here (with apologies to Professor Samuel Huntington). While we are busy touting democracy and human rights around the world, there may well be rogue individuals within our service who are not upholding the "American Way" in carrying out their responsibilities.

The current way of doing business is not good for our nation and is not good for the Department of State. While DS has to act on accusations that question an individual's security status, a ham-handed approach does neither the nation nor the institution any good. Star Chamber methods don't make the department or our embassies any safer. They just make it more difficult for the department and its employees to do their job effectively.

Let's drop the pretense: no matter how well DS may be doing at the global level, there are unacceptable abuses and lack of basic rights at the individual level. The system as it stands needs fixing. There are three possible routes: legislation, judicial decision or administrative action. If we can fix this in-house, then there is

no need to go to the Hill or the courts - but it must be fixed. Management ought to convene an independent panel to look into abuses and recommend administrative protections and remedies. Internal controls should be instituted to protect the rights of the accused and ensure that the governmentwide standards are interpreted and applied in a manner consistent with the special mission of the department. The alternative is likely to be a costly juridical process that might turn out more difficult for management than corrections they could make inhouse. A legislative fix would be the most time-consuming and unpredictable of all the alternatives.

DS, Department of State, heal thyself!

> Michael D. Metelits Ambassador, retired Portland, Ore.

### **USAID's Anti-Foreign Language Culture**

As a lifelong ordinary student of languages and a former chief of USAID's Professional Branch, I read with keen interest the items about the Foreign Service Institute in the July-August Journal. They triggered dormant, unexpectedly powerful visceral reactions even now that I am retired after 30-plus years of service.

Language learning is one of life's most humbling experiences for adults. We become inarticulate children again, and we don't like it. Ego-driven FS employees like it even less. We find ourselves unable to express our thoughts. Embarrassment abounds, interspersed with moments of progress and joy. One's emotions are deeply tapped, the lows and the highs. One result of that is that we can become hypercritical of language teachers and programs. They become the targets of our vexations. We then criticize. Do we criticize! One overreacts when one shouldn't. I learned that myself the hard way, studying Arabic, French, Hindi and Turkish as an adult.

The remarks about language learning are on target. The Hebrew piece points to the essential fact that an FSI test score of "3" in speaking does not mean one is able to conduct significant professional business in the language. Much struggle ensues. Part of the frustration is that language learners tend to overrate their own ability to communicate. Finding themselves falling short during training or at post, they too often find someone else to blame. Such is the emotional cauldron.

Language learning for FS employees presupposes need and interest by the employing agency. In the Foreign Service, foreign-language capability should be the sine qua non for professional success and assignment desirability. Not so. State has its language priorities generally in sync with training and assignments. It is part of State's bureaucratic culture. By contrast, USAID's bureaucratic culture has an anti-foreign language bias.

For the first 15 years or more of my career, I was the only non-ethnic FS employee in USAID who could speak and read reasonably well in Arabic. I entered the Service with this ability, following lengthy studies in Egypt. Yet for years, USAID refused even to have me tested by FSI. Throughout my career, agency officials found "reasons" why I - a USAID generalist — was unsuitable for Arabic-speaking posts. know the country so well, I can't have confidence in you," one mission director told me, typically. I concluded this was not personal to me. Others with hard languages had the same experience: an economist who



spoke four Southeast Asian languages was refused the economist position in the Bangkok regional mission. For the current Iraq program, USAID refused to include Arabic-language proficiency in its solicitations for volunteers. "Not important," senior personnel officers sniffed.

State's bureaucratic culture differs from USAID's about hard languages. Ambassadors welcome FS staff members with good local-language capability, while USAID mission directors do not like having subordinates who have local access via a hard language when they lack it. It's an ego thing, I learned, based on the all-power-in-the-director culture of USAID. State's environment is welcoming while USAID's is disdainful. Want more evidence? When USAID opened its Russia program some years back, it resisted providing its employees with any Russian training.

USAID's willingness to fund language training lags far behind State's. There is no language requirement in the various promotion precepts for any level, including the Senior Foreign Service.

USAID's anti-language culture appeared again recently. USAID proposed to AFSA to lower the FSI level for tenuring to "Speaking-2; Reading-2" in French and Spanish from the current S-3/R-3 requirement. It also wants to abolish any language requirement for tenure for two categories of FSOs. "FSO Second Class" for USAID employees? USAID's culture is deeply flawed regarding language capability, and that flaw is profound and enduring.

While I work for AFSA as Senior Labor Management Adviser for USAID, these are my views, not AFSA's.

> Douglas Broome USAID FSO, retired McLean, Va.



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### **Problems with FSI Tests**

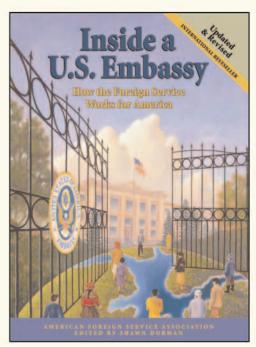
I recently completed a 10-week internship at Embassy Vilnius, and my superiors there suggested that I consider joining the Foreign Service as an FSO. Between such a suggestion and an FSO name-badge lies a difficult obstacle course: the Foreign Service Written Exam and Oral Assessment.

Some time ago I read an article titled "State Department Struggles to Fill Posts. Diplomats Don't Want Jobs in 'Hardship' Areas," in the Houston Chronicle. The article stated that for the 2002 assignments cycle, there were no bidders for 74 mid-level positions. Sixty percent of U.S. embassies and consulates are designated hardship posts for reasons including security threats, poor hospitals and schools and oppressive weather. From Nigeria to Kazakhstan, U.S. missions report a vacancy rate 50 percent higher than in more developed countries. The 2005 list of Historically Difficult to Staff positions does not show improvement in the State Department staffing shortages across the globe.

The current method of staffing the State Department was okay when Benjamin Franklin was sent to Paris. Times have changed, but State human resources management has not. The State Department's Board of Examiners actually accomplishes only randomization of FSO selection to prevent staffing by hereditary candidates. The State Department could save a lot of money if it used roulette to select Foreign Service candidates instead of the expensive current testing process. The results would be the same. Many contract employees and specialists bypassing the examination process do very well at the same jobs as FSOs, yet cannot pass the tests after numerous tries.

After three tries, the test looks to

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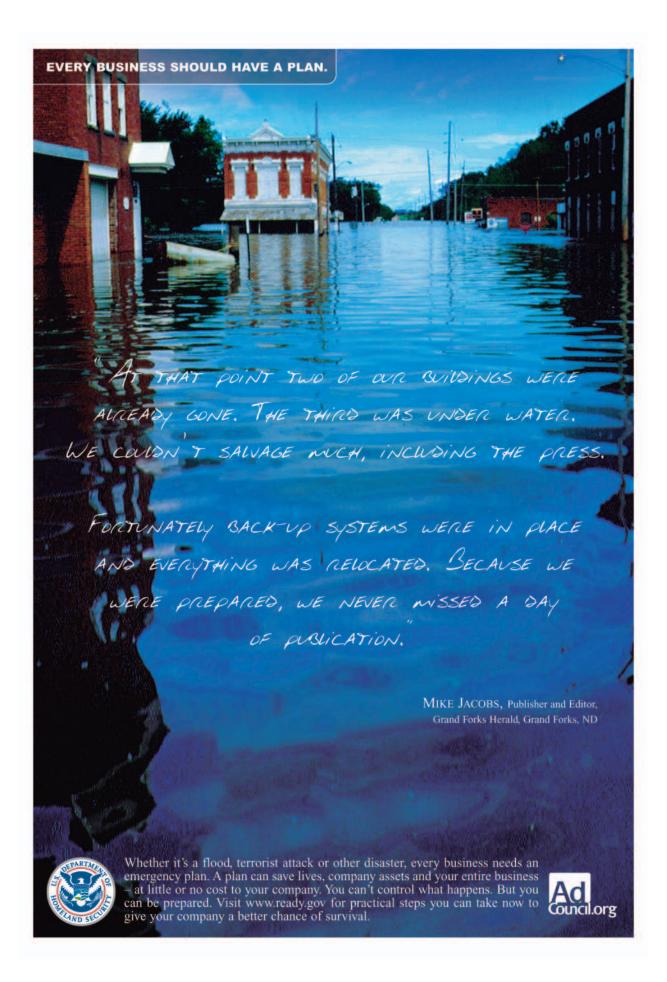


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me to be more like a basic literacy test than an examination of a prospective Foreign Service candidate. It seems strange to me that in a world of high professionalism everywhere, the State Department requires candidates to state their career-cone selection in advance, yet the examination process tests all candidates the same way regardless of the cone selected.

My overall oral exam score of 4.00 did not meet the cutoff grade of 5.25. Yet during the interview, I was told that I am 'overqualified' for the Foreign Service. The letter from the Board of Examiners stated that "Many successful Foreign Service officers have taken the written examination, and the oral assessment, several times." If that is true, the State Department misses some quite qualified candidates because not everyone will continue trying after failing the initial round of tests. At the same time, repeated testing of unqualified candidates costs taxpayers significant amounts of money, which could be saved if the right candidates were selected the first time.

The State Department can and should do a better job of screening applicants, and improvements might start right on the application page of the State Department Web site. The page does not allow applicants to enter all the various information about themselves that might be important for evaluating whether they would be successful Foreign Service officers (e.g., foreign experience, knowledge of more than two foreign languages, education in international economics for an economic cone, various achievements in science, etc.).

Better-formulated questions on the biographical part of the written exam would give wider ground to evaluate candidates' real knowledge

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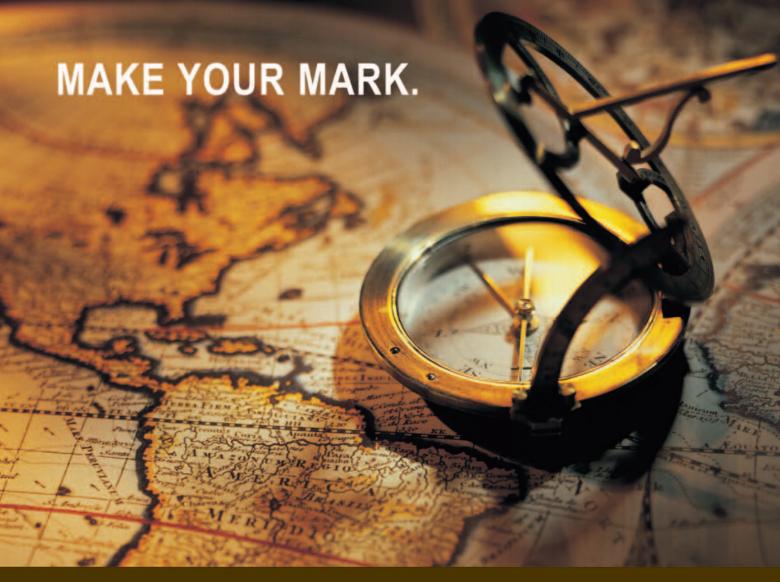
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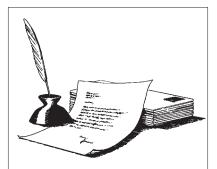
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# LETTERS

and experience. I would suggest the biographical part be changed with consideration of the biographical backgrounds of candidates, perhaps supplemented with recommendation letters or questionnaires. These could be verified and confirmed by the FBI follow-up.

I am fluent in English, Russian and Ukrainian, and I have published poetry in each language. I would recommend that foreign-born U.S. citizens with native knowledge of one or more foreign languages be given some additional minor credit for such linguistic and cultural knowledge, and that such credit be considered at the time of the Foreign Service exam evaluation.

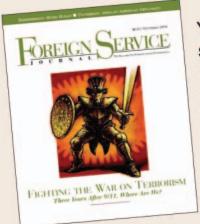
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# **CYBERNOTES**

### **State Makes the Top Ten**

On Sept. 14, the Partnership for Public Service (http://www.our publicservice.org/) released its third annual list, "Best Places to Work in the Federal Government 2005." The four main foreign affairs agencies all ranked fairly high: State was 10th of the 30 agencies surveyed; Commerce, 12th; Agriculture, 16th; and USAID tied with the Labor Department for 18th.

The top five were, in descending order: the Office of Management and Budget, National Science Foundation, Nuclear Regulatory Commission, Government Accountability Office and the Securities and Exchange Commission. The bottom five: National Archives and Record Administration, Office of Personnel Management, Department of Education, Department of Homeland Security and, last, the Small Business Administration.

PPS put together the list with the help of American University's Institute for the Study of Public Policy Implementation and Sirota Survey Intelligence. To compile the rankings, the partnership analyzed the answers of nearly 150,000 federal employees to questions about their overall job satisfaction. Respondents were asked whether they agreed with statements such as "My job makes good use of my skills and abilities" and "I hold my organization's leaders in high regard."

The report observes that "the key drivers behind workplace satisfaction and engagement remain the same: effective leadership and a good match between employee skills and the mission of the organization." It also describes the top-rated federal agen-

cies as representing the future of the federal civil service: "highly-engaged and highly-skilled workers performing critical tasks with professionalism and efficiency," rivaling their private sector counterparts.

— Steve Honley, Editor

# Lifting Spirits While Making Friends

A Sept. 28 concert evening in the Library of Congress' Coolidge Auditorium explored "The Power of Great Music in the Revival of U.S. Public Diplomacy." The well-attended event featured pianist John Robilette, who back in 1982 created the Artistic Ambassador Program for the U.S. Information Agency. He was preceded by several prominent speakers involved in public and cultural diplomacy.

Robert Schadler, who long directed the USIA International Visitor Program, acted as master of ceremonies. He cited the "International Music Initiative" in advocating the revival of an expanded classic music exchange program. Senator Norman Coleman, R-Minn., a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and co-chair of the Senate Arts Caucus, strongly endorsed cultural diplomacy as a part of public diplomacy. Other speakers included Letitia Baldrige, chief of staff in the White House to Jacqueline Kennedy; Marta Casals Istomin, president of the Manhattan School of Music in New York from 1992 to 2005 and former wife of Pablo Casals and Eugene Istomin; and former Artistic Ambassador Philip Hosford, who made an eloquent case for the effectiveness of music programs as a means of reaching audiences abroad.

The theme of the night was that cultural diplomacy is our nation's heart and soul, and we need the arts in troubled times. As one speaker put it: "Arts are not urgent but fundamentally important." The evening ended with Robilette playing a Paderewski nocturne and several Chopin selections to an enthusiastic response.

The event was a good case of effective outreach to the Hill on behalf of a stronger cultural diplomacy effort.

— Harry C. Blaney III
President, Coalition for
Effective Leadership Abroad
(COLEAD)

## Katrina Draws Foreign Aid to the U.S.

The wave of worldwide assistance to the Katrina recovery effort marks a significant reversal in which the United States, a pre-eminent donor of foreign aid, has become a recipient. The State Department released a list of over 120 foreign countries that have donated money or supplies (http://www.state.gov/katrina/53264.htm). A number of multilateral organizations have also played a critical role in the recovery effort.

The initial delays in aid approval reflected America's lack of experience with being on the receiving end of assistance. As the confusion subsided, the federal government welcomed all foreign donations with few exceptions, and began to channel the aid to its proper destination. The outpouring of sympathy from foreign citizens and governments has, at least in the short term, caused some noteworthy changes in America's international relations.



# **CYBERNOTES**

or what can be heard around the world, in the wake of the invasion of Iraq, the prisoner abuse scandal at Abu Ghraib, and the controversy over the handling of detainees at Bagram and Guantanamo Bay, is that America is less a beacon of hope than a dangerous force to be countered.

 The Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy, Sept. 29, quoted on www.salon.com

In a Sept. 4 speech in Bayou Le Batre, Ala., Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice — an Alabama native — praised other countries for their generosity, "People have said that America has been so generous in times like this in other places, and now it is time to be generous to America." Rice thanked a large and diverse group of donor countries, ranging from large and powerful countries like France and China to small ones like the Bahamas and even Sri Lanka, itself still recovering from the devastating tsunami of December 2004. More of Rice's commentary can be found at the State Department's International Information Programs Web site (http://usinfo.state.gov/gi/ Archive/2005/Sep/05-187847. html).

Close allies of the United States, like Canada, have sought to improve relations by participating during the recovery effort. To compensate for the loss in oil production along the Gulf Coast, Canadian oil producers agreed to step up oil production to near full capacity. This is an important development given that relations between the two countries were recently soured over a NAFTA trade dispute in which the Bush administration chose to ignore a ruling to refund five billion dollars in lumber tariffs. In

another example, Israel — a longtime ally and the largest recipient of aid from the United States — is considering whether in the aftermath of Katrina, to decline a \$2.25 billion aid package intended for the Gaza disengagement plan, among other purposes. The Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* quoted U.S. Ambassador Daniel

### Site of the Month: Project Gutenberg

In a world where you can chat with friends or strangers, play poker, shop or take a college class without leaving your computer, a new online trend has evolved: reading e-books on your desktop or laptop.

It all started with Project Gutenberg (www.gutenberg.org), the first and largest single collection of free electronic books on the Web. Resembling its namesake, the Gutenberg press, which drastically reduced the cost of printed text and thereby made material available to the masses in medieval Europe, the digital library contains 15,000 public-domain e-books to date and continues to grow every day. Each downloadable e-book is available at no cost to anyone with a computer and Internet access, providing readers with texts ranging from fiction to analytic reports to sheet music, composed in languages from around the globe. Most e-books are the reincarnations of out-of-print texts whose copyright dates have expired; Project Gutenberg has spared them from literary extinction.

In an effort to "change the world," founder Michael Hart developed Project Gutenberg to make literature free and accessible to all in 1971. In his mission statement, Hart explains: "Project Gutenberg is powered by ideas, ideals and idealism — not by financial or political power." Hart typed the first text, the *Declaration of Independence*, himself, but the organization has expanded to hundreds of volunteers in the past three decades.

Hart is dedicated to minimalist bureaucracy within his organization, reflecting his anti-establishment beliefs. As he explained to an interviewer (http://www.planetebook.com/mainpage.asp?webpageid=376), this includes specifically opposition to copyright laws and the subsequent commercialization of information, which, in his eyes, hinder literacy and education, discriminate against the poor and, ultimately, undermine basic democracy. Hart hopes that his project will provide millions of e-books in every language to billions of people in every corner of the globe. "Project Gutenberg stands for opening, not closing, doors," he says.

— Brooke Deal, Editorial Intern

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### 50 Years Ago...

What we have set out to do is to create an institute for the Foreign Service of the United States that in its field will compare favorably with the War Colleges of the Armed Forces, as there has never been an institute equipped to do for diplomacy what the War Colleges do for defense.

— From: "The New FSI Training Program" by Harold B. Hoskins, *FSJ*, Nov. 1955.

Kurtzer on Sept. 9, "The government may or may not decide to pursue it [the aid], in view of the fact that the costs to the American taxpayer of Katrina are likely to be enormous in the period ahead."

Traditional adversaries of the United States like Cuba, Venezuela and Iran have also offered their help. Cuba has sent 1,100 physicians, and Venezuela has donated food supplies and humanitarian relief. Less sincere is Iran's offer to provide 20 million barrels of crude oil, which is conditional on the U.S. lifting trade sanctions. The United States has rejected this and all other conditional offers.

Multilateral organizations have also provided assistance to the recovery effort. NATO's contribution is significant, both in monetary terms and as evidence of its continued transition toward humanitarian and peacekeeping missions. To provide for disaster relief, NATO has utilized the Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Center, created in 1998 as the focal point for coordinating disaster relief efforts in the Euro-Atlantic partnership. Daily situation reports can be found at the EADRCC Web site (http://www.nato.int/eadcc/ 2005/katrina/index.htm), with detailed information on the contributions of donor states.

The EADRCC has also been working in close coordination with the

United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs to alleviate the condition of displaced people along the Gulf coast, much as it did for those affected in Asia following last December's tsunami. Reliefweb, a Web site administered by UNOCHA, provides a wealth of documents on Katrina relief (http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/dbc.nsf/doc108? OpenForm&rc=2&emid=TC-2005-000144-USA). A collection of maps can also be found of the affected areas.

Predictably, scandal has erupted alongside all of the help. CI Host, the largest private Web-hosting firm worldwide, reports that over 4,000 Katrina-related scam Web sites have been created since Sept. 1. According to their figures, 60 percent of all Katrina fundraising Web sites are fraudulent. Tips on how to avoid scam Web sites are available, among other places, at the FBI cyber investigations Web site (http://www.fbi.gov/cyberinvest/escams.htm).

Government agencies working with foreign donors have begun to produce tangible results. These same efforts are also being directed toward Hurricane Rita and its aftermath. Having struck only weeks after Katrina, Rita has underscored the need to learn, and institutionalize, Katrina's many tough lessons.

— Daniel Zussman, Editorial Intern



# SPEAKING OUT

### Leadership at State: A Work in Progress

By Prudence Bushnell

hen I left the Foreign Service Institute in 1989 after three years heading up the Executive Development Division, I published an article in the Foreign Service Journal titled "Leadership at State: The Neglected Dimension." That title pretty well summed up my assessment.

Fast forward 16 years. I have recently retired after 24 years of service, the last three spent as the dean of FSI's Leadership and Management School. My assessment of leadership at State today? A work in progress.

"Take care of your people," words absent from our vocabulary in 1989 but a mantra over the past few years, still echo for me. Over 4,500 colleagues at the middle and senior ranks have graduated from at least one of the mandatory leadership training courses with a common understanding of how and why leadership works. The results of the Office of Personnel Management's 2004 Human Capital Survey show a stunning improvement over the 2002 survey in the opinions State Department employees hold of their supervisors. The ambassadorial and DCM seminars emphasize leadership responsibilities, and participants discuss them seriously. We can all name hardship posts with wonderful morale because of good leadership from the front office. And grass-roots initiatives are popping up all over — the Leadership Roundtable and YPro (Young Professionals) groups are just two that are fostering change.

And yet...

We have made progress, but the Foreign Service is still not an organization that values leadership across the board.



We are still not an organization that values leadership across the board. A boss may demonstrate leadership, or not. He or she may understand what it is, or not. Either way, it's fine. Clearly, too many people still don't get it: leadership is not some touchy-feely, people-related thing that's nice to do if you have time after tending to process and paper. Nor does it mean serving the next person up the ladder exclusively, as if only people at the top can get something accomplished. And it's not something you delegate to the head of your management team.

Rather, leadership is providing the vision, wherewithal and stewardship to enable others to achieve results — it's leveraging your assets. It's a job in and of itself, vital to policy and central to transformational diplomacy.

### Value Leadership in Washington, Too

I've seen many more examples of leadership overseas than I have in

Washington. Of course, there are reasons for that. Overseas, the chief of mission has a letter signed by the president of the United States outlining his or her leadership responsibilities, and the accompanying accountability is clear. People taking ambassadorial and DCM assignments for the first time are obligated to attend preparatory seminars. At post, security and other concerns force every front office to pay increasing attention to purpose, organization and people. Employees and even "the system" are less tolerant of bad or indifferent leadership overseas and more inclined to take action against it. This has a trickle-down effect. If the top values leadership, others do, too.

The culture in Washington is dif-Senior leaders, career and non-career alike, receive no written expectations of performance from the president; their work objectives are closely held. Many are too busy to attend senior-level seminars designed to enhance effectiveness in very complicated jobs. I'm not sure how many in leadership positions even consider themselves accountable for issues beyond those which relate directly to short-term policy goals. As a result, when I look at the department's organizational chart, I know what the boxes stand for but I have no idea what leadership responsibilities reside in them. This, too, has a trickle-down

Who, for example, is accountable for making sure we never again have to bury colleagues and family members because of insufficient security



resources? Where does the buck stop when it comes to ensuring that all employees receive the training and development opportunities they need? Whose hand goes up if we have to ask why we do not have enough people, resources, or physical and technological support systems to do an effective job?

Not long before I retired from State, I heard the Government Accountability Office's comptroller general say that the federal government is going to have to get used to "doing more with less." I remember that refrain from the 1990s. I also remember the consequences. To whom do we now look to ensure we have the wherewithal to serve the president and the American people effectively and safely? Note that I'm not asking which box on the organiza-

I've seen many more examples of leadership overseas than I have in Washington.

tional chart is responsible for that. I'm asking which *person*.

I know that working in Washington is different from working overseas and I know that we hold different expectations of the people in leadership positions. But I question whether the double standard serves

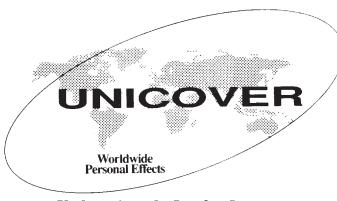
us and the American people well. Opaque, diffused responsibilities and poor accountability have created serious problems, past and present. Tongues cluck around town these days about the need for better management and leadership across the federal government. The absence of a resolution to these discussions continues to absolve everyone.

### Let's Change the Culture

This reality impedes the department's transition to an organization that values leadership in all places and at all levels. But it doesn't have to be a show-stopper. We have choices. We can hope that non-career appointees will take charge of our stewardship for us. Or we can complain about career colleagues who don't "get it," assignment and promotion systems

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### SPEAKING OUT



that aren't perfect, and resources that will never be sufficient. Or we can wait and hope that one day things will change ... maybe.

Or we can start taking responsibility for our organization ourselves. And I mean all of us, not just the people at the top. We can value leadership and accountability within our spheres of influence and we can ask our bosses to do their part, as well. If we don't get the results we want the first time, we can try again. After all, we're in the business of influencing people.

I leave the department with enormous respect and affection for all my colleagues, but especially my career colleagues. I have seen you put yourselves and your families in difficult and often dangerous places. I have watched you rescue colleagues from

If we don't get the results we want the first time, we can try again. After all, we're in the business of influencing people.

the rubble of bombed embassies, and confront natural and man-made disasters that would make contestants in television survival shows run away. And I can attest to the integrity of your work products and the conviction with which you have stood by them in the face of pressure in Washington.

You make a difference. deserve good leadership. And so do the people who work for you.

Prudence Bushnell, a Foreign Service officer from 1981 to 2005, served as ambassador to Kenya and Guatemala, principal deputy assistant secretary of State for African affairs, and dean of the Foreign Service Institute's Leadership and Management School, among many other assignments. Before joining the Foreign Service, Ambassador Bushnell enjoyed a successful career in the field of management and leadership training.

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# FS KNOW-HOW

### FLO Is Here to Help with Career-Employment Issues

By Donna Ayerst

ill I find a job? Will my partner be able to work? Will I be able to advance my career? Does the embassy find jobs for family members? Is there help with the job search when I return to Washington? Can only U.S.-citizen spouses work overseas? How can I work on the local economy? In short, what can the Family Liaison Office do for me?

These are just some of the many questions FLO receives regarding family-member employment in the Foreign Service. The queries arise during the briefings FLO conducts for new Foreign Service class members and other groups; are submitted by Community Liaison Office Coordinators and Local Employment Advisers at posts; and come in through individual e-mails, telephone calls and visits from current FS personnel and family members.

A recent AFSA survey found that 81 percent of respondents agreed that "AFSA should press for action to increase employment opportunities for family members overseas." (Twentyseven percent "strongly agree" and 54 percent agree.) Shawn Dorman's article in the July-August Foreign Service Journal, "Family Member Employment: At Work in the Mission," also addresses the issue in depth.

In the near future, the Family Liaison Office will conduct a worldwide survey of spouses asking these and other questions regarding their employment aspirations. In the meantime, with the active support of State's Family
Liaison Office
advocates in many
ways on behalf of
FS family members
and their employment
concerns.



the director general's office, FLO continues to advocate on behalf of Foreign Service family members and their employment concerns, and to provide client services covering a wide range of employment initiatives.

Addressing local family-member employment issues is one of the eight areas of CLO responsibility. Community Liaison Officers at 200 posts worldwide sit on post employment committees, present family-member employment concerns to post management and provide client services focusing on employment. These services include workshops, dissemination of information from FLO and, at posts where the Strategic Networking Assistance Program operates, coordination with the Local Employment Adviser to assist individuals.

### The SNAP Contribution

FLO's SNAP pilot program started at Embassy Mexico City in 2001. Today, SNAP serves clients in 31 countries around the world, including three regional programs covering southern Africa and Central America. Seven countries have graduated from the pilot program and have now institutionalized SNAP by funding Local Employment Adviser positions with International Cooperative Administrative Support Services funds.

In addition to creating a network of employment opportunities on the local economy, LEAs, often in conjunction with the CLO, offer programs that address family members' employment concerns in a variety of ways including career development seminars, discussion groups, and information on available training, business development and telework resources.

The concept of SNAP was further expanded last year through FLO's new Global Employment Strategy, designed to create a network of multinational corporations, NGOs, international organizations and consulting firms in the U.S. committed to hiring professional FS family members. The most far-reaching program created by this expansion of SNAP is the Department of State's partnership with Manpower, a worldwide human resources recruitment and placement agency. Manpower's most immediate benefit to FS spouses and Members of Household at all foreign affairs agencies is free access to thousands of online courses through Manpower's Global Learning Center. This resource, now available, gives family members the opportunity not only to brush up on old skills, but to learn and



expand new ones. (For more information on Manpower's training courses, visit FLO's Internet site at http:// www.state.gov/m/dghr/flo/38620.htm.)

In addition, FLO contracted with Going Global, a leading provider of country-specific career and employment information, to offer FS spouses free access to Going Global's Country Career Guides and the Global Key Employer Directory (job listings included). Together, these valuable resources assist spouses with their international job searches.

Partnerships have also been established with Baker and McKenzie, a global law firm; Pricewaterhouse-Coopers, accounting and consulting; and the Parsons Corporation, engineering and construction, to provide opportunities for professional spouses interested in working on the local economy at their posts. This program has already placed two spouses with PricewaterhouseCoopers, while 11 spouses have been retained as foreign legal consultants with Baker and McKenzie.

Victor Williams, an FS spouse in Pretoria, attests to the value of SNAP: "Prior to coming to South Africa, I had over three years of successfully selling over 100 vehicles on eBay in the Washington, D.C. area. with the SNAP Local Employment Adviser, Jacqui Fogg, and she suggested that it would be a great opportunity if I could use that same eBay business model and tailor it to meet the needs of the diplomatic community in South Africa. ... Due to the overwhelming response from the community, I plan to launch two additional Web-based services."

### **Different Doors Open**

Historically, spouses have preferred to work inside the U.S. mission. For many, the comfort level of working for the U.S. government, in English, in a secure environment, and

FLO has established partnerships with various firms to assist FS spouses seeking overseas employment.

where they can commute with their spouse is more attractive than dealing with the challenges of working on the local economy. However, the State Department's Diplomatic Readiness Initiative and the tightening of security after the 9/11 attacks have combined to cause an erosion of employment opportunities within U.S. missions for spouses, as FSOs fill vacancies that had previously been filled by family members. The Consular Associate program, once a viable opportunity for interested spouses, is still available but has been diminished because consular associates are no longer allowed to adjudicate cases.

As an FS spouse in Tel Aviv, Sharon Harden, observes: "Of course, the secretarial/administrative positions were offered up, but for someone who graduated alongside the man who would be the Regional Legal Adviser, I knew that taking such a position would not be fulfilling professionally or financially."

In addition, State's overseas Hardto-Fill program permits qualified Eligible Family Members to bid on and fill vacant Foreign Service positions on the hard-to-fill list. However. the number of placements through this program in the past has been lim-

Consequently, for Foreign Service spouses striving to maintain a career

or find employment while moving from post to post, resiliency, flexibility, creativity and patience are required. FLO is constantly looking for ways to provide new tools to aid in this endeavor.

Earlier this year, FLO contracted with StaffCentrix, a leading provider of virtual careers training and related resources to the Armed Forces, to provide training in virtual careers to Foreign Service spouses. mid-September, the "e-Entrepreneur Training Program" had taught 76 spouses (with 30 more signed up for training in October) how to launch and operate portable, home-based businesses as "virtual professionals," delivering high-end, business-related services to their own clients remotely via e-mail, phone and fax. To make this training available to more spouses and MOHs overseas, StaffCentrix developed a "Train-the-Trainer" course for LEAs and CLOs, enabling them to provide the course at post. The enormous response to e-Entrepreneur training indicates that spouses and MOHs are willing to go down new roads in an effort to find meaningful employment they can carry with them from post to post.

Another indicator along the same lines was the overwhelming number of applications FLO received for fellowships offered by the Una Chapman Cox Foundation. This new professional fellowship program provided 19 fellowships of up to \$2,000 each to Foreign Service spouses for enrichment activities, including, but not limited to, continuing education, distance learning, professional development, participation in professional conferences, dues for membership in professional organizations and small business start-up costs.

### **Coming Home**

For FS family members returning to the Washington area from abroad,

### FS KNOW-HOW



starting a job search in the U.S. can be just as daunting as it is overseas. Low wages and low government grade levels, a spotty employment record and extensive volunteer activities do not always meet local employers' requirements. FLO's monthly Job Seekers Network Group meets to provide support, networking opportunities, resources and information to those involved in a job search.

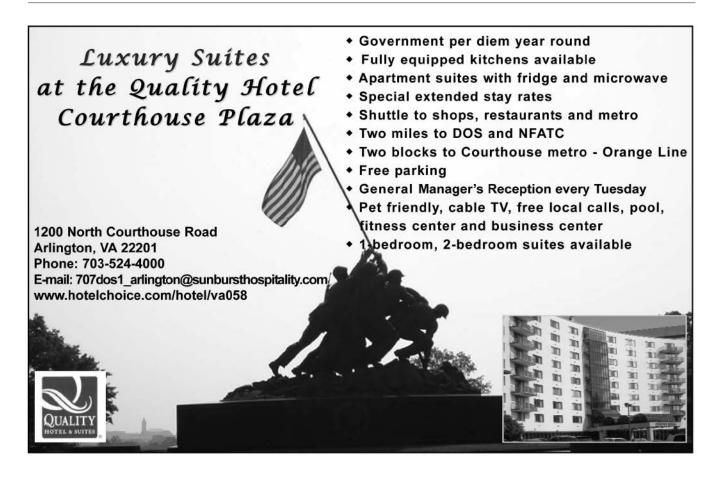
Former Department of State family-member employees now have the right to "buy back" retirement credit for time employed under a Part-time, Intermittent or Temporary (PIT) appointment during the period from 1989 until 1998. Family members had been excluded from retirement the Federal coverage when Employees Retirement System law

Former Department of State family-member employees have the right to "buy back" retirement credit for time employed from 1989 until 1998.

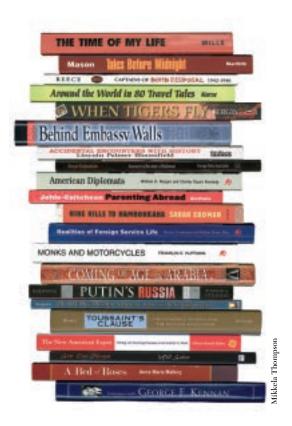
took effect in the beginning of 1989. A new law was passed in September 2002 to provide retroactive retirement benefits for this group, and after considerable delay, implementation regulations were issued in September 2005. The State Department's Office of Retirement is processing these cases, in cooperation with the Office of Personnel Management.

FLO will continue to advocate for and create programs to ease the challenge of finding employment opportunities and maintaining dual careers for Foreign Service family members. For more information on FLO's employment programs, please visit FLO's Intranet site at http://hrweb. hr.state.gov/flo/employment/employ ment.html or its Internet site at http://www.state.gov/m/dghr/flo/c195 9.htm. ■

Donna Ayerst is publications coordinator for the Family Liaison Office.



# IN THEIR OWN WRITE



THIS YEAR'S COMPILATION OF RECENTLY PUBLISHED BOOKS BY FOREIGN SERVICE-AFFILIATED AUTHORS FEATURES MEMOIRS, HISTORY, FICTION AND A LIVELY GROUPING OF WORKS ON PEOPLE AND PLACES.

he *Foreign Service Journal* is pleased to present our annual Foreign Service authors roundup again, in plenty of time for holiday orders. Here is an annotated list of some of the volumes written or edited by Foreign Service personnel and family members, past and present, in 2004 and 2005.

This year's selection contains a substantial history section; a respectable fiction section, including some notable historical fiction works; several books focusing on foreign-policy issues; a diverse array of works concerning people and places;

### $F \circ c \cup s$

and seven memoirs of Foreign Service life. As in the past two years, a significant portion of our titles are self-published.

Our primary purpose in compiling this list is to celebrate the wealth of literary talent within the Foreign Service community, and to give our readers the opportunity to support colleagues by sampling their wares. Each entry contains full publication data along with a short commentary.

As has become our custom, we also include a listing of books "of related interest" that were not written by FS authors.

While many of these books are available from bookstores and other sources, we encourage our readers to use the AFSA Web site's Marketplace to place your orders. (See p. 48 for details.) We have created a Bookstore there with links to Amazon.com. For the few books that cannot be ordered through Amazon.com, we have provided alternate links and, when the book is not available online, the necessary contact information.

But enough crass commercialism. On to the books!

— Susan Maitra, Senior Editor

### **HISTORY**



### American Diplomats: The Foreign Service at Work

William D. Morgan and Charles Stuart Kennedy, eds., iUniverse, 2004, \$22.95, paperback, 315 pages.

In American Diplomats, retired Senior Foreign Service officers William D. Morgan and Charles

Stuart Kennedy present 40 accounts of diplomats' experiences in the years from 1920 to 1997 mined from the Foreign Affairs Oral History archives of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training. The stories bring readers into the room, so to speak, when Mao-Tse Tung drops by for a chat, when Sukarno moves Indonesia into the communist camp, when Khrushchev calls Kennedy an SOB, when fighting erupts in the Congo over Katangan secession, when the NATO treaty is secretly formulated, when Kremlinology is born and more. Accounts are grouped into chapters by period; the editors provide context for the chapters as well as for each piece. The result is a fascinating sampling of the rich history of American diplomacy.

Charles Stuart Kennedy is the founder and director of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training's Foreign Affairs Oral History Program. He served in Germany, Saudi Arabia, Yugoslavia, South Vietnam, Greece, South Korea, Italy and Washington, D.C. William Morgan served as U.S. consul general in Beirut, Paris and Montreal. *American Diplomats* is the

second in ADST's Memoirs and Occasional Papers Series, created in 2003 to preserve such firsthand accounts and informed observations on foreign affairs, and make them more accessible to the public.



### Toussaint's Clause: The Founding Fathers and the Haitian Revolution Gordon S. Brown, University Press of Mississippi, 2005, \$32.00,

of Mississippi, 2005, \$32.00, hardcover, 321 pages.

From 1790 through 1810, the young American nation watched anxiously as its wealthy trading partner Haiti, a rich hothouse of sugar

plantations and French colonial profit, exploded in a rebellion led by a former slave, Toussaint L'Overture. The supporters of Toussaint's rebellion against France conducted a bold policy of American intervention in favor of the rebels. But Southern slaveholders, such as Jefferson, eyed the slave-general's ascendance with alarm, and eventually engineered a reversal of U.S. policy. The Haitian Revolution was one of the chief foreign policy crises faced by the founding fathers, testing their capacity for internal debate and balance. In this book, retired ambassador Gordon S. Brown documents the intricate history of this defining moment for America's foreign policy.

During a 35-year Foreign Service career, Gordon S. Brown served mainly in the Middle East and North Africa, including assignments as General Schwarzkopf's political adviser in the first Persian Gulf War and ambassador to Mauritania. Since his retirement in 1996, he has

written two books, Coalition, Coercion and Compromise: Diplomacy of the Gulf Crisis, 1990-91 (Institute of Biblical Studies, 1997) and The Norman Conquest of Southern Italy and Sicily (McFarland & Co., 2003). Toussaint's Clause is an ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy Book; it has been nominated for the American Academy of Diplomacy's 2005 Book Award.

### The First Resort of Kings:

**American Cultural Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century** 

Richard T. Arndt, Potomac Books, Inc., 2005, \$45.00, hardcover, 608 pages.

If war is the last resort of kings, then cultural diplomacy, an age-old tool for promoting understanding among nations through cultural exchange, should be the first, says Richard Arndt in *The First Resort of Kings*. The author of this exploration of eight decades of American cultural diplomacy, from World War I through the 1990s, is a retired FSO and 24-year veteran of the U.S. Information Agency. *Please see p. 66 for a review*.

# In the Aftermath of Genocide: The U.S. Role in Rwanda Robert E. Gribbin, iUniverse, 2005, \$23.95, paperback, 360 pages.

Robert Gribbin, U.S. ambassador to Rwanda from 1995 to 1999, draws on 30 years of experience in the region to analyze U.S. perceptions of Rwanda in the years before the genocide and to recount the unfolding of the terrible event and its aftermath. *In the Aftermath of Genocide: The U.S. Role in Rwanda* is part of the Memoirs and Occasional Papers series of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training; it has been nominated for the American Academy of Diplomacy's 2005 Book Award. *Please see page 67 for a review of this book.* 



### Putin's Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain

Dale R. Herspring, ed., Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005 (second edition), \$29.95, paperback, 315 pages.

Updated to take account of developments through 2003, this new edition of *Putin's Russia* is a valu-

able and highly readable analysis of the forces shaping contemporary Russia. Fourteen contributors with

experience and expertise in Russia address President Vladimir Putin's handling of politics, civil society, the economy, the military and security, and foreign policy. The result is a detailed assessment of Putin's efforts to extricate Russia from the mess it found itself in by the end of the Yeltsin era and set it on a stable course toward a democratic and prosperous future. However, as retired FSO James F. Collins, U.S. ambassador to Russia from 1997 to 2001, notes in his foreword, the book offers no uniform or consistent answers to critical questions about the future of Russia's fragile democracy and developing market economy. "Rather," Collins says, "what emerges is a complex and uneven tapestry whose design and weaving are far from complete."

Dale R. Herspring is a professor of political science at Kansas State University. A retired FSO and 32-year veteran of the U.S. Navy, he is the author and editor of 10 books and more than 70 articles dealing with civil-military relations in the former East Germany, Poland, Russia, the USSR and the United States.



### The Pentagon and the Presidency: Civil-Military Relations from FDR to George W. Bush

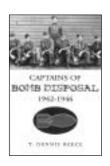
Dale R. Herspring, University Press of Kansas, 2005, \$45.00, hardcover, 490 pages.

This timely and path-breaking book addresses the complex relationship between civilian and mili-

tary officials in the U.S., for the first time from the standpoint of the military. The book focuses on the relationship between the military and its commanderin-chief from the administrations of FDR to George W. Bush. Each chapter zeros in on one president and his key advisers, and contains case studies showing how the military reacted to the president's leadership. The final chapter includes a ranking of the presidents according to their degree of conflict with the military - from, for example, Nixon, Johnson and Clinton in the "High Conflict" category to G.H.W. Bush, Ford, Reagan and Roosevelt in the "Minimal Conflict" category. In between, the author shows how the nature of civilian control has changed, and also how the military has become a very effective bureaucratic interest group.

(See previous entry for author's information.)

### $F \circ c \cup s$



### Captains of Bomb Disposal

T. Dennis Reece, Xlibris, 2005, \$20.99, paperback, 197 pages.

In pursuit of an understanding of what his late father and other American bomb disposal personnel did in World War II, T. Dennis Reece has pieced together an often compelling account of the contribution

these 5,000 largely-unrecognized individuals made to winning the war and, afterward, helping with the problem of up to two million tons of surplus explosive ordnance scattered about the theater.

This is the first American book on the subject in World War II literature. Reece shows the kinds of problems bomb disposal personnel faced, and documents the successes of a group of bomb disposal squads in the Ninth Air Force that operated in northwestern Europe. The second part of the book centers on the work of one bomb disposal captain during a top-secret mission to Czechoslovakia

that had profound political and legal consequences. When explosives experts disarmed a booby-trapped cache containing highly confidential documents, including information about the Nazi occupation of the region, there was considerable diplomatic and public relations fallout. Reece devotes two chapters to recounting how Embassy Prague and the State Department handled the flap.

Retired FSO T. Dennis Reece served in Moscow, Saudi Arabia, Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Cape Verde, Guyana and Washington, D.C. He now resides in Tampa, Fla.



# Are We Winning? Are They Winning? A Civilian Adviser's Reflections on Wartime Vietnam

John R. Campbell, AuthorHouse, 2004, \$10.25/paperback, \$3.95/e-book, 150 pages.

This is an unusual addition to the literature of the Vietnam War.

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Author and former FSO James Campbell — who served two tours of duty in Vietnam from 1965 to 1967, first as psychological-warfare adviser to the American military and then as director of 15 indigenous teams propagandizing via entertainment — does not claim to challenge other historians' conclusions or present new facts. Instead, he zeros in on the fundamentals that, in his view, drove the events in wartime Vietnam to their fateful conclusion, such as South Vietnam's basic vulnerabilities in the areas of security, leadership effectiveness, motivation and commitment and diversity of population. Campbell combines hard facts with personal anecdotes and insights in a spare narrative that is highly readable.

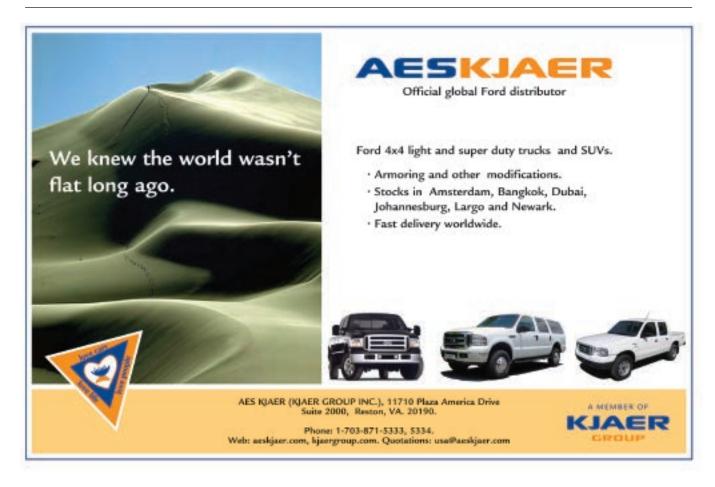
After military service in World War II, Campbell completed his education, taught at the University of Geneva and worked on various assignments for the Department of Defense. He joined the State Department in 1956, and during the next 12 years was posted with USIA in France, Ecuador, Vietnam, Spain

and Washington, D.C. After leaving the Foreign Service, he taught international relations at the University of Maryland and Southern Methodist University. Now retired, he divides his time between California and Spain.

### Anthology of Arabic Literature, Culture and Thought

Dr. Bassam K. Frangieh, Yale University Press, 2004, \$60.00, hardcover, 600 pages with slipcase and DVD.

This comprehensive reader of Arabic literature from pre-Islamic times to the present is the first of its kind created for advanced students of Arabic. Selections from 70 different authors, the best of the various schools and disciplines including poetry, religious texts, grammar and linguistics, literary criticism, belles-lettres, religious thought and philosophy, novel and drama make this a truly comprehensive collection. Each selection is followed by a vocabulary list, a list of idioms and notes, and a set of questions about the text. The



book introduces students to the entire sweep of Arabic intellectual, political and cultural thought, offering important insights into the Arab mind. It has been hailed as a "wonderful resource" by the Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.

Bassam K. Frangieh, the spouse of a recently-retired FSO, is a senior lecturer in the department of Near East languages and civilizations at Yale University.

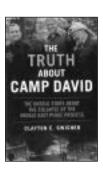
### An American Soldier in World War I

Robert Sherwood Dillon, Five and Ten Press, 2005, \$5.00, paperback, 49 pages.

In piecing together the story of his own father's experience in World War I, Robert Sherwood Dillon pored over a sheaf of letters from his father to his mother during the war, and delved into the literature on that war and the period. Reticent by nature and culture — men of his generation did not believe in exhibiting emotion — Dillon Sr. had rarely spoken of his wartime experiences. When asked by a grandson, he says only: "You don't want to know."

It turns out that the 35th Division, where Dale Crowell Dillon ended up after enlisting in the Kansas National Guard at age 18 and being assigned to the Kansas Engineer Company, had a very difficult time in the Meuse-Argonne campaign, where it took heavy casualties. Following the war a controversy developed over the division's performance and leadership. The author recounts this history, interwoven with specifics on his father. The result is an essay that casts light on all the young soldiers in World War I, and the experience of war in general.

Robert Sherwood Dillon is a retired FSO and former ambassador to Lebanon. He is also the author of a personal memoir, One of the Very Best Men (Five and Ten Press, 2004).



### The Truth about Camp David: The Untold Story about the Collapse of the Middle East **Peace Process**

Clayton E. Swisher, Nation Books, 2004, \$14.95, paperback, 451 pages.

"This may not be the definitive 'truth about Camp David,' but it warrants careful attention from all who would learn from the history of negotiations to secure peace in the Holy Land." This is what L. Carl Brown, writing in Foreign Affairs, said of The Truth about Camp David, in which author Clayton Swisher challenges the prevailing view that a Palestinian refusal to entertain a generous offer from Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak sank the last bid for Middle East peace. A year after the talks, Swisher conducted extensive interviews with Israeli, American and Palestinian officials closely involved with the July 2000 to January 2001 negotiations at Camp David. The result was a very different, more complex and highly nuanced picture, one which the author feels is essential to grasp if progress is ever to be made on resolving the Arab-Israeli dispute.

A former Marine reservist, Clayton E. Swisher served as a special agent in the Bureau of Diplomatic Security and was assigned to the Secretary of State and visiting Arab and Israeli leaders in support of the Oslo process, including trips to Jerusalem, Ramallah, Washington and Camp David. He is now an associate with a Middle East consulting firm in Washington, D.C.

### **POLICY ISSUES**



### Foreign Aid: Will It Ever Reach Its Sunset?

Ludwig Rudel, Foreign Policy Association Headline Series, 2005, \$8.99, paperback, 68 pages.

This monograph reviews the state of foreign assistance 50 years after its post-World War II beginnings as

short-term assistance to former European colonies gaining independence, and adds some fresh ideas to the debate over its future. Does concessional aid necessarily create dependency? Can it be made to create the basis for its own termination? Not as things presently stand, says Ludwig Rudel. Part of the problem, he observes, is that the distinction between humanitarian assistance and development investment has been blurred if not lost. Further, he argues, major changes in the "aid relationship" between donor and recipient are needed to bring about conditions in which aid programs can achieve their objective of poverty alleviation within a reasonable time frame, and become

superfluous. Issued as part of the Foreign Policy Association's Headline Series, this slim volume is both readable and relevant.

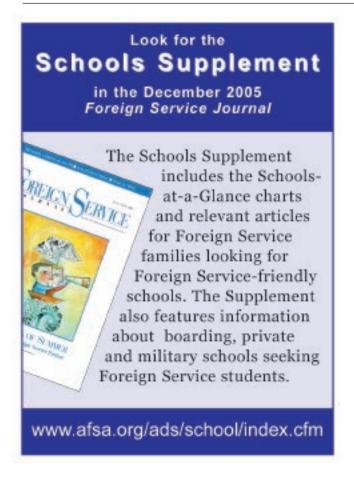
Ludwig Rudel retired from the Foreign Service in 1980 after serving 25 years with USAID and its predecessor agencies. Since then he has worked as an international consultant in the design and evaluation of aid programs and projects funded by the World Bank, the United Nations Development Program and USAID.

### Fertility, Family Planning, HIV/AIDS and Reproductive Health

Donald J. Bogue with essays by Steven W. Sinding and Morrie Blumberg, The Social Development Center, 2004, \$18.00, paperback, 264 pages.

This is a comprehensive and up-to-date textbook in the amalgamated fields of fertility, family planning, HIV/AIDS and reproductive health — with emphasis on the Third World — that will be of interest to specialists and laymen alike. Written as a series of selfsufficient yet interrelated essays, the book presents a psychosocial model to explain fertility behavior and an explanatory analysis of fertility trends from 1950 to 2050 in all nations. A brief but inclusive history of the international family planning movement contains essays on the U.S. Agency for International Development's program by former senior agency officials Steven Sinding and Morrie Blumberg. Finally, there is a critical review of current population policy, with recommendations for change.

Donald J. Bogue is a professor of sociology at the University of Chicago and research associate of the Population Research Center there. Steven W. Sinding, formerly with USAID, is currently worldwide director general of the International Planned Parenthood Federation, London. Morrie Blumberg is a retired FSO with a 20-year career at USAID. The book can be ordered from the Social Development Center by e-mail: socdev@computer-resource.com, or by regular mail: P.O. Box 37-7710, Chicago IL 60637.





### Challenges for Nonprofits and Philanthropy: The Courage to Change

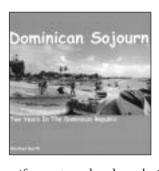
Pablo Eisenberg, Tufts University Press, 2005, \$29.95, hardcover, 242 pages.

With government budgets again under strain, attention will inevitably shift to philanthropy and the nonprofit world to accomplish needed work in the public domain. Will they rise to the occasion?

Pablo Eisenberg thinks they can and ought to, but they'll have to "lighten up" first. This collection of essays, written over the past three decades by one of the most influential and outspoken voices in philanthropy, offers insight into the growth of the nonprofit sector from its origins in the wake of the 1960s War on Poverty and the changes within nonprofits and foundations that have accompanied this growth. Readers learn how the nonprofit world really works — not how it is supposed to work in academic or legal theory — and the author speaks candidly about what he sees as philanthropy's failure to adequately serve the disenfranchised. With a towering institutional presence, the nonprofits have become self-righteous and controlling, he shows. The author argues persuasively for a reinvigorated, visionary and activist leadership and a sense of humor — offering role models in appreciations of several nonprofit leaders.

Pablo Eisenberg, a former FSO who was posted to Africa with USIA, is a senior fellow at the Georgetown University Public Policy Institute and a regular columnist for *The Chronicle of Philanthropy*.

### PEOPLE AND PLACES



### Dominican Sojourn: Two Years in the Dominican Republic

Norman Barth, 2004, \$25.00, paperback, 110 pages (105 in color).

As a first-tour vice consul at Embassy Santo Domingo, Norman Barth and his

wife spent weekends exploring their new country of residence. Pretty soon Barth was writing a weekly article on their discoveries, illustrated with his own photographs, for a local expatriate newsletter. This book is a collection of the best of these columns. While not a guidebook in

the classical sense, *Dominican Sojourn* is a gentle and accessible introduction to this Caribbean country's sights, atmosphere and traditions. Each chapter, starting with the secret delights of a game of dominoes, tells a story that will whet your desire to visit and learn more. The book covers many destinations within the Dominican Republic, while also highlighting obscure corners of Santo Domingo's Colonial Zone.

A tango dancer, espresso drinker, earth scientist and FSO, Norman Barth has published numerous peer-reviewed scientific articles. This is his first book-length work. *Dominican Sojourn* may be purchased online at http://www.normanbarth.com/books/dr/.



### Nine Hills to Nambonkaha: Two Years in the Heart of an African Village

Sarah Erdman, Picador, 2004, \$14.00, paperback, 336 pages.

This book, released in paperback late last summer, garnered rave reviews when it appeared in hardcover two years ago. "A delightful

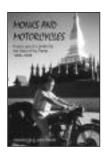
and moving portrait of modern Francophone Africa by an uncommonly talented writer with the eye of a social scientist and the ear of a poet," said *The Washington Post*. "Erdman's irrepressibility lofts you along. If her book is more earnest, less coruscating, less eager to K.O. the reader than [other memoirs], it's wonderful in a way that [the others] can't touch," enthused *The New York Times*.

The village of Nambonkaha in Cote d'Ivoire is a place where electricity hasn't yet arrived, where sorcerers still use magic and where the tok-tok sound of women pounding corn fills the morning air like a drumbeat. As a Peace Corps Volunteer, Sara Erdman finds that Nombonkaha is also a place where AIDS threatens and poverty is constant, where women suffer the indignities of patriarchal customs and where children work like adults while still managing to dream.

Erdman does not offer prescriptions for promoting health care in rural Africa. Rather, she makes us wonder with her whether AIDS education on the continent would have been more effective if health workers had worked with the notion of sorcery instead of against it. As Library Journal put it, she "takes the reader on a vivid and compelling journey. The author's sensitivity to the traditions of the villagers, the unique ways she found to

overcome and incorporate those traditions in her work, and the despair she sometimes felt over the intrusion of the modern world make this a complicated but also contemplative book."

Sarah Erdman, the daughter of an FSO, grew up in seven countries. After graduating with a history degree from Middlebury College in Vermont, she served as a Peace Corps Health Volunteer in northern Cote d'Ivoire. She is currently a placement officer for Central Asia, Eastern Europe and Jordan at Peace Corps headquarters in Washington, D.C.



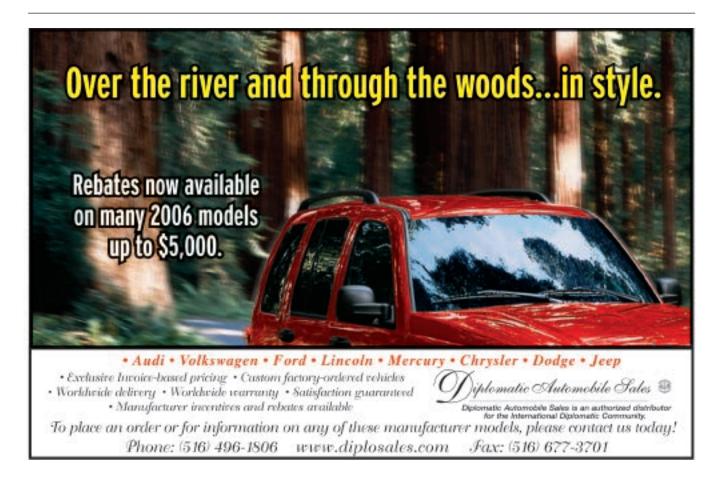
### Monks and Motorcycles: From Laos to London by the Seat of My Pants, 1956-1958

Franklin E. Huffman, iUniverse, Inc., 2004, \$23.95, paperback, 328 pages.

In 1956, 22-year-old Frank Huffman embarks on a journey that will take him from the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia to the exotic Orient, and eventually around the world. In this fascinating tale, Huffman shares his experiences and emotions over two years as a French interpreter for a community development team on the Plain of Jars in Laos. At the end of his Laos tour, he buys a motorcycle and sets out for Europe, with only a *National Geographic* map of Asia and the optimism of youth as his guides.

We go along for the ride as Huffman motors up the road to Mandalay in what is now called Myanmar, is chased by a motorcycle-hating cow near the Taj Mahal in the northern Indian city of Agra, participates in a mutiny on a ramshackle bus in the Pakistani desert, thumbs his way across Iran to Turkey and carouses through Europe in a Simca with pilfered sleeping bags and C-rations. He shares his insights on the culture and society of the countries he visits, from Laos to the U.K. Huffman's sense of humor and fluent writing style make *Monks and Motorcycles* an enjoyable read.

Franklin Huffman was a Foreign Service officer with



USIA from 1985 to 1999. During his first career as a professor of linguistics and Asian studies at Yale and Cornell (1967-1985), Huffman published nine books on Southeast Asian languages. He and his wife Sanda, a professional interpreter, live in Washington, D.C.



### "Two Friends": Another Version of the Willa Cather Classic

Thomas R. Hutson, River Junction Press LLC, 2005, \$5.00, paperback, 14 pages.

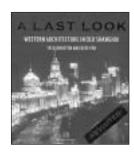
This brief memoir, issued on the 50th anniversary of the Willa Cather Pioneer Memorial and Educational Foundation, takes its title from one

of Cather's best-known short stories. The memoir is a tribute to two women and the work they did to pioneer the revival and preservation of the literary works and persona of Willa Cather, one of America's best female writers, in Cather's hometown of Red Cloud, Neb.

Ironically, author Thomas R. Hutson, who was also raised in Red Cloud, had to go to Tehran to have his interest in Willa Cather piqued. There, as a first-tour Foreign Service officer conducting English language conversation classes at the Iran-America Society, Hutson was confronted out of the blue by a student: "Did you know Willa Cather?" He had to admit, with chagrin, that he didn't really know her writing.

There began a voyage of discovery into the great author's works, into his own family's past in Red Cloud, collaboration with the Cather Foundation and, finally, efforts to repair the estrangement of the "two friends" who were the Foundation's guiding lights.

Recently re-employed as the U.S. representative on the U.K. Provincial Reconstruction Team in Mazar-e-Sharif in Afghanistan, retired FSO Thomas R. Hutson is now a diplomatic associate at the University of Nebraska's Center for Afghanistan Studies.



### A Last Look (Revisited): Western Architecture in Old Shanghai

Tess Johnston and Deke Erh, Old China Hand Press, 2004, \$58.00, hardcover, 240 pages.

This gorgeous coffee-table book captures the charm and atmosphere of Old Shanghai as expressed in its architecture. From the late 19th century to 1941, the city was divided into the international and French concessions and dominated by Western commercial activity. Each wave of international settlement brought new energy and style to the city. As Tess Johnston writes in her introduction, "The ensuing mélange of building styles is what makes Shanghai unique. There are few cities in the world today with such a variety of architectural offerings, buildings that stand out in welcome contrast to their mediocre modern counterparts."

But they are fast disappearing under the pressures of population and progress. The best still surviving have been preserved in this book, now in a second, expanded edition. The stunning photographs are complemented by informative captions, and grouped in sections such as commerce, residences, etc. Introductions by the collaborators, retired FSO and China hand Tess Johnston and photographer Deke Erh, give a historical perspective and depth to this labor of love.

Tess Johnston has had over 30 years of exciting diplomatic assignments, including Berlin, Paris, Vietnam and, for the past two decades, Shanghai, where she retired and still resides. Deke Erh has a 20year career in photography and journalism, having established himself as the earliest freelance photographer in China. The two have published 12 volumes on Western architecture in old China. This book can be ordered by mail. Send a check made out to "Old China Hand Press," in U.S. dollars and drawn on an American bank, to: Tess Johnston, Old China Hand Research Service, Donghu Lu 70/3/201, Shanghai 200031, China.



### Me May Mary

Mary Cameron Kilgour, Child Welfare League of America Press, 2005, \$13.95, paperback, 184 pages.

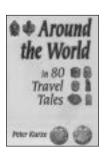
This is a the story of a young woman who, despite heavy odds, refuses to fail. With the help of a loving brother and a few caring

adults, she negotiates her passage from a chaotic, impoverished and abusive childhood with violent, alcoholic parents, through unsuccessful foster homes and,

finally, a home for girls, to a successful adulthood with college degrees, a stint in the Peace Corps and a 29-year career as a Foreign Service officer.

Mary Cameron Kilgour wrote this autobiographical memoir for young people and adults struggling with the impact of a chaotic or violent past, people like the children for whom she now advocates as a volunteer guardian ad litem. There is no trace of self-pity in this story. It is written simply and straightforwardly, with humor and grace, and a keen ear for dialogue. But what it conveys so poignantly is that hope and potential can indeed triumph over the past.

Retired FSO Kilgour served for 29 years in USAID. She is a 1993 recipient of the Presidential Distinguished Service Award. A writer, she is a frequent contributor to the *Journal*, and a volunteer with the Guardian ad Litem Program and Habitat for Humanity.



#### Around the World in 80 Travel Tales

Peter Dev Kurze, Hasamelis Publishing, 2004, \$19.95, paperback, 335 pages (including 39 color photos).

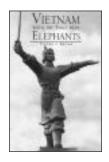
Here is a book for those in whom Mark Twain's advice to "Explore. Dream. Discover." reverberates per-

petually. This new addition to travel literature is based on a young man's 16-month, round-the-world odyssey to 30 countries on five continents during 2000 and 2001. The book is nicely organized into 18 sections, each containing one or more short stories or vignettes of memorable, unusual or even bizarre experiences in that region. Thus, the reader has the choice of reading from start to finish, or zeroing in on a particular country or region of interest. Either way, the experience is interesting and informative. A selection of the author's 5,500 color photographs from the journey are included in the book; all of them can be accessed online at www.80traveltales.com.

The son of a retired FSO, Peter Kurze was born in Nepal and has lived in Austria, Barbados, Belgium, France, Germany, India, Japan, Morocco and the United States. He decided to undertake this trip after having worked in Tokyo for three years because the prerequisites for undertaking such a global adventure were all there: a strong desire to travel, physical and

mental health and stamina, free time, financial wherewithal, and a lack of restrictive commitments (personal or professional).

## FICTION, HISTORICAL AND OTHERWISE



## **Vietnam When the Tanks Were Elephants**

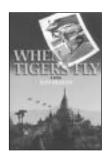
Thomas J. Barnes, Xlibris, 2005, \$22.99, paperback, 321 pages.

The Tay Son Revolution in Vietnam, which began in 1771 and ended in 1802, was contemporaneous with its French and American

counterparts, but is virtually unknown in the Western world. Three brothers trained in the martial arts led a grass-roots movement against two entrenched shogunates that expanded to dominate the entire country. National stability was short-lived, however, as the ablest brother, Nguyen Hue, a Vietnamese national hero, died prematurely of fever in 1792. His successor was incapable of stemming the corruption and dissension that eventually led to the dissolution and defeat of the regime.

Author Thomas Barnes presents an historically accurate account of these events in this novel written, strikingly, from the first-person viewpoint of eight of the participants. The text is a complete expansion and reorientation of the author's earlier work, *Tay Son: Rebellion in 18th-Century Vietnam* (Xlibris, 2000), and was written with the intent of making this important but little-known chapter in Vietnam's history more accessible to Western audiences.

Thomas J. Barnes joined the Foreign Service in 1957. Following retirement in mid-1980, after a career concentrated mainly in Southeast Asia, he worked in the field of refugee and migrant assistance. In 1996, he settled in Austin, Texas, where he has published several books through Xlibris: including Southeast Asian Portraits (2002) and Anecdotes of a Vagabond: The Foreign Service, the U.N., and a Volag (2000). His Coping with Lust and the Colonel: Wartime Korea from Sokchang-ni (2000) was updated and expanded in 2005.



#### When Tigers Fly

Bob Bergin, Impact Publications, 2004, \$14.95, paperback, 289 pages.

"Old Asia hands love Bob Bergin's novel because the author's adventures help stir up memories of their own. The sights, sounds, smells and feel of the Far East come

alive on his pages." That is what Brett M. Decker, former editorial writer and books editor of *The Asian Wall Street Journal*, says about Bob Bergin's second historical novel. Decker adds: "In *When Tigers Fly*, Bergin works another element into his exciting storytelling: expertise in aviation and its role in winning the Pacific War. Buffs of history and fiction will have an equally hard time putting down the book."

In this story, protagonists Harry Ross and Alysious Grant are on the trail of a rare World War II-vintage Tomahawk aircraft sighted in the jungles of Burma. Their job is to spirit this rare Flying Tiger away from its current owner, a Chinese warlord who fancies himself a poet, and deliver it to their employer, a wealthy American warbird collector. The adventure, which unfolds in Burma and southern China, is full of unexpected twists and turns and populated with colorful characters. Though set in the present, the story reflects the history of the World War II-era American Volunteer Group, the "Flying Tigers."

A retired FSO and Southeast Asia specialist, Bob Bergin is a writer and dealer in Asian art and antiques based in Alexandria, Va. His articles have appeared in many publications in the U.S. and Asia. A previous novel, *Stone Gods, Wooden Elephants* (Impact Publications, 2003), is an adventure set in the world of Asian antiques.

#### Day of the Dead: A Novel

Marshall Brement, Moyer Bell, 2005, \$26.95, hardcover, 438 pages.

Set in Vietnam in 1962-1963, this debut novel by a retired FSO is reminiscent of Eric Ambler and Graham

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Greene's work. It tells the story of one of the central events of the Vietnam War, the overthrow of the South Vietnamese government and the assassination of its president, Ngo Dinh Diem, through the eyes of a young Foreign Service officer on a first posting as aide to the American ambassador. We see from the inside — and in colorful detail — how the United States would reach the point of no return in Vietnam.

The book is well-crafted and engagingly written. The cast of characters is broad — all types of Vietnamese, rambunctious young newspapermen, shrewd diplomats and military men, elegant ladies in the elite of Saigon society and rowdy bargirls, all of whom mix with and influence those making policy about the war. The author draws on factual records and declassified documents to establish the story's historical veracity.

Marshall Brement served for 12 years in various Southeast Asian posts and spent six more years dealing with the Soviet Union. He capped his Foreign Service career with a posting as ambassador to Iceland. Following

retirement, he taught Cold War history and diplomacy at the University of Virginia. Brement lives in Tubac, Ariz., and is working on a new novel set in Washington and Moscow.



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#### A Spy Sat Down Beside Her

Ken Byrnes, AuthorHouse, 2005, \$16.95, paperback, 296 pages.

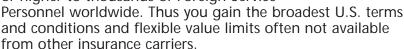
This novel, set in the early 1940s when Hitler's armies are ravaging Europe, tells the story of Ian Steele and Margaret Whitcombe, two British Secret Intelligence Service

officers who meet in London and fall in love but are soon sent on separate assignments: Margaret to the SIS office in Zurich, and Ian on an intelligence-gathering mission into occupied France. The two meet again in Tours, and are then sent on a special mission through the death swamps of Poitou to the Bay of Biscay. There a British

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submarine picks up Margaret, but Ian is left behind. Back in London, when Margaret fails to hear from Ian, she disguises herself as a nun and returns to Tours, vowing to find him.

We are drawn into this engrossing story by the author's skill in developing the characters and making their action and the terrain through which they move come alive.

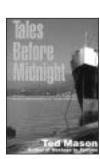
Ken Byrnes, a lieutenant colonel in U.S. Air Force (Intelligence), is a 23-year veteran of the Foreign Service. After serving as consul general in Izmir, Turkey, he opted for early retirement and went into the field of foreign trade and investment, where he continued his world travels. He has had short stories, poems and articles published, including several in the *Foreign Service Journal*. A novel, *The Daughter of Ramon Godoy* (1st Books Library, 2002), is based on his experiences as a vice consul in Mexico City. Byrnes lives in Powell, Ohio, with his wife, and is working on another novel.

#### East to the Bottom

K.D. Hewitt, AuthorHouse, 2005, \$14.95, paperback, 305 pages.

In this vivid first novel, K. D. Hewitt takes us into the life of an African-American family whose roots in Washington, D.C., and Foggy Bottom in particular, go back six generations. It is the life saga of the author's own free black antebellum Georgetown ancestors from 1857 to the present, seen through the eyes of young Calley MacAllister, a fictional descendant. Tales of romance, war, suffrage, racketeering and murder are interwoven with historical events from the Civil War on. In this rich history of her ancestors, the author paints an inspiring and enduring portrait of the strength and vitality of the seemingly typical, yet unique African-American family.

K.D. Hewitt, an African-American Foreign Service spouse, was born and raised in the Foggy Bottom district of Washington, D.C. She, her husband and two children are now posted in Dhaka.



#### **Tales Before Midnight**

Ted Mason, Bartleby Press, 2005, \$12.95, paperback, 260 pages.

"All are signposts along the way in a lifetime of observing people and their reactions to the tricks they play on each other and life plays on them, and you can read them in any order you like." This is how author Ted Mason describes this delightful collection of short stories written during the course of his 30-year career in government service overseas.

The stories are grouped chronologically from the world of boyhood to the great world outside, and explore a wide range of human emotion and events — such as the escape of a hybrid mix of tiger and lion, a tiglon, from the fictional town of Quassatuck's new zoo; a young writer's early lesson in prejudice and censorship; and the liberation of a forgotten French town by a deserter in World War II. Though it is often said that truth is stranger than fiction, in these stories fiction rings truer than truth.

Ted Mason served as a political intelligence analyst for U.S.-European Command headquarters in France during the 1960s. He joined the Foreign Service in 1967 and served with USIA in Vietnam, Morocco and Madagascar as a training officer and public affairs officer until 1985, when he retired. He is the author of a novel, *Hostage to Fortune* (Bartleby Press, 1999).

#### **Possessed by Shadows**

Donigan Merritt, Other Press, 2005, \$22.00, hardcover, 239 pages.

"An avid rock climber refuses to go gently in Merritt's gorgeous sixth novel ... a compelling and tragic love story," says Publishers Weekly about Possessed by Shadows. Set in Southern California and Czechoslovakia, the book tells the story of journalist Molly and philosophy professor Tom Valen, both world-class mountaineers. A climbing accident leads to the discovery that Molly has a fatal brain tumor: thereafter, the story alternates between Tom's account of the year before her death, when they climbed together in France and the High Tatra mountains of Czechoslovakia, and Molly's journals, which reveal much that Tom never knew of her life, including a dark secret concerning Stefan, a fellow climber who once saved Tom's life. The story is a tribute to selfless love and the bonds of friendship forged in the extremes of high mountains. "Not only a book for climbers, it is a book for everybody," says Zoltan Demjan, the first Slovak mountaineer to reach the summit of Mount Everest. "Soulful and transformative, it is a journey to our inner world, to find our inner voice."

Merritt Donigan is a graduate of the Iowa Writers' Workshop and the author of five previous novels,

among them *One Easy Piece* (Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1981) and *My Sister's Keeper* (Putnam, 1983). He and his FSO wife Holly have lived for most of the last 13 years outside the U.S., presently in Berlin.



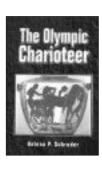
#### Selected Poems, 2001-2004

Robert W. Proctor, The Mesilla Valley Press, 2004, \$5.00, paperback, 28 pages.

Asked what inspires him to write, author Robert Proctor says: "Inspiration for me comes from feelings that won't permit rest

unless I try to put into words my views on what is bright and dark, resolved and disjointed, peaceful and violent in the nature of humankind. This is said in the context of a universe I perceive as both incredibly beautiful and uncompromisingly harsh, and with a belief that man himself is the primary source of all his delights and woes." This vision and inspiration is reflected in this collection, both in its 16 poems and in the author's award-winning photograph of a dramatic storm-cloud formation that graces the book's cover.

Robert W. Proctor is a retired FSO who served in Asia, Africa and the Middle East. Originally from Santa Fe, he and his India-born wife now live in La Lux, N.M. His writings have been published in a number of journals, including *Border Senses*, *The Inkspot* and *Sparrow Forum*, as well as the *Foreign Service Journal*. To purchase this book, write to Mesilla Valley Press, P.O. Box 847, Las Cruces NM 88004-0847.



#### The Olympic Charioteer

Helena Schrader, iUniverse, 2005, \$22.95, paperback, 416 pages.

This historical novel tells the story of a slave and a charioteer in ancient Greece. Antyllus of Tegea, a landowner of power and wealth, is devastated by his son's death

defending Tegea against Sparta. Philip, the abused quarry slave Antyllus purchases out of spontaneous pity, has an uncanny affinity for horses. Now Tegea's fortunes are on the rise, but Antyllus can find pleasure in nothing. He worries, moreover, that the city's victo-

ry over Sparta is being used by certain radicals to undermine the democratic constitution, for the man who won the decisive victory is a demagogue. While Tegea slips into tyranny, Antyllus turns his back on politics and focuses his hopes and dreams on an Olympic victory.

Through an engaging story, with predominantly fictional characters, *The Olympic Charioteer* provides the modern reader with insights into ancient Greek society and, in particular, challenges many clichés about Sparta. The book describes the events that led to the establishment of the first non-aggression pact in recorded history: the mutual defense treaty between Sparta and Tegea was the prototype for a series of treaties resulting in formation of the Peloponnesian League.

Helena P. Schrader joined the Foreign Service in June, and is currently in language training in preparation for her first assignment as vice consul in Oslo. Previously, she spent 20 years working in Berlin, where she lived with her German-born husband. Her interest in ancient Greece was sparked by a holiday trip to the Mediterranean. She is the author of a German-language biography of a member of the German Resistance to Hitler, *General Friedrich Olbricht: Ein Man des 20. Julis* (Bouvier Verlag, Bonn, 1993). Her book comparing the experience of women pilots in the U.S. and U.K. during World War II, *Sisters in Arms*, is due out from Pen & Sword Books of the U.K. in 2006. She is now working on a book on the Berlin Airlift for release at the 60th anniversary of that event in 2008.



#### **Star Over Chingat**

Will Sutter, PublishAmerica, 2004, \$19.95, paperback, 205 pages.

A top-secret Russian military satellite is about to fall to earth and scatter itself across the northern desert of Naurlandia, in the African Sahel. Secretary of State Malcolm Trowbridge, an unreconstructed

Cold Warrior, intends to recover a sensitive decoder from the satellite debris as part of his ongoing turf battle with the CIA and to discomfit the Russian bear. Foreign Service officer Paul Scarborough, detailed from the State Department's special ops section, quickly finds himself on his way to Naurlandia. His mission:



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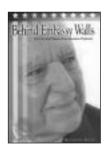
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take possession of the decoder with the help of a disaffected high-ranking member of the Naurlandian government. Soviet embassy security operatives, sandstorms, U.S. bureaucratic turf battles, treacherous desert tribal politics, paid assassins and the machinations of the ambitious U.S. ambassador all stand between Paul and the decoder.

Will Sutter is a retired FSO. During a career of more than 20 years he served as press and cultural attaché in Bangkok, Vientiane, Moscow and Nouakchott, and also lived for several years in Rome and Vienna. He now lives in Frederick, Md., and, since retirement, has devoted himself to writing. This is his first published novel.

#### MEMOIRS OF FOREIGN SERVICE LIFE



## Behind Embassy Walls: The Life and Times of an American Diplomat

Brandon Grove, University of Missouri Press, 2005, \$34.95, hardcover, 328 pages.

"When American foreign policy is working well, you'll find a few top-quality diplomats like Brandon

Grove employed in the nation's service. *Behind Embassy Walls* explains why. Here are the sights and sounds, the clashes of ideas and egos, in a fascinating Foreign Service career vividly depicted." This is what former Secretary of State George P. Shultz says about Brandon Grove's memoirs.

Over a distinguished 35-year career, Grove played a role in key events of the Cold War era. He opened the first U.S. embassy in East Germany in 1974, served as consul general in Jerusalem in the early 1980s during the war in Lebanon and was ambassador to Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo) during three years of Mobutu Sese Seko's infamous reign. Woven into the narrative are observations about the impact of McCarthyism, the relative advantages of career versus political appointees to ambassadorships; the training of ambassadors; lawyers as diplomats; CIA stations at U.S. embassies; and crisis management in Washington, notably the interagency task force he led in 1992 for the relief of the humanitarian crisis in Somalia.

Brandon Grove is a career ambassador who served nine American presidents and 12 Secretaries of State. Today he lives and works in Washington, D.C. *Behind Embassy Walls* is an ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy Book, and has been nominated for the American Academy of Diplomacy's 2005 Book Award.



## Coming of Age in Arabia: A Memoir of Aden before the Terror

Tom Henighan, Penumbra Press, 2004, \$29.95, hardcover, 243 pages.

Tom Henighan went to Aden in 1957 as vice consul, his first posting as a newly-minted Foreign Service officer. His memoir of the follow-

ing two years, engaging and laced with ironical observation, will not only entertain, but will sharpen the reader's sense of how far western policy has to go before it can "come of age" in Arabia.

The core of the book is a lively mix of stories, some arising from the author's professional duties and some from his personal relationships. But as his account proceeds, Henighan gradually recognizes in his earlier observations of that seemingly placid world of long ago, callow and naïve though they may have been, symptoms of the disorder and violence that have characterized much of the history of the region in the four decades since.

Currently professor emeritus of English at Carleton University in Ottawa, Tom Henighan is the author of three books on Canadian arts and culture that are required reading in various university courses, three published novels, two collections of short stories and a volume of poetry.



## A Bed of Roses: An American Woman's Memoirs of Turkey

Anna Maria Malkoç, eBookstand Books, 2005, \$24.95, paperback, 274 pages.

In 1952, Anna Maria Jones asks her husband Selahattin Malkoç what life is really like in Turkey, his

homeland, where he — with his young wife and baby Continued on page 46

## OF RELATED INTEREST



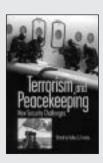
## **Accidental Encounters** with History (And Some **Lessons Learned)**

Lincoln Palmer Bloomfield, Hot House Press, 2005, \$26.00, hardcover, 222 pages.

"A scholar, practitioner and former colleague, Bloomfield makes it quite clear that he has a responsi-

bility to educate. He does so brilliantly in this wellwritten account of his various encounters with history. His personal description of major events shaping the last half of the 20th century adds vivid details and thoughtful interpretations," says former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright.

Bloomfield served in the U.S. Navy, the State Department and as director of global issues for the National Security Council. As a political science professor at MIT, he directed the Institute's arms control project and pioneered the development of political gaming.



## **Terrorism and Peacekeeping: New Security Challenges**

Volker C. Franke, ed., Praeger, 2005, \$24.95, paperback, 294 pages.

Today, U.S. forces are increasingly charged with asymmetric warfare and fighting terrorism or with humanitarian relief and peacekeep-

ing missions, challenges that defy predetermined responses based on the rigid and automated containment strategies utilized during the Cold War. The case studies presented in this book are valuable tools to stimulate the type of creative thinking, new ideas and adaptable strategies needed to ensure stability in this new world. Volker C. Franke is assistant professor of political science and international studies at McDaniel College in Westminster, Md.

#### Mission Italy: On the Front Lines of the Cold War

Richard N. Gardner, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005, \$29.95, hardcover, 320 pages.

Richard Gardner's four years as ambassador to Italy (1977-1981) witnessed the kidnapping and murder of Aldo Moro, the failed attempt of the Italian Communist Party to take power, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and seizure of American hostages in Tehran, as well as Italy's historic decision to deploy U.S. cruise missiles. "A scrupulously honest and thoroughly documented narrative of a critical episode in the history of the Cold War ... [that] can serve as a guidebook for students of diplomacy and aspiring diplomats," says Zbigniew Brzezinski, former national security adviser, who wrote the foreword.

Mission Italy has been nominated for the American Academy of Diplomacy's 2005 Book Award.

## The Opportunity: America's Moment to Alter History's Course

Richard N. Haass, PublicAffairs, 2005, \$16.50, hardcover, 242 pages.

Here, in what The New York Times calls "the groundwork for a counterrevolution," is a statement of the "realist" point of view on the post-Cold War world from the president of the Council on Foreign Relations. Haass, a former head of the State Department's policy planning staff, argues that the U.S. now has great opportunities to integrate itself politically with the rest of the world, and that if that integration does not happen, "the principal challenges of this era ... will come to overwhelm the United States." Says Publisher's Weekly, "Coming as they do from a carefully calibrated source, those are sobering words."

The Opportunity has been nominated for the American Academy of Diplomacy's 2005 Book Award.



## Organizing U.S. Foreign Aid: Confronting the Challenges of the Twenty-first Century

Carol Lancaster and Ann Van Duesen, Brookings Institution Press, 2005, \$16.95, paperback, 78 pages.

While the amount of foreign assistance has increased in recent years, the way it is organized and delivered by the government has become increasingly fragmented and chaotic. The result is a crisis of inefficiency in the use of this important foreign policy tool. Here, two experts provide some keen observations and offer guidance on the critical choices facing American policy-makers, drawing on, among other things, insights into how other donor governments have dealt with these challenges.

## Grasping the Nettle:

## **Analyzing Cases of Intractable Conflict**

Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall, eds., United States Institute of Peace Press, 2005, \$22.50, paperback, 432 pages.

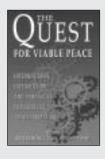
The world is still troubled by a group of conflicts — from Kashmir to Colombia, the Korean Peninsula and the Middle East — that seem destined to never end. Surprisingly, aside from the apparent futility of mediation, they offer many lessons. The case studies examined in this book give us insights into the sources of intractability and such facets of mediation and conflict management as how to gain leverage, when to engage and disengage, how to balance competing goals, and whom to enlist to play supporting roles. Chester A. Crocker, a former assistant secretary of State for African affairs, is the James R. Schlesinger Professor of Strategic Studies at Georgetown University.



## Does Foreign Direct Investment Promote Development?

Theodore H. Moran, Edward M. Graham and Magnus Blomström, eds., Center for Global Development, 2005, \$19.77, paperback, 411 pages.

What is the impact of foreign direct investment on development? The answer is crucial for policy-makers in developing and developed countries, and central to the debate about globalization. Here is a collection of essays reflecting the cutting edge of research on FDI and host-country economic performance. Editor Theodore H. Moran holds the Marcus Wallenberg Chair at the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, and is founder and director of the Landegger Program in International Business Diplomacy.



## The Quest for Viable Peace: International Intervention and Strategies for Conflict Transformation

Leonard R. Hawley, Jock Covey and Michael J. Dziedzic, eds., United States Institute of Peace Press, 2005, \$22.50, paperback, 302 pages.

An exploration of the nationbuilding process with international operations in Kosovo as the point of reference, *The Quest for Viable Peace* offers valuable guidelines for the conduct of such operations in the future. "Presenting an excellent set of essential strategies for building durable peace by means of intervention, this volume is a prodigious, extremely high-quality, valuable work," says retired FSO and former ambassador Robert B. Oakley. Leonard R. Hawley was a deputy assistant secretary of State during the Clinton administration.

Continued on page 44

#### OF RELATED INTEREST



## Working for Change: Making a Career in **International Public Service**

Derick W. and Jennifer M. Brinkerhoff, Kumarian Press, Inc., 2005, \$23.95, paperback, 222 pages.

"Working for Change provides excellent guidance on how to go

about pursuing a career in a highly competitive field," says Julius E. Coles, president of Africare. The authors offer practical and inspiring guidance on finding the right mix of public service objectives, degree programs, job opportunities and personal lifestyle choices. An ideal resource for anyone considering work in international public service and mid-career professionals looking for a change in direction. Derick and Jennifer Brinkerhoff have been there, done that themselves.



### The New American Expat: Thriving and Surviving Overseas in the Post-9/11 World

William Russell Melton, Intercultural Press, 2005, \$24.95, paperback, 221 pages.

"The New American Expat offers much more than a narrow look at the post-9/11 expatriate environ-

ment. Melton provides an excellent overview of expatriate needs, ideal for someone heading off on his or her first assignment, as well as numerous checklists and resources that would be helpful to even the most seasoned expat." So says Tara Nielsen, director of worldwide services for GMAC Global Relocation Services, about this new addition to expat literature.

William Russell Melton has lived and worked overseas for 25 years.

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## In the Shadows of History: Fifty Years Behind the Scenes of Cold War Diplomacy

Chester L. Cooper, Prometheus Books, 2005, \$28.00, hardcover, 357 pages.

Over a career spanning five decades, Chester L. Cooper served in the White House, State Depart-

ment and CIA, often as a deputy to such high-profile statesmen as John Foster Dulles and Averell Harriman. He was near the center of power during many of the crises of our nation's recent history. This lively memoir takes us behind the scenes to see for ourselves how policy is made and offers unique insights into the personalities of many now-historic individuals.



### Journey to Become a Diplomat

George Cunningham, FPA Global Vision Books, Foreign Policy Association, 2005, \$19.95, paperback, 214 pages.

A successful diplomat who has served with the United Nations and the European Union, Briton George Cunningham began his journey to a

career in world affairs with a trek the length of Africa. This compelling story of his voyage of discovery and subsequent career path in Europe and the U.S. offers inspiration and valuable guidance to all who seek that precious goal: becoming a diplomat. The author is an honorary fellow of the Foreign Policy Association, and currently serves as counselor at the European Commission Representation in Nicosia.



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#### Continued from page 41

daughter — is returning to work as a petroleum engineer, he pauses thoughtfully, and then says, "Where we're going, I think life is not a bed of roses." This compilation from the author's letters and journals from 1952 through 1965 — when, two years after her husband's tragic death in a car accident, she and their children return to the U.S. — recounts the exciting but often difficult process of adjustment to life in Turkey. The book reflects her growing understanding and appreciation of the family and culture into which she married, and is a tribute to the country she came to love.

Anna Maria Malkoç served as an English teaching officer in USIA, with postings in Turkey, Poland and Washington, D.C. She retired in 1990 after a 15-year career.

## The Time of My Life: A Personal Look at the Twentieth Century

Hawthorne Mills, Xlibris, 2005 (revised edition), \$24.99, paperback, 424 pages.

In this memoir, a Foreign Service officer and international peacekeeping official reflects on a career spanning the years of the Cold War — from 1945, as a young sailor in the Pacific, through 1990, when he was responsible for helping enforce the security provisions of the Egypt-Israel peace treaty. Mills records his impressions of the era's key political and security conflicts, including Vietnam, Iran, Afghanistan and Israel.

"Writing a book is a little like designing an airplane," says Mills. "You have to know what purpose it is to serve before you can get the design right." In this book, he seeks to balance two objectives: to preserve a record of the events of his life for his children and grandchildren, and to record his own impressions of the era in which he was a participant-observer in so many pivotal events. The result is certainly flight-worthy. Mills' observations about the international scene from the start of the Cold War to the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the bipolar world will be

#### Five and Ten Press: An Iconoclastic Institution

o you have something original to say that is being ignored or rejected by the media and mainstream publishers? Talk to retired FSO and former ambassador Robert Keeley, founder of Five and Ten Press in Washington, D.C., (http://fiveandtenpress.com). Ambassador Keeley, whose business card identifies his profession as "Consulting Iconoclast," established this small, independent publishing company in 1995 for the purpose of bringing out original articles, essays and other short works of fiction and non-fiction that have been rejected or ignored by mainstream outlets. The name comes from the intention to price the products of the press at between five and 10 dollars a copy.



"There were to be no restrictions as to genre: historical, personal, polemical, humorous, serious, fictional, factual or, a category I particularly like, factual fiction," Keeley explains in the introduction to Five and Ten Press, and its imprint Black Sheep

Books, on the Web site. "I was eager to find other writers who were interested in self-publishing their own work in the same manner, using my new press as the vehicle."

One of the latest writers to seek out Five and Ten Press is John V. Whitbeck, an American international lawyer whose The World According to Whitbeck was added to the Black Sheep list in April 2005. The book is a collection of 20 essays



about the Middle East, focused primarily on the Israel-Palestine conflict, that present the author's imaginative solutions to this problem. Another 2005 offering, An American Soldier in World War I by retired FSO Robert Sherwood Dillon, is listed on p. 30.

Five and Ten's main criteria for publication are wit (if possible a lot), originality and readability. All of the books are published in limit-

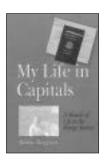
ed first editions of from 300 to 600 copies, in a  $5^{\circ}$  x  $8^{\circ}$  format that makes them convenient to carry in a coat pocket or purse. They rarely exceed 100 pages, so are not heavy to read in bed.

Since late 1996, Five and Ten has been selling its publications on a subscription basis (though it is not necessary to subscribe to purchase the books), and also through the Internet. The Press currently has more than 200 subscribers, a list of 24 titles and nearly breaks even.

Amb. Keeley retired in 1989 with the rank of career minister after a 34-year career in the Foreign Service. He served three times as ambassador: to Greece (1985-1989), Zimbabwe (1980-1984) and Mauritius (1976-1978).

of interest to the general reader. Candid and trenchant, and sometimes at odds with conventional wisdom, this book is never boring.

Hawthorne Mills retired from the Foreign Service in 1985. He and his wife Diana live on a sheep farm in New Zealand.



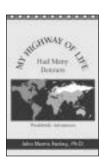
## My Life in Capitals: A Memoir of Life in the Foreign Service

Bobbie Bergesen, Hellgate Press, 2004, \$16.95, paperback, 191 pages.

The title says it all. Born in Vienna, the daughter of a U.S. diplomat, the author grew up in several

different countries and, following graduation from college, married a Foreign Service officer. Bobbie Bergesen has truly lived her whole life in capitals. Written in an unassuming style with verve and directness, her memoir is an account of her travels and experiences in Port-au-Prince, Phnom Penh, Lisbon, Rangoon, Budapest and Bangkok. The format is, as she explains in the first chapter, a natural one: "I explain where in the world — literally —I happen to be, followed by the story, article or poem I wrote, either at the time or later."

Bobbie Bergesen worked briefly in the Office of Strategic Services and in the State Department before marrying Foreign Service officer Alf Bergesen in 1951. She accompanied her husband to a variety of diplomatic posts, primarily in Europe and Asia, until he retired in 1984. After his death in 1995, she remarried and currently lives in Florida. Although this is Bergesen's first book, her writing has been published before. Many of the stories in *My Life in Capitals* appeared first as articles in publications such as *Florida Today*, *The Georgia Journal*, *Great Expeditions* and *American Diplomacy*.



## My Highway of Life Had Many Detours: Worldwide Adventures

John Morris Fenley, Xlibris, 2005, \$18.69, paperback, 261 pages.

This memoir is a collection of 84 stories depicting episodes and experiences in a life lived in many parts

of the U.S. and around the world. Full of lively detail, the stories often provide humorous insight into life and diplomacy; the stories on ants encountered in Africa and one titled "Is a Peanut Butter and Jelly Sandwich a Cross-cultural Affair?" are exemplary. Not simply an exercise in recollection, however, the author has written to set the record straight for his own conscience. Accordingly, each story is accompanied by a reflective afterthought. The book is well-organized, with the stories grouped in four parts: youth, Nevada, Africa and in-between.

After teaching at Cornell University, John Morris Fenley joined USAID in 1961. He spent the next 16 years in Africa, first with USAID and then with the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization, helping underdeveloped countries to start or improve agricultural extension services for their farmers.



#### A Simpler Time: Stories from a Vanished Era

Eric V. Youngquist, Voyageur Publishing Co., 2005, \$22.50, hardcover, 355 pages.

A Simpler Time presents a warm, nostalgic view of life in the urban American Midwest of the 1930s and 1940s. Though the Great De-

pression caused dislocation and hardship to many families, it was also a time when children had glorious free time, without constant supervision by adults, and when that time was usually spent outdoors. The story's setting is Dearborn, Mich., "Ford's Town," where the author, of Swedish immigrant stock, grew up. As we follow his life from youth to military service and graduation from college, we come to appreciate the vast gap that separates that simpler way of life from the frenetic ethos of 21st-century urban America.

Eric Youngquist joined the Foreign Service in 1954 and served in consular affairs for 12 years, with postings in Thailand, Finland and Washington, D.C. He resigned in 1967 to embark on a career in corporate law. He is the author (under the pseudonym Gilbert D. Visconti) of a suspense novel, *The Joint Venture* (Voyageur Publishing Co., 2003).

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# MORE CEREMONY, More History, More Thanks

THOSE OF US IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE NEED TO DO A BETTER JOB OF FORMALLY ACKNOWLEDGING OUR DEBT TO MENTORS AND COLLEAGUES.

By MARC GROSSMAN

I find myself wishing the

Foreign Service had a

greater appreciation for the

importance of ceremony.

am at that point in life where I go to more funerals and memorial services than weddings and bar mitzvahs. As I get ready to go to each of these sad events, I feel uneasy. Will I say the right thing to the family? Will it be hard to see the older genera-

tion looking frailer?

When the gathering is over, I leave grateful that the family wanted a ceremony, and glad that I had a chance to acknowledge my debt to predecessors. But I also find myself wishing that the Foreign Service showed a greater appreciation for the importance of ceremony (an area where our military colleagues have much to teach us).

This past June 18, I attended a memorial service for Ambassador Morris Draper, who was my first boss in the Foreign Service. (For an obituary, see p. 70.) I recall sim-

Marc Grossman, who reached the rank of career ambassador, retired from the Foreign Service earlier this year. His last assignment was as under secretary of State for political affairs. He is now vice chairman of The Cohen Group, a consulting firm.

ilar events for Ambassadors Roy Atherton, Peter Constable, David Ransom and Arthur Hummel and Under Secretary Joseph Sisco. Each of those gatherings reinforced my belief that we need to work harder to bring more history, more ceremony and more acknowledge-

ment of our debts to mentors and friends into the regular life of the Foreign Service.

We are doing better. is still more to do.

Diplomatic Security Color Guard opens important events at the department. State's senior leadership swears in new employees and presides over more meaningful retirement ceremonies. But there

• We go to great lengths to make sure that a departing ambassador and an arriving ambassador are not in their country of assignment at the same time. Why? Let's adopt a version of the military's change-of-command ceremony. Let the outgoing and incoming chiefs of mission stand together in front of their "troops." Let them acknowledge the past and look forward to the future as the flag passes in front of everyone to recognize the importance of the event.

• Let's take each A-100 class to the Foreign Service

section of Rock Creek Cemetery, or to Arlington National Cemetery, where some Foreign Service members are also buried, to recognize that we stand on the shoulders of others. While there, the new entrants could hear a presentation on what some of these departed colleagues accomplished for our country.

- The Bureau of Human Resources could list the accomplishments of those honored at the State Department's retirement ceremonies so that people could leave that event with a booklet which recorded some of the contributions their service made to the United States.
- The Historian's Office could send a note to those leaders taking on new assignments describing the people who served in those positions before them. This might encourage them to seek out a predecessor for advice and emphasize the chain of

A Foreign Service career is like being in a relay race. We are given the baton by those who came before us. We then pass it to the next generation.

American diplomacy.

• The Director General's office, working with the Historian's Office, could offer to provide photographs or news clippings at memorial services

for Foreign Service decedents to supplement family photographs and memorabilia and honor service to country.

• Regional assistant secretaries should keep an eye out for memorial services of those who had served in their region and then send someone to represent the bureau at the service. The person assigned this important task might not even know the person being honored, but that is not the point. The job is a different one: to acknowledge the debt to those who went before.

A Foreign Service career is like being in a relay race. We are given the baton by those who came before us and we hold it for our time of service. We then pass it to the next generation. It is the moments when the baton is passed that we need to do more to remember, to acknowledge and to celebrate.

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# LEARNING FROM DAYTON

A DECADE AFTER ITS SIGNING, THE DAYTON PEACE AGREEMENT STILL OFFERS VALUABLE LESSONS ABOUT HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION, PEACEKEEPING AND POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION.

### By Theodore Tanoue

he 20th century began and ended with wars in the Balkans. The First World War started with the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo, and at century's end the dissolution of the Yugoslav republic made Bosnia and Kosovo

synonymous with brutal ethnic wars and crimes against humanity. Then-Secretary of State Warren Christopher described the 1992-95 Bosnian War as "a problem from hell." It produced acts of genocide and war crimes on a scale unprecedented in Europe since World War II, accounting for nearly two million refugees and internally displaced persons. A series of failed peace plans underscored the impotence of the international community and dashed hopes that the end of the Cold War could empower the United Nations as a force for collective security and humanitarian intervention. It also proved a false dawn for those eager to declare that the "hour of Europe" as a force for regional security had arrived.

Ten years ago this month, the Dayton accords finally brought that bloody conflict to an end, constituting a signal achievement for U.S. diplomacy. The agreement was the product of a marathon three-week negotiating session led by

Theodore Tanoue has been a Foreign Service officer since 1982. He served in Sarajevo as political counselor from 2002 to 2004, and recently completed a year as State Department Fellow at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, where he drafted this article. His previous overseas postings include assignments in Munich, Rome, Taipei, Osaka and Manila.

U.S. Special Envoy Richard Holbrooke and held under quarantined conditions at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Dayton, Ohio. Initialed at Dayton on Nov. 21, 1995, and signed in Paris on Dec. 14, 1995, by representatives of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Dayton Peace Agreement created a loosely unified Bosnian state comprised of the Croat-Bosniak Federation and the Republika Srpska. It also set the stage for a massive military and civilian intervention that continues today. This anniversary is a good time to look back at a decade's worth of lessons about humanitarian intervention, peacekeeping and post-conflict reconstruction, and to contemplate the steps needed to ensure that peace continues to take root in this troubled region.

Dayton was a success story, but also a work in progress. The Dayton blueprint had significant deficits in the reconstruction pillars of security, justice and reconciliation, and in ensuring social and economic well-being. Yet as the international community's interpretation of the accords evolved, implementers assumed more robust powers and expanded the original agreement's terms to strengthen the Bosnian state's stability. The result has been a decade of peace, the return of over a million displaced persons, and a growing commitment by all ethnic groups to rejoin international society through the creation of a multi-ethnic state at peace with its neighbors.

Some observers might be tempted to ask whether the Bosnian experience still matters. Beyond the country's proximity to Western Europe, there are several other reasons to pay close attention to its prospects:

• Bosnia's porous borders, abundance of loose weapons

and reservoir of ethnic tensions — as well as the continued presence of wartime mujahedeen and jihadist groups with links to al-Qaida and other extremist organizations — all make it an attractive base for terrorist activity.

- A key lesson of 9/11 is that failed states matter, since they serve as host and vector not only for terrorist groups, but also for organized crime rings, drug traffickers and other non-state actors that threaten regional security.
- Until Iraq, Bosnia was the largest post-Cold War military intervention of the United States and our most ambitious, complex peacekeeping and nationbuilding project.
- Future interventions will also require an integrated approach to post-conflict reconstruction analogous to what eventually evolved in Bosnia. That will entail coordinating the various civilian and military agendas within the U.S. government, as well as those of the many international players involved. And such efforts will also require that America develop a civilian reconstruction and stabilization capacity that is the match of our military prowess.

For all these reasons, we need to learn both from the failures and successes of Bosnia — in order to avoid past mistakes and to build on the best practices in the future.

#### **Some Key Lessons**

Haste makes waste. The Bosnian experience underscores the fact that peacemaking is a slow process that requires patience on the part of policy-makers. In particular, it highlights the growing — and troubling — disconnect between the duration of the warfighting phase and the length of the stabilization and reconstruction phase in modern peacekeeping operations. While modern wars can frequently be measured in days and weeks, peace implementation and postwar reconstruction will always be a task that requires a sustained

The Dayton blueprint succeeded despite significant deficits in the areas of security, justice and reconciliation, and social and economic well-being.

engagement measured in years, if not decades.

This was particularly true because initial implementation efforts were slow to create a self-sustaining state and to bring about the conditions to allow the international community to end its massive involvement in almost every aspect of Bosnian political and economic life. In short, Dayton stopped the fighting, but left the country divided between two antagonistic entities, with a weak central authority ill-equipped to provide basic governance or to meet other postwar challenges.

Nothing happens without security. The military implementation underscores the importance of deploying from the outset with an overwhelming force capable of creating a security environment that permits civilian reconstruction efforts to proceed with a robust mandate capable of compelling cooperation from all parties.

NATO's initial efforts were undercut by a "mission creep" phobia (a misapplication of the lessons learned in Somalia) and a bias against expanding the roles and missions of military peacekeepers. The NATO-led Implementation Force missed its chance to detain major war criminals in the immediate postwar period, allowing them to develop the underground political and financial networks that have helped them elude capture ever since. Arbitrary deadlines for the duration for IFOR and successor Stabilization Force missions also tempted local spoilers to hunker down and wait out the departure of the foreign presence rather than cooperate in implementing the peace. So one important lesson of Bosnia is that it is better to focus on an acceptable end-state than an end-date.

Protect local infrastructure and vulnerable populations. Peacekeepers also initially did not extend their "safe and secure" mandate to cover refugees and internally displaced persons who sought to reclaim their prewar homes, allowing ethnic paramilitaries to conduct campaigns to intimidate and terrorize returnees. In the immediate aftermath of Dayton, IFOR did not intervene to prevent Bosnian Serb hardliners from destroying housing stock and infrastructure when they withdrew to the Serb side of the inter-entity boundary line. The price of inaction was high, in material reconstruction costs, lost credibility and lost time.

But the military can't do everything. Successful peace implementation requires military forces and civilians to work in tandem. In the security arena, for example, civilian policing complements, rather than replaces, the need for a military peacekeeping presence. International and local police forces alone do not have the firepower to deal with insurgents, paramilitaries and other armed groups, but they play an essential role in restoring stability and the rule of law. In Bosnia, the deployment of the U.N.'s International Police Task Force helped immediately to raise local police standards, served as a deterrent to ethnic hate groups and organized crime, and provided reassurance for minority returns in many front-line areas. A corollary to this lesson is that if we want others to underwrite a major share of postwar reconstruction costs — as we succeeded in doing in Bosnia — we must be willing to cede some decision-making authority to others.

Start with an implementation plan that gets the sequence and priorities right. Unless all components of a broken system are fixed, repairing isolated parts does little good. The Bosnian experience was characterized by a myriad of U.S. agencies, international organizations and assistance agencies, bilateral players, NGOs and other entities, all operating without a single shared vision of the end-state and end-institutions that we were building toward. Without overall coordination, lack of progress in one area frequently became a drag on others. For example, the absence of the rule of law and the lack of judicial reforms hampered economic growth and security. The vetting, training and recertification of police forces occurred without corresponding reforms in the prosecutorial and judicial system. Getting the sequence and priorities right is helped by having a detailed plan that identifies priorities, aligns objectives with budgets, establishes meaningful metrics for progress, and sets the stage for an exit strategy.

Too much assistance can hinder, not help, reform. The boom-bust dynamic of postwar assistance flows was also problematic. Money was wasted because of Bosnia's limited absorptive capacity. Some assistance shielded dysfunctional communistera economic institutions and practices from market forces. Other assistance was looted by corrupt officials. Only after the rule of law is established and the business environment put on a sound footing should the spigots be turned on for economic development initiatives.

Create a coalition of the compe-

While modern wars can frequently be measured in days and weeks, peace implementation and postwar reconstruction require years, if not decades.

tent, not just the willing. Just as too much assistance at the wrong time can be counterproductive, the wrong mix of implementers can hinder progress. While soldiers, diplomats, international civil servants and other generalists are important, it is critical to enlist teams and individuals with specific competencies, including central bankers, financial examiners and forensic auditors, legal experts, prosecutors, engineers and specialists who can focus on key industrial and public sectors such as power generation, transportation, and rehabilitation and privatization of state-owned enterprises. They will provide the best possible on-the-ground situational awareness of the economic and social environment available, and can help get the information base right from the beginning. These experts need to be assigned on a long-term basis, working alongside local staff to facilitate capacity-building. They must begin the process of handing over responsibilities to local staff at an early stage.

Don't fight the learning curve. A related problem in Bosnia was rapid staff turnover and the concomitant loss of institutional knowledge, resulting in reforms moving on a stop-andgo basis. One exception was the Bosnian Central Bank, led from the start by expatriate staff working alongside local experts. As one banker there told me, "The first year was hell, the second year was purgatory, and then it got better." Constantly cycling new personnel through an intervention means that the international community will be condemned to the eternal purgatory of the bottom of the learning curve.

Avoid enshrining special ethnic rights. As in Iraq and Afghanistan, the reconstruction effort in Bosnia had to traverse a minefield of competing ethnic interests. A side effect of the compromises necessary to get to Dayton was favoring ethnic community rights over individual rights. These included quotas on government positions, a tripartite presidency, upper houses of parliament based on ethnicity, and other institutions that conferred special status on the three "constitutent peoples" of Bosnia. This has given ethnic groups the institutional levers to block progress and has imparted a zero-sum ethnic dynamic to almost every major political issue. Perhaps a better approach might have been to create a civil system and constitutional guarantees that emphasized individual rights, and which were consonant from the outset with international human rights norms.

Harness local aspirations to join international society and apply objective international standards. Eight years after Dayton, the international community fixed what Ambassador Holbrooke acknowledged was the agreement's greatest failure: the lack of central command and control over Bosnia's rival entity militaries. These reforms were launched in the wake of the "Orao" (Eagle) scandal in 2002, which revealed that Bosnian Serb officials had engaged in illegal arms deals with Saddam Hussein's regime. The international communi-



ty responded with the judicious application of sticks and carrots. These included the ouster of the Serb Republic's defense minister and the departure of the Serb member of the Bosnian presidential triumvirate, coupled with offers to begin a collaborative effort to create a smaller, more affordable military under central command and control.

The effort harnessed Bosnia's aspirations for joining NATO's Partnership for Peace with NATO's standards for defense reform. In contrast to eight previous years of cosmetic tinkering, defense reform succeeded in 2002-2003 because all sides acknowledged that this was not an exercise in dumbing things down to a lowest common denominator but, rather, of rising to a bar set by NATO. By offering the implicit security guarantee of possible future membership in NATO, defense reform also gave Bosnians the reassurance that the impending departure of Stability Force peacekeepers did not necessarily mean abandonment by Western Europe and the United States.

## Dump-and-Run vs. **Plug-and-Play**

The final step in the process is to create a viable exit strategy — a chapter which is still being written for Bosnia-Herzegovina. Past interventions in Haiti and East Timor suggest that this is where interventions tend to falter, often because the exit stage so frequently becomes the abandonment stage. The peace implementation stage and the exit stage require completely different tools and paradigms. Exit does not equal abandonment, but rather a type of engagement that is different from, but no less important than, the intervention phase. The tools required are mirror images of each other, with intervention calling for robust "hard" powers of imposition and the exit stage emphasizing "soft" powers of attraction to create a sense of local ownership and responsibility.

The objective should be to move through the intervention stage as quickly as possible, before it plants the seeds of future problems. Benevolent dictatorships — even wellmeaning international organizations — are frequently unable to respond to political market signals. Bosnia, the continued international presence risks perpetuating a dependency culture and instilling a warped political culture with nationalism as its default setting. The local electorate looks to the "internationals" to deliver reforms and to nationalist parties to protect their ethnic interests. This division of responsibilities allows nationalists to enjoy incumbency without accountability, and international civil servants to occupy the political space that should be assumed by homegrown, multi-ethnic reform-oriented par-

Bosnia is fortunate in that it has a natural home in Europe. With that in mind, we need to recalibrate our reconstruction paradigm from merely "fixing things" and then departing to focusing on ways to reintegrate Bosnia back into the region and, eventually, with the rest of the world. Specifically, we should leverage Bosnian aspirations to play a meaningful role in international fora — the European Union, World Trade Organization, Interpol, the Egmont Group, the Venice Commission, the Community of Democracies and other groups — both to continue to shape and influence events in a positive direction in Bosnia from outside and to help ensure that reforms are not orphaned once the peacekeepers and civilian implementers depart. The objective should be to replace "bad" networks — organized crime, trafficking rings, arms smugglers, black markets and illicit militias with "good" ones that enmesh Bosnia within a web of economic, political, security, cultural and other links with the international community.

## **Looking Ahead to the Next Decade**

After 10 years, we are nearing the end of the Dayton era. What the international community has given Bosnia is something unimaginable during the bloody conflict and the chaotic aftermath: a second chance. In the context of potential membership in NATO, the E.U. and other international bodies, Bosnia's fractious ethnic groups have an opportunity to create a functioning state and a lasting peace.

It is also a second chance for an international community that proved so ineffectual initially in handling the breakup of Yugoslavia. We cannot put the pieces back together, but what we can do is to create a context within which the successor states can live as

Eight years later, the international community fixed the lack of central command and control over Bosnia's rival entity militaries.

normal states in a normal region. Toward that end, we need a new compact with Bosnia that hastens the end of Bosnia's political tutelage, and renews the promise of an open door to the E.U., NATO and other international institutions — provided it finally meets its international obligations by bringing to justice the major war criminals still at large.

Since the Dayton era began, debate over Bosnia issues has often involved only the various international players involved in peace implementation. This debate should be long over, and the architects need to let the rightful occupants take full ownership of their common home. Without active local participation and buy-in, the international community ultimately will achieve little that will last. Dealing with a normal, sovereign polity requires normal tools of engagement. To echo Ambassador Warren Zimmermann's description of prewar Yugoslavia, what the international community has created in Bosnia after a decade of high-intensity intervention is a state, but not yet a nation. In the final analysis, nationhood cannot be conferred by outsiders, but must be reclaimed by the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina themselves. ■

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# RESCUE AT URMIA

## IN AN OBSCURE CORNER OF PERSIA FOLLOWING WORLD WAR I, AN UNDERESTIMATED CONSUL BECAME AN UNLIKELY HERO.

## BY DAVID D. NEWSOM

n June 1919, Gordon Paddock, the United States consul in Tabriz, Persia (changed to Iran in 1935), received a stark message delivered by a messenger who, to get through Kurdish lines, had hidden the paper in the sole of his sandal: Kurds fought with Persians. "May 24. Kurds driven from city. Persians massacred 200 Christians in American mission yard and wounded 100 more. Many attempts on lives of Clarence Packard and Yacob, but both are safe. City mob looted all mission property and burned some. Secure immediate protection and help. Packard." In response, Paddock set out to save the missionaries and 600 of their Assyrian Christian followers, who were trapped in the Persian city of Urmia (also spelled Urumiah; later changed to Rezaiyeh). Letters from the missionaries and from Paddock in the

David D. Newsom, an FSO from 1947 to 1981, served as ambassador to Libya, Indonesia and the Philippines, as well as assistant secretary for African affairs, among many other assignments. From 1978 to 1981, he was under secretary of State for political affairs. He received AFSA's award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy in 2000. Ambassador Newsom was assisted in the preparation of this article by two other FSOs and their wives, who had heard NEA Assistant Secretary George Allen tell this story in the 1950s (somewhat embellished?): Harold and Sylvia Josif, and Fred and Winifred Hadsel. (Harold Josif was consul in Tabriz from 1957 to 1959.) In November 1962, the Foreign Service Journal published an account of the rescue by Edward M. Dodd, one of the missionaries involved.

National Archives and in the archives of the Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadelphia tell the story of the rescue, and of Paddock's subsequent problems with the State Department bureaucracy.

## "Deliberateness Instead of **Energy and Action**"

Gordon Paddock was an unlikely hero. Born in New York in 1865, he graduated from Princeton and Columbia Law School. After practicing law in New York for 10 years, he entered the United States Diplomatic Service in 1901.

On June 5, 1911, shortly after Paddock took up his consular duties in Tabriz, State Department inspector Alfred L.M. Gottschalk described him as "a gentleman, trained to the life of the idle rich in his youth. He has no money left now and is trying, late in life, to learn something of business." Knowing that background, the inspector sympathized all the more with Paddock's living conditions. "He has to live in a mud-walled village where there is practically no social life and where the only fellow countrymen that he meets are well meaning, but certainly not broad-minded, missionaries, where clean or well-trained servants are unattainable, and where the house he lives in is not weatherproof and therefore impossible to heat through the severe mountain-winter of Persia."

In addition, communications were poor and subject to misunderstanding, as when he reported his marriage on April 29, 1918, in Tabriz to Marie Josephine Irma Lefebvre, a French citizen. In a subsequent letter to the American minister in Tehran, he wrote: "I am entirely obliged to you for the trouble the legation has taken in telegraphing the Paris Embassy in reply to my sister, Mrs. Alexander's, inquiries. I believe a report of my marriage was changed to my 'murder,' a rather amusing mistake when played that way, but which would have been extremely unpleasant for me if it had happened the other way around."

Another despatch to Tehran, on July 27, 1918, illustrates the problems Paddock faced throughout his tenure in reconciling the demands of the Department of State with the realities of the region. "I regret extremely that it

Several years before the rescue,

a State Department inspector

had described Paddock as

possessing "deliberateness

instead of energy and action."

is quite impossible for me to comply at present with the request contained in your unnumbered instruction (File 300) of the 15th instant, to supply the legation with quadruple copies of my despatches. I have, after much searching in the shops here, been able to find but five pieces of carbon paper, of poor quality and at an absurd price (\$0.10) per sheet, and unfortunately, there remain but

two of these sheets, both of which are worn."

Notwithstanding such difficulties, Gottschalk was not impressed with Paddock's job performance. He reported that the consul had traits "usual in most of our American secretaries — a somewhat lofty idea of gentility; deliberateness instead of energy and action; and the acquired habit of self-effacement and tactful subordination." He concluded that Paddock's long absence from the U.S. and lack of consular experience "seem somewhat to militate against his usefulness in his present post."

One other comment from his report is particularly relevant, in light of later events: "Where he has shown less energy is in making no plans to visit Urmia (where we have an American colony, I am told)."

#### Caught in the Middle

Paddock probably expected to spend his time following the Persian carpet trade, issuing visas and promoting American exports, but it was another consular function that was to preoccupy him: protecting the interests of the American citizens in his district. Those were primarily Presbyterian missionaries, whose predecessors had been among the first Americans to establish a presence in Persia back in 1835. They settled in an area of villages inhabited by Armenian and Assyrian (Nestorian)

Christians in the province of Azerbaijan, a region of multilayered fear and conflict also inhabited by Shiite Azeris (the majority) and Sunni Kurds, all governed by a weak Persian regime.

The advent of World War I in 1914 aggravated the latent tensions of this ethnic mix: Turks, allied with Germany, invaded from the west, while Russian forces were already ensconced in the region with the consent of their allies, the British, causing the region's two principal cities, Tabriz and Urmia, to be repeatedly occupied and

evacuated over the next few

years. German propaganda during World War I emphasized the dual role of the Ottoman sultan as both the secular leader of Turkey and, as caliph, the religious leader among Muslims. For their part, Czarist Russians acted as defenders of the local Christians; the latter were, as a result, seen in the region as pro-Allied.

At the same time, strong fears of Turkey prevailed among the Armenians, many of whom had barely survived massacres in Turkey before fleeing to Persia. Similarly, the Assyrian Christians, with their own militia, the Jalus, saw threats from Turkey and their neighbors, the Kurds. The Sunni Muslim Kurds — like their fellow kinsmen in Iraq, Turkey and Syria — dreamed of an independent Kurdistan; they saw threats to their hopes from both Christians and other Muslims. Caught in the middle of this turmoil were the American missionaries, who — because the U.S. was a neutral power until 1917 operated hospitals and schools and provided relief.

The situation created dilemmas for the American missionaries, some of whom were conscientious objectors. When Dr. William Shedd was appointed honorary vice consul in Urmia, some of his colleagues objected — fearful, with some justification, that such close identification with the United States government would imperil them. Some even urged Shedd to move outside their compound, but he refused, though only a modest sign on the gate indicated his official status.

Another internal debate involved whether to respond to calls from the Assyrian fighters to provide them bread. The missionaries did so, but were well aware that such a move supported charges that they were supporting one faction in the conflict.

The disintegration of the Russian government following the Bolshevik Revolution removed the main safeguard on which the Christians in Persia relied. In early 1918, mobs entered the several mission compounds, driving nearly all the remaining Christians around Urmia, estimated at 70,000, south toward Hamadan and the British lines. Only about half made it. In June 1918, because of a Turkish advance on Tabriz, the American consulate and many members of the Allied community moved to Kazvin, where they remained from June 29 until Dec. 27, 1918. At the same time, famine conditions aggravated by the war created a desperate need for relief and an increasingly brutal competition for the limited supplies of money, food and medicine the missionaries were providing on behalf of an American charity, Near East Relief.

Tensions between the Kurds and the Christians flared up when the principal Kurdish chief in the region, Ismael Agha, known as Simko, killed the principal Assyrian leader, Mar Simon, who had come to see him on a peace mission. The Christians, seeking revenge, attacked the Kurds, and drove Agha from his stronghold. The Kurds, in turn, attacked Urmia, but were driven off by Persian troops. The Persian government, in its own effort to restrain the Kurds, sent a package bomb to Agha. He escaped injury, but his brother was killed. In response, Persian mobs, joined in some cases by soldiers, looted the Presbyterian mission compound in Urmia and attacked Christians.

Harry Packard, in an account written later, described what was happening when he sent his appeal to Paddock: "We found about 280 more Christians and had them brought, for small presents, to the governor's yard. Surgical dressings

Paddock probably expected to spend his time following the Persian carpet trade, issuing visas and promoting American exports — not rescuing missionaries.

were obtained and the wounded were all dressed and with a few instruments a number of operations were done in dingy rooms or in the governor's yard and many patients were seen and treated. Then, for the next 24 days, we were captives in that Muslim yard, hoping and praying for word from Tabriz and trying in every possible way to send out a report on our condition and appeal for help. " It was at this point that Packard appealed for help to Consul Paddock.

## Riding to the Rescue

Back in Tabriz, Paddock pondered how to respond. Urmia was, as the crow flies, 75 miles away on the other side of Lake Urmia (later known as Lake Rezaiyeh). route around the lake was more than 200 miles over bad roads and through potentially hostile territory.

On the afternoon of June 6, 1919, he sent for three missionaries residing in Tabriz: Hugo Muller, Frederick Jessup and Dr. Edward M. Dodd. He told them, "I've been thinking a good deal about Urmia and the

Packards and I decided last night that I could not sit still and wait for the Powers to act, but that I must do something myself. I have consulted with my colleagues the British and French consuls and I have called on Sipar-Salar, governor of Azerbaijan, and have formulated a plan which I would like to present to you."

He then outlined a proposal to take two automobiles, accompanied by an ex-governor of Urmia, Sardari-Fateh, and a former British soldier, Donald Ferguson (who would be a driver), around the north end of the lake. After seeking out the Kurds to provide safe escort as far as their lines went, he hoped to get in touch with the present governor of Urmia and, after securing the release of the Christians, arrange for them to be transported back to Tabriz by lake

Paddock acknowledged that this would be no easy task. It was Ramadan, the Muslim fasting month, which would complicate preparations and travel. While Sardar-i-Fateh had been successful in protecting the Christians and avoiding conflict with the Kurds, that was before the assassination attempt had outraged Ismael Agha's tribesmen. Making matters worse, those parts of the territory not controlled by the Kurds were the domain of a Persian bandit, known as Kazim (full name unknown).

The missionaries, nevertheless, heartily endorsed the plan, though they recommended transporting the automobiles part of the way by train to save gasoline. In addition, Muller and Dodd volunteered to join the party; the latter knew the Kurdish language well and was acquainted with Ismael Agha, whose assistance would be vital to the mission.

Once the necessary papers arrived from the Persian authorities, the party set out at 4:30 p.m. the next day, Saturday, June 7, 1919, on the four-mile trip to the railway line

to load the cars. Letters from the missionaries, now in the archives of the Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadelphia, describe what followed.

**Days 1-2:** Because the track was in need of repair, and "wobbly," the train stopped at dark. Starting again at 5:30 the next morning, the train reached its destination, Sheriff Khana, by mid-morning. Although the autos were successfully offloaded and the party ready to go, it took Paddock five hours to notify the governor-general in Tabriz and receive a reply. While waiting they "begged" a good meal from a Russian woman and searched in nearby debris "left by the Bolsheviks" for a staff from which to fly an American flag.

At 4 p.m., they finally began the drive, entering what one participant described as "no man's land." The lead car, driven by Ferguson, flew the American flag and carried Paddock, Sardar-i-Fateh and a servant for each. Dodd and Muller, in the other car, carried the gasoline, food and personal kits. They proceeded without difficulty until about 8 o'clock that evening, when they realized they had lost their way and had to retrace their steps. Because a battle had taken place between Kurds and Persians a few days before, neither people nor animals could be seen, but they eventually found a village to spend the night. By the time they laid out their blankets and turned in, it was nearly midnight.

Day 3: The group started out along the lakeshore anticipating meeting up with Kurds, as Sardar-i-Fateh had sent a letter to Ismail Agha requesting a meeting. long afterward, five Kurdish horsemen appeared, having intercepted the messenger. One of the five dashed off to a nearby village and shortly returned with a minor chief and 30 horsemen. Four of the

Persian mobs, joined in some cases by soldiers, looted the Presbyterian mission compound in Urmia and attacked Christians.

horsemen were designated as escorts, two in front and two behind.

The trip was delayed while one car was freed from sand. Then suddenly the lead car, Paddock's, speeded up and three of the Kurds left the group and galloped toward the mountains, the fourth remaining beside the lead car. The sardar suddenly waved a white handkerchief out the car window, for Kurds from a nearby village were firing at the cars. One bullet struck in front of Paddock's car, another behind. The party sped ahead, away from one village, only to find that they were being fired on from the next village as well.

The Kurdish escort returned, indicating it was safe to proceed. The next immediate obstacle was a large ditch, which the Kurds filled in to permit the cars to pass. At 1 in the afternoon, Paddock and company arrived in Dilman (also known as Salmas and Shahpur), the site of a governorate and four miles from the home of Ismail Agha. Anticipating that at least one night would be spent with the governor, the party unloaded the cars and parked in a nearby inn (caravanserai). Paddock sent a letter to Agha seeking advice on whether he should call on him or

whether the chief would call on the delegation. His reply came quickly, saying he was indisposed and could not come, but would be glad to receive "His Excellency, the American consul."

Another letter arrived at the governor's house explaining that Persian horsemen, not Kurds, had fired on the American party, thinking they were involved in a Kurdish attack. The Persians, to make amends, offered to escort the group to Urmia. Muller commented in a subsequent letter, "What strange logic — first, to mistake two automobiles flying the American flag, and fleeing like the very mischief, for a Kurdish attack; and second, to suggest the possibility of escorting us through a Kurdinfested country."

Days 4-8: Patience is a virtue, particularly in the Middle East, and Gordon Paddock amply demonstrated that quality in Dilman. For five days the party remained, calling on Ismail Agha and receiving his visits. Such calls involved a great deal of sitting and drinking cups of coffee, but little talking. Twice during the time, Agha made all-day calls, coming at 10 a.m. and staying until 5:30 p.m. During one of those occasions, he excused himself, but Paddock remained seated, waiting for his guest's return. The missionaries informed him at dinner that evening that while he had been patiently waiting, Agha had gone into an adjoining room and "had a nice nap."

During this period, the delegation was effectively trapped by the security situation. As Muller described the scene, "Kurds go through the streets in twos and threes with lowered rifles; shops are closed and locked; most people keep off the streets; foreigners and officials move about with a guard; men constantly waiting on the governor with complaints of what the Kurds are doing ask for redress and the governor puts them off with a diplomatic answer. The Kyargyusar [Persian government representative for foreign interests] was robbed of his clothes and became the butt of many jokes, but there was no way to get back his stolen goods nor to apprehend the robber. "

On the day of his second visit, Friday, June 13, 1919, Ismail Agha, satisfied with his talks with Paddock, called in one of his subordinate chiefs and said, "These gentlemen are going to Urmia and I want you to send a guard with them all the way. In addition, send a detachment of horsemen to Kutchi just over the pass and surround the village. If the bandit Kazim is there, kill him; and in any case open a road for these gentlemen to pass."

Day 9: Transiting the pass leading to Urmia, the group did not get far before having two blowouts. They had not brought enough inner tubes, so Ferguson stuffed the tires with grass, which lasted until they returned to Tabriz. In the late afternoon they came within 50 yards of the village of Kutchi when horsemen appeared, informing them that a battle was taking place there. The Kurdish escort led the party to another village to spend the night, but their duties were not over: Wounded from the battle were brought in for Dr. Dodd to treat. Once they had been treated, supper was served, and Paddock and company bedded down, ending the day past midnight.

Day 10: A timely start brought the party to the village of Saatlu, just a few miles from Urmia. There they were greeted by a hundred or more Kurdish horsemen who escorted the party to within two miles of the city. There Sardar-i-Fateh received a letter from the governor saying he would be pleased to receive him and that he would order the Persian troops not to fire and to permit a safe entrance into the city. At about

"I decided that I could not sit still and wait for the Powers to act, but that I must do something myself."

—Gordon Paddock

6:30 p.m., Ferguson drove the sardar and his orderly into Urmia to make arrangements for Paddock to enter the city. They "returned with their faces wreathed in smiles — the trip had been successful, the Packards were safe, and the consul and his party were to enter at once."

Day 11: The consul and sardar entered, proceeding through sullen crowds to the governor's house, where they were greeted by the Packards and their Christian helpers. But the mission was not yet accomplished: the several hundred Assyrian Christians still had to be safely removed from a hostile city. And rumors were rife that major efforts would be made by some elements to prevent them from leaving.

Paddock covered himself with glory in his negotiations with the governor, noting that he was acting with the authority of the governor of Azerbaijan, a fact he had in writing. He also declared that he was speaking not only for America, but for Great Britain and France. (This was a slight exaggeration, though it was true that his British and French colleagues in Tabriz were in accord with him.) Then, as Muller recounted. "Mr. Paddock said he came there under orders to take the Christians

out, that he could not discuss these orders, but was there to carry them out; if the governor prevented him from carrying them out, he himself would return to Tabriz and make a full report of the situation, with the implication that the result would not be good for the governor."

Paddock's appeal on behalf of the Christians resulted in requests for protection to be provided for the Persians threatened by the Kurds. A delegation called upon him to ask that, before he left the city with the Christians, he appoint an agent who could hoist the American flag in case the Kurds should break through and attack the town. There is no evidence that he did so, but he correctly took that request as an indirect signal that the Christians would be permitted to leave the next day.

Day 12: The party's original plan for the return journey was to meet a boat and barge at the lakeshore and cross the lake to Sheriff Khana, where they would once more board the train to Tabriz. But first they had to escort the missionaries and the 600 or so local Christians from the governor's compound across 13 miles of unsecured territory through crowds of doubtful friendliness.

Paddock, after conferring with Packard, decided to proceed as soon as possible in the afternoon. He sent Dodd out of the city to arrange safe passage with the Kurds and procured carts and animals to move the sick and wounded and to carry a supply of bread and the few possessions still remaining with the refugees.

By 4:30 p.m. the carts and animals had not arrived, but Paddock decided to proceed anyway. Muller wrote, "It was a tense moment; we all knew that the slightest mishap between the governor's gate and the outside of the city might mean a miserable end for all of us - it would have required only a rifle shot, the throwing of a stone, accidental pushing in the crowd, a hasty word, or an angry look to have started a conflagration from which the imagination turns in horror."

Meanwhile. Dodd reached the Kurds, who were exchanging fire with Muslim irregulars outside the city. They acceded to his request to stop the firing and, to demonstrate their friendship, produced two ears they had just cut off of the irregulars. (Back in the governor's yard, Dr. Packard was bandaging the victims' bleeding ear stumps.)

In a reversal of the original sequence, Muller's car led the procession, with the Christian refugees following on foot. The consul's car was to bring up the rear. Sardar-i-Fateh rode with Muller, a rifle at the ready. Two men with rifles rode on the left running board and one on the right. Several other armed men walked alongside. Understandably, the aged, the sick and the wounded

Patience is a virtue, particularly in the Middle East, and Gordon Paddock amply demonstrated that quality.

also wanted to climb aboard. To lighten the car's load, the sardar dismounted and walked. Muller commented: "I was obliged to be hardhearted in the matter of refusing to let the poor people put their babies and their loads and their sick on the

car. ... My only passenger for most of the way was a poor little crippled boy whom I had invited to sit beside me and another little waif who tucked himself away between the tool box and the mud guard and whom I could not bring myself to throw off."

A line of soldiers and horsemen at the governor's gate dispersed the crowd. As other horsemen cleared a way through the streets, a long line of soldiers ensured the passage. Several miles from the city, Muller, not seeing the consul's car, stopped and waited. Ultimately, the carts appeared and, with them, Paddock and Ferguson. Dodd and Packard stayed behind to await the return of the cars to carry the most seriously wounded.

Muller drove on ahead to the lake landing to oversee arrangements for the embarkation. The road was at times under water and at other times

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difficult to find. Darkness descended, but the moon shortly thereafter came up to light the way. Kurds at the landing assisted in housing Mrs. Packard and others. Muller reached the landing at 1 a.m.; the remainder of the procession did not arrive until after 2 o'clock in the morning.

Day 13: When the day dawned, the steamer and barge were visible about a mile from shore. Ferguson was able to pick up Dodd and Packard and the whole party reassembled by noon. The cars were loaded on a barge with some difficulty because the Kurds had burned the pier. But for some unexplained reason, the captain of the steamer maneuvered around near the landing for two hours before heading for Sheriff Khana.

Day 14: The steamer arrived at Sheriff Khana without incident. By 11 a.m., the cars had been loaded onto the train and it was making its way toward Tabriz. Muller describes the group's arrival there: "Carts, wagons and carriages were waiting to receive the sick, wounded and weary, the women and the children (which included almost all). Provision had been made for one good meal for all and for a continuance of rations of daily bread as well as houses to sleep in. The crowd at the station was large and many of those awaiting the arrival of the train were waiting to get news of relatives or friends who had been in Urmia. Consequently, many of the greetings were smothered in tears of joy, but not a few who hoped for a joyful reunion turned back from the train with tears of sorrow.

"It was a great privilege to have had even a small share in so great and successful an undertaking, and now that it is all over I can say that I have never before seen so complex a plan and so large an undertaking put through in Persia with so little delay and so little 'hitch' as this one was.

The missionaries informed Paddock at dinner that evening that while he had been patiently waiting all day, his guest had gone into an adjoining room and "had a nice nap."

Not one of the whole party to leave Urmia with us — neither little child nor aged woman — failed to arrive in Tabriz, and the only accident of any kind was that one woman fell and broke her leg. Again I am glad to say that under God the credit for the success of this enterprise goes to the American consul, Mr. Paddock, and the American flag, and secondly to the Persian gentleman, my friend Sardar-i-Fateh."

Dr. Dodd, in a letter to the mission headquarters in New York added his impressions: "It was a trip with a good many sensations and some vivid mental pictures. One of the latter was of Old Glory rippling out bravely over a swaying and jolting Ford touring car, surrounded by the tossing sea of a hundred-odd tasseled turbans of the wild Kurdish horsemen who were escorting the consul in state to their siege headquarters just outside of Urmia. Another is of six hundred huddled, terrified women and children filing out of the Urmia governor's yard in the face of a huge crowd of Muslim spectators swarming over the streets, walls, roofs, and trees ...

And a third is of the same Syrian [Assyrian] and Armenian people the next day, safe, happy and carefree on the big barge which Dr. W.P. Ellis [a fellow missionary] brought across the lake to meet us. "

## No Good Deed Goes Unpunished

At the time of the rescue, Paddock had been outside the United States for almost 20 years. In a memorandum written in Washington and addressed to the Secretary of State on Dec. 18, 1922, Paddock noted that he had requested the State Department's permission to return to the United States and been "granted leave of absence for 60 days with permission to visit the United States." On the basis of this authority, he left for Washington, paying his own wav.

Missionaries had already brought Paddock's assistance to the attention of the Secretary of State. On Sept. 18, 1919, Mrs. Mary Lewis Shedd, widow of W.A. Shedd, wrote to Secretary of State Robert Lansing and enclosed a petition of appreciation from the Assyrian community. Relief organizations were also aware of his role and the fact that he was returning to the U.S. A letter of Feb. 2, 1922, from Charles W. Fowle, the foreign secretary of Near East Relief, to Wilbur J. Carr, director of Consular Services, reads:

"We understand that Mr. Gordon Paddock, who has been American consul at Tabriz, Persia, for such a long period, is on his way home and should arrive shortly in this country. Because of the close connection which Mr. Paddock has had with the work of Near East Relief and the very valuable assistance which he has rendered to us and other American interests in his district, we are extremely anxious to get in touch with him promptly on his arrival for conference, and also to express our deep appreciation of his services."

There is little evidence in the archives to suggest that these reports of Paddock's actions ever reached the higher echelons of the department or the White House. Indeed, the Department of State, apparently unaware that Paddock was on his way home at the time, replied to Near East Relief on Feb. 7 that his "whereabouts were unknown." was not until Mrs. Shedd made contact with her first cousin, General Charles G. Dawes (then director of the Bureau of the Budget and later Calvin Coolidge's vice president) that higher officials took notice.

At least partly due to her efforts, on May 19, 1922, President Warren Harding addressed a letter to Secretary of State Charles Evan Hughes, expressing the interest of Gen. Dawes in the "advancement of Mr. Gordon Paddock." The Secretary of State replied on June 2:

"I beg to say that a careful examination has been made of the work of Mr. Paddock. ... Unless in the future Mr. Paddock should show greater ability in the performance of strictly consular duties than he has shown in the past there would appear to be little likelihood that he could properly be advanced to a higher position in the Consular Service." (At that time, before the Rogers Act of 1924, the Consular and Diplomatic Services were separate.)

Attached to the letter was the following evaluation of Paddock's work: "Careful consideration of his entire record indicates that Mr. Paddock is regarded as possessing good political and diplomatic ability but that he has poor ability as an executive and on commercial and general consular work. His rating for efficiency as a consular officer upon all phases of his work is 'fair' and in the order of relative efficiency to the other officers of Class VI of consuls he is numbered 81 in a total of 95."

But the Secretary of State's letter went on to say, "The inspection of his record, however, has developed other facts which I feel should be brought to your attention." The letter noted that Paddock's original appointment had been to the Diplomatic Service and observed: "His activities in behalf of American interests, including those of the interests of American missionaries in Persia and also in the protection of British and other foreign interests in his care, have been highly commendable. In view of these considerations, which we put before you when you wrote your letter of May 19, it occurs to me that you might feel disposed to transfer Mr. Paddock to a secretaryship in the Diplomatic Service. ..."

On June 23, 1922, a reply from President Harding to Secretary Hughes





duly referred to the "transfer of Mr. Gordon Paddock from the Consular Service to be [a second secretary] in the Diplomatic Service," and said: "In accordance with your letter I have signed the executive order making possible his transfer and have forwarded his nomination to the Senate. I hope, after Mr. Paddock's nomination is confirmed, that friendly consideration will be given to him in making his assignment. Apparently he has rendered a long and faithful service without opportunity for any showing in the making of a record, and I would like his fidelity to find a way open to reward if such a thing is possible."

#### A Tale of Woe

Once admitted to the Diplomatic Service, Paddock reportedly requested assignment to Paris but was, instead, assigned to Belgrade. But what preoccupied him most upon his return to Washington was the question of reimbursement for his travel back from Tabriz. (He had reached the United States on the S.S. Olympic on March 22, 1922. Because he had returned on "leave of absence" rather than home leave, he was not automatically entitled to reimbursement for his transportation expenses.)

His first recorded meeting at the Department of State was on Aug. 4, after which he wrote the following letter to Wilbur J. Carr, director of Consular Services:

"You were kind enough yesterday to say that I might give you a memorandum regarding the question of my transportation from Persia.

"I understood you to say that it depends on whether my request for permission to come to America and the authorization to do so are on record in such form as to make it impossible to overcome the technical obstacles that I have returned 'on leave of absence;' in spite of the fact that I have been transferred to

Paddock covered himself with glory in his negotiations with the governor.

another branch of the service and assigned to the department. While I fear there can be little question about the form of my original application and the department's reply, the circumstances under which I left Persia and came here are such. I believe, as to permit me to hope that I may not be deprived of transportation through a technicality.

"In support of this I mention the following:

"1. I have been absent from America in foreign service in distant countries for over 20 years, during which time I never asked for leave of absence, transfer or other privileges.

"2. I served for 11 years in Persia, of which 10 were in Tabriz, where conditions were such as to impose a really serious strain on one's physical and nervous condition. In 1918, I was forced on the Turkish occupation of Tabriz to withdraw the consulate to Kazvin for seven months, and while there was requested by Dr. H.P. Judson (acting — as I was given to understand — with the approval of the department) to organize relief work of the American-Persian Relief Commission on my return to Tabriz. This proved to be a very considerable undertaking, which demanded a good deal of my attention in an advisory way for several months, and made it impossible for me to return — as had been my

intention — to America at that time. The route via the Caucasus was then open and comparatively direct and inexpensive.

"In the spring of 1919, conditions at Tabriz, where I had returned in January, again became disturbed and Christians at the American mission at Urmia were massacred and the mission property looted. instructed by the department to open an official investigation of this affair, which again made it impossible for me to leave Tabriz. In the spring of 1920, a combined Bolshevik and Turkish invasion of northwest Persia was threatened and the following summer and autumn, the situation became so serious that all the foreign colonies evacuated Tabriz.

"On Dec. 14, 1920, the situation was such as to warrant my withdrawal to Tehran, where, on my arrival, I found all European families were preparing for immediate withdrawal. The British had given notice of withdrawal of their forces from Persia, and it was generally supposed that a Bolshevik force then at Resht would occupy Tehran. Under these conditions I arranged that my wife should accompany the family of the American minister to France, but that I should remain with the minister as long as I could be of service. I then applied for leave to return to America, which appeared to be the only logical thing to do in case I were compelled to leave Tehran and Persia, and in view of the fact that I was away from and could not return to my post at Tabriz. I did not at that time know of the regulations as to transportation when on leave, but supposed that if upon my arrival in America I were transferred to another post, I should at least receive transportation between Tehran and such post.

"3. As the Bolshevik invasion did not materialize, it was unnecessary for me to leave Persia, but I could

not return to my post at Tabriz. I accordingly remained at Tehran, where I conducted the work of both consulates until the arrival of my successor as consul there. In the meantime, I found that the strain of my past years had begun to tell so upon my health that I consulted Dr. McDowell of the American Hospital at Tehran, a copy of whose certificate (which I think I showed you heretofore) is enclosed herewith. I believe it will be appreciated from this that I could not have thought of returning to Tabriz, even if it had been possible, and that it would have been undesirable for me to attempt to remain in Persia. Accordingly, without further explanation, which I believe unnecessary, I requested to be allowed to avail myself of my previous permission, which had been granted in February 1921. I left in December 1921.

"4. The only route available at the time of my departure was via Baghdad, Bombay, etc.; a very roundabout and consequently expensive trip; the expense of which I should not have felt justified if my object had been merely a trip to America for my personal pleasure.

"5. On leaving Tabriz in December 1920, I was forced to ship to America such articles as were sufficiently valuable and transportable, for it did not seem that they could be safely left at Tabriz and there was no other place of safety to which I could send them. It seems to me that under the circumstances this is certainly a proper official charge. Most of my belongings were, of course, left at the consulate at Tabriz, where someday they may, or may not, be recoverable, but having twice furnished the private living quarters of the consulate, I am not too sanguine about ever receiving either the articles or their value.

"I feel that this is a very inadequate statement, but as you are "[Paddock's] activities in behalf of American interests have been highly commendable."

> — Secretary of State Charles Evan Hughes

already informed of the matters mentioned I present it only as a memorandum. As I cannot believe that I should be required to suffer from the form in which my application was presented, if otherwise entitled to transportation, I venture to ask you for such assistance in the matter as you may think proper."

On Aug. 22, 1922, Carr replied: "With reference to the possibility of the payment of your transportation on your recent trip from Persia to the United States, I have had this matter looked into ... and, while I appreciate your position in the matter, I regret that it is not feasible to consider the matter favorably."

Four months later, on Dec. 18, 1922, Paddock, still in Washington, wrote his final memorandum to the Secretary of State, again setting forth the circumstances of his departure from Persia and his transportation to the United States. archives contain no indication that he ever received a reply or that he was ever reimbursed for his transportation.

According to the best available information, Paddock was eventually assigned to Paris, from which post he retired to live in France until his death (date unknown).





## **Lessons Yet** Unlearned

The First Resort of Kings: **American Cultural Diplomacy** in the Twentieth Century Richard T. Arndt, Potomac Books, 2005, \$45.00, hardcover, 556 pages.

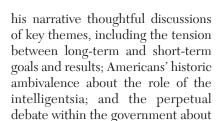
REVIEWED BY CYNTHIA P. SCHNEIDER

Richard B. Arndt's The First Resort of Kings: American Cultural Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century, the product of more than a decade's work, could not be more timely. Had its lessons on "best practices" (and worst) in cultural diplomacy only been heeded, we might well have averted failures in our recent public diplomacy initiatives, documented in so many recent studies.

Instead, U.S. policy-makers have repeatedly committed many of the mistakes Arndt catalogs here: confusing diplomacy with advertising, appealing only to one sector of the targeted population (i.e., youth), and ignoring the intelligentsia and opinion leaders. These are not new problems by any means, but they have undermined our intense efforts since 9/11 to attain the "respect and praise" of the world, to use Thomas Jefferson's words.

As he skillfully chronicles the ups and downs of cultural diplomacy over the past century, Arndt leaves no doubt that he views its overall course as a decline. He weaves into

Arndt, a retired USIA officer, is refreshingly blunt about the disdain with which the Foreign Service community traditionally has regarded cultural diplomacy.



where the institutional responsibility

for cultural diplomacy belongs.

Consider the distinction between propaganda and cultural diplomacy. Arndt reminds us that, as Charles Thompson commented in the 1940s, "The technique of propaganda is generally similar to advertising; it seeks to impress, to 'press in.' The technique of cultural relations is that of education ... to 'lead out' ... [Its] goal is something deeper and more lasting, the creation of a state of mind properly called 'understanding."

Arndt concedes that many Americans doubt the utility of cultural engagement because of the difficulty of assessing its "value." But how do you measure the impact of experiencing Louis Armstrong jamming, seeing Twyla Tharp dancing, or studying in a U.S. university? In fact, America stands alone in seeking quantifiable results from such endeavors; other countries, notably postwar France and Germany, have taken for granted the critical role of cultural expression and relations, both in communicating about themselves and in understanding others.

Arndt, a retired USIA officer, is refreshingly blunt about the disdain with which the Foreign Service community traditionally has regarded cultural diplomacy. I experienced this attitude first-hand in 1998 as ambassador to the Netherlands, when my public affairs officer proudly told me, "We don't do culture; we do policy." (This was in line with the prevailing USIA orthodoxy of the 1990s that "policy," with supposedly more measurable results, had more value than cultural affairs.) She looked utterly baffled when I explained that with everyone else in the embassy doing policy, I wanted some people working on culture, too!

One of the most bittersweet aspects of Arndt's narrative is the contrast between the almost miraculous success of so many cultural diplomacy initiatives, carried out by dedicated cultural affairs officers on a shoestring budget, and the gradual dis-



mantling of cultural diplomacy. (Both political parties share responsibility for this state of affairs, for it was in 1999, during the Clinton administration, that the United States Information Agency was absorbed into the State Department.)

If Karen Hughes, State's new under secretary for public diplomacy, reads this beautifully written book, she will see that successful public diplomacy lies not in promoting democracy, but in allowing others to experience freedom of thought through the strength and diversity of creative expression in America. We do not need to reinvent the wheel. Rather, we need both to "tell America's story" (in Edward R. Murrow's phrase) and to listen to the stories of other nations.

Cynthia P. Schneider is a Distinguished Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy in the School of Foreign Service, and the Pfizer Medical Humanities Initiative Fellow in Residence at the Public Policy Institute, both at Georgetown University, where previously she was an associate professor of art histo-She was appointed by President Clinton to serve as U.S. ambassador to the Netherlands (1998-2001).

## **Lest We Forget**

In the Aftermath of Genocide: The U.S. Role in Rwanda

Robert E. Gribbin, iUniverse, Inc., 2005, \$23.95, paperback, 307 pages.

REVIEWED BY DANE F. SMITH JR.

Passivity in the face of the 1994 Rwanda genocide, in which Hutu extremists slaughtered over 800,000

With welcome candor, Gribbin concedes that neither he nor other diplomatic experts on the region foresaw the Rwandan holocaust.

Tutsis and "moderate" Hutus, remains a major blot on the record of the Clinton administration. In the Aftermath of Genocide: The U.S. Role in Rwanda, published under the auspices of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, is a major contribution to understanding that holocaust and its aftermath.

Robert Gribbin has spent many years in East and Central Africa, first as a Peace Corps Volunteer and then as a diplomat fanatically committed to in-country travel. While he was not in Kigali during the actual genocide, he had three directly related Foreign Service assignments, as Rwanda desk officer (1977-1979), deputy chief of mission (1979-1981) and as ambassador (1995-1999).

As Gribbin documents, the fact that Washington and Paris were working at cross-purposes in Africa hampered the international community's ability to respond to the crisis. Deeply disturbed by the ascendance of the Anglophone-led Tutsi rebel force (the Rwandan Patriotic Army) over the Francophone Hutu regime committing the slaughter, France played an unhelpful, even malign role. The French National Assembly even went so far as to issue a report proclaiming that "American links to Uganda and the RPA lay somehow at the heart of the tragedy."

For his part, Gribbin dismisses Operation Turquoise, the belated French intervention in southwest Rwanda of June 1994, as having had little impact on ending the genocide (which was already winding down by then) and as allowing Hutu forces to escape into Zaire. As he scathingly notes, "less pretension and more honesty would serve [France] and history — well."

Gribbin concedes that neither he nor other diplomatic experts on the region foresaw the Rwandan holocaust. He also acknowledges his error in assuming that the Rwandan government that took power following the genocide would not carry out long-term military operations alongside rebel soldiers in the Democratic Republic of the Congo — formerly Zaire — whither the Hutu hard-liners had fled. (In fact, that support enabled Laurent Kabila to seize power in Kinshasa in 1997.) Such welcome candor lends even more credibility to his well-documented case that the U.S. provided no assistance to Kabila or the forces supporting him, despite numerous accusations and press accounts to the contrary emanating from France and other quarters.

Gribbin also aims heavy artillery at what he terms "the humanitarian industrial complex" — the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the phalanx of NGOs concerned with refugees and human rights, and their patrons in the Department of State. His unhappiness stems from the unwillingness of the "complex" to work harder to



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facilitate the repatriation of Hutu refugees in the Congo, rooted in a failure to understand that these unhappy victims were not being permitted to return to Rwanda by the leaders who controlled their camps. The magnitude of that misjudgment was exposed when more than 600,000 Hutus cascaded back into Rwanda in four days in November 1996, once Kabila and his Rwandan allies had broken the hard-liners' grasp. (The generally successful Rwandan reabsorption of these refugees marked one of the signal achievements of the Tutsi-led government of Paul Kagame.)

At times, the dual approach of interspersing a personal account of the author's time in the region into chapters of detailed policy analysis leads to a loss of focus. For example, a brief chapter on a visit to the mountain gorillas and the fate of the family dogs, while presumably intended to give the reader a break, interrupts the flow between analysis of the justice system for genocide perpetrators and the refugee problem. (Then again, perhaps that is inevitable in a work which forms part of an ADST series of "memoirs and occasional papers.") I also found Gribbin's final "reflections" duplicative of conclusions clear from a narrative already rich in analysis.

However, these are small flaws in a thoroughly readable account, interesting in its detail and incisive on the issues. It should be required reading for all students of Africa's Great Lakes region and the general subject of genocide.

Retired FSO Dane F. Smith Jr. served as ambassador in Senegal and Guinea, and is currently an adjunct faculty member at American University.



## Third U.S. Diplomat Killed in Iraq

Stephen Eric Sullivan, 40, a Diplomatic Security special agent, was killed Sept. 19 in Mosul, when a car bomb destroyed his vehicle. He is the third U.S. diplomat to be killed in the line of duty since the 2003 invasion of Iraq.

"Steve Sullivan died in service of his country and for the cause of democracy and freedom. There is no more noble a sacrifice," Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice said Sept. 20. "Our thoughts and prayers are with Steve's family. We grieve with them in their loss and stand with them at this difficult time."

"This is a loss for Secretary Rice, for me personally, for all of Steve's colleagues here at the State Department and in Iraq, and most profoundly, for his family," Assistant Secretary of State for Diplomatic Security Richard J. Griffin said in an official message. "Special Agent Sullivan's career exemplified courage, bravery and commitment."

Mr. Sullivan was born and raised in Westborough, Mass. A 1983 graduate of Westborough High School, he was a member of the football team. Jan Gebo, his coach, remembers Sullivan fondly as "an American hero ... a classy individual and a gentleman — a model citizen."

Following high school, he joined

the U.S. Marine Corps, serving as a field radio operator. In 1992 he earned a bachelor's degree in criminal justice from Westfield State College, and the following year joined the Navy, where he served as a hospital corpsman and became a nationally registered emergency medical technician. Sullivan also worked with at-risk youth at the San Diego Job Corps Center and was a residential adviser to children with special needs for the Devereux Foundation in Rutland, Mass. In 2002, while working part-time at the Pepsi Bottling Group, he earned a master's degree in forensic science.

Mr. Sullivan joined the Diplomatic Security branch of the Foreign Service in 2002. After service in the Miami Field Office, he was posted to Kabul as assistant regional security officer in 2004. Following service in Kabul, he volunteered for the same position in Iraq, and was assigned to Baghdad. He was on temporary duty as acting RSO in Mosul at the time of the tragedy.

Survivors include a son, Kraig Robert Sullivan; his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Irvine Sullivan of Westborough, Mass.; and two sisters, Erin Marie Sullivan and Shauna Grace Oliveri, both of Massachusetts.

Richard Morton Albaugh, 83, a retired Foreign Service reserve officer, died July 2 in Jasper, Ind., from complications of Alzheimer's disease. He had been at a nursing home there for two and one-half years.

During World War II Mr. Albaugh served with the Army in southwestern China. While in Shanghai, he joined the Foreign Service. His subsequent posts included Taiwan, Japan, France, Ethiopia, Norway, Afghanistan and Washington, D.C. He retired in 1976.

Following retirement, Mr. Albaugh and his family moved to a farm near the town of Shoals in Martin County. Indiana, that had been in his family since the 1830s. Mr. Albaugh restored the homestead, built in 1835. and operated the farm. He also enjoyed traveling and golf.

Mr. Albaugh is survived by his wife of 52 years, Kay, who resides on the farm, and three children, Jane Albaugh of Vincennes, Ind., Houghton Albaugh of Arlington, Va., and Charles Albaugh of Columbia, Md.



Mrs. Frances Blancké, 86, a former employee of the Department of State and the Central Intelligence Agency, and the widow of the late Foreign Service officer and ambassador Wilton Wendell Blancké, died July 18 in Washington, D.C., following a heart attack.

Mrs. Blancké was born in the Philippines to American parents.

## IN MEMORY



She was raised in the U.S. and graduated from the University of California at Berkeley in 1940. She then joined the State Department as a secretary. Her first posting was to Stockholm; in 1945, she was transferred to Berlin. There she joined the CIA, working in Berlin and, later, in Washington, D.C.

In 1952 in Saigon, she married FSO Wilton Blancké, then serving as a consul in Hanoi. She accompanied her husband in Vientiane (1955-1957) and Frankfurt (1957-1960). In 1960, when Mr. Blancké was appointed ambassador to the Republic of the Congo, she joined him in Brazzaville and traveled with him as he presented his credentials to Chad, Gabon and the Central African Republic — the other newly-independent states to which he was the first accredited American ambassador. They returned to Washington, D.C., in 1964, and in 1965 were assigned to Monterrey.

Ambassador Blancké retired in 1968, and the couple settled in Washington, D.C. Amb. Blancké died in 1971.

Mrs. Blancké worked for many years for Recordings for the Blind. She is survived by a brother and sister.



Morris Draper, 77, a retired FSO and former special envoy with ambassadorial rank, died April 15 at the Washington Home hospice center. He had lung cancer.

A career diplomat for 35 years, Ambassador Draper served as President Ronald Reagan's special envoy to the Middle East during the Lebanon crisis from 1981 to 1983. There he worked closely with U.S. special emissary Philip C. Habib to negotiate the pullback of Israeli, Syrian and Palestinian military forces

from Lebanon and on the creation of security arrangements near Israel's northern border.

Amb. Draper handled many of the day-to-day details of shuttle diplomacy during the Middle East assignment. He also participated in talks that led the late Yasser Arafat, then the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, to move to Tunisia during that period, and helped negotiate the ceasefire between Israel and the PLO that lasted from July 1981 to June 1982. These negotiations also produced the fragile May 17, 1983, agreement between Israel and Lebanon to begin the withdrawal of foreign forces from Beirut (which, however, faltered due to Syria's unwillingness to withdraw).

Amb. Draper was a native of Berkeley, Calif. He graduated Phi Beta Kappa from the University of Southern California, and served in the Army for two years. After joining the Foreign Service, he pursued Middle East graduate studies in Beirut and learned to speak Arabic and French, as well as some Spanish, Turkish and Hebrew.

In the late 1970s, he participated in the Camp David peace accords and in the Israel-Egypt peace treaty negotiations that followed.

Amb. Draper served as consul general in Jerusalem and deputy assistant secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs. He also held posts in Jordan, Turkey, Cyprus, Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Singapore. In his last State Department assignment, he spoke on college campuses across the country urging students to consider the Foreign Service as a career. He retired in 1990.

Amb. Draper received numerous honors, including the President's Distinguished Service Award. He was also given an Award for Valor for his service in Amman; a special Foreign

Service award for high achievement; the Wilbur J. Carr Award for distinguished service from the State Department; and the Order of the Cedar from the Lebanese government.

His marriage to Nancy Moyer Draper ended in divorce.

Survivors include his second wife, Roberta Hornig Draper of Washington, D.C.; three children from his first marriage, Courtney Draper Geer of Richmond, Va., Blair A. Draper of Denver, Colo., and Jonathan M. Draper of Cleveland, Tenn.; four grandchildren; and a brother.



Norman H. Frisbie, 74, a retired Senior Foreign Service officer, died June 18 in Vienna, of a heart attack.

Born in Wakefield, Mass., Mr. Frisbie grew up in New Bedford and graduated from the University of Massachusetts in 1959 with a degree in political science. He interspersed his college career with stints in U.S. Army intelligence at Fort Holabird in Baltimore, and in France and Germany, where he worked on Eastern European refugee resettlement.

During his Foreign Service career, Mr. Frisbie served in Manchester, Frankfurt, Warsaw, Poznan, Maseru, Prague, Nairobi and Munich, accompanied by his first wife, Arlene Couillard Frisbie of Gardner, Mass. (She died in 2000.) His final three tours were in Brussels, Vienna (UNVIE) and Antananarivo, the latter two as DCM. He was accompanied by his second wife, Evelyn Eckl-Frisbie of Vienna.

After retiring to Vienna in 1991, he became an accomplished cook, much to the delight of his family and friends. He returned frequently to his beloved state of Vermont to visit and care for his elderly parents.

Memorial services were held in

#### IN MEMORY



June in Vienna at both the Ottakringer Cemetery and the neighborhood St. Josef zu Margareten church, the same church in which Franz Schubert was eulogized.

Norman Frisbie is survived by his wife, Evelyn, and children, Michelle Frisbie-Fulton of Newport, R.I., and Russell Frisbie, an FSO serving in San Jose. He is also deeply missed by his four grandchildren, Seth and Gwen Frisbie-Fulton of Philadelphia and Indianapolis, respectively, and Claire and Margaret Frisbie of New York City and Charlottesville, Va.



Lucy (Penny) Norton Johansen, 95, a retired Foreign Service officer, died of a brain hemorrhage in Lasne, Belgium, on July 19.

Born in Korea of American medical missionary parents, Mrs. Johansen returned to the U.S. at the age of 17. She earned a B.A. in English from the University of Oregon before going to Syracuse University, where she obtained her master's degree, also in

She returned to the Far East as a teacher and worked in Korea and Japan, where she met her future husband, Foreign Service officer Beppo Johansen. They were married in Harbin, Manchuria, in 1939. Upon Mr. Johansen's death in Japan in 1946, she joined the Foreign Service herself. Mrs. Johansen was posted to Tokyo, Zurich, Montreal, Turin and Florence, where she experienced the flood of 1966, and where she retired in 1969.

After some years in Italy, and brief stays in Luxembourg and London, she spent 10 years in Maine before moving to Belgium to be near her daughter.

Mrs. Johansen is survived by her daughter, Karin Johansen Adam of Lasne, Belgium; four granddaughters; and two grandsons, sons of her late son, Rolff Johansen.



David Everett Mark. 81. a retired FSO and former ambassador, died Sept. 17 while on vacation in northern Montana.

David Mark was born in New York City on Nov. 15, 1923, to Leslie Mark and Lena Tyor Mark. He graduated from Columbia University and, while serving in the Army





Air Corps during World War II, completed his studies at Columbia Law School. He joined the Foreign Service in 1946.

Ambassador Mark served in South Korea, Finland, Romania and Moscow during the 1950s. He met his wife, Elisabeth Lewis Mark, in Moscow in 1958, where she headed the Anglo-American Elementary School. They married in Washington, D.C., in 1959 and moved to Geneva, where Amb. Mark joined the delegation to the Test Ban Treaty negotiations. In the early 1960s, he was assigned to Washington, D.C., as deputy head of the Intelligence and Research Bureau, and served in that capacity until his appointment as ambassador to Burundi in 1974. From 1979 to 1981 he returned to Washington to serve as deputy assistant secretary of State. After retirement in 1981, he consulted on international affairs for Alcoa in Pittsburgh, Pa.

A gifted linguist, Amb. Mark spoke fluent Russian, German and French, and was conversant in Portuguese, Spanish, Italian and Japanese. With the break-up of the Soviet Union and the dearth of Russian linguists, he was asked to help establish the American embassy in the former Soviet republic of Georgia. He returned to Tbilisi in 1992 to assist the Georgians in writing their constitution.

During the 1990s until his death, Amb. Mark was an active member of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City. He also volunteered every week for nine years as a guide and translator for Big Apple Greeters of New York, and worked full-time as a licensed New York City tour guide for Gray Line, sharing his love for the city with thousands of tourists each year in a number of languages.

"He won the heart of every visitor he met or spoke with. At the Big Apple Greeter organization, he continued to be an ambassador for our country to the rest of the world. The relief and the joy that visitors felt when Amb. Mark spoke to them, in their own language, was a gift never to be forgotten," recalls Carolyn Stone, former director of marketing and public relations at Big Apple Greeters. "I believe that the personal good will he spread around the globe has been a great benefit to all New Yorkers and all Americans. He made us all look good: kind, helpful, intelligent, educated, articulate and accomplished."

Amb. Mark also taught a variety of courses as an adjunct professor of global affairs at New York University.

He is survived by his wife Elisabeth Mark of Leawood, Kan.; his children, Leslie Mark and Mark Eisemann of Leawood, Kan., Andrea and Adam Chiou of Fairfax, Va., and Clayton and Lisa Mark of Overland Park, Kan.; a niece, Elena Nantz Strunk; and seven grandchildren, Emma, Noah and Joshua Eisemann, Christie and Eric Chiou, and Olivia and Diana Mark.

The family suggests donations in his memory be made to Big Apple Greeters, the Center for Global Affairs at NYU's School of Continuing and Professional Studies, or the Council on Foreign Relations.



Charles W. McCaskill. 82. a retired Foreign Service officer, died Aug. 13 at the Greenspring Retirement Home in Springfield, Va., where he lived. He had Parkinson's disease.

Born in Camden, S.C., Mr. McCaskill served in the Army in World War II. After graduating from The Citadel in Charleston, S.C., he received a master's degree in history and political science from the University of South Carolina in 1950.

He taught at USC from 1947 to 1948.

Mr. McCaskill joined the State Department in 1950, and first served as a visa officer in Frankfurt. He returned to State in 1951, and in 1956 received his commission as an FSO, after which he was detailed to Princeton for Greek language and area studies training. In 1957 he was posted to Salonika as a political officer, and three years later transferred to Nicosia as an economic officer (1960-1964). He returned to Washington in 1964 as desk officer for Cyprus. He later served as political officer in Tehran from 1968 to 1972, as senior political officer in Bombay (1972-1975) and consul general in Madras (1975-1978). His final overseas posting, from 1978 to 1982, was in Athens.

Survivors include his wife of 58 years, Jacqueline H. McCaskill of Springfield, Va.; two sons, Charles W. McCaskill Jr. of Vienna, Va., and Stephen H. McCaskill of Richmond, Va.; and one grandson.



Frank Charles Strovas, 67, a retired FSO, died Aug. 13 of pancreatic cancer at his home in Somerset West, South Africa.

Mr. Strovas was born in Oak Creek, Colo., into a small community of immigrants who came to America to escape the economic hardships in Europe. His parents had roots in Slovenia, a Slavic enclave within the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. Initially coal miners, his grandfathers and his father and uncles worked hard and prospered.

An excellent student, Mr. Strovas was awarded a scholarship that enabled him to continue higher education. He graduated from the University of Colorado with a bachelor's degree in journalism. He worked as a newspaper

## IN MEMORY

reporter for six months in Pueblo, Colo., and then joined the army and was stationed in Germany. After three years of military service, he returned to the University of Colorado and earned a master's degree in politics.

In 1967, Mr. Strovas joined the Foreign Service as a USIA officer. His distinguished career was spent mostly in Africa: he was posted to Ghana, Mali, Togo, South Africa and Cote d'Ivoire. He came to know the continent very well, and had a particularly in-depth knowledge of South Africa, where he served in three diplomatic postings. There, Mr. Strovas enjoyed the opportunity his position at the embassy gave him to promote writers, artists and musicians and to arrange cultural and educational exchanges. During the apartheid era, American cultural centers were often the only place where black performers had a chance to play before mixed-race audiences, and many local musicians got a start there. Moreover, the homes of American diplomats such as Mr. Strovas were also the only places where English and Afrikaans journalists from opposing sides of the political spectrum mingled and debated with each other as well as with black newspapermen such as Percy Qoboza, then editor of The Sowetan.

In 1977, Mr. Strovas married South African journalist Cynthia Edwards in Washington, D.C. She accompanied him on assignments to Ljubljana, Johannesburg, Bucharest and Riyadh; on a civilian posting as adviser to the

Special Forces in Fort Bragg; and for a final assignment to Pretoria before his retirement in 1994.

Mr. Strovas spoke French and Afrikaans, and he and his wife studied Slovene and Romanian together.

Following retirement, attracted to the beautiful Cape Winelands area of South Africa, Mr. and Mrs. Strovas settled in Somerset West. They also bought a home on Amelia Island in Florida, with the idea of dividing their time between the two countries. In 2002, Mr. Strovas was diagnosed with

Survivors include his wife Cynthia of Somerset West, South Africa, and sisters Valmarie Leonard of Salt Lake City, Utah, and Dottie Engberg of Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.

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Executive Lodging Alternatives / 50 Georgetown Suites / 55 Korman Communities / 10 Oakwood / Inside front cover Quality Hotel / 24 Remington / 36 State Plaza / 45 Staybridge / 48 Suite America / 50 Virginian Suites / 13

U.S. Foreign Service & international corporations

#### **INSURANCE**

AFSPA / 6 Clements International / 1 Harry Jannette International / The Hirshorn Company / Outside back cover UNIRISC / 20

#### **MISCELLANEOUS**

AFSA Speakers Bureau / 68 COLEAD / 68 Cort Furniture / 4 Diplotots / 63 Foreign Service Youth Foundation / 71 Inside a U.S. Embassy / 11 **International Schools** Services / 31 Legacy / 14, 40 Marketplace / 18 Middle East Journal / 73 U.S. Department of Homeland Security / 12 WorldSpace / 2

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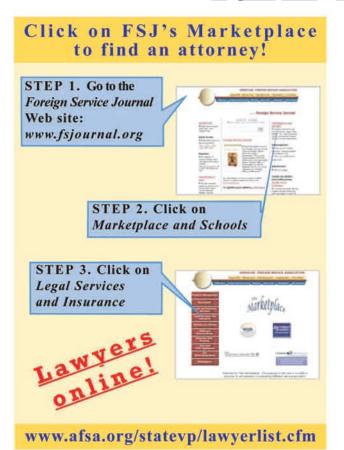
Executive Housing

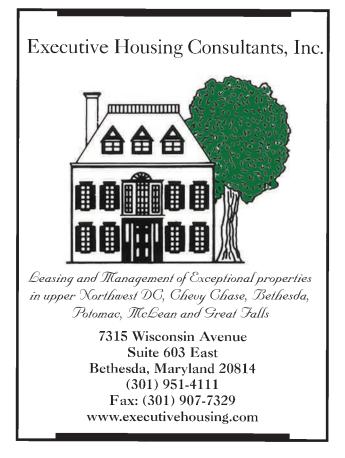
Consultants / 79

Hagner Ridgway and

National and International

Jackson / 74 Laughlin – Miller / 74 Long & Foster -Simunek / 79 McEnearney Associates / 75 McEnearney/ Marghi Fauss / 78 McGrath Real Estate Services / 76 Meyerson Group / 76 Peake Management, Inc. / 74 Property Specialists / 77 Prudential Carruthers / 75 Prudential Carruthers/ JoAnn Piekney / 77 Stuart & Maury / 75 WID Management / 76 Washington Management Services / 77







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## REFLECTIONS

#### Beans Love Cilantro

By Donna Scaramastra Gorman

"Lobio liubit kinzu."

That's the one piece of cooking advice Elmira gave me: Beans love cilantro. I tried to learn. I watched over her shoulder as she worked her magic, and occasionally she'd let me knead the dough, stir the sauce, peer into the pot. But she didn't want me to learn, not really. Cooking was her joy, her talent — her way into other hearts.

I hired Elmira as my housekeeper when I moved to Armenia. I needed the help and she didn't look like she'd take no for an answer. Tiny, birdlike, in her mid-fifties, with gray hair and hungry eyes, she showed up for the interview dressed to work.

I only learned her background months later. Elmira was an engineer who'd fallen on hard times after the collapse of the Soviet Union. First she lost her job (or rather, they stopped paying her). Then, one dreadful winter night, her apartment burned down. Her husband couldn't handle the stress, so he took to his bed. Elmira was left to raise her two children and care for her husband. When she found out there were jobs cleaning houses for Westerners, she swallowed her pride and picked up a toilet brush. She had a son to put through medical

Donna Scaramastra Gorman is a freelance writer whose work has been published in the Washington Post and the Seattle Times. She has accompanied her RSO husband on assignments to Moscow, Yerevan and Almaty. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner." She held my infant son and kissed him, just like a grandma.

school, after all. Every day she showed up early to wash, to iron, to scrub, and not once did she complain.

At first, I stumbled around hopelessly in my kitchen. I was trying to figure out how to make the recipes my family liked with Armenian ingredients. Pizza wouldn't work without mozzarella. There isn't a word for "tofu" in Armenian. As I puttered in my kitchen, reading cookbooks and muttering to myself, she'd often pass through and steal a glance with hawklike eyes. Every so often she'd offer to cut, slice or shred. Over time she began to ask questions about what I was making. And she started to make suggestions when I was at a loss for an ingredient.

One day she showed up with fresh beets and offered to make borscht. "No one makes borscht better than me," she proudly announced. I'd had a long day at work, so I gratefully accepted. And what do you know? She was right: her borscht was divine. The next day she showed up with cauliflower and that night we feasted on cauliflower soup — not a heavy, cream-laden soup, but light and full of vegetables. The next day she made a spicy lentil soup with cilantro, and the next, yellow split-pea. Each time I

praised her soup and begged for the recipe. Each time she said she'd show me how to make it the next time. But every day when I came home from work, the soup was finished already, warming on the stove while she waited eagerly for my opinion.

Slowly, she became part of our family. My own mother was far away in the States, so Elmira took over. She criticized my hair. She held my infant son and kissed him, just like a grandma. She worried about me if I drove in the snow or came home late. And always, always, there was that soup. She loved us all with a love as fierce as a mother's, and she labored over her soup in an effort to make sure we were warm, well-fed and content.

Our year in Armenia passed quickly. Sooner than soon, the State Department was ready to send us on to Kazakhstan. Elmira fretted and grieved for us. She flapped her arms, distraught, and asked if there wasn't some way we could stay. I wished we could. But when you're a diplomat, you go where they tell you to go and you don't question the timing. I begged her to give me her recipes before I left, but she insisted I already knew how to make them all. "Just remember: Beans love cilantro."

Beans love cilantro. But my soups just aren't the same. I stand in my kitchen here in Kazakhstan, stirring my soup and thinking back to my days in Armenia, with Elmira fussing in our kitchen. I miss that soup. I miss Armenia. I miss Elmira. I guess that's what she really wanted, anyway.

American Foreign Service Association • November 2005

WE ASKED, YOU ANSWERED

## **Online Opinion Poll Shapes AFSA Agenda**

BY STEVE KASHKETT, AFSA STATE VICE PRESIDENT

very representative organization needs feedback from constituents as a reliable way to find out what its members are thinking. The new AFSA Governing Board, as part of the process of defining our priorities and determining our positions on key issues facing the Foreign Service, conducted a Web-based electronic opinion poll of State Department active-duty members in August and September. Almost 2,000 of you completed the survey — a remarkably high response rate and a statistically conclusive sample of the views of the roughly

Continued on page 6

### CALL FOR AFSA DISSENT AWARD **NOMINATIONS 2006**

BY BARBARA BERGER. PROFESSIONAL ISSUES COORDINATOR

or 37 years, AFSA has sponsored a program to recognize constructive dissent and risk-taking in the Foreign Service. The AFSA Dissent Awards are unique, because they are based on integrity rather than performance. No other organization or agency in the U.S. government has a similar program. Each winner receives \$2,500, presented at a special ceremony in June in the Benjamin Franklin Room at the State Department.

AFSA's constructive dissent awards provide a way to honor those Foreign Service professionals who demonstrate the integrity, initiative and intellectual courage to challenge conventional wisdom, to question the status quo or suggest alternative courses of action. (The Dissent Channel at State, first proposed by AFSA, was created in 1971 as a formal mechanism for expressing dis-



agreement/dissent with State's established policies.)

Hiram ("Harry") Bingham IV was an FSO who granted American entry visas,

Continued on page 8

Insid	le
This	Issue

Trisine	
This Issue:	1013
DDIEEC ACCELED	2
BRIEFS: AGGELER	∠
STATE VP: FAMILY QUARREL	3
USAID VP: MERGER RUMORS	4
FAS VP: HUMAN CAPITAL	5
MEMBER SURVEY: CHARTS	6
AAFSW	8
FS VOICE: PERMANENT	
IMPERMANENCE	9

FOREIGN SERVICE MEMBER KILLED IN IRAQ

## **AFSA Mourns Loss** of DS Agent

n Sept. 19, State Department Diplomatic Security Special Agent Stephen Eric Sullivan, 40, was killed in the line of duty while serving on a protective detail in Mosul. (See obituary, p. 69.) Sullivan died along with three American security contractors when their vehicle was struck by a car bomb. He was the third Foreign Service member to be killed in Iraq.

AFSA is deeply saddened by the death of Mr. Sullivan. In a press release on Sept. 20, AFSA President J. Anthony Holmes stated: "This tragic loss underlines the mortal dangers faced by the men and women of the U.S. Foreign Service who are working under the most extreme circumstances to advance our nation's vital interests around the globe. On behalf of

Continued on page 4



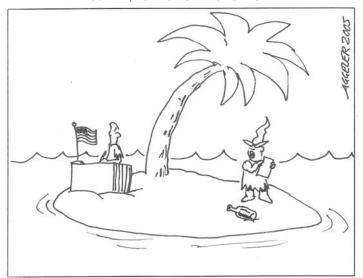
### **Past Scholarship Recipient Gives Back**

In September, Stephen Hubler, an AFSA scholarship recipient himself from 1979 to 1983, established a \$1,000 financial aid scholarship in memory of Dr. Annalena Tonelli. Tonelli founded and worked in a tuberculosis clinic in Somalia, and tragically died there in 2003. Hubler has chosen to give back to the AFSA Scholarship Program because of the benefits he received as a financially strapped student. It is Hubler's hope that this scholarship will help a Foreign Service student whose career will have the same positive impact on the lives of others that Dr. Tonelli had. Hubler joined the Foreign Service in 1992 and is currently assigned to Embassy Skopje as politicaleconomic chief. He previously served in Frankfurt, San Jose, Addis Ababa and Washington.

This award will be bestowed on a Foreign Service child for undergraduate study. For information on how you can establish a scholarship in your name, in honor of another, or to commemorate a special event, please contact AFSA Scholarship Director Lori Dec at (202) 944-5504 or dec@afsa.org.

### Life in the Foreign Service

BY BRIAN AGGELER, FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER



"It says here we should devote more of our post resources to public outreach."

### **Legislative Action Fund**

Don't forget to make your contribution to AFSA's Legislative Action Fund. AFSA is the key organization working full-time to protect and improve Foreign Service benefits, for both active employees and retirees. Please mail your contribution to: AFSA Legislative Action Fund, PO Box 98026, Washington DC 20090-8026, or go to the AFSA Web site at: www.afsa.org/lafform.cfm. Make checks payable to the AFSA Legislative Action Fund. Please support the LAF by giving generously.

### **Katrina Relief for FCS Employees**

The Commerce Department has established a fund for US&FCS employees affected by Hurricane Katrina. All staff were evacuated from New Orleans and some lost their homes and all of their belongings. The fund will be administered through the Federal Employee Education and Assistance Fund. For information on how to donate, go to www.feea.org/give transfer.shtml and then "Click here to continue to the online donation page" and choose "Commerce Employees Fund." Checks can be sent to FEEA Commerce Employees Fund, US&FCS participants, 8441 W. Bowles Ave., Suite 200, Littleton CO 80123-9501.

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Gilbert Sheinbaum

## **A Painful Family Quarrel**

FSA's electronic opinion poll has revealed a deep and painful divide within the Foreign Service family. A great many FS employees serving all over the world have sent us comments protesting that our colleagues who have volunteered to go to Iraq and Afghanistan are getting preferential treatment in promotions and onward assignments with little regard for their performance. Meanwhile, a handful of people currently serving in one of those two war zones have responded by arguing that they deserve every possible compensation and reward for living through the hell of being posted in those places, which, as we all know, feature daily hardships, deprivations and dangers that would get any other, less politically symbolic post shut down immediately.

At the same time, AFSA continues to detect disturbing indications of the tremendous pressure being placed upon the director general and the human resources system to fill all the vacant positions in Iraq and Afghanistan, by whatever means and at whatever cost is necessary.

We in AFSA have the highest regard for our colleagues who are willing and able to undertake this hazardous duty, and we believe there should be extremely generous rewards for those who serve in Iraq and Afghanistan. These rewards could and should include any number of creative ideas, such as substantial extra pay, special R&R arrangements, flexible accommodations for family visits and home leave, departmental awards and fulfillment of various career development requirements. AFSA will continue to press the department to increase these and other incentives, as well as to take immediate action to improve the security, housing and quality of life at posts in those countries.

What this hazardous service should *not* do, however, is hold out the promise to those people of special treatment for promotions and onward assignments at the expense of everyone else in the Foreign Service. We all compete for class-wide promotions on the basis of how well we perform over a multiyear period. AFSA annually sits down with management to negotiate the precepts for promotion—precepts that attach central importance to those leadership, managerial, substantive, interpersonal and foreign language skills that demonstrate one's ability to thrive at a higher grade level and one's potential to serve effectively as a more senior officer. Willingness and availability to go to Baghdad or Kabul for a year, while commendable, tell us little about the skills that should qualify an employee for promotion.

Giving special "promotion points" to those who serve in a few dangerous posts demeans the work being done by FS employees everywhere else. What about the person performing superbly at one of our many important hardship posts not quite as difficult or as high-profile as Iraq and Afghanistan? What about someone doing brilliant work on vital policy issues in Cairo, Portau-Prince, Moscow or even Washington,

D.C.? Don't these talented, dedicated FS employees deserve an equal shot at promotion?

Whether we like it or not, the reality is that promotions are a zero-sum game. Especially at a time of tight budgets when most of us would consider ourselves lucky to get

of us would consider ourselves lucky to get promoted after six or seven years at grade — and when the threat of being "selected out" remains very real — it is essential that promotion boards base their decisions solely on the skills and potential of candidates reviewed on a level playing field.

Everyone agrees that we in the Foreign Service must have a strictly merit-based promotion system. Okay, then: let's keep our promotions based on merit.

Everyone agrees that we in the Foreign Service, like all federal employees, must have a strictly merit-based promotion system. Okay, then: let's keep our promotions based on merit, not on willingness or availability to go to two particularly dangerous posts that may happen to be politically sensitive at the moment.

Similarly, the open assignments process is supposed to be a transparent exercise in identifying the best-qualified candidate for a particular assignment. As the number of hardship posts increases and the number of "cushy" posts dwindles, it becomes all the more important for the system to show fairness and even-handedness in the assignments process. Willingness to volunteer for a year in Iraq does not necessarily make someone the best candidate with the most appropriate skills for a particular onward assignment. Service there should not trump strong qualifications of other bidders, especially those with a recent tour at a hardship post.

This is a painful family quarrel. Most of us know people on both sides and can sympathize with the emotions of each. But the issue is not about whether or not there should be special recognition, incentives and rewards for our brave colleagues who serve in Iraq and Afghanistan; AFSA is firmly in favor of better incentives packages for them. It is about determining what are the most appropriate rewards that neither come at the expense of the rest of the hard-working Foreign Service, nor unfairly put everyone else at a long-term disadvantage.  $\square$ 

## **Merger Rumors**

he question asked most often this summer by visitors from overseas missions was: "What do you hear about USAID's merger with State?" They must think that I am privy to discussions in the lofty corridors of power. I am not. Even so, I have views and this space allows me to express them.



I (first-person singular and not AFSA) do not believe that it would be in the best interest of long-term U.S. foreign policy if USAID were merged with State. There is still serious debate on whether it was wise to have merged USIA with State back in 1999. Some would argue that our public diplomacy function is far less potent and effective today than it was in the heady days when we were at the "end of history" and naively concluded we no longer needed "vestiges" of the Cold War. One wonders, had USIA

not been disbanded, whether our image in the world would be better than it is.

If a merger were to occur,
I fear that the development
rationale would be on the
losing side in every debate.

Do healthy organizational tensions lead to better results? I contend they do. Once USIA officers were subsumed under the predominant organization's personnel system, there was no longer any reward for an opposing view. Future promotions and assignments could be jeopardized by nonconformity with perceived organizational orthodoxy. And so it would be with USAID. Something could be lost — something quite important.

In the foreign policy debate, one of USAID's primary roles is to advocate for long-term development goals. These often compete with short-term political objectives. In practical terms, this could play out with the U.S. using its resources in a particular country on an education strategy over several years versus a questionable infrastructure activity designed to curry fleeting favor with the ruling elite. Sound familiar? Just as the U.S. Navy's mission is different from that of the U.S. Army, so is USAID's mission different from State's. If a merger were to occur, I fear that the development rationale would be on the losing side in every debate.

FEMA melded into Homeland Security and USIA into State because merger seemed like a good idea at the time and the cost-cutting advocates held sway. Does a similar fate await USAID? Let's ask those same cost-cutters in the wake of Osama and Katrina, what costs were saved?

There is another disturbing aspect to this merging, which puts USAID even deeper behind walls. I am reminded of the two scheming fathers in the popular musical, "The Fantasticks." The fathers build a wall between their two houses, because they know it will bring their two children together in marriage rather than keep them apart. On Broadway, building a wall can accomplish the desired objective. But what works in the theater, more often than not, fails in real life. Intuitively, we know walls don't work.

Merger or no merger, USAID's retreat behind the walls of fortress-like embassies is not the answer. Yes, there are real security concerns, but USAID, like the Peace Corps, cannot achieve its objectives encased behind walls. Instead, it needs desperately to find imaginative ways in which it can breach and eliminate the walls — or a "hostile takeover" will be the least of its worries.  $\square$ 

#### Iraq • Continued from page 1

all his colleagues, I extend my heartfelt condolences to Mr. Sullivan's family."

Sullivan served in the U.S. Marine Corps and as a U.S. Navy Hospital Corpsman before joining Diplomatic Security in 2002. After service in the Miami Field Office, he was posted to Kabul in 2004, serving as an Assistant Regional Security Officer. Following his service in Kabul, he volunteered to go to Iraq as an assistant regional security offi-

AFSA urges the U.S. government to continually review the security arrangements protecting our heroic colleagues and to provide them the fullest measure of resources and protection possible.

cer in 2005. Based in Baghdad, he was on temporary assignment as the acting regional security officer in Mosul when this tragedy occurred.

AFSA recognizes that it is impossible anywhere to provide 100-percent protection for our personnel who staff the front lines of American diplomacy. Since the 1998 East Africa embassy bombings in which 224 died (including 53 U.S. government employees), progress has been made in bringing our overseas embassies, consulates and other missions up to acceptable security standards. However, much work remains to be done.

We also recognize that Embassy Baghdad and the four consulates in Iraq are special cases and that security standards for our colleagues there (and in Afghanistan) are judged differently than at other posts around the world. At every opportunity, AFSA urges the U.S. government to continually review the security arrangements protecting our heroic colleagues and to provide them the fullest measure of resources and protection possible.

## **Capitalizing on FAS's Human Resources**

hese days, almost every federal agency is grappling with human capital questions. How do we align our people, budget, technology and organizational structure to ensure strategic goals are achieved? How do we create an organizational culture that supports results-oriented leadership and innovation? How do we attract, develop and retain the best talent?

To get a picture of the perceptions of FSOs, AFSA FAS conducted our own human capital survey. As with all federal agencies, there are areas where FAS is doing well and areas that need improvement.

Most of the survey responses from our FSOs were on par with the FAS-wide and governmentwide responses to the human capital survey. However, in key areas, the attitudes and perceptions held by FSOs were less positive. More than half of FAS FSOs said they did not have sufficient resources — people, budget, materials — to do their jobs, as compared to 37 percent in FAS overall and 32 percent governmentwide. Only 19 percent of survey respondents agreed that our performance-management system rewards high-performing employees, as compared to 49 percent in FAS and 42 percent in other federal agencies. Only 32 percent of FSOs felt they received adequate training as compared to 56 percent in FAS overall and 60 percent governmentwide. On key issues such as communication, leadership and management, FAS FSO responses were below governmentwide averages.

Nearly 70 percent of AFSA FAS members responded to the survey. Of the respondents, 64 percent were in the field; 90 percent were supervisors or managers (including 21 percent in the Senior Foreign Service); 66 percent were male and 34 percent were female.

The survey responses on sufficient resources to get the job done are troubling. Our overseas presence is indispensable to the effective management of the agency's programs. Our posts overseas play a vital role in negotiating new trade agreements, resolving trade disputes, developing agricultural markets and providing agricultural market intelligence. To ensure that the activities of our posts and the resources committed to them are aligned with agency goals, FAS conducts a thorough and rigorous global review process every year. Surprisingly, there is not a similar structure in place to evaluate our domestic operations. AFSA encourages FAS to implement a "domestic review" process to ensure a more balanced approach to resource allocation and to help ensure that our FSOs have the resources necessary to do their jobs.

FSO responses on performance management reflect a lack of confidence in the current system. A top AFSA FAS priority is working with management to create an integrated performance management and measurement system that rewards proven leadership and management skills and meets the objection.

tives of the Presidential Management Agenda. Two AFSA FAS working groups — the Leadership and Management Working Group and the Performance Management Working Group — have been instrumental in develop-



ing a memorandum of understanding to enhance our performance management system. We will circulate the draft MOU in the near future, and look forward to obtaining comments and suggestions from FAS FSOs.

Enhanced training for FSOs is high on AFSA's priority list. AFSA is working through the FAS human capital working group, which was established at our request, to develop a comprehen-

sive training program for FSOs. We would like to see a comprehensive training and development program for junior, midlevel and senior FSOs that builds on the recently identified core professional competencies, leverages distance-learning programs, better

More than half of FAS
FSOs said they did not have
sufficient resources — people,
budget, materials —
to do their jobs.

utilizes detail opportunities and equips FSOs with the management and leadership skills necessary to lead people, lead change and achieve results.

The survey responses on communication, leadership and management likely reflect uncertainty on the part of FSOs regarding the ongoing FAS strategic review and alignment process and what it means for employees. To address employee concerns, AFSA is encouraging FAS leadership to strengthen its communication with employees, particularly those in the field, and to more actively involve employees in the strategic review and alignment process.

While not specifically addressed in the survey, the Washington Placement Plan is another issue that merits our attention. While we are convinced that FAS senior management makes every attempt to ensure the process is equitable, we are concerned that the process itself is flawed. If evaluated on the basis of its original objective — a mechanism to place returning FSOs in positions best suited to advance the agency's mission — the WPP is a failure.

AFSA FAS strives to represent member concerns and interests, but we need your input to be successful. Our door is always open and the cappuccino-maker is on.

#### Survey • Continued from page 1

8,000-member target group. Respondents, who came from virtually every overseas post and every domestic bureau, broke down as follows:

Overseas: 71 percentDomestic: 29 percent

FS generalists: 67 percentFS specialists: 33 percent

Respondents were asked to rank order priorities for AFSA. The survey revealed clearly what State active-duty members want AFSA's top four priorities to be, in the following order:

1. Lobbying for overseas locality pay and better benefits.

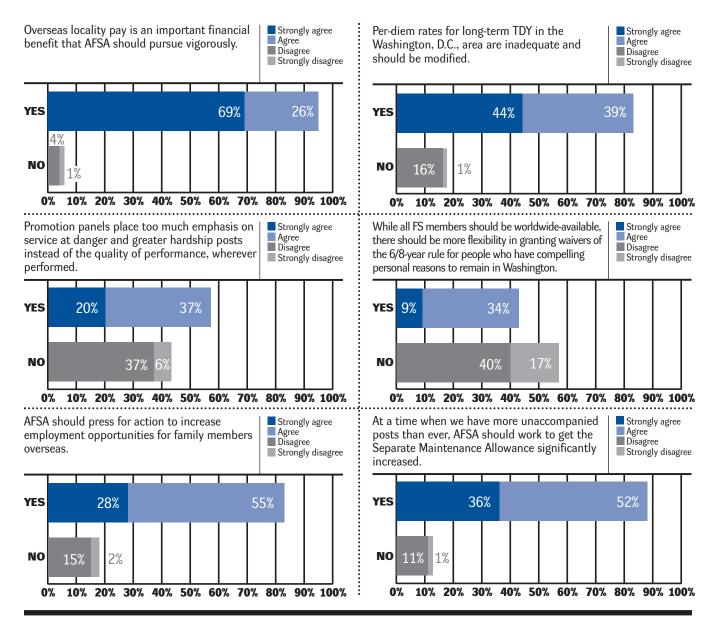
- 2. Fighting for fairness in assignments/promotions.
- Assisting members with individual labor-management problems, concerns, inequities, disciplinary issues, grievances, etc.
- 4. Defending the reputation of the professional Foreign Service and its role in the foreign policy-making process.

Other AFSA activities, such as publishing the *Foreign Service Journal* and providing services such as scholarships, awards and insurance, are also important to the membership, but constitute a somewhat lower priority.

On the major specific issues of concern to the Foreign Service, the poll revealed mostly unequivocal consensus views — but some differences of opinion as well — as illustrated in the accompanying graphs.

Overseas comparability (locality) pay remains "an important benefit which AFSA should pursue vigorously," according to 95 percent of respondents. Increasing the Separate Maintenance Allowance, Washington-area per-diem rates, and employment opportunities for family members overseas all received high marks. Some 70 percent believe that AFSA should challenge unqualified political appointees at all levels.

Even more interesting than these targeted questions on key high-profile issues, however, are the often elaborate comments entered by nearly 1,000 respondents on



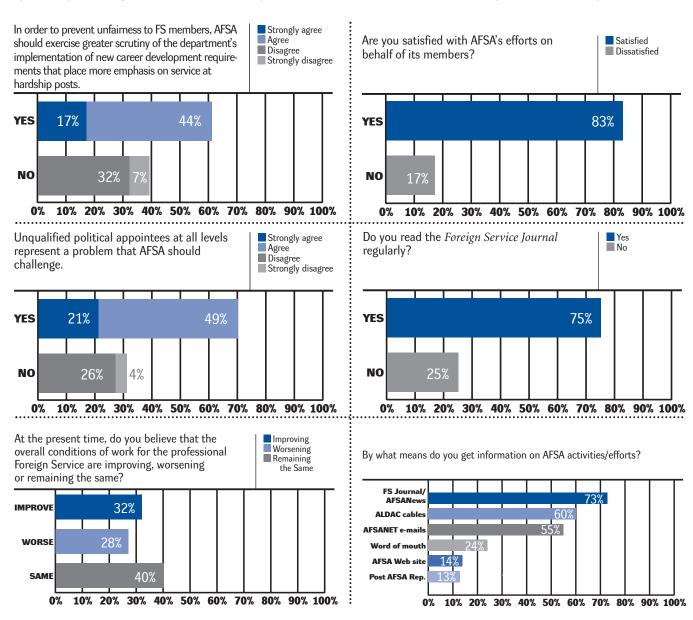
other areas of concern to them. These comments, which AFSA staff have been scrutinizing and are now cataloging, suggest the wide range of disparate problems members would like AFSA to address, as well as the diversity of opinion on how AFSA should approach these problems. The comments cover a multitude of subjects, resulting in at least 100 distinct suggestions for action items. Recurring themes include: frustrations over the EER/promotion process, the inability to use home leave, unequal treatment of Members of Household, secret "handshakes" for choice assignments, problems with household effects/storage, inadequate arrangements for pregnancy/ maternity, disparity between generalists and specialists, poor managerial skills of senior

officers, excessive security investigations/ punitive actions and a widespread perception that the department is offering unfair and inappropriate rewards to people who volunteer to serve in Iraq and Afghanistan. (See my column on this latter subject on page 3.)

This survey highlights the challenges facing AFSA when we try to represent this multifaceted — and often feisty — membership. We cannot tackle every issue of importance to every member. When we do take on an issue in our negotiations with department management, we typically find that members disagree on what AFSA should do about that particular issue or how much effort AFSA should expend on it.

We at AFSA will take to heart the responses we received in this survey as we define our agenda and our priorities. Our members overwhelmingly (68 percent) want ASFA to serve as both a labor union and a professional association, and a clear majority (61 percent) think AFSA should be more vocal and assertive in dealing with management. We will continue to listen to members' concerns, to tackle every problem we can and to strive conscientiously to represent our diverse constituency to the best of our ability.

The response to one question was particularly heartening: when asked if they were "satisfied with AFSA's efforts" on their behalf, some 83 percent of survey respondents answered yes!



#### A MESSAGE FROM AAFSW

### New Address, Same Mission

he Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide has moved to Northern Virginia, on Columbia Pike just east of Carlin Springs. AAFSW invites AFSA members to stop by for a visit.

The location may be new, but AAFSW is as dedicated as ever to connecting the Foreign Service community at home and abroad. Over 1,400 members of the Foreign Service community worldwide are connected through AAFSW's Livelines email discussion group, which is free to all. Each month, thousands visit www.aafsw.org for helpful links, housing and book reviews, articles and tips on living the FS life. Over 800 AAFSW members contribute time, money and energy to support the association's publications, special interest groups, online resources, outreach efforts, annual BOOKFAIR and the Secretary of State's Award for Outstanding Volunteerism Abroad.

Founded in 1960, AAFSW is a 501(c)3



nonprofit organization and an independent advocate for its membership — spouses, partners, and active and retired employees of all U.S. foreign affairs agencies. AAFSW is not affiliated with the State Department, although it works closely with State representatives and helped found the Family Liaison Office and the Overseas Briefing Center.

You can join AAFSW at www. aafsw.org. The \$40 annual membership fee includes:

• Ten issues of the *Global Link* newsletter.

- Access to the members-only section of www.aafsw.org.
- Ability to post ads on AAFSW's popular online classified ads.
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#### Dissent • Continued from page 1

against official U.S. government policy, to 2,500 European Jews (including many prominent cultural figures) at great personal risk and cost to his career. He received a posthumous dissent award from AFSA in 2002, presented by Secretary of State Colin Powell to Bingham's children at the awards ceremony. We understand that next year, the U.S. Postal Service will issue a series of six stamps honoring U.S. diplomats, and Hiram Bingham will be among them. It has taken over 60 years, but his story is finally being told. However, AFSA wants to tell the story of our most heroic dissenters today, while these brave employees are still serving their country in the Foreign Service.

Our country continues to face extraordinary challenges in the conduct of international affairs. Foreign Service employees at all grades and in all agenPlease give some thought now to identifying colleagues who have had the courage to challenge the system — on any subject.

cies put their lives and the lives of their families at risk every day to advance America's interests abroad. AFSA's dissent awards offer an opportunity to recognize the critical contributions made by our colleagues who have demonstrated the courage to stand up for what they believe, just as Harry Bingham did in 1942 in Marseilles. AFSA asks that you help us honor Foreign Service colleagues who have followed in his path and have taken risks for their convictions, demonstrated inde-

pendent thinking or dared to ask the tough questions that no one else will ask.

Please give some thought now to identifying colleagues who have had the courage to challenge the system — on any subject. Success is not a requirement. The willingness to ask the tough questions despite the circumstances is what counts. The official call for dissent award nominations will be in the December *AFSA News*.

The four dissent awards are: the Herter Award for senior officers, the Rivkin Award for mid-level officers, the Harriman Award for junior officers and the Harris Award for specialists. For more information, please contact Barbara Berger at berger@afsa.org or (202) 338-4045, ext. 251. For nomination instructions and additional information on AFSA's dissent and other awards, please go to www. afsa.org/awards.cfm. We are counting on you to help us maintain this proud tradition of dissent.

# Permanent Impermanence: Finding a Foothold in the Foreign Service

"Nostalgia is fatiguing and destructive, it is the vice of the expatriate. You must put down roots as if they were forever, you must have a sense of permanence."

Isabel Allende, Of Love and Shadows

Il of us, Americans associated with missions around the world, have chosen the expatriate's life. Perhaps our choices horrify our families back home, perhaps they inspire

envy, but either way, we're out here, living a life that changes dramatically every two or three years. We're doing our work in languages and cultures that are foreign to us, living in homes we may never have picked for ourselves, sleeping in beds bought in bulk, meeting people we may not have otherwise known. We are diverse in looks, background, politics and states of origin, but all of our personal roads have led us here, to this transient lifestyle. So what do we, expert expatriates, make of the "vice"

of nostalgia? How, with the constant transition that comes with our chosen professions, do we shuck off nostalgia to maintain a sense of permanence? Or should we? Can looking back be useful?

Nostalgia, in a sense, is home for us. Beyond the household effects that we carefully pack up and ship from post to post, the one variable that is consistent is our memories. Our overseas homes are temporary. If we didn't let ourselves engage in nostalgia we would feel adrift — without the anchor of a personal history. Nostalgia also gives us a sense of a greater community. How many times do you say goodbye to someone at one post only to see them again at a conference in Washington, or find out they've just been assigned to your new post? Being able to compare stories and trade histories is especially important to people with temporary physical roots in any one place. We need our nostalgia to bolster our efforts every time we move.

#### **Moving On**

Everyone has a similar story: Maybe you've lived in Nairobi for two years and loved every minute. Your house is beautiful, the garden is full of hummingbirds and banana trees, you spend your weekends viewing big game in the national park and, to top it all off, your boss is the greatest. This, you think, is what Foreign Service life is all about. Then bidding season rolls around, and though you hate to leave Kenya, you know another adventure is in store for you wherever you may end up. You're confident, adaptable and ready for anything.

Getting used to your new post in Fredonia turns out to be dif-

ficult. The city is large and cold, the air filled with factory smoke. You miss Nairobi. Maybe your sponsor takes you out for dinner and you spend the whole evening telling stories of camping in Maasai Mara. At the market you scoff at the produce because "the markets were filled with mangos and passion fruits as big as your head back in Kenya." I suspect this is the kind of nostalgia Allende warned us about. Maybe she meant for us to keep the past, but throw ourselves into each new post with both feet, as if

this were the last place we'd ever live.

It's hard to transcend the feelings of sadness that can come with moving. It's easy to compare every aspect of this country to the one you miss. Transition is a kind of grief, and those of us who move often need to let ourselves pass through the stages of grieving in order to make peace with the present. Transition has five stages: Involvement (being happily settled), leaving (the physical process of moving), arriving (the chaotic and anxious

period of arrival), entering (being vulnerable — a new face in new place, learning the ropes) and reinvolvement (settling back in and feeling at home). Letting nostalgia play too big a role contributes to getting stuck in the entering stage — constantly feeling like an outsider.

It's hard to transcend the feelings of sadness that can come with moving. It's easy to compare every aspect of this country to the one you miss.

#### **A Fine Balance**

So we are faced with the challenge of maintaining the balance between welcoming the transience of Foreign Service life and committing our full selves to finding happiness in each new place. It's about leaving the office in the evenings and walking through the neighborhood, making discoveries and connections. It's about suspending judgment and, instead, letting experiences wash over you. After all, this is the adventure; the daily minutia of watching a whole new country and culture unfold before you and knowing that, for the time you're given, you're a part of it.

It's a life that can be hard. It's hard to say goodbye, to leave houses and people and places that you loved, but the silver lining is that it's also a never-ending source of potential joy. Every place you go will offer you some kind of gift if you are willing to put yourself out there, let yourself relax and find it. It's your role to enjoy every place you go while you can, set your roots down for awhile, live as if you were never leaving. This is the talent that this special life calls for: being permanently impermanent. And enjoying the ride.  $\square$ 

Adrienne Benson Scherger grew up in four African countries with a USAID father. A freelance writer, she is currently serving as the CLO in Tirana, where her husband is administrative officer for the Peace Corps.

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## In Re: Personal Banking from Overseas (Peace of Mind Is at Hand!)

There are many exciting experiences while on overseas assignment, but managing your finances isn't typically one of them. Actually, it can be quite challenging. Managing your pay, meeting financial obligations, Dear Journal Reader: maintaining a good credit rating at home, and sustaining and growing one's financial portfolio can all become a challenge. Additionally, once settled-in at your country of assignment, local obligations arise, requiring the need to transfer funds, be it in US Dollars or in Foreign Currency.

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