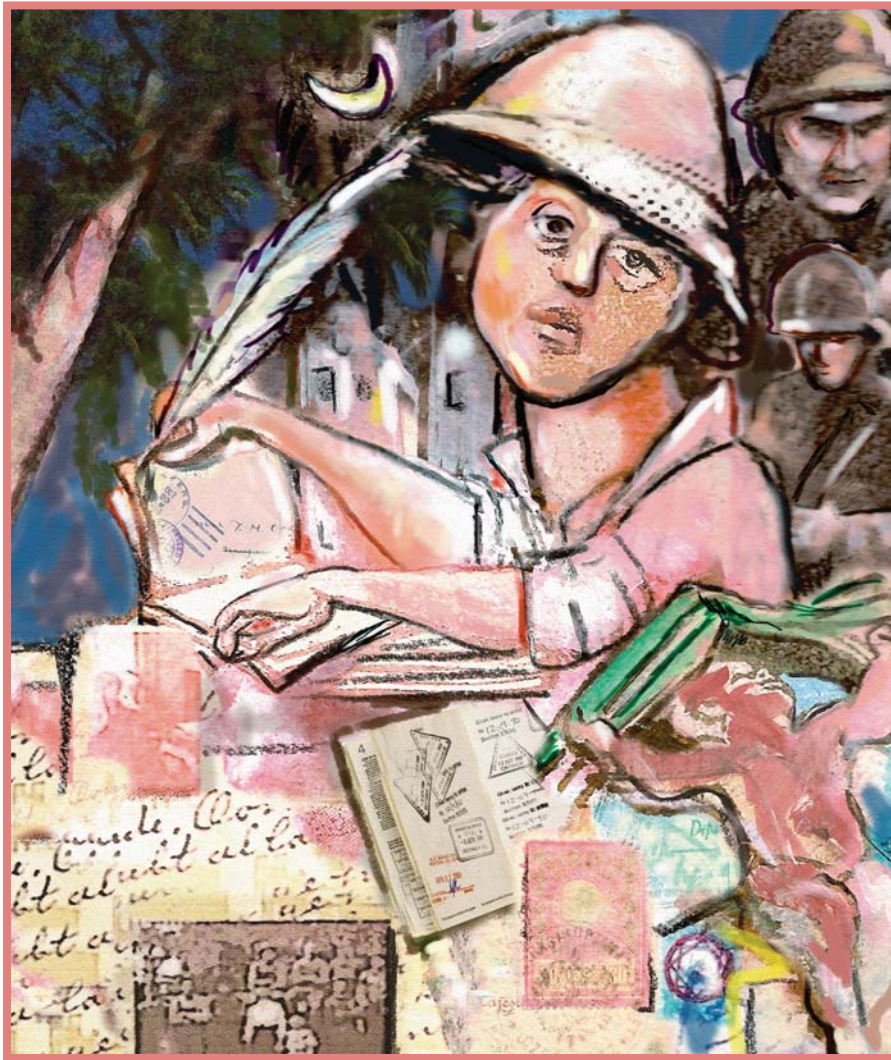


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The chief benefit of electronic ads will be the rapid turnaround time to reach the Foreign Service community and beyond. In lieu of posting a notice on the bulletin board in the Truman Building (we all know how convenient that is!), AFSA is offering this pilot classifieds program as a service to members. As an added bonus, the option to insert a picture will be available. The basic interface is designed to be concise, effective and, hopefully, user-friendly.

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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Telling Our Story

By JOHN K. NALAND

During my first week of A-100 orientation many years ago, a classmate pointed out that when I said "Foreign Service," I differed from my colleagues by putting the stress on the first word instead of on the second. While I quickly changed my pronunciation, I still feel that the defining characteristic of our profession is that we spend most of our careers abroad.



Certainly, overseas stationing has also become a characteristic of U.S. military service since 2003. But, absent an invasion from Mars, the next administration will likely seek to return our military to what it was when I served in the Army in the early 1980s: a mostly U.S.-based garrison force. That will never be the case for the Foreign Service, which has consistently maintained two-thirds of its positions overseas.

I mention this because I am often disappointed at how little credit the Foreign Service gets from the American people and their representatives in Congress for the fact that we spend so much of our careers far from home, often in very difficult places. Over a long career, that adds up to a lot of missed births of nieces, deaths of family members, weddings of old friends, and holiday dinners at grandma's house.

This lack of appreciation of the

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

burdens of the Foreign Service career costs us dearly on Capitol Hill. For example, only after years of effort was AFSA able to convince Congress that Foreign Service members, like the uniformed military, should not have to pay tens of thousands of dollars in capital gains tax on the sale of a primary residence that their overseas postings had not allowed them to occupy for the required two of the last five years.

Similarly, while it is intuitively obvious to us that we should not take a nearly 20-percent cut in base pay when we transfer abroad, few in Congress consider the issue in the context of the many burdens borne by the Foreign Service. Instead, many are guided by obsolete images of diplomats spending their careers in comfortable European capitals.

Of course, AFSA works hard to educate lawmakers and the American people about the realities of Foreign Service life. Just review our annual report published each March in this *Journal* to gain an appreciation of how often AFSA is quoted in the media, how many speaking engagements we coordinate around the nation, and how many congressional offices we visit. But more needs to be done.

One obvious candidate to undertake increased efforts to "tell our story" is the State Department's Bureau of Public Affairs. Yet, with rare exceptions in recent decades, PA has

focused exclusively on building support for the day's foreign policy initiatives, without also making efforts to build a long-term constituency for diplomacy. Contrast that with the Pentagon's teams of people dedicated to generating positive press coverage of, and long-lasting admiration for, the hard work and sacrifices of soldiers, sailors, Marines and airmen.

Other candidates to help educate outsiders about the realities of Foreign Service life include almost everyone reading this column. Yes, it is the job of AFSA's officers and small staff to take the lead on this. But there is no way for a handful of people to call on all 535 members of Congress, get letters printed on the editorial pages of every local newspaper around the nation, and single-handedly undertake the many other possible outreach efforts.

This is clearly an endeavor that could benefit from more helping hands. For example, active-duty members could brief visiting congressional delegations on the overseas pay inequity. Retired members can write to their local newspapers to highlight the need to adequately fund diplomatic engagement. And all members should contact their lawmakers to raise these issues, thereby transforming AFSA's once-a-year Day on the Hill lobbying blitz into a year-round campaign.

There is plenty of work to go around, so any and all help will be appreciated. ■

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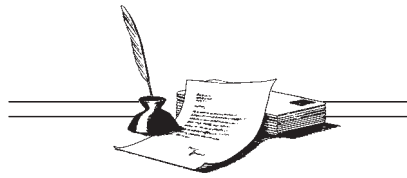
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LETTERS

Another Insulting Homecoming

I was part of the first team of DS agents to volunteer for a one-year assignment in Iraq to assist with the transition from the Coalition Provisional Authority to the U.S. embassy. We served from 2004 to 2005.

In November 2006, I retired as a special agent with the Bureau of Diplomatic Security. Since then, I have been reading with a great deal of interest newspaper articles and State Department notices regarding the special incentives that are being offered to encourage Foreign Service employees to volunteer for high-threat posts such as Iraq and Afghanistan.

I wish to applaud the department and AFSA for their efforts on behalf of employees/members and their willingness to initiate innovative programs that range from modified salary caps to counseling services to treat Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder.

Compared to the package currently being offered to department employees who volunteer for service in Iraq, the original Iraq Recognition Package was rather meager. However, I should note that those of us who stepped forward did so out of professionalism and duty, and not for monetary gain, promotion or onward assignments.

Unfortunately, our return to the U.S. was reminiscent of the welcome I received when I returned from

Vietnam. The only recognition of our sacrifice was a notice from the State Department that they had overpaid us and wanted their money back. To emphasize their point, we were also advised that should we contest this matter, we could face criminal prosecution.

I know this issue is old news, but what is unconscionable is the fact that even after State admitted that the mistake was its own, it still demands repayment. The department maintains that even though the new salary cap was implemented during the time we were in Iraq, it did not apply to us because we did not get paid for those hours until 2005.

Other DS agents and I have been contesting this action since April 2005. AFSA represented us at the initial hearing, and the Federal Law Enforcement Officers Association has now taken over the case. In the event that the ruling should go against us, we have secured legal representation and are prepared to take the matter to federal court.

I find it perplexing that the department initiates new programs for those willing to serve in high-threat posts, while at the same time continuing to treat those of us who responded to the initial desperate call for volunteers with disdain, bureaucratic stonewalling and contempt.

It is my ardent hope that those dedicated State Department employees who volunteer to put their lives on

the line do not have to face the same homecoming that we did.

*Richard E. Lubow
Diplomatic Security
Special Agent, retired
Herndon, Va.*

Historical Ironies: Tehran & Peking

Ex-hostage Moorhead Kennedy's "The Boxer Siege: A Precedent for the Iranian Hostage Crisis" (*FSJ*, September) is a welcome piece of historical writing. The parallel between his detention by the Iranian students together with 51 embassy colleagues and the 1900 legation siege in Peking (now Beijing) is replete with ironies. For instance, Kennedy notes that it was the 1980 invasion of Iran by Saddam Hussein that paved the way for the release of our colleagues in Tehran the following year.

However, Kennedy overlooked some tragicomic ironies related to Peking. In 1900, the U.S. was an unabashed imperialist power with a garrison of 150,000 men who fought local "insurrectos" (freedom fighters) in the newly occupied Philippines. From there, a regiment was deployed to Peking under a German commander in chief of the allied forces.

After the legation siege was lifted, U.S. troops went on a search-and-destroy mission. They were about to blast with artillery the Wu Men (South Gate) of the Forbidden City in order to engage Chinese defenders,

LETTERS



who, it was later discovered, had already fled to safety. Unbeknownst to the Americans, Vietnamese colonial troops manning French batteries mistook U.S. troops for Chinese soldiers and shelled them, killing six and wounding 17. Ironically, French friendly fire saved the U.S. from the ignominy of invading and then destroying the highly combustible sacred buildings of the Forbidden City. Nobody was home at the time except an unlikely enemy: scores of eunuch caretakers.

Jose Armilla
FSO, retired
Vienna, Va.

Getting to Cuba

Even here in Nantucket, I am often able to lay my hands on a copy

of the *Foreign Service Journal*, which I read with great interest and pass along to others who think about our many international problems.

For almost two years, I have been trying to get a visa to go to Cuba in a lawful way. I have written directly to the U.S. Treasury Department's Foreign Assets Control Board. I've also tried through the U.S. embassy in Athens while in Greece and through a congressional office.

Of course, I could go to Cuba without a visa, as many have done. But that would do little to facilitate my goal of obtaining payment on my Republic of Cuba Bonds, which were issued in 1937 and defaulted in the early 1960s.

The responsibility for authorizing travel to Cuba should be returned to

the State Department. Long ago, before she came to State, I sent Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice a book about Charles III and the Spanish Armada. I guess the old saying that those who don't learn from history are doomed to repeat it holds as true today as when it was coined. Are we still overwhelmed by the legacy of the Cuban fiasco of the 1960s? Will we be in the same boat with Iraq in 2050? ■

William Kuntz III
Nantucket, Mass.

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CYBERNOTES

Cyber Diplomacy

Embassy Colombo recently inaugurated its first Virtual Presence Post for the Republic of Maldives. At a reception in Malé, Ambassador Robert Blake introduced Maldivian dignitaries and press to the VPP Web site (<http://maldives.usvpp.gov/index.html>). There users can find information on how to apply for a U.S. visa, choose an American university, locate a business partner, and access other U.S. programs and activities of special interest.

In the Maldives, where the U.S. has no onsite representative, the VPP serves as a minimal but significant level of diplomatic engagement, offering many of the services available at traditional consulates and promoting interaction between Americans and Maldivians.

This VPP is the latest in what is proving to be a very successful State Department e-initiative, according to State's Fiscal Year 2007 report on implementation of The E-Government Act of 2002, released in late September (www.state.gov/m/irm/rls/92584.htm). The E-Government Act mandates agency-specific e-government initiatives to increase efficiency and lower costs. The VPPs use information technology to extend the reach of diplomatic services and consular information to populations not served by physical embassies or consulates.

The first five VPPs, set up in Russia as a demonstration program under the Office of e-Diplomacy, cost a total of \$10,000 to establish. By comparison, according to the department's Human

Resources Bureau, to maintain a single Foreign Service officer overseas can average \$400,000 per year. There are currently 41 VPPs.

The VPPs are by no means State's only forays into cyberspace. Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy Karen Hughes has begun to use blogs, chat rooms and discussion forums to extend and deepen America's dialogue with the world.

On Sept. 27, the department's first-ever blog, *Dipnote*, went live (<http://blogs.state.gov>). Launched by Spokesman Sean McCormack, who came up with the idea, *Dipnote* will feature informal posts from key players in Washington and abroad in an effort to make the practice of diplomacy more transparent. Each week a new question will be posed for open discussion, encouraging audience engagement in the issues. Earlier in the year, State's multimedia coordinator, Heath Kern, set up a State Department YouTube channel, where special briefings and interviews with officials on key issues of the day are posted (www.youtube.com/user/statevideo).

In the Bureau of International Information Programs, where many of these initiatives are centered, the Digital Outreach Team — a small unit of analysts, FSOs and Arabic-language specialists — monitors and contributes to high-traffic chat rooms, blogs and discussion forums such as those hosted by the BBC and Arab sites like Al-Jazeera and Elaph.com. The Digital Outreach Team members identify themselves as being from the State Department and offer a casual but

In terms of what's going on in Iraq or Afghanistan today, what the Department of Defense is doing is working. What isn't working is the diplomatic side.

— Former Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, interviewed in GQ magazine, Oct. 2007, http://men.style.com/gq/features/full?id=content_5896&pageNum=1

credible personal voice in the foreign policy debate in a medium where the U.S. perspective is often unrepresented.

"The competition of ideas is fiercer and more crowded than ever before," says Jeremy F. Curtin, coordinator for the IIP Bureau. "Information outreach, increasingly through the channels of high technology, is a primary instrument of public diplomacy" (<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/ips/0207/ijpe/curtin.htm>).

— Marc Nielsen, *Editorial Intern*

Iraqi Refugee Crisis Spotlighted — Again

On Sept. 18, liberal and conservative lawmakers stepped up their campaign to address one of the greatest humanitarian crises of our time: the plight of more than four million refugees created by the war in Iraq and, in particular, the circumstances of many thousands of Iraqis marked for execution because of their cooperation with the U.S. there.

In the Senate, a bipartisan group



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led by Sens. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., Gordon Smith, R-Ore., Sam Brownback, R-Kan. and Joseph Lieberman, I-Conn., introduced S. 1651, the Refugee Crisis in Iraq Act, as an amendment to the FY-08 Department of Defense authorization bill. In the House of Representatives, Reps. Earl Blumenauer, R-Ore., and Christopher Shays, D-Conn., introduced similar legislation, H.R. 2265. Both measures have been endorsed by the American Conservative Union.

The legislation would give Iraqis facing potential persecution because of ties to the U.S. the chance to apply directly for admission to America, rather than forcing them to chance a perilous flight to safety through Jordan or Syria. These two countries, already overwhelmed by an estimated 2.2 million refugees, have begun deporting refugees back to Iraq.

Just a day earlier, on Sept. 17, a cable from Ambassador Ryan Crocker denouncing the refugee process and the government's halting response to the crisis was leaked to the press. In it, Crocker said that the admission of Iraqi refugees to the U.S. remains bogged down by "major bottlenecks" resulting from security reviews conducted by the departments of State and Homeland Security. He also made several suggestions for fast-tracking the process.

In February, in response to congressional hearings and pressure from lawmakers and NGOs, the administration had promised to improve the processing of Iraqi refugees, in particular those endangered as a result of collaboration with the U.S., pledging to resettle 7,000 during the fiscal year that ended Sept. 30. But during the summer that number was scaled back to 2,000, and as of late September, fewer than 850 refugees had been accepted. Since the start of the Iraq War in 2003, only 1,521 refugees have been admitted to the

U.S., a fraction of those eligible.

Meanwhile, a new report by the Iraqi Red Crescent organization documents a surge of internal migration in recent months. Tens of thousands of families have been uprooted and forced to live in shantytowns and makeshift shelters (www.nytimes.com/2007/09/19/world/middleeast/). In Baghdad alone, the report states, nearly 170,000 families, accounting for almost a million people, have fled their homes. U.S. officials say the Iraqi refugee population is increasing by 60,000 a month.

On Sept. 19, the administration announced the appointment of two new senior officials — immigration law expert Lori Scialabba as a senior adviser at the Homeland Security Department and diplomat James Foley as the State Department's senior coordinator for Iraqi refugee issues. At the end of the week, DHS counselor Paul Rozenzweig vowed that 12,000 Iraqi refugees would be settled in the U.S. over the next fiscal year.

Under a 2006 measure passed by Congress, 500 Iraqis who face particular risk for having served in jobs such as translators for U.S. authorities can settle in the U.S. with their families each year. But of that vulnerable group, only 384 have been admitted so far, with 54 more expected by the end of September. In contrast, since 2003 more than 250 Iraqi translators have been killed.

According to a Human Rights Watch estimate, there are presently nearly 150,000 Iraqis in this exposed position. About 65,000 Iraqis work for the Pentagon under contract or subcontract, and another 81,000 work for U.S. reconstruction projects.

On Sept. 21, the U.N. said that Iraqi asylum applications had soared to record levels, with twice as many as last year (www.unhcr.org/iraq.html). In the first six months of this year,



19,800 Iraqis asked to be resettled in 36 Western countries. Almost half requested entry to Sweden, which has been taking about 1,000 refugees per month but is now experiencing a popular backlash.

The U.S. pledge to increase refugee resettlement to 12,000 in the coming year was met with skepticism by human rights activists. "Given the size of this refugee crisis — and the thousands and thousands of Iraqis who are at risk because of their work for the United States itself — it is both disappointing and shocking that the U.S. is not willing to bring more Iraqis to safety in this country next year," Eleanor Acer, spokeswoman for the nonprofit group Human Rights First (www.humanrightsfirst.org/asylum/lifeline/index.asp), told the *Los Angeles Times*.

Acer noted that when the political will exists, the U.S. has historically taken in far greater numbers of refugees. Between 1948 and 1952, some 250,000 Europeans displaced by World War II came to the U.S., and in 1975 America absorbed 131,000 Vietnamese refugees within a period of seven months.

— Susan Brady Maitra,
Senior Editor

Diversity Visa Program Under Attack

The Diversity Visa Program, established by the Immigration Act of 1990, differs from other visa programs in that it places no emphasis on employer or family sponsorship from within the U.S. but uses a lottery system to allocate visas.

In a report on the program released Sept. 21, the Government Accountability Office found that although it has been effective in diversifying immigrants, the DVP is vulnerable to fraud and could constitute a security risk as currently implemented (www.gao.gov).

Since 1995, more than 500,000 aliens from countries with low rates of immigration to the U.S. have become legal permanent residents. But, says the GAO, the program is also vulnerable to fraud committed both by and against DV applicants. In addition, the State Department has neither compiled comprehensive data on detected and suspected fraud, nor developed a strategy to address the problem.

The GAO surveyed DVP operations at 11 overseas posts. At more than half of the posts, consular officers said that visa agents and their widespread use of fake documents distort the process and make verification of applicants difficult. Nearly 9,800 persons from countries designated by the U.S. as state sponsors of terrorism have obtained permanent residency in the U.S. through the program. Although GAO found no evidence that DV immigrants from these or any other countries posed a terrorist or other threat to the U.S., the prospect is not out of the question. "This places a premium on mitigating fraud risks," the report concludes.

The State Department did not concur with GAO recommendations to compile better data and develop a strategy to combat fraud, claiming it already has a robust screening program for DV applicants. Rep. Bennie Thompson, D-Miss., chairman of the House Homeland Security Com-

mittee that requested the investigation as part of its review of the immigrant visa process, has called for shutting down the DV lottery program immediately.

— Susan Brady Maitra,
Senior Editor

Waiting on Diplomacy: Kosovo's Uncertain Status

By Dec. 10, the six-nation Contact Group (France, Germany, Italy, Russia, the U.K. and the U.S.), which has been guiding the Pristina-Belgrade talks on the future of Kosovo, will deliver its report to U.N. Secretary General Ban Ki-moon on the final status of the troubled province.

After eight years of uncertainty, the prolonged debate over Kosovo has reached a crucial point. Declaring the status quo unsustainable, the U.N. secretary-general has urged the Contact Group to produce an agreement that clarifies Kosovo's status and addresses the key concerns of all communities in the former Serbian province.

With Russia supporting Serbian claims to the region and the U.S. in favor of supervised independence, it falls to the European Union and its Common Foreign and Security Policy to resolve the current gridlock. But achieving consensus among all 27 members may prove difficult.

On Sept. 19, at a seminar hosted by the Woodrow Wilson International

50 Years Ago...

The idea of a union for the Foreign Service may quite properly seem inappropriate to a majority of association members, but this does not mean that they would not welcome an occasional measure of militancy on the part of the association's board in championing their interests.

— From "Our Association: What Should We Do? What Can We Do?"
FSJ, November 1957





Center for Scholars, “Kosovo in the Balance: A Trial for Diplomacy” (www.wilsoncenter.org), participants discussed the challenge of reaching consensus on the E.U.’s Kosovo policy. In addition to the fact that the E.U. once again finds itself caught between Moscow and Washington, several member nations have expressed their opposition to recognizing Kosovo’s independence. Yet resolution of its status is urgent. The prospect of still another conflict in the Balkans has stalled European integration efforts.

In a press release issued Sept. 20, the U.S. Helsinki Commission (<http://www.csce.gov/>) notes that although the final status of Kosovo is primarily a European problem, “The U.S. needs to be involved in the process to help bring about an expeditious, yet stable and just result.”

Officially part of Serbia, the province has been administered by the U.N. Interim Administration Mission on Kosovo since the end of the NATO-led war in 1999. U.N. Security Council Resolution 1244 gave UNMIK a mandate to create substantial autonomy for Kosovo and eventually facilitate a political process to determine its future.

Under increasing pressure from within Kosovo for independence, UNMIK pursued a policy that required local institutions to meet benchmarks of good governance and inter-ethnic accommodation. Meanwhile, Serbia, supported by Russia, resisted any proposed compromise on its sovereignty. This standoff caused greater frustration, and in March 2004 tensions spilled onto the streets with anti-Serb and anti-U.N. rioting.

In October 2005, U.N. Special Envoy Kai Eide concluded that nothing would be gained from postponing a decision over Kosovo’s status, and negotiations were finally initiated. Secretary-General Kofi

Site of the Month: www.librarything.com

Part cataloging system and part online community, *LibraryThing* lets users catalogue and share their libraries and book lists. After starting an account (requiring only a user name and password), users can create lists and catalogues using a book’s ISBN number or words from the title or the author’s name.

A free account allows you to catalog up to 200 books. A paid account allows you to catalog an unlimited number of books. Paid personal accounts cost \$10 for a year or \$25 for a lifetime.

LibraryThing does not use any special software and draws information from the Library of Congress and Amazon.com databases, among others. Users can edit, sort, search and tag their titles to their liking. They can also view other members’ collections, reviews and recommendations, a feature that has led to the site being described as “Facebook for books.”

In addition, *LibraryThing* has an active message board that includes a book swapping section. Some publishers, including Random House, provide the site with advance copies of titles that members can request.

LibraryThing was created by Tim Spalding in 2005 in Portland, Maine, as a pet project, to catalog his own library and for academic and bibliophile friends. Before that, Spalding was a graduate student in Greek and Latin at the University of Michigan, and worked for Houghton Mifflin in Boston and as a freelance Web developer and Web publisher.

Spalding had no idea *LibraryThing* would explode as it did. Over 270,000 users have signed up, more than 18 million books have been cataloged, and users have applied over 23 million tags to their books. The site became a business in 2006.

— Anna Wong Gleysteen, Editorial Intern

Annan appointed Martti Ahtisaari, former president of Finland, as special envoy for Kosovo to lead the settlement effort. Throughout 2006, the special envoy held more than 15 rounds of direct talks between Belgrade and Pristina.

On March 14, Ahtisaari presented a final, comprehensive proposal for a settlement (www.unosek.org/unosek/en/statusproposal.html). The plan calls for supervised independence for Kosovo and multiple safeguards to protect the rights of Serbian minorities. It includes the creation of additional and expanded Serb-majority municipalities, special protection and prerogatives for the Serbian Orthodox Church, and additional parliamentary seats and double-majority rules to ensure that Serbs are not

outvoted on questions of vital interest.

Though the proposal was supported by the secretary-general and the State Department, the Security Council was unable to reach a consensus once Moscow announced its intention to veto. With a settlement at the U.N. unlikely, the U.S. and other Western powers decided negotiations should be continued under the auspices of the informal Contact Group.

For additional reports and background, the International Crisis Group has a useful overview, “Kosovo’s Final Status,” which includes policy recommendations. Monthly updates are also available on its CrisisWatch database (www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm). ■

— Marc Nielsen, Editorial Intern



SPEAKING OUT

Caution: Iraq Is Not Vietnam

BY DAVID PASSAGE

Over the past year, President George W. Bush and other senior administration officials have on numerous occasions invoked the U.S. assistance program in South Vietnam as an experience that offers lessons for Iraq. Specifically, the Vietnam-era Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support program has frequently been held up as a model for the Provincial Reconstruction Teams currently operating in Afghanistan and Iraq.

The CORDS teams administered both security and development programs at the provincial and district levels in South Vietnam during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Like today's PRTs, they comprised military and civilian personnel, the former always significantly outnumbering the latter. The civilians came primarily from the State Department and the U.S. Agency for International Development, augmented by a limited number of direct hires from other agencies (e.g., Commerce, Treasury and Agriculture). There were also a limited number of personnel whom USAID brought on board expressly for CORDS, with no promise of career employment beyond Vietnam.

Yet despite basic similarities and parallels between the CORDS teams and today's PRTs, there are also important and sharp distinctions. Lest today's policymakers be misled into assuming that the earlier experience can be replicated today, I believe it is vital to identify several critical differences that affect the Foreign Service's ability to help Iraq

*The CORDS
program could not
have been successful
in today's Iraq or
Afghanistan.*

and Afghanistan deal with their internal difficulties and emerge as functioning economies with democratic societies.

Security Constraints

First and foremost, it is the overall security environment that drives how U.S. teams function and what one can realistically expect them to achieve. In Vietnam, with few exceptions (such as the 1968 Tet Offensive), the Viet Cong rarely targeted CORDS activities or personnel. They knew that the Vietnamese people for the most part welcomed reconstruction and development projects to repair roads and dikes, get rice paddies back into production, dig wells, build schools and clinics, and improve local public administration.

The Viet Cong did regularly attempt to penetrate and subvert hamlet and village administration, but villagers, by and large, were willing to help government forces identify and eliminate those agents. The result was that civilian personnel assigned to CORDS were remarkably effective and generally did not face the sorts of severe security problems that con-

strain the operations of most PRTs in Afghanistan and Iraq.

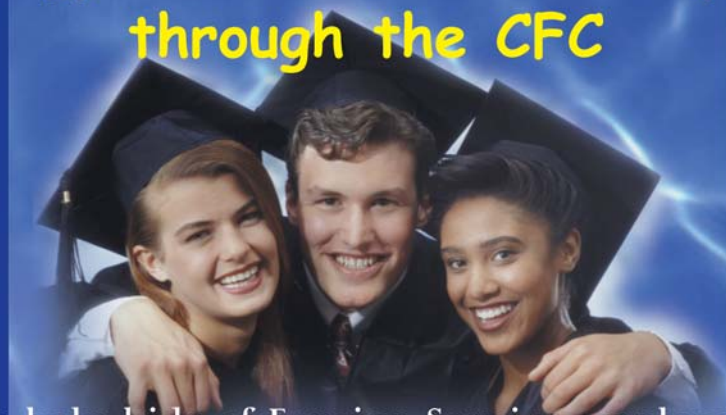
The current operating environment in those two countries is so dangerous — not only for PRT members, but for their colleagues based in the capitals — that one must question whether civilian personnel can work safely at all, no matter how well trained and equipped they are. In fact, I do not believe that the CORDS program could have been successful in today's Iraq or Afghanistan.

The Importance of Training

A second critical difference between the CORDS program in Vietnam and the PRTs in Iraq and Afghanistan is the extensive training and preparation that the personnel assigned to the earlier program received.

To prepare personnel for service with CORDS, the Foreign Service Institute established a Vietnam Training Center. Each class began with a six-week introduction to the cultures, civilizations and economies of Vietnam, other countries in Indochina and Southeast Asia, and the Pacific region. Lectures were given by American and Vietnamese instructors, as well as military and intelligence personnel. In addition, there were classes on guerrilla warfare that drew on experiences in Vietnam and other insurgency environments. (Twenty years earlier, the U.S. had successfully helped the Philippines defeat the Hukbalahap insurgency, and the British had dealt with the Malayan emergency and the Mau Mau rebellion in East Africa.)

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SPEAKING OUT



The assignment of FS personnel to PRTs simply for the sake of having the State Department appear to “do its part” doesn’t make much sense.

Next came language instruction, intended to enable CORDS participants to communicate well enough to function in Vietnam. By the time we finished, we could find our way around town, order a meal, ask for directions, and work with and train villagers for self-help projects, economic development, public administration, and so on. Those who showed real aptitude in tonal languages were given additional training, while those who had difficulty were allowed to leave early for positions where language mastery was less important. But the bottom line was that every effort was made to afford CORDS personnel the type of in-depth training required for them to be effective.

In addition, every member of every class was given instruction in basic self-protection, which meant familiarity with, and at least a limited degree of proficiency in using, the weaponry and communications equipment available to the combined military-civilian CORDS teams at district, province and corps levels. Most classes received this instruction at U.S. military facilities; my group did its self-defense training at Ft. Gordon, Ga.

The Semi-Annual Education Supplement is coming in December!

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SPEAKING OUT



Civilian Foreign Service personnel should never be used as “totems.”

Finally, every class had a further “welcome to Asia” orientation and briefing at FSI’s Regional Training Center in Taichung, Taiwan, before arriving in Saigon. The upshot was a truly comprehensive training regimen lasting four to six months, and sometimes longer if advanced language was involved.

In contrast, the department’s training program for those headed to Provincial Reconstruction Teams is limited and superficial. So a key issue today is the extent to which the State Department is prepared to provide appropriate training for Foreign Service personnel if it intends to continue to assign them to war zones such as Afghanistan and Iraq — or, one might speculate, Darfur and Somalia.

Mission Impossible?

Even before the department contemplates training requirements, however, it needs to be realistic about the extent to which Foreign Service personnel assigned to PRTs in Iraq and Afghanistan are able to carry out reconstruction efforts and achieve the economic, political and societal objectives this administration has set forth.

To return to the situation nearly 40 years ago: although CORDS suffered its share of casualties in Vietnam, it was not targeted the way U.S. and other allied personnel — both military and civilian — are on today’s PRTs. While I realize some areas of

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It is the overall security environment that drives how U.S. teams function and what one can realistically expect them to achieve.

Iraq and Afghanistan are, relatively speaking, less dangerous than others, this is a shifting mosaic. One can reasonably expect our enemies to seek out and go after the least defended and most inviting targets.

Many members of PRTs in Iraq and Afghanistan have to be confined to heavily protected forward bases for their own safety, sometimes for months at a time. They can meet with local officials and villagers only when enveloped by overwhelming security forces (which defeats our broader psychological and ideological objectives). And far too often, any concrete progress they achieve on the ground — building schools, restoring electricity, etc. — is promptly destroyed by a nihilistic enemy that doesn't care about the consequences for affected villagers.

Under such circumstances, the assignment of Foreign Service personnel to PRTs simply for the sake of having the State Department appear to “do its part” doesn't make much sense. Worse, it needlessly endangers (and, in a worst-case scenario, costs) lives under conditions in which there can be no reasonable expectation of positive gain.

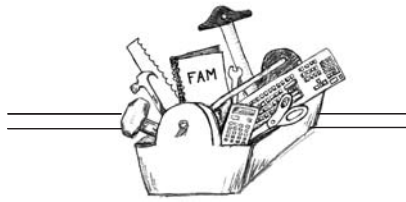
Civilian Foreign Service personnel should never be used as “totems” —

symbols of a decision by our government's most senior political officials that every element of the U.S. government must be represented on the battlefield in order to signal our determination to do whatever it takes to win.

Foreign Service officers are not combat professionals, and no amount of training in combat skills, weaponry and self-protection will ever enable them to be more than hostages to luck in a combat environment. As such, they will also never be more than a burden on those military and security forces who have to protect them, and they are unlikely to be able to significantly assist in postwar reconstruction and the transition to democratic institutions in the countries where they serve.

Assigning Foreign Service professionals to such environments does not demonstrate commitment on the part of our government so much as a lack of sound judgment. Nor does it send a signal that this administration intends to win in Iraq and Afghanistan. It merely endangers lives — and not only those of Foreign Service personnel, but also those of the military and security forces who have to protect them. ■

David Passage, a retiree member of the AFSA Governing Board, was a Foreign Service officer from 1966 to 1998. Among many other postings, he served with the CORDS program in Vietnam from 1969 to 1970; was deputy chief of mission and chargé d'affaires in El Salvador at the height of that country's civil war in the mid-1980s; served as ambassador to Botswana from 1990 to 1993; and was the political adviser at the U.S. Special Operations Command from 1993 to 1996. Since retiring from the Service, Ambassador Passage has been a lecturer and mentor at several U.S. military schools and training facilities.



FS KNOW-HOW

Mail Handling Tips

BY LEE J. ACKERMANN

A letter to the editor from a Foreign Service officer in the July-August *Journal* discussed the difficulty of changing one's mailing address while posted overseas and asked for advice on ways to make the process less arduous.

I'd like to offer some tips on this important subject. I speak as someone who spent 22 years in the Air Force managing overseas post offices and performing related duties, and then worked for the United States Postal Service for two years before coming on board with the Department of State. I've supervised APOs and embassy mailrooms, and I set up the first Department of State diplomatic post office in Budapest.

Start notifying your contacts of your upcoming address change at least 120 days before you will be departing post. Waiting until the week you are leaving to take care of that, as all too many people do, is a surefire way to experience glitches. In addition, keep in mind that mail-order catalogs are preprinted with your old mailing address *90 days* before they are mailed, and magazine subscriptions are preprinted with your old mailing address at least *six to eight weeks* before mailing.

Change all of your addresses. The embassy or consulate still has to pay to handle all the mail it receives after you are gone, even the "junk mail." Not only is that a waste of time and effort, but it makes your colleagues wait longer to get their mail. I always contact the mailroom

Go online to change your mailing address for commercial addresses; it's quick, easy and gets immediate results.



personnel at my previous post to ensure they are no longer receiving any of my mail. I wish everyone did this; in Moscow alone, we trashed hundreds of pounds of mail every month intended for people who had left post years before.

Use a database to keep track of those who regularly mail items to you. In the age of the Internet, compiling and changing addresses are easier than ever. I maintain an EXCEL database with the name, address, city, state, Zip code, 1-800 telephone numbers, Web site and e-mail address of every piece of mail I receive. Initially, it took time and effort to create the spreadsheet, but now that it's complete, it is simple to update, correct and verify the information every time I get a piece of mail. I keep this document with my important papers.

Use the company or publication's own prepaid envelope (if one is available) to mail your address label. Be sure to provide your new address or enclose a note

asking to be taken off the mailing list. Because it costs the recipient 82 cents, not just 41 cents, merely to receive this envelope, they will definitely do so.

Keep in mind the following guidelines for mail forwarding:

- First-class letter mail is forwarded for one year.
- Priority mail packages are forwarded for one year.
- Parcel post/media mail packages are forwarded for 60 days.
- Magazines are forwarded for 60 days.
- Standard, presorted, nonprofit mail is destroyed at post.

If you are returning to the U.S. for your next assignment, send a letter addressed to: **POSTMASTER, NEW CITY, NEW STATE, NEW ZIP CODE** explaining you are moving to that city and giving your new address. (You do not need a street address for the postmaster; the city, state and Zip code are enough.) They will be more than happy to hold your new incoming mail for up to 45 days before your arrival. (I even do this when I go home for R&R.)

Use e-mail, call 1-800 numbers or visit Web sites to change your mailing address where possible. It is quick, easy and gets immediate results. (Unfortunately, the State Department Federal Credit Union does *not* accept address changes via e-mail.) By contrast, change-of-address notices sent via the unclassified diplomatic pouch can take several weeks to arrive and be processed.



Consider renting a mail distribution box from a private company like Mailboxes R Us in your hometown. Most of these companies have a mail forwarding system: you always keep the same address and, at predetermined intervals, they will mail your accumulated mail to your new location in one package. Such services are particularly useful if you are stationed in Africa, where diplomatic pouch service can be extremely slow and there are few if any alternatives. You will never have to change your address again!

Ensure your banks, mortgage companies and financial consultants have your current e-mail address. Because you can access your e-mail just about anywhere in the world, you can monitor your

*Each post has
to pay to handle
all the mail it receives
after you are gone,
even the
“junk mail.”*

financial transactions and take care of problems much more rapidly.

Set up automatic online payments for vital bills (credit cards,

mortgage, car payments, etc.) through your financial institutions. I have basically stopped writing checks over the past 10 years; in fact, I still have some from my initial order with the credit union. With online payment programs, I don't worry about my bills any more.

Before you depart post, please give the mailroom personnel your forwarding address labels. (Usually 50 is enough; they will do the rest.)

With a little planning, address changes don't have to cause upheavals and delays, either for you, those trying to reach you by mail, or the post you are departing. And that is in *every-one's* interest. ■

Lee Ackermann is the information programs officer in Damascus.

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FOCUS ON FS AUTHORS

IN THEIR OWN WRITE



Marcia Klitze-Hughes

WE ARE PLEASED TO FEATURE A COMPILATION OF RECENTLY PUBLISHED BOOKS BY FOREIGN SERVICE-AFFILIATED AUTHORS.

The *Foreign Service Journal* is pleased to present our annual Foreign Service authors roundup 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 2006 and 2007. The list was compiled with the help of Editorial Interns Anna Wong Gleysteen and Marc Nielsen.

This year's selection contains a strong policy studies and issues section, four lively histories, a variety of engaging mem-

oires, six works of fiction and several unusual specialty books. As in the past few years, a significant portion of our titles are self-published.

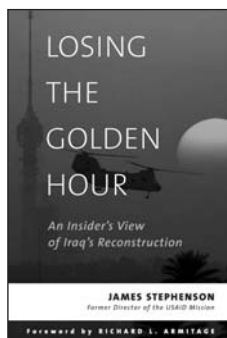
Our primary purpose in compiling this list is to celebrate the wealth of literary talent within the Foreign Service community, and to give our readers the opportunity to support colleagues by sampling their wares. Each entry contains full publication data along with a short commentary.

As has become our custom, we also include a list 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. We have created a Bookstore there with links to Amazon.com. For the few books that cannot be ordered through Amazon, we have provided alternative links and, when the book is not available online, the necessary contact information.

— Susan Maitra, Senior Editor

POLICY STUDIES & ISSUES



Losing the Golden Hour: An Insider's View of Iraq's Reconstruction

James Stephenson, *Potomac Books Inc.*, 2007, \$23.95, *hardcover*, 224 pages.

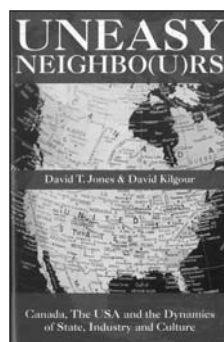
In emergency medicine, the “golden hour” is the first hour after injury, during which treatment greatly increases survivability. In post-conflict transition terminology, it is the first year after hostilities end. After that, without steadily improving conditions, popular support declines and chances for real transformation begin to evaporate.

In this book, James “Spike” Stephenson, a retired Senior Foreign Service officer who was USAID mission director in Baghdad from February 2004 to March 2005, gives an insider’s perspective on how America lost the golden hour in Iraq. Stephenson’s USAID program, encompassing every area of capacity-building from agriculture and private-sector enterprises to governance, education, health and democracy initiatives.

Former Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage says in his foreword to the book that Stephenson’s account “fills in the blanks between policy decision in

Washington and implementation, or lack thereof, in Iraq ... [and] is a vivid reminder of the limits of American power.”

James Stephenson has had 28 years of experience assisting states trying to recover from war. He was USAID mission director in Lebanon and in Serbia & Montenegro prior to his Iraq assignment. He also served in Egypt, Grenada, El Salvador and Washington, D.C. A decorated Vietnam War veteran, he is a recognized expert on post-conflict transition, civilian-military cooperation and counterinsurgency. He is currently a senior adviser for security and development at Creative Associates International, Inc. The book is part of the ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy Series.



Uneasy Neighbo(u)rs: Canada, The USA and the Dynamics of State, Industry and Culture

David T. Jones & David Kilgour, *Wiley*, 2007, \$27.95, *hardcover*, 352 pages.

How did Canada and the United States, neighboring countries with deep-rooted respect for human rights, democracy and the rule of law, develop such different views on social welfare, foreign policy and the military? Jones and Kilgour, veteran diplomats from both sides of the border, explore the history and dynamics of both countries that have affected the creation of distinct national identities, institutions and ideologies. They maintain that the governments and societies of the U.S. and Canada have neither converged nor diverged over the long term; because of geopolitics, history and culture, both nations are different and always will be. The authors examine how the two perceive each other and their respective roles in the international community. They argue that even though each country pursues a different vision of North America, “the differences are distinctive, defining — but not definitive.”

In addition to the \$2 billion in daily cross-border trade, the United States and Canada are bound together by culture and ancestry. Their mutual well-being depends on how well they understand one another. With chapters addressing health care, education, military defense and more, *Uneasy Neighbo(u)rs* provides Americans and Canadians a better look at each other, promoting the understanding necessary for greater cooperation.

David T. Jones is a retired senior FSO. His diplomatic career of nearly 30 years focused on NATO and arms-control issues. From 1992 to 1996, he served as political minister-counselor at Embassy Ottawa. David Kilgour has served as a member of Parliament in both the Conservative and Liberal Parties during 26 years in Canadian federal politics. He was assistant secretary of state for Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America, secretary of state for Asia-Pacific, and deputy speaker of the House of Commons.



**Blood and Belief:
The PKK and the Kurdish
Fight for Independence**

*Aliza Marcus, NYU Press,
2007, \$35.00, hardcover,
368 pages.*

Reporting and scholarly research are combined in *Blood and Belief* to give the first in-depth account of the PKK, the Kurdistan Workers Party. A guerilla force founded in 1978 by a group of former Turkish university students, the PKK radicalized the Kurdish national

movement in Turkey. The Kurds — who number some 25 million, more than half in Turkey and the rest in Iran, Iraq and Syria — have long demanded an independent state. Their struggle gained new momentum in 2003, when the U.S. invasion of Iraq laid the basis for Iraqi Kurds to establish a near-autonomous Kurdish land in the north of the country, giving a boost, in turn, to Kurdish nationals in Turkey.

Author Aliza Marcus was one of the first Western reporters to meet with PKK rebels. She covered the PKK for more than eight years, first as a freelance reporter for the *Christian Science Monitor* and later as a staff writer for Reuters. She was put on trial in Turkey for her reporting and also received a National Press Club Award and a MacArthur Foundation grant for her work. This book is based on her interviews with PKK leaders and their supporters and opponents throughout the world — including Palestinians who trained them, intelligence services that tracked them and dissidents who tried to break them up.

Formerly an international correspondent for the *Boston Globe*, Marcus lives in Washington, D.C., with her husband, retired FSO John Lister.



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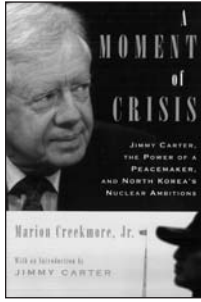
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**A Moment of Crisis:
Jimmy Carter, the Power
of a Peacemaker and North
Korea's Nuclear Ambitions**

Marion Creekmore Jr.,
PublicAffairs, 2006, \$26.95,
hardcover, 406 pages.

In June 1994, Marion Creekmore accompanied former President Jimmy Carter and his wife on their historic trip to North Korea to meet with President Kim Il Sung about the country's nuclear ambitions. With the U.S. pressing the U.N. to apply sanctions, considered a declaration of war by North Korea, Carter was convinced war was imminent. Despite the objections of the Clinton administration and the South Korean government, Carter intervened, brokering a deal that helped lay the foundation for peaceful negotiations between Pyongyang and Washington. His dramatic intervention played a key role in resolving that nuclear crisis peacefully, possibly preventing a second war on the Korean peninsula.

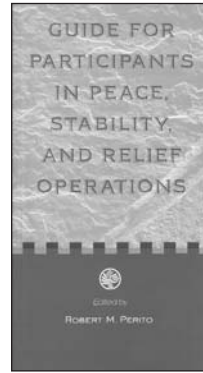
A Moment of Crisis tells the inside story of the Carter mission, undertaken during a period when the U.S. and North Korea were on the brink of war and preserving the integrity of the Nonproliferation Treaty and the credibility of the International Atomic Energy Agency were significant national security priorities. Drawing from Jimmy and Rosalyn Carter's oral and written recollections, Carter Center documents and the author's own notes — primary sources not previously available to scholars — Creekmore delivers a gripping firsthand account of the mission's controversies and successes, providing insight into dealing with North Korea and other rogue regimes. This narrative outlines the circumstances that can lead to war and profiles the resolve and power necessary to make peace.

Marion Creekmore is a retired diplomat who served as ambassador to Sri Lanka and the Republic of the Maldives from 1989 to 1993. From 1993 to 1996, he was the Carter Center's program director. Creekmore is currently distinguished visiting professor of history and political science at Emory University.

**Guide for Participants in Peace, Stability,
and Relief Operations**

Edited by Robert M. Perito, *United States Institute of Peace*, 2007, \$17.50, paperback, 340 pages.

Prepared by a guiding committee of representatives from the State Department, U.S. military, United



Nations and nongovernmental organizations, the *Guide for Participants in Peace, Stability, and Relief Operations* serves as a basic directory to understanding the mission and responsibilities of international organizations that may respond to a crisis. It addresses the security issues for all participants in such operations and provides examples of com-

mon international involvement in stability operations, natural disasters and peace missions.

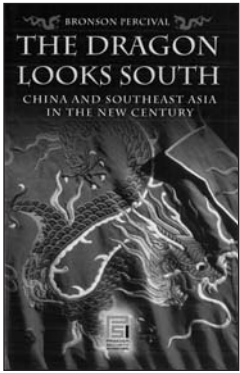
It offers a straightforward exploration of the interaction and overlap of participating organizations. The *Guide* identifies who's who among international organizations, NGOs, civilian agencies and the military. It provides a basic understanding of the organizational culture, values, codes of conduct and methods of operation specific to each organization. By dispelling misconceptions and prejudices that may exist on all sides, the book aims to facilitate interagency communication and cooperation. Designed to fit easily into a pocket or backpack, it will provide particularly relevant information for those serving in the field.

Robert M. Perito is a senior program officer in the Center for Post-Conflict Peace and Stability Operations at the United States Institute of Peace. He also acts as coordinator for the Peacekeeping Lessons Learned Project and the Haiti Working Group. A former FSO, Perito served as deputy executive secretary of the National Security Council (1988-1989). In 1990, he received a Presidential Meritorious Service Award for his leadership of the U.S. delegation at the Angola peace talks. He has provided program management and policy guidance for peacekeeping operations in Haiti, Bosnia, East Timor and Kosovo, and for post-conflict operations in Macedonia, Croatia and Albania.

**The Dragon Looks South: China and
Southeast Asia in the New Century**

Bronson Percival, *Praeger Security International*, 2007, \$49.95, hardcover, 216 pages.

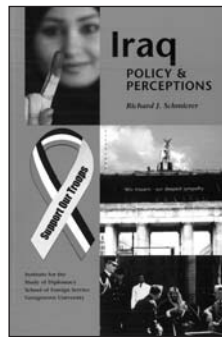
In the last decade, China has dramatically increased its influence in Southeast Asia. Bronson Percival examines and explains this continued transformation "from the state most feared into a perceived partner." He analyzes China's comprehensive strategy for the region, offering a distinction between Beijing's mainland and



maritime goals. He covers China's relations with the Southeast Asian nations in the last five years, addressing the economic, political and "soft power" dimensions of the relationships. Percival contends that each area of Southeast Asia constitutes a different political and cultural subsystem, which determines the extent of China's influence in each region. He devotes a section to Beijing's relations with each individual nation, and also discusses the role of major external players.

The Dragon Looks South examines the importance of China's current strategic goals, and also clarifies American interests in Southeast Asia. The book prioritizes American interests, creating a framework for evaluating the implications of the ever-changing U.S. role in the region. Percival compares several prominent international relations "schools of thought" with the realities of China-Southeast Asian relations, and discusses their relevance and utility.

Bronson Percival is the senior adviser for Southeast Asia and terrorism in Asia at the CNA Corporation's Center for Strategic Studies in Alexandria, Va. A former FSO, he served in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. While a professor at the U.S. Naval War College, he created the first War College seminar on modern Southeast Asia. After 9/11, he returned to the State Department to help analyze and design counterterrorism policies for Southeast Asia. He has testified before Congress and spoken at numerous seminars on maritime and national security issues in Southeast Asia and on counterterrorism in Asia.



Iraq: Policy & Perceptions

Richard J. Schmierer, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, 2007, \$14.95, paperback, 237 pages.

Richard J. Schmierer was posted in Riyadh in the late 1990s and then in Baghdad in 2004, and observed firsthand the factors, perceptions and



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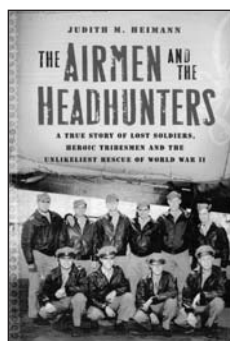
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policies that led up to the war in Iraq as well as its aftermath. Following his one-year assignment in Iraq as minister-counselor for public affairs, he immersed himself in the policy dialogues and debates in Washington. This led him, as he states in the introduction to the book, to a “sobering assessment of the connection — as both cause and effect — between Iraq policy and the current domestic political climate, and the impact of this connection on the likely success or failure of our current Iraq policy, as well as, more generally, on the prospects of success for difficult foreign policy challenges in the future.”

Schmierer outlines what he sees as the key elements in the Iraq issue, starting with the first Persian Gulf War and, drawing on his personal encounters with Saudis and Iraqis, argues that in the post-9/11 world, Western security interests require an improvement in the political and economic conditions in much of the Arab world. He believes that the international community has not yet come to terms with the realities of the post-9/11 world, and that as the sole superpower in the world, the U.S. has been uniquely challenged by the attacks. Schmierer also examines the challenges Western democratic principles face in the Information Age.

In 2005 Schmierer received the State Department’s Edward R. Murrow Award for Excellence in Public Diplomacy. His 27-year career in the Foreign Service included postings in Riyadh, Berlin and Baghdad. He is currently assigned as a senior adviser at the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University’s Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service.

HISTORY



The Airmen and the Headhunters: A True Story of Lost Soldiers, Heroic Tribesmen and the Unlikeliest Rescue of World War II

Judith M. Heimann, Harcourt, 2007, \$26.00, hardcover, 289 pages.

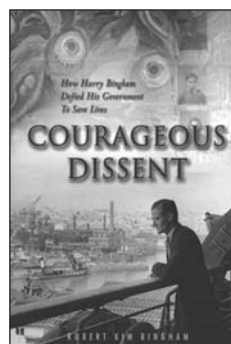
In November 1944, a team of World War II Army airmen set out in a B-24 bomber on what should have been an easy mission off the Borneo coast. Instead they found themselves facing a Japanese fleet, and were shot down, scattered across the island’s mountainous interior. Then a group of loincloth-wearing natives silently materialized out of the jungle. Would these Dayak tribesmen

turn the starving airmen over to the Japanese occupiers?

The Airmen and the Headhunters is a gripping, you-are-there journey into the remote world and forgotten heroism of the Dayaks. “A fascinating anthropology lesson, delivered with the bonus of a dramatic adventure and a happy ending,” is how *Kirkus Reviews* characterizes the book, adding that “few other writers could have tracked down this captivating story.”

The story told in this book “found me,” says author Judith Heimann. “I stumbled upon the bare bones of the plot while I was researching the biography of an eccentric polymath Englishman, Tom Harrisson, whom I had met when he was our next-door neighbor in Borneo.” Her first book, *The Most Offending Soul Alive: Tom Harrisson and His Remarkable Life* (University of Hawaii, 1999), was made into a documentary for BBC4.

Judith Heimann is a retired career FSO and writer who still works on special assignments for the State Department and splits her time between Washington, D.C., and Brussels. With her husband, also an FSO, she spent seven years in Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaysia, and served as consul general in Bordeaux. In Borneo, she learned to speak Malay and became acquainted with many of the characters who appear in her books.



Courageous Dissent: How Harry Bingham Defied His Government to Save Lives

Robert Kim Bingham Sr., Triune Books, 2007, \$20.00, paperback, 159 pages.

In 1940, America was not yet involved in World War II and was still trying to maintain neutral relations with Germany. State Department policy held that the U.S. could not help people evade the Germans by issuing them visas, forcing many refugees to remain in Nazi-controlled Europe. Harry Bingham, a U.S. vice consul working in Marseilles at the time, was in charge of issuing visas.

When Varian Fry, the American best known for helping Jews escape during World War II, arrived in Marseilles in 1940, Bingham was already there, stretching the rigorous and anti-Semitic visa criteria. Fry operated under the auspices of the Emergency Rescue Committee, a group backed by Eleanor Roosevelt that

was formed to help prominent Jewish artists and intellectuals win exceptions to American immigration policy. While Bingham continued to issue normal visas, he and Fry worked closely on contacting the people Fry had been sent to rescue and issuing them emergency visas. Bingham, Fry, French partisans and like-minded Americans ran an underground railroad out of Bingham's villa, hiding refugees and coordinating their escape to America.

Bingham is estimated to have saved 1,500 people before his reassignment to Buenos Aires in 1941, where he remained for the next four years. There, he added to his nonconformist reputation by complaining in increasingly strong terms to his superiors about the growing Nazi presence in Argentina. In 1945, he was denied promotion and, ultimately, was hounded out of the Service.

Written by Bingham's son Robert, *Courageous Dissent* is illustrated with family photos, mementoes and quotes from Bingham's diary. The author led a successful campaign to have a commemorative stamp issued with his father's image (released in 2006 as part of the "Distinguished American Diplomat" series). In

2004, AFSA honored Harry Bingham posthumously with a Constructive Dissent Award.



Peter Strickland: New London Shipmaster, Boston Merchant, First Consul to Senegal

Stephen H. Grant, *New Academia Publishing, 2006, \$20.00, paperback, 236 pages.*

In 1883, the State Department appointed Peter Strickland as U.S. consul in Gorée Island, Senegal. He was the first American diplomat to work in West Africa, a major French colonial area. Born in 1837 to a comfortable farming family in New London, Conn., Strickland became a merchant marine on ships going to Europe. He made his first visit to Africa during the last year of the Civil War. Later, after some hesitation amid concerns about the "African fevers," he accepted an offer of a long-term assignment on the coast of West Africa. Initially unimpressed with Gorée Island — infamous as the place where slaves were loaded onto cargo ships for

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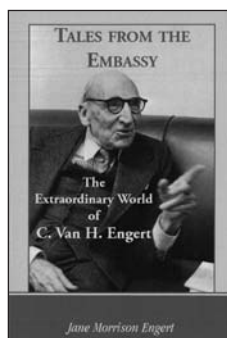
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the journey to the Americas — Strickland would remain in Senegal for more than a quarter of a century.

Stephen H. Grant's interest in Strickland was sparked after purchasing an envelope on eBay that had been sent from Boston via Bordeaux to Strickland at Gorée Island in 1889. Strickland kept meticulously detailed diaries, which help to show how the duties of a 19th-century consular office differ from today's. Instead of issuing visas and replacement passports, the main objective of Strickland and his contemporaries was to "monitor and facilitate American shipping abroad and ... to look out for the welfare of American seamen." Strickland sent 272 dispatches to the State Department in his 23 years as consul, trying to inform the U.S. diplomatic and commercial communities about the benefits of trade with Africa.

Stephen H. Grant served for 25 years with USAID and was posted in the Ivory Coast, El Salvador, Indonesia, Egypt, West Africa and Guinea. He is also the author of three books that use old picture postcards to recount social history. He is currently a senior fellow at the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training. This book is part of the ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy Series.



**Tales from the Embassy:
The Extraordinary World
of C. Van H. Engert**

*Jane Morrison Engert,
Eagle Editions, 2006, \$31.50,
paperback, 286 pages.*

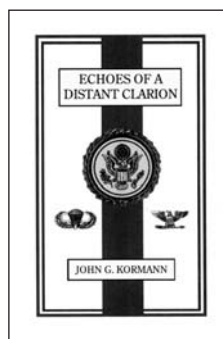
This biography is not only a portrait of a larger-than-life American diplomat, the author's grandfather, whose Foreign Service career spanned two World Wars — from 1912 to 1945. It also offers a fascinating glimpse into the evolution of the State Department and Foreign Service and major historical events.

Cornelius Van Hemert Engert, who enjoyed creating mystery as to his origins, began as a student interpreter in Constantinople and retired as U.S. minister in Kabul. In his own words, his career "went from one calamity to another" — including stints in Constantinople during the Balkan Wars and World War I, in Peking during the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, and in Addis Ababa when Mussolini's troops conquered Ethiopia. There, he, his wife and several aides took up arms and personally defended the unprotected American legation from rioting mobs.

Engert's service was eventful and his life was long. He socialized both with Cyrus Vance and Ed Muskie (Secretaries of State under Jimmy Carter) and with William Howard Taft's Secretary of State, Philander C. Knox. He outlived all his Old World diplomatic colleagues, as his granddaughter writes in the book's introduction, to become "an enchanting relic of a more courtly period in American diplomacy, and of a State Department still absorbed in the 19th century."

Jane Morrison Engert drew extensively from her grandfather's papers housed and catalogued at Georgetown University. She supplemented this rich resource with research into historical and newspaper archives to document context and details in this absorbing story. Engert attended Wellesley and Yale, and lives and writes in Oregon.

MEMOIRS & AUTOBIOGRAPHY



**Echoes of a Distant Clarion:
Recollections of a Diplomat
and Soldier**

*John G. Kormann,
New Academia/Vellum Books,
2007, \$46.00/hardcover,
\$30.00/paperback, 500 pages.*

An exciting era in the 20th century comes alive in this autobiography of an adventurous diplomat, soldier and intelligence officer, the seventh title in ADST's Memoirs and Occasional Papers Series.

Following combat in Europe in World War II, Special Agent Kormann goes behind enemy lines to apprehend Nazi war criminals and uncover a mass grave. As a U.S. Army Counter Intelligence Corps field office commander in Berlin from 1945 to 1947, he searches for Martin Bormann, Hitler's deputy, and the American traitor, "Axis Sally." He rescues a German scientist from the Soviet secret police in a case that makes international headlines.

In 1950, as a new Foreign Service officer, Kormann is placed in charge of three counties in Bavaria during the final days of the American occupation. Later he is involved in the abortive Hungarian Revolution, the U-2 spy plane affair and the U.S. response to erection of the Berlin Wall. As a political officer in Manila, he witnesses the onset of the Marcos regime; as officer-in-charge at Embassy Benghazi, he directs its defense against a mob that attacked and burned it during the 1967 Arab-

Israeli War; as DCM in Cairo, he facilitates Henry Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy negotiations; and as a staff aide, he assists Director of Central Intelligence George H.W. Bush.

John Godlove Kormann graduated from the High School of Music and Art in New York City and received his B.A. in government and M.A. in public law from Columbia University. He is a graduate of the Army War College and a former president of the 17th Airborne Division Association. A military historian, he has written on airborne warfare, denazification and U.S. military assistance to Africa.



**The U.S. Foreign Service:
From New Frontier to
War on Drugs**

*John W. Stahlman, Xlibris
Corporation, 2007, \$15.00,
hardcover, 152 pages.*

John Stahlman rose from a modest background as a lad in Ohio in the 1930s to interaction with high government officials

— including a reigning monarch — as a member of the Foreign Service for 28 years. And, as he says in the introduction to this lean and captivating memoir, this was not the typical FS career.

A former Airborne Ranger, Stahlman admits to a tendency to seek demanding assignments. Yet, as he notes, “strangely, wherever he was assigned, violence or disaster lurked or soon occurred.” In Colombia, his first and last post, it was ‘violencia’ by guerrilla groups, the drug mafia and natural disaster. While assigned to Panama, mobs attacked the embassy twice. In Central America, it was revolution and border strife. While he was in Jordan, the Six-Day War erupted, and three days before his posting to Bangladesh, India bombed Dhaka. In Dhahran, the effects of the Iran-Iraq War spilled over near his post and in Mecca.

But in each assignment, Stahlman and his family were rewarded with firsthand experiences getting to know the people, culture and natural beauty of their host country. And, he reports, his children recall their FS upbringing as “a blast.”

John Stahlman served from 1959 to 1986, with

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assignments in South and Central America, the Middle East, Southeast Asia and India. In 1962 he was detailed to the Peace Corps for two years. The book can be ordered from the author by phone or fax: (727) 863-0500.

Distinguished Service: Lydia Chapin Kirk, Partner in Diplomacy, 1896-1984

Edited by Roger Kirk, Syracuse University Press, 2007, \$22.95, hardcover, 216 pages.

This historical memoir tells the story of a remarkable woman living through a transitional time when wives' roles were different than they are today. It gives voice to the many women of her generation whose untold contributions will inspire readers of all backgrounds.

In 1939, when her husband became a U.S. naval attaché in London, Lydia Kirk packed up her family and embarked on a lifelong journey in which she witnessed firsthand the run-up to World War II and the subsequent events of the Cold War. She also describes her life as a young girl in Paris and Washington before World War I.

With vivid detail, she offers recollections of President Theodore Roosevelt, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and Madame Chiang Kai-shek. She paints a picture of Moscow during the early days of the Cold War and Taiwan after the split from Mao Tse-tung's China.

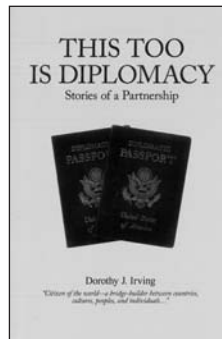
She also shines a light on life in the diplomatic corps and, in particular, the unique challenges and complex managerial and social responsibilities of a diplomat's spouse. An accomplished author, she wrote three novels and a book on life in Moscow that were published during the 1950s and 1960s.

Lydia Kirk's son, FSO Roger Kirk, edited this book, which is part of the ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy Series. He served as ambassador to Somalia and Romania, as well as to the U.N. Organizations in Vienna, retiring in 1990. He is co-author of *Romania and the United States: Diplomacy of the Absurd, 1985-1989* (Palgrave Macmillan, 1994).

This Too Is Diplomacy: Stories of a Partnership

Dorothy J. Irving, Author House, 2007, \$15.00, paperback, 237 pages.

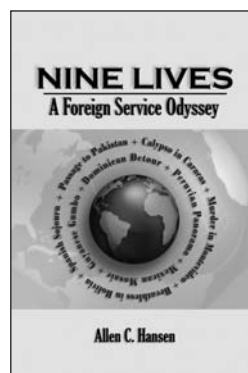
Written with grace and humor, Foreign Service spouse Dorothy Irving's *This Too Is Diplomacy* shows what "two for the price of one" can mean. Irving served with her husband, retired Ambassador Fred-



erick Irving, in Austria, New Zealand, Iceland and Jamaica. She takes us with her in these essays as she feels the tension of life in an occupied city, teaches in a Rastafarian school and enters a car with two armed gunmen — because the resulting contact is in the interest of her country. She tells us why she washed windows in a New Zealand school and scrubbed the walls in the embassy residence, and how she diverted a caller who wanted to kill her husband. She writes of the Icelandic children who taught her their language, the Jamaican children whom she taught and of her own children growing up in a Foreign Service life.

In each country in which the couple served, Irving helped make a difference. In Reykjavik, the government praised her role in improving American-Icelandic relations during a stressful period when retention of the American-staffed NATO base there was at risk. At three Cabinet meetings the Jamaican government approvingly discussed her wide-ranging involvement in their country.

Dorothy Irving grew up in Providence, R.I. She has degrees from Mount Holyoke College and Columbia University. She and her husband now live in the Greater Boston area, where they are often visited by friends from the countries in which they have served. Irving continues her interest in foreign affairs and children's education. She has written articles for local newspapers and college publications.



Nine Lives: A Foreign Service Odyssey

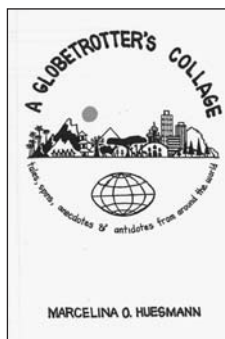
Allen C. Hansen, New Academia, 2007, \$30.00, paperback, 430 pages.

Nine Lives is a window into the excitement, frustrations, satisfactions and — sometimes — glamour of a Foreign Service career. It is also a contribution to the debate over public diplomacy that has raged since the events of 9/11. Allen Hansen's memoir explains how the United States Information Agency, responsible until 1999 for what is now called public diplomacy, conducted media, cul-

tural and educational exchange programs in nine countries during the Cold War. It contains detailed descriptions of some successful public diplomacy programs that could offer valuable lessons for current PD practitioners.

Each chapter begins with Hansen's arrival in a country, details the country's relationship with the U.S. and outlines the objectives and programs of the U.S. Information Service (USIA's overseas arm) there. He describes the achievements — and at times the lack thereof — of both American and local personnel, as well as interagency relationships. He recounts such events as an earthquake in Mexico City, a murder in Montevideo, coups d'état in Venezuela and Bolivia, and a civil war in the Dominican Republic.

Allen C. Hansen joined USIA as a member of the second junior-officer training class in 1954, a year after the creation of the new agency. As a Foreign Service officer for 32 years, he served in nine countries and Washington, D.C. He retired in 1987. This book is part of ADST's Memoirs and Occasional Papers Series.



A Globetrotter's Collage

Marcelina O. Huesmann,
Rhombus Publishing, 2006,
\$9.00 plus shipping and
handling, paperback, 89 pages.

In this hand-lettered book, the author recounts stories about more than 30 years of travel, including official postings with her FSO husband. A native of the Philippines, Marcelina O. Huesmann presents tales and anecdotes that span the globe — she has visited all seven continents. From eating fried flying ants in Uganda and hearing Mass in a click dialect in Swaziland to floating down the Amazon, her entertaining vignettes will delight anyone who has traveled and stir the imagination of those who haven't.

A Foreign Service spouse, Huesmann currently lives with her husband in Bethesda, Md. She was trained as an architect and worked for the Nigerian Ministry of Works and Housing. She has lived in Uganda, Swaziland and Yemen, among other countries. She was inspired to write *A Globetrotter's Village* for her 50th

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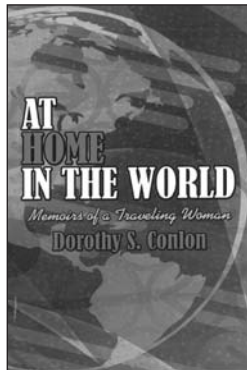


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high school reunion. The book can be ordered from the author at 5809 Lenox Road, Bethesda MD 20817.

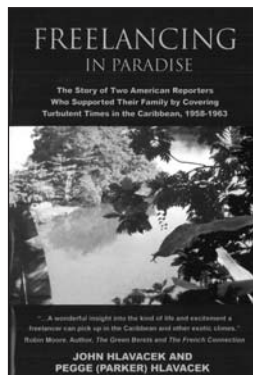


**At Home in the World:
Memoirs of a Traveling
Woman**

*Dorothy S. Conlon, Ingram,
2007, \$19.95, paperback,
160 pages.*

From a lively, well-traveled woman comes this collection of well-written personal tales that give a memorable glimpse into our planet's inexhaustible treasures of lands and peoples. From Bolivia to Bhutan, from Tanzania to Thailand and beyond, many of Conlon's global adventures are based on volunteer projects with Earthwatch and Global Volunteers, among others. They promise to intrigue the seasoned traveler or inspire the hesitant novice. Conlon's zest for new sights and her enthusiasm for getting to know people of other cultures are contagious.

Dorothy S. Conlon was born in Japan. Her husband, Ned Conlon, was a career FSO whose postings included Taiwan, Singapore, Indonesia, India and Pakistan. Widowed in 1989, Conlon embarked on her own journeys, teaching, doing wildlife research and exploring new parts of the world. She gives frequent slide-show presentations on her excursions at retirement facilities in Southwest Florida, where she lives.



**Freelancing in Paradise:
The Story of Two American
Reporters Who Supported
Their Family by Covering
Turbulent Times in the
Caribbean, 1958-1963**

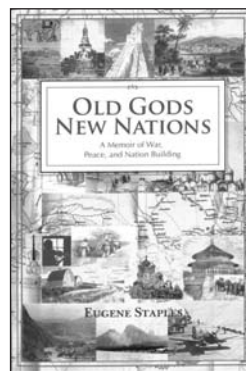
*John Hlavacek and Pegge
(Parker) Hlavacek,
iUniverse, 2007, \$23.95,
paperback, 350 pages.*

“Don't read this book — unless you are prepared to be green as a Caribbean loggerhead turtle with envy over the life and adventures that John and Pegge Hlavacek write about in *Freelancing in Paradise*,” says *New York Times* reporter Anthony DePalma. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, based in Jamaica with their five children and Indian nanny, the couple covered the turbulent events

in the Caribbean for print and broadcast media. From encounters with Errol Flynn, Billy Graham, David Brinkley and Juan Peron, to a night in a Cuban jail in 1960, the Hlavaceks tracked breaking stories on revolutions, assassinations and other turning points in history. “This is no mere vanity book — it's a wonderful period snapshot, rich in detail,” says *Omaha World-Herald* columnist Michael Kelly.

Freelancing in Paradise is the second volume in the memoirs of Pegge Parker, the pen name of Mrs. Douglas Mackiernan, who was a vice consul at Consulate Lahore when she met her second husband, foreign correspondent John Hlavacek. Her first husband was a vice consul in Tihwa, Sinkiang province, China. Ordered to stay at the consulate, he escaped ahead of the Communist Chinese but was shot at the border of Tibet in 1950.

Diapers on a Dateline (2002), the first volume of memoirs, told the story of the Hlavaceks' life and work in India from 1952 to 1957. *Freelancing* was written in collaboration with her husband, drawing on her letters and clippings of the stories she wrote during the time they lived in the Caribbean.



**Old Gods, New Nations:
A Memoir of War, Peace
and Nation Building**

*Eugene Staples, iUniverse,
2006, \$24.95, paperback,
386 pages.*

This highly readable memoir offers both a slice of recent history and a compelling look at the opportunities, the richness of experience and the unparalleled knowledge of the human condition that a Foreign Service career offers.

Eugene “Rocky” Staples joined the Service in 1951 as an information officer after service as a Marine Corps fighter pilot in World War II, and was assigned to the newly created U.S. Information Agency. In 1958, he was press officer for then-Vice President Nixon's controversial Latin American tour and, in the 1960s, cultural counselor in Moscow during the Kennedy-Khrushchev period. He then joined the Ford Foundation, and spent two decades helping manage its Asian development work, including on field assignments in Bangkok and New Delhi.

Staples returned to the Foreign Service in 1980 as USAID's deputy assistant administrator for the Asia

Bureau and then as director of the USAID mission in Islamabad. He retired in 1988, but returned to Washington yet again, in 1992, to help plan, launch and then serve as president of the Eurasia Foundation.

Through this varied career, Staples describes the challenges and problems encountered in planning and managing information and cultural programs and overseas development work. He sets the context precisely, and insightful observations add depth. A penultimate chapter suggests how we might reorder current foreign policy priorities more effectively.

Foreign Service Family

Harriet (Rita) Prince Parrish Youngquist and Eric V. Youngquist, Voyageur Publishing Co., Inc., 2007, \$22.50, paperback, 347 pages.

This is the story of Rita and Eric Youngquist's first posting, to Thailand, and their subsequent return to Washington to prepare for the next assignment, to Finland.

Youngquist explains that he titled the book *Foreign Service Family* because it describes how he and his wife and two children adjusted to living abroad, and



also because being in the FS made them part of a much larger family, one made up of all those who have lived abroad in the Service.

Much of the writing was done by the late Rita Youngquist. Excerpts from her letters to her parents, where she described in a direct and engaging style what life was like for her in Thailand in the mid-1950s, form the core of the book. Besides caring for her children, coping with a new and different culture and climate and entertaining, she taught English at the American University Alumni Association, ran her own play school at home and started and supported a play-reading group.

Eric Youngquist served in Bangkok from 1955 to 1957, first as vice consul, then as a commercial officer in the economic section, and later in the political section dealing with Southeast Asia Treaty Organization affairs.

Continued on page 35

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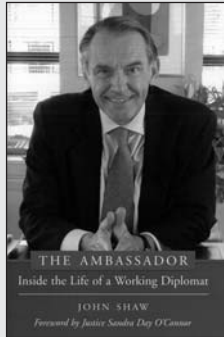
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OF RELATED INTEREST



The Ambassador: Inside the Life of a Working Diplomat

John Shaw, *Capital Books Inc.*, 2007, \$25.00, paperback, 188 pages.

Profiling the life and work of one of the world's most accomplished diplomats — Sweden's former ambassador to the U.S., Jan Eliasson — this provocative

book offers an insider's view of how modern diplomacy shapes global political debate and affects the outcome of major world events.

John Shaw “opens the embassy doors to show the life of a working diplomat,” writes Sandra Day O'Connor in the foreword. “And he shows a genuine picture of that life, rich with details about its scope and nature. Along the way, the reader gets to know one of the most impressive ambassadors to serve in Washington, D.C.”

Amb. Eliasson provided Shaw, a *Washington Diplomat* reporter, with up-close access to his work. For two years, Shaw attended policy meetings with the ambassador, watched him give speeches and interact with other senior diplomats. The result is an engaging read, relevant and important for students of international relations.

Failed Diplomacy: The Tragic Story of How North Korea Got the Bomb

Charles L. Pritchard, *Brookings Institution Press*, 2007, \$26.95, hardback, 228 pages.

North Korea's development of nuclear weapons raised fears of nuclear war on the peninsula and presented the disturbing possibility of terrorists gaining access to weapons of mass destruction. What went wrong? How was this isolated nation, a charter member of the axis of evil, allowed to develop nuclear weapons?

Charles Pritchard, who was intimately involved in developing North Korea policy under the Clinton and Bush administrations, presents an authoritative analysis of recent events on the Korean Peninsula. He assesses the Six-Party Talks and reveals how the Bush administration's mistakes damaged the prospects of controlling nuclear proliferation. A stinging critique,

the book also suggests what can be learned from missed opportunities.

Charles Pritchard is president of the Korean Economic Institute. He has served as U.S. ambassador to, and special envoy for negotiations with, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

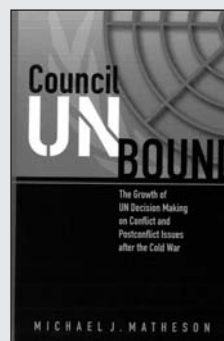
Dealing with Dictators: Dilemmas

Edited by Ernest R. May and Philip D. Zelikow, *The MIT Press*, 2007, \$27.00, paperback, 243 pages.

While the U.S. has proclaimed its support of democracy and opposition to tyranny, American presidents have often sustained dictators who have allied themselves with the United States. This book explores the chronic dilemmas central to U.S. dealings with dictators under conditions of moral ambiguity.

Offering in-depth analysis of six cases, *Dealing with Dictators* examines: the U.S. and China, 1945-1948; U.N. intervention in the Congo, 1960-1965; the overthrow of the shah of Iran; U.S. relations with the Somoza regime in Nicaragua; the fall of Marcos in the Philippines; and U.S. policy toward Iraq, 1988-1990. Rather than focusing on whether decisionmakers were “right” or “wrong,” each chapter seeks to deepen our understanding of the uncertainty that permeates the interaction of intelligence analysis and policymaking.

Ernest R. May is the Charles Warren Professor of American History at Harvard University. Philip D. Zelikow served as counselor at the Department of State from 2005 to 2007.



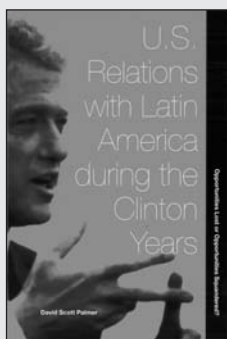
Council UNBound

Michael J. Matheson, *United States Institute of Peace Press*, 2006, \$19.95, paperback, 422 pages.

Michael Matheson examines the United Nations Security Council's expansive exercise of legal authority since the end of the Cold War, and its development of bold and innovative methods to stop nascent wars and threats to international security. He surveys the many roles assumed by the council in post-conflict situations — from rebuilding wartorn countries and reintegrating nations back into the world community to

prosecuting war criminals and providing compensation to war victims. This book examines the body's exercise of governmental authority in territories such as Cambodia, Bosnia, Kosovo and East Timor. It also explores the more recent controversies over Iraq, in which disagreements among the permanent members have made decisive action difficult, and the investigations into fraud and abuse in various U.N. programs.

Principal deputy legal adviser to the Department of State from 1990 to 2000, Michael Matheson is now a member of the U.N. International Law Commission.



U.S. Relations with Latin America During the Clinton Years: Opportunities Lost or Opportunities Squandered?

David Scott Palmer,
University Press of California,
2006, \$24.95, paperback,
125 pages.

Reading like an insider's account, this treatment of the Clinton presidency's Latin America policy is based in part on interviews and roundtable discussions with more than 50 participants in the Latin American foreign policy process.

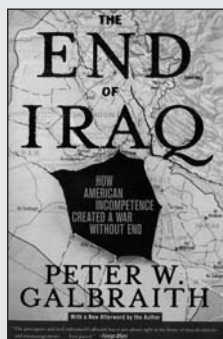
Palmer concedes that the Clinton administration made some progress managing hemispheric relations. But, he argues, Clinton failed to build on the favorable conditions he inherited. By showing only sporadic interest in Latin America, his administration failed to exploit the historic opening for a new approach to relations. (Look for a full-length review of the book in the December *FSJ*.)

A professor of international relations and political science at Boston University, David Scott Palmer previously served as director of Latin American and Caribbean Studies at the Foreign Service Institute.

The End of Iraq: How American Incompetence Created a War Without End

Peter W. Galbraith, Simon & Schuster, 2006, \$15.00, paperback, 275 pages.

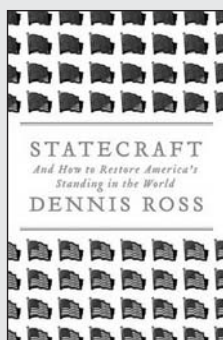
Here is an account of Washington's failed strategy toward Iraq from the perspective of an individual who has witnessed many of that country's milestone events



since the 1980s. At that time, as a Senate Foreign Relations Committee staffer, he uncovered and publicized Saddam Hussein's genocidal campaign against Iraq's Kurds.

According to Galbraith, the Bush administration's effort to bring democracy to Iraq and transform the Middle East is doomed and will only leave the U.S. with an open-ended commitment in circumstances of uncontrollable turmoil. "Peter Galbraith has seen, with balance and clarity, the whole arc of America's tragic and mismanaged relationship with Iraq. This is an essential book as the debate on what to do in Iraq continues to grow in the United States," writes Richard Holbrooke, former ambassador to the U.N.

Peter Galbraith served as the first U.S. ambassador to Croatia. He is currently the senior diplomatic fellow at the Center for Arms Control and Nonproliferation in Washington, D.C., and principal of a Vermont-based consulting firm specializing in international negotiations.



Statecraft: And How to Restore America's Standing in the World

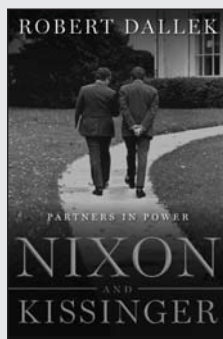
Dennis Ross, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007,
\$26.00, hardcover, 384 pages.

Statecraft is as old as politics: Plato wrote about it; Machiavelli practiced it. Yet, after the end of the Cold War some predicted that it would become obsolete. Dennis Ross, the Clinton administration's Middle East envoy, contends that in a globalized world of fluid borders, terrorist networks and violent unrest, statecraft is more necessary than ever — if only to keep the peace.

In this illuminating book, Ross maintains that the Bush administration's problems stem from its inability to use the tools of statecraft — economic, diplomatic and military — to advance America's national interests. He examines case studies of foreign policy disasters and triumphs to illustrate statecraft in practice and

OF RELATED INTEREST

offers detailed proposals on current dilemmas from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to Iranian nuclear ambitions. The author is currently a distinguished fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.



Nixon and Kissinger: Partners in Power

Robert Dallek, HarperCollins, 2007, \$18.95, paperback, 752 pages.

After making his reputation as a great historian by writing biographies such as *Lyndon B. Johnson* (1999) and *John F. Kennedy: An Unfinished Life* (2004), Robert Dallek presents *Nixon and Kissinger: Partners in Power*, a detailed portrait of the relationship between one of the most controversial recent U.S. presidents and his influential foreign policy collaborator.

Dallek depicts the unsteady alliance of these two clever, insecure men. At the height of their power, their collaboration and rivalry led to a series of policies that would define the Nixon presidency. It is a collaboration that, Dallek says, “tells us as much about the opportunities and limits of national and international conditions as about the men themselves.” Or, as Margaret MacMillan points out in a *Washington Post* review, the book is also “very much a history of the period as seen from inside the Beltway.”

Robert Dallek is a professor of history at Boston University.



Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World

Chester A. Crocker, Fen Olser Hampson and Pamela Aall (eds.), United States Institute of Peace Press, 2007, \$45.00, paperback, 726 pages.

Since the end of the Cold War, international conflict has become more fragmented and more complicated. *Leashing the Dogs of War*, a textbook aimed at students of international diploma-

cy and conflict management, has more than 40 contributors seeking to provide “wide-ranging analyses of the sources of contemporary international conflict, and the means available by which that conflict can be solved.” The major themes include: the sources of conflict and challenges to global security; the uses and limits of coercive action, statecraft and soft power; and the role of international organizations and institutions in conflict management.

Chester A. Crocker is the James R. Schlesinger Professor of Strategic Studies at the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. He was assistant secretary of State for African affairs from 1981 to 1989 and chairman of the United States Institute of Peace from 1992 until 2004.



The Price of Liberty: Paying for America's Wars

Robert D. Hormats, Times Books, 2007, \$27.50, hardcover, 350 pages.

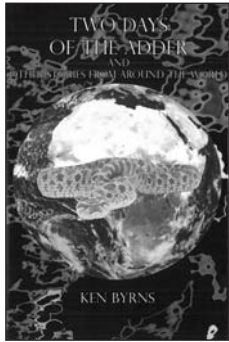
In this thought-provoking history, Robert D. Hormats, a leading expert on international finance, shows how U.S. presidents from both parties — from Jefferson down to the current president — have followed principles meant to secure the nation through sound finance. Drawing on historical lessons, Hormats argues that the rampant borrowing to pay for the war in Iraq and the shortsighted tax cuts in the face of a long war on terrorism run counter to American tradition and place the nation on dangerous ground.

During each of America's previous wars, U.S. presidents have altered fiscal policy to meet military needs. Today, the United States is confronting the challenges of a post-9/11 world with a pre-9/11 monetary policy. To meet the threats facing us, Hormats maintains, we must realign the nation's economic policies on taxes, Social Security, Medicare, pork-barrel spending, energy use and oil dependency.

Robert Hormats is vice chairman of Goldman Sachs (International). He served as assistant secretary of State for economic and business affairs (1981-1982) and as ambassador and deputy U.S. trade representative (1979-1981). ■

Continued from page 31

POETRY & FICTION



Two Days of the Adder: And Other Stories from Around the World

*Ken Byrns, AuthorHouse,
2007, \$14.49, hardcover,
216 pages.*

These tales of romance, adventure and suspense are set in countries all over the world. The collection includes 12 short stories and three poems inspired by the author's experiences during a 23-year Foreign Service career that took him from Iceland to Vietnam, Colorado to Belgium, and Kansas to Canada.

The stories are varied and full of esoteric and entertaining detail. For instance, in South Africa, an adder is used as a murder weapon; in Mexico, it's a bull; in France, a grenade; and in Zimbabwe, a

Rhodesian lion dog. And, what really happened at the River Lip in Turkey, where a girl plunges from a precipice into the depths of a chasm, "landing on the jagged rocks at the edge of the river, a rushing torrent that would drown out the sounds of the impact or cries of anguish, if there were any"?

Ken Byrns has published numerous short stories, articles and poems. Two of his stories have appeared in the *FSJ*. His first novel, *The Daughter of Ramon Godoy* (2002), is based on his experience as a vice consul in Mexico City. The second, *A Spy Sat Down Beside Her* (2006), is an espionage thriller, portraying events in Occupied France during World War II.

The author began his diplomatic career in Mexico and served in a half-dozen posts abroad before finishing his service in Izmir, Turkey, where he was consul general. He helped negotiate the U.S. Defense Agreement with Iceland for a naval base in Keflavik. Later, he served as the lead negotiator for the U.S. agreement with NATO for the procurement of off-shore military equipment from Europe. Byrns lives in Powell, Ohio, with his wife Ginny.

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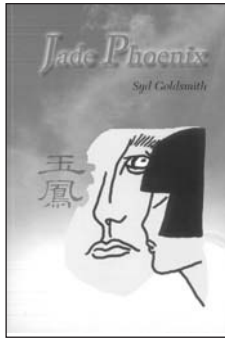
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Jade Phoenix

Syd Goldsmith, *iUniverse*, 2006, \$19.95, paperback, 326 pages.

Pen strokes shatter dreams of nationhood, foreign devils challenge ancient Chinese customs, and love blooms in a wilderness of misunderstanding in this cross-cultural adventure. When Taiwanese millionaire Ko-sa Ong shows up with Jade Phoenix in Washington, D.C., to meet Nick Malter, the lives of all three interconnect in a struggle of love, betrayal and misunderstanding.

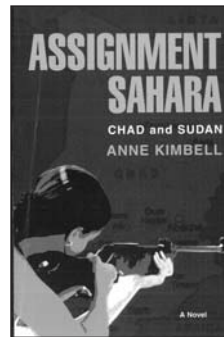
Nick, an American reporter, wants to be understood and accepted by the Chinese as much as he wants to understand them. Ko-sa has everything, except a son and a nation; and Jade has nothing after her father, a senior Nationalist general, commits suicide. Best friends, Ko-sa and Nick share an abiding hatred of Chiang Kai-shek and the cynical American Secretary of State who would forever deny the Taiwanese their

country. Both risk all for each other, but give up everything for the love of Jade.

Syd Goldsmith weaves a plot line of loyalty and treachery in the lives of these three characters, against the background of the monumental change that eventually brought democracy to Taiwan. *Jade Phoenix*, Goldsmith's first work of historical fiction, was a finalist for the New Voices in Literature Award and a semi-finalist in the William Faulkner Competition.

The author served as an FSO from 1963 to 1989, mostly in South America and China. As the unofficial U.S. consul general in Kaohsiung, he took part in Taiwan's transformation from a martial-law dictatorship to the first-ever Chinese democracy. After retiring, he returned as a management consultant to Chinese state-owned and private companies. He lives in Taipei with

his wife Hsiu-chen and their two children.



Assignment Sahara: Chad and Sudan

Anne Kimbell, *iUniverse, Inc.*, 2006, \$14.95, paperback, 204 pages.

After lobbying her father relentlessly, the daughter of a prominent U.S. senator gets permission to join a church group aiding refugees in Sudan. While delivering food and medical supplies, the girl mysteriously disappears. Her father and the embassy are desperate to track down her whereabouts, and Janine Simms, an experienced CIA operative, is called in.

Simms is sent to Chad under the auspices of the American embassy. She is given the job of backing up aid missions to Sudanese refugees as cover to embark on her dangerous mission. She treks north to the uncharted Tibesti Mountains of Chad, aided by Barx, her experienced bush pilot, and Lilli's father, the frantic senator. Determined and incredibly skilled, Simms confronts the treacherous terrain and even an insurgent stronghold in search of the senator's daughter.

Anne Kimbell is the executive director of the Westcliff Center for the Performing Arts in Colorado. *Assignment Sahara: Chad and Sudan* is the third thriller she has written following *The Ibeji Twins: London and Nigeria* (2004) and *To Catch a Spy* (2000), set in Tunisia. The former wife of retired FSO James F. Relph Jr., the author has lived and worked in all of these countries.

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sion payment. And ordering through AFSA doesn't cost you a cent. So bookmark the AFSA site, use the link and help your association — and yourself!

Permanent Interests

James Bruno, *Lulu.com*, 2006, \$23.95, paperback, 392 pages.

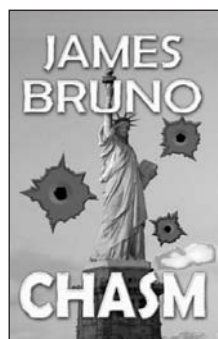
In *Permanent Interests*, diplomat Bob Innes is plunged into a web of political intrigue and murder. Corrupt White House officials have sold out to American and Russian racketeers to re-elect a weak President Corgan at all costs. The U.S. officials and KGB officers who stand in the way are murdered. Bob Innes and his young aide, Colleen McCoy, become the next targets of hired assassins and Russian mobsters.

On the run, trying to expose the cover-ups, they fall in love. They work with a beautiful Russian escort and a colorful New York mob boss who becomes an unlikely ally, and team up with the FBI to bring down the men in the president's inner circle and the Russian mob's godfather. The story climaxes with a plot to assassinate a popular presidential rival known as the "Cajun Kennedy."

James Bruno captures political intrigue, greed and treachery at the highest levels of government and brings it crashing down in the face of relentless pursuit of the truth by the system's would-be victims. *Permanent*

Interests is "a frightening story that gets you thinking, what if . . .," writes author Tim Green.

A retired FSO, James Bruno has worked as a military intelligence analyst at the Pentagon and as a news reporter with CBS News and UPI. He has experienced coups d'etat, conducted peace negotiations and served in Guantanamo as liaison with the Cuban military. He currently serves as a member of the Diplomatic Readiness Reserve. He lives with his wife and two daughters in Upstate New York.



Chasm

James Bruno, *lulu.com*, 2006, \$17.99, paperback, 312 pages.

Peace in the Balkans is fragile. Pinning its political fortunes on ensuring the success of a shaky peace deal, the White House agrees in a top-secret codicil to take in war criminals. This clandestine program, named Operation CHASM, gets out of hand as imported war criminals go on a rampage of arson and murder.



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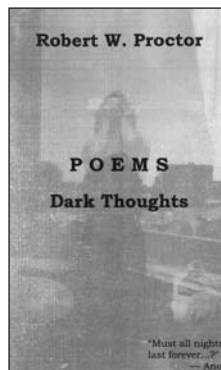
When Mike Gallatin's young daughter is almost killed in one attack, this Cleveland investigator resolves to pursue the case. Drawing on his detective skills, he finds out about CHASM. But the ruthless national security adviser orders Gallatin's "recall," and he will have to risk his life to get to the bottom of the conspiracy.

Chasm is a thriller about Washington powerbrokers and what can happen when one average citizen, a victim of their policies, embarks on a quest to expose their hypocrisy and lies. It shows how malicious policies can overwhelm their implementers, dragging them into self-destructive behavior. The book can be ordered from www.lulu.com.

Poems: Dark Thoughts

Robert W. Proctor, *Mesilla Valley Press*, 2006, \$15.00, paperback, 34 pages.

Only by openly grappling with "the shadows of a man's nature" do we come to fully appreciate his brighter, more compassionate attributes, writes Robert Proctor in the introduction to his first full book of poetry. Following his earlier work, *Selected Poems, 2001-2004*, intended as a selection of "hors d'oeuvres in




verse," Proctor presents this new collection with sharper focus. *Dark Thoughts* explores the more frightening aspects of the mind and humanity.

The 39 poems are grouped in two divisions: "Earth, Nature, Creatures" and "You, Me and Other People, Other Places." The poems showcase the dichotomy of human nature, the bright and dark, violent and peaceful and resolved and disjointed, representing the author's perception of the world as "incredibly beautiful and uncompromisingly harsh, and with a belief — still subject to change — that man himself is the primary source of all his delights ... and woes." While exposing the shadowy influences and characteristics of our minds and mankind, Proctor reassures us that "darkness, as a force, has no equal — except light."

Robert Proctor is a retired teacher and FSO who served in Asia, Africa and the Middle East. His poems, short stories and essays have appeared in regional and

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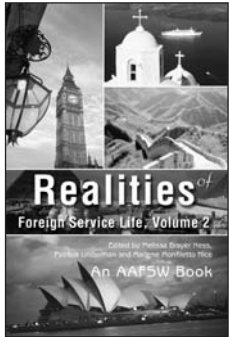
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national publications, including the *FSJ*. He lives in La Luz, New Mexico, with his wife, Etrennes.

SPECIALTY



Realities of Foreign Service Life, Volume 2

Edited by Melissa Hess, Patricia Linderman and Marlene Monfiletto Nice, iUniverse, 2007, \$20.95 plus shipping and handling, paperback, 250 pages.

This is the second volume of the popular and very useful title sponsored by the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide. The first installment, released in 2004, contains more than 30 essays by FS members and their spouses on every aspect of life in the Foreign Service.

This new volume also focuses on the realities faced by diplomats and their families outside the embassy or consulate walls. Here, 29 writers from the Foreign

Service community — including officers, specialists, spouses and one articulate teen — explore such topics as housing and schooling abroad, intercultural marriage, spouse employment, political discussions with host-country nationals and the rising number of unaccompanied assignments.

Like the first volume, this book serves as a “reality check,” detailing both the positive and negative aspects of Foreign Service life, for partners and children as well as employees.

Co-editors Melissa Brayer-Hess, Patricia Linderman and Marlene Monfiletto Nice are longtime members of the Foreign Service community. Brayer-Hess, an FS spouse, is currently deputy director in the Crisis Management Training Division of the Leadership and Management School, National Foreign Affairs Training Center, Arlington, Va. Linderman, also an FS spouse, is editor in chief of *Tales from a Small Planet* (www.talesmag.com) and Monfiletto Nice, a former newspaper reporter and editor, accompanied her husband to three overseas posts before becoming a Foreign Service officer herself in 2005.

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Desert Island Wine
Miles Lambert-Gócs, Ambeli Press, 2007, \$14.95, paperback, 190 pages.

Here is a witty look at the world of wine. “A delightful book, well-written and highly entertaining. Wine geeks will love it, but it’s a fun read even if you can’t tell a Cabernet from a Merlot!” says Larry Walker, associate editor of *Wines & Vines* magazine.

A varied collection of pieces about wine appreciation, *Desert Island Wine* is an unusual book. The last chapter, “Wine Bore Bonus (No Funny Business),” is an entirely serious presentation of the author’s discovery of the Greek grape that is the ancestor of the Cabernet Sauvignon. This meticulously researched report can be expected to cause a stir among enophiles.

Miles Lambert-Gócs, a former Foreign Agricultural Service officer, is also the author of *Greek Salad: A Dionysian Travelogue* (Wine Appreciation Guild, 2004) and *The Wines of Greece* (Faber & Faber,

1990). The later is considered the definitive work on the history of Greek wine. He lives in Virginia.

Basics of Clause and Sentence Structure: A Handbook for New and Experienced Writers

James R. Wachob, Vantage Press, 2007, \$8.95, paperback, 50 pages.

In the mold of Strunk and White’s classic “little book,” *The Elements of Style*, this 50-page handbook on the basics of clause and sentence structure is a pithy primer for the dilettante and a refresher for the seasoned wordsmith. The different categories of English clauses and conditions that must be met when they are combined are presented in a step-by-step way.

James R. Wachob, a retired Senior Foreign Service officer, received State Department Superior Honor awards during the course of his 37-year diplomatic career for performance in activities with significant writing components. In retirement, he was an instructor for grammar and writing skills in English-as-a-second-language schools for nearly two decades before becoming a public high school tutor. Wachob now lives in Somerset, Md., with his wife. ■

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LA VIE ABATI

A BORED POLITICAL OFFICER IN A WEST AFRICAN BACKWATER VOLUNTEERS TO INVESTIGATE A REGIONAL PROBLEM AND, ULTIMATELY, LEARNS A THING OR TWO.

BY HANSCOM SMITH

The mud-brick room somehow smelled of lavender and mothballs. Cole's relief at escaping the blazing Sahelian afternoon only partially offset his frustration at another unexplained delay. His driver, Mr. Oumarou, had taken the sputtering Land Cruiser to ... to wherever vehicles are repaired in the West African desert.

Almost as an afterthought, Cole was left to an indefinite wait. He tried not to think of the relative comfort of the provincial capital's frayed Hotel Sofitel, over three hours away by rutted dirt piste: air conditioning and satellite television, cold beer chilling serenely in the minibar.

Cole's eyes adjusted to the shadows of the forlorn village restaurant. He'd be lucky to find a warm bottle of Coke here. The few rickety tables were bereft of settings. The entire back wall was fronted by a wooden bar, although any alcohol to be had was apparently kept out of sight. Cole

installed himself on a stool and waited for someone to emerge from the door behind the bar. As if to taunt him with his unraveling schedule, the electric timepiece watching over the room captured Cole's gaze.

The clock advertised Abati, the ubiquitous national brew hawked with the slogan: "La vie Abati. On vous attend." *The Abati life: We're waiting for you.* On billboards, the slogan complemented beguiling spreads of slick professionals relaxing in nightclubs or lounging on beaches. Here, the words seemed surreal as they beamed their promise to the dull earthen walls.



Cole was surprised by the quiet appearance of a woman behind the bar, and even more startled that she was Asian.

"Bonjour, monsieur." Her French was heavily accented.

Taking his cue from the clock, Cole asked for an Abati and was relieved when the woman swiftly produced a frosted brown bottle. She looked to be in her 40s, and was dressed modestly in a jacket and trousers made of faded local fabric, the vibrant prints now dulled to muddy red, green and brown. Lank hair was gathered at the nape of her neck. The woman was striking only by her very presence, presiding calmly over this mudhole of a saloon.

This story won fourth place in the Journal's 2007 Foreign Service fiction contest.

Hanscom Smith entered the Foreign Service in 1990 and has served in Cameroon, Denmark, Thailand, Cambodia and Washington, D.C. He is now at the Taipei office of the American Institute in Taiwan.

Cole pulled on his beer and smiled. He produced a cigarette and left it poised briefly on his lips. When the woman made no display of furnishing a light, he fumbled for matches and did it himself, exhaling impatience in a torrent of smoke.

"Your vehicle is being repaired, no?" she said.

Cole decided not to be aghast that she already knew of the limping Land Cruiser. The smaller the village, the faster everyone seemed to have the news. His reporting instincts stirred.

"Yes, we're hoping to have repairs done so we can get back to the city by sunset. I'm from the American embassy, visiting a few of the Lutheran missions."

Cole didn't mention the other reason for his desert foray. The local ridwan, or clan chieftain, had been terrorizing the region for weeks. Shedding even the pretense of operating under central government control, his forces were commandeering commercial convoys, raiding private houses and, reportedly, even detaining villagers in private jails. Although none of the area's smattering of Americans had been affected, the embassy was worried by the implications of eroding government control.

Eager to break the routine of a JO political tour in a West African backwater, Cole had volunteered to investigate. After three days of notary services, tedious meetings with local officials and diarrhea, however, he was chafing to go home. No one seemed to know anything about the ridwan. Or, more likely, no one was foolhardy enough to talk. Even the missionaries changed the subject when he broached the issue.

"Are there any security problems I should worry about when we drive back to the city?" he asked.

"Everything is good here." The woman grinned in a way Cole found almost foolish.

"How long have you lived in the

***Cole decided not to be
aghast that she already
knew of the limping
Land Cruiser.***

area?" Cole opted for an indirect tack.

"My husband brought me here three years ago, when we married. I am from Korea." A readiness for conversation seemed stymied by the woman's meager French. She stared at Cole earnestly.

He considered a barrage of questions: Why did you leave Korea for this mud-brick purgatory? How can you possibly be happy here? Can you tell me where to find some information about the ridwan so I can finish my work and get back to the capital?

He snuffed out his cigarette. He could hear the dull hum of the clock behind the bar. "Do you have any children?" he asked.

"I have no children. My husband found me this place. This is my work."

Cole tried to imagine local shepherds and shopkeepers at the empty tables, nursing Abatis beneath the Korean's benign gaze. He attempted to conjure a vision of her husband, and came up blank. Perhaps they met online, he mused, barely suppressing a smirk.

"Do you ever get homesick? Can you cook Korean food here?" His questions made her smile even brighter. The woman touched her forehead.

"My home is here. I know how to make Korean food. I do not need to eat it." Cole tried to steer the dis-

cussion toward the ridwan. He thought he remembered that Christianity is common in Korea.

"Have you met any of the Americans at the Lutheran missions? They tell me the ridwan's men have been very active lately. Do the foreigners have a way of contacting each other if there's a problem?"

Only yesterday, the ridwan's forces had stopped and briefly detained a Scandinavian missionary convoy, and Cole was trying to track rumors that some of the missionaries had been physically attacked. He had a hard time picturing his new friend chatting with the doughty Minnesotans at the Lutheran mission, tucking into a casserole and borrowing tattered copies of *Ladies' Home Journal*.

"My husband is from this region. I see his family. There are few foreigners here. I do not know them."

The hands on the Abati clock approached 4:00. As if responding to his gaze, the woman produced another brown bottle. Cole welcomed the fresh beer, even as he grew increasingly anxious about getting back to the provincial capital before dark. Where was Oumarou? Were there no other patrons? Perhaps the woman was a lousy cook. He laughed under his breath, and decided on a direct approach.

"You must have heard about all the attacks by the ridwan's forces. Some Scandinavian missionaries were stopped yesterday. It is becoming dangerous here." He lit another cigarette and waited for the woman to speak.

"I am safe here. The ridwan protects us." After a pause, she added: "The American embassy is concerned about our security."

Cole could not tell if the sentence was a question or an observation. Beer, heat and dehydration were conspiring to make him feel lightheaded. The clock seemed to glow. His mind drifted to the Abati billboards in the

capital ... lush beaches and chic night-clubs. *On vous attend.* He emptied the second bottle.

"All I can say is" — and as he spoke he knew his tone sounded more ominous than he intended — "the ridwan should be careful. If anything happens to an American, then we'll get involved."

Of course the embassy would have to get involved if anything happened to an Amcit, he thought. But Cole had no idea what the embassy might actually do about the ridwan. He had another sudden overpowering longing to be in the Sofitel. Air conditioning, a drink with ice, a room-service club sandwich and, maybe, another Abati ...

The Korean woman watched Cole intently, a flickering smile still playing across her lips. He hesitated to meet her gaze and instead found himself staring at the tired print on her jacket. He quickly shifted his eyes to the clock above her head. Nearly 4:30. If Oumaru returned now, there might barely be enough time to make it to the hotel by dark.

"You are staying at the Sofitel."

Again, Cole could not discern if this was a question or a statement. He was considering going out to look for Oumaru when another Abati appeared before him on the bar.

"No, please. No thank you," he stammered as what looked like disappointment registered on the woman's face. Fear of boredom must have made her so quick on the trigger, Cole decided, and out of pity he tried to revive the conversation. "Where are you from in Korea?"

"Pyongyang," she replied artlessly.

Cole took a gulp of the beer. As if magically aware that he was needed, Oumaru arrived to announce that the Land Cruiser was repaired and ready to complete the day's journey. Cole dropped some crumpled bills on the bar and affected a careless demeanor as he walked toward the door. In her

**Where was
Oumaru? Were there no
other patrons? Perhaps
the woman was a
lousy cook.**

composed but rudimentary French, the woman wished him a safe journey.

"We will wait for you," she added as Cole followed his driver out the door. My God, he thought, did she learn her French by parroting ad campaigns?

Cole turned and saw the Korean's absurdly grinning face. Against the somber mud brick, it appeared suspended between the bar and the clock.



The normally garrulous Oumaru was unusually subdued, which was just as well. Cole felt no need to mention that he'd been discussing their trip with a North Korean bartender. As the Land Cruiser sped down the narrow road into gathering twilight, Oumaru began to share his own intelligence. Cole was faintly embarrassed to find that he had gleaned more information on the ridwan's activities than Cole himself.

Understandably, the spate of roadside ambushes by the ridwan's men made Oumaru especially uneasy. Stories of violence against the Scandinavian missionaries were apparently more than just rumors. Cole nervously ran his fingers up and down the taut seat belt as he tried to con-

centrate on the lavish dinner he would soon enjoy at the hotel. Oumaru was studiously vague on the question, but Cole knew they would make the last part of the journey in the dark.

The Land Cruiser rounded a corner into a small cluster of buildings, the last hamlet before an unpopulated stretch of the trail led to the provincial capital, still nearly an hour away. A final sliver of sun doused the horizon. Cole could faintly make out a battered roadside billboard. "La vie Abati. On vous attend."

Oumaru finished recounting what he had learned around town and clenched the steering wheel with atypical ardor. After a long pause, he stole an expectant glance at Cole.

"So, monsieur, what did you learn from the ridwan's wife?" ■

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CAN AMERICAN LEADERSHIP BE RESTORED?

THE WORLD BEFORE US TODAY IS BOTH UNFAMILIAR AND UNANTICIPATED.
HERE IS A THOUGHT-PROVOKING TOUR D'HORIZON.

BY CHAS W. FREEMAN JR.

When our descendants look back on the end of the 20th century and the beginning of this one, they will be puzzled. The end of the Cold War relieved Americans of almost all international anxieties. It left us free to use our unparalleled economic power, military might and cultural appeal to craft a world to our liking. We did not rise to the occasion. Nonetheless, almost the whole world stood with us after 9/11.

There is still no rival to our power, but almost no one abroad now wants to follow our lead, and our ability to shape events has been greatly, perhaps irreparably, enfeebled. In less than a decade, we have managed to discredit our capacity to enlist others in defending our interests and forfeit our moral authority as the natural leader of the global community.

There is no need for me to outline to this expert audience the many respects in which our prestige and influence are now diminished. Historians will surely wonder: How did this happen? But for now, how we got into this mess is far less important than figuring out how we can get out of it.

Chas W. Freeman Jr., a retired member of the Senior Foreign Service and former ambassador to Saudi Arabia, is president of the Middle East Policy Council. This article is excerpted from Amb. Freeman's remarks to the Washington Institute of Foreign Affairs on May 24.

Assessing the Collateral Damage

Much more has been destroyed than just the social and political orders in Iraq and Afghanistan. The term "collateral damage" was invented to denote the undesirable side effects of actions on the battlefield. But it certainly applies to the consequences of our confused and counterproductive conduct and the misdirection of our armed forces since 9/11. We have greatly devalued our political and moral standing with our allies and friends, and foolishly degraded the deterrent value of our military power. The world now fears our savagery but has lost confidence in our fair-mindedness, judgment and competence. What are the consequences of this, and how can we overcome them?

A common concern about the belligerent unilateralism of the world's greatest military power is driving lesser powers to look for political and economic support from countries who are distant, unthreatening or unlikely to back American agendas. So, for example, Venezuela, Brazil, Saudi Arabia and key African countries are all courting China; Europe is flirting with Asia; and all are seeking the affections of the oil and gas producers of the Middle East, as well as wooing Russia and India. In most countries, politicians now see public spats with the United States as the easiest way to rally their people and enhance their prestige. The result is the progressive displacement of our previously indispensable influence and leadership in more and more areas of the world.

Sagging demand for our leadership may be a good thing to the extent it relieves us of the burdens of our much-pro-

claimed status as the sole remaining superpower. But we're clearly bothered by being seen as less relevant. Our answer to this seems to be to build an even more powerful military. Some of you will recall newspaper reports that our defense spending is only about 3.6 percent of GDP, reflecting a defense budget of only — I emphasize only — \$499.4 billion. But a lot of defense-related spending is outside the Defense Department's budget. In Fiscal Year 2007, we will actually spend at least \$935 billion (or about 6.8 percent of our GDP) on our military.

Outside DOD, the Department of Energy will spend \$16.6 billion on nuclear weapons. The State Department will disburse \$25.3 billion in foreign military assistance. We will expend \$69.1 billion on defense-related homeland security programs and \$69.8 billion for treatment of wounded veterans. The Treasury will pay out \$38.5 billion on unfunded military retirements. We will allocate \$206.7 billion for interest on war debt. Other bits and pieces, including satellite launches, will add another \$8.5 billion.

Altogether, I repeat, that's about \$935 billion. But there's no sign that all this military spending, though vastly more than the rest of the world's combined, and the power-projection capabilities it buys are regaining international leadership for us.

In Latin America, Brazil is assuming the mantle of regional leader, even as Hugo Chavez and other defiant nationalists seek to gain influence at our expense.

In Europe, transcontinental integration is proceeding without reference to us or our views about the roles of strategically important countries like Turkey and Ukraine in the European Union. New relationships are being forged with Russia. European policies toward such problem states as Iran, Iraq and Israel increasingly diverge from our own.

Asia is returning to its pre-modern status as the center of gravity of the world economy. Events there are being driven not by us, but by the restored wealth and power of China and India, a newly assertive Japan, strategic repositioning by both parts of Korea, growing partnerships between Muslim nations in Southeast Asia and the Arabs and Persians, the de facto reintegration of Taiwan with the rest of China, and a bloom of pan-Asian political and economic arrangements from which we are absent.

In the Middle East, Iran has been empowered by our

blunders in Iraq, Palestine and Lebanon. Saudi Arabia has awakened from its traditional risk-averse passivity to fill the diplomatic vacuums we have created. Israel is even more despised and isolated than we are, and together we are rapidly multiplying the ranks of terrorists with regional and global reach. And so it goes.

An Unfamiliar and Unanticipated World

The world before us is both unfamiliar and unanticipated. Our military-industrial complex securocrats and pundits keep arguing for more carriers, submarines and fighter bombers. This is good for the defense industrial base. But in terms of stopping terrorists, it is, I am afraid, an American equivalent of the Maginot Line: the building of an impregnable deterrent to the threat of the past, not the future. Like the French generals of World War II, our defense planners are preparing for the return of a familiar enemy, some new version of our sadly vanished Soviet adversary, that will rise to compete with us for global hegemony and that we can hold to account for failing to constrain attacks on us by lesser enemies. But that is not what is happening, and it must now be doubted that it ever will.

In the world of the early 21st century, the major ideological contest is between those who share our past faith in the rule of law and the new American contempt for the notion that we should, like others, respect the United Nations Charter, the Geneva Conventions and other elements of international law. In some senses, we have met the enemy, and he is who we used to be. We can count on no common threat to rally the world behind us. In the new era, there are no blocs and no clear battle lines. Those who are our allies for some purposes may be our adversaries in respect to others, and vice versa. For all of our military strength, the demands on our diplomatic skills will be the greatest in our history. The stakes are high, and the margins for error of our foreign policies are steadily narrowing. Yet we are training our diplomats for the transformative tasks of imperial administration. Like our military planners, our diplomatic leadership has it wrong. Our empire was stillborn. We just didn't notice.

Our post-Cold War global hegemony is being undermined, not by a peer competitor but by a combination of our own neocon-induced ineptitude and the emergence of countries with substantial power and influence in their own

*The world now fears our
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regions. These regional powers distrust our purposes, fear our militarism and reject our leadership. Distrust drives them to reaffirm the principles of international law we have now abandoned. Fear drives them to pursue the development or acquisition of weapons with which to deter the policies of pre-emptive attack and forcible regime change we now espouse. (If the weak think the powerful consider themselves above the law, the only protection for the vulnerable is to arm themselves. So scofflaw behavior in the name of halting or reversing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction actually promotes it.)

All this is creating a world of regional balances in which we play a lessened role. Some of these regional balances, as in South Asia today and the Middle East of the future, involve dangerous nuclear standoffs between two or more middle-ranking powers.

Misalignment of Power and Institutions

As new centers of economic and political power emerge around the world, global institutions designed to include countries whose participation is essential to problem-solving are no longer in alignment with the actual distribution of either the world's power or its problems. They reflect the past rather than the present international pecking order. Because they exclude key players, they can't contrive workable solutions or secure buy-in from those who must support them or, at least, refrain from wrecking them if they are to succeed.

The problem is most obvious in organizations devoted to economic matters.

Take the Group of Eight, a self-constituted Euro-American-Japanese club of democracies plus Russia. The G-7, as it was until 1998, once played a central role in managing the global

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economy. It still discusses global trade and investment imbalances. But without Chinese participation, this amounts to little more than ineffectual whining.

Or consider energy and the environment, other issues of broad concern. With the fastest-growing new energy consumers like China, India and Brazil outside the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and its affiliated International Energy Agency, there is no way to coordinate an effective international response to energy shortages or crises. And when the United States absents itself, as we have from the Kyoto regime and from some parts of the U.N. system, even less can be accomplished.

The same pattern of growing misalignment between power and institutions exists throughout the international system. The membership and voting arrangements of the U.N. Security Council, for example, reflect both the colonial era and the outcome of World War II far better than they mirror current realities. A body charged with the management of global security and other vitally important issues is obviously handicapped in its ability to make, legitimize and enforce its decisions if it overweighs Europe, inflexibly slights

India and Japan, and includes no Muslim nation or group of nations among its permanent members. The U.N.'s difficulties are compounded by the contemptuous treatment it now receives from Washington, and by the effects on its image here and abroad of our using it primarily to fend off international condemnation of outrageous behavior by Israel. We can and must do better than this.

To regain both credibility and international respect, we Americans must, of course, restore the vigor of our constitutional democracy and its respect for civil liberties. But that in itself will be far from enough. The willingness of others to follow us in the past did not derive from our ability to intimidate or coerce them. Instead, we inspired the world with our vision and our example. Now we know what we're against, but what are we for? Whatever happened to American optimism and idealism? To be able to lead the world again, we must once more exemplify aspirations for a higher standard of freedom and justice at home and abroad. We cannot compel, but must *persuade* others to work with us. And to lead a team, we must rediscover how to be a team player.

Toward a Concert of Powers

When President Franklin Delano Roosevelt first proposed what became the United Nations, he envisaged a concert of powers that could foster a harmonious and largely peaceful world order, increasingly free of both want and fear, and respectful of individual and collective rights as well as of the cultural diversity of humankind. That vision remains both relevant and compelling. The bipolar struggles of the Cold War strangled it at birth, but that conflict is over. The world that is emerging, though it contains multiple strategic geometries, needs a common architecture that can flexibly

address its problems and sustain its peace and development.

As currently constituted, the U.N. does not serve these purposes well. It is time to admit that it has lost the confidence of many of its members. We need to update it, as we must reform other institutions, such as the G-8, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, to be able to manage the challenges before us. And if we cannot bring these organizations into alignment with emerging realities, we should not shrink from starting over by creating alternatives to them.

Like our own country, the United Nations was founded on the belief that liberty, tranquility and the general welfare are best secured by the rule of law — universal adherence to rules that provide predictable order and protect the weak against the strong. That concept, like parliamentary

The membership and voting arrangements of the U.N. Security Council reflect both the colonial era and the outcome of World War II far better than they mirror current realities.

democracy, is a unique contribution of Western culture to global civilization. It has been embraced, though

not yet implemented, almost everywhere. Embedding it firmly in the structure of the emerging world order should be at the very top of our foreign policy agenda. It must be at the center of any reaffirmation of the U.N.'s purposes through its reform or replacement.

But if America and Europe, which originated and sponsored the idea of a tolerant, rule-bound international order as an alternative to the law of the jungle, are no longer united in support of the rule of law, it is unlikely to survive, still less to prevail, as the international system evolves. And as European arrest warrants for U.S. agents engaged in officially sanctioned kidnappings and torture attest, the Atlantic community is now seriously divided. If we Americans renew our adherence to the rule of law at home, as I believe we must, we would find the European Union

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ready to work closely with us in promoting it abroad.

Nowhere has the utility of consultative processes been more convincingly demonstrated than in Europe, where a democratic common political culture respectful of human rights has spread across a continent. A club of democracies like the G-8 may not be able to manage the world's economy, but regular meetings at the summit of such a grouping could have a major impact on the world's political evolution if they focused on harmonizing and promoting global standards for the rule of law and parliamentary democracy. The groundwork for such an effort is already in place.

Finding common ground with Europe and Japan will also be key to curing our deficit of leadership with respect to global climate change. China is about to overtake the U.S. as the world's largest emitter of greenhouse gases. The prerequisite for persuading Beijing to behave responsibly is to join the other industrial democracies in behaving responsibly ourselves. Only then can we insist that China and other newly industrializing nations do likewise.

Focus on the Middle East

I have been talking about how to reassert our leadership on the global level. But, in the end, we face the paradox that the world, though globalized to an unprecedented degree, is made up of a series of regions in which regional powers increasingly call the shots. And all diplomacy, like all politics, is local. We face perplexing choices in every region of the world.

But the policies that have brought discredit upon us center on one region, the Middle East. To restore our reputation, we must correct these mistakes. And the problem of terrorism that now bedevils us has its origins in the same region. To end this ter-

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rorism, we must address the issues that give rise to it.

Principal among these is the brutal oppression of the Palestinians by an Israeli occupation that recently marked its 40th anniversary and shows no sign of ending. Arab identification with Palestinian suffering, once variable in its intensity, is now total. American identification with Israeli policy has also become total. Those in the region and beyond it who detest Israeli behavior, which is to say almost everyone, now naturally extend their loathing to Americans. This has had the effect of universalizing anti-Americanism, legitimizing radical Islamism, and gaining Iran a foothold among Sunni as well as Shiite Arabs.

For its part, Israel no longer even pretends to seek peace with the Palestinians; it strives instead to pacify them. Palestinian retaliation against this policy is as likely to be directed against Israel's American backers as against Israel itself. Under the circumstances, such retaliation — whatever form it takes — will have the support or at least the sympathy of most people in the region and many outside it. This makes the long-term escalation of terrorism against the United

States a certainty, not a matter of conjecture.

The Palestine problem cannot be solved by the use of force; it requires much more than the diplomacy-free foreign policy we have practiced since 9/11. Israel is not only not managing this problem; it is severely aggravating it. Denial born of political correctness will not cure this fact. Israel has shown, not surprisingly, that if we offer nothing but unquestioning support and political protection for whatever it does, it will feel no incentive to pay attention to either our interests or our advice. Hamas is showing that if we offer it nothing but unreasoning hostility and condemnation, it will only stiffen its position and seek allies among our enemies. In both cases, we forfeit our influence for no gain.

There will be no negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians, no peace and no reconciliation between them — nor any reduction in terrorism — until we have the courage to act on our interests. These are not the same as those of any party in the region, including Israel. We must talk with all parties, whatever we think of them or their means of struggle. Refusal to reason with those whose actions threaten injury to oneself, one's friends and one's interests is foolish, feckless and self-defeating. That is why it is past time for an active and honest discussion with both Israel and the government Palestinians have elected, which — in an irony that escapes few abroad — is the only democratically elected government in the Arab world.

But to restore our reputation in the region and the world, given all that has happened, and to eliminate terrorism against Americans, it is no longer enough just to go through the motions of trying to make peace between Israelis and Arabs. We must succeed in actually doing so. There is no more urgent task for American diplomacy. ■

A MARSHALL PLAN FOR LATIN AMERICA

THERE MUST BE A FUNDAMENTAL REVISION OF OUR COUNTRY'S ROLE IF WE ARE TO MAKE DEVELOPMENT — AND DIPLOMACY — TRULY “TRANSFORMATIONAL.”

BY GEOFFREY CHALMERS

During the past year, a period described by *The Economist* as “The Battle For Latin America’s Soul,” the U.S. Agency for International Development attempted to reform the development assistance process while also linking it more closely to America’s strategic interests, both short- and long-term. In parallel, the Millennium Challenge Account, a Bush administration initiative to reward countries that meet certain criteria, has taken off and often works side-by-side with USAID.

During the same period, American politicians approved legislation mandating the construction of expensive, high-tech barriers to keep mostly poor Mexicans from entering the United States. Hundreds and even thousands of miles from the U.S.-Mexico border, rural Mexicans and Central Americans languish amid lack of economic opportunity. Virtually untouched by the new opportunities created elsewhere by the North American Free Trade Agreement and other free trade measures, they are driven to make the perilous trip north in search of a livelihood.

This confluence of political, economic and social trends

Geoffrey Chalmers has worked for USAID since 2001, specializing in development programs in the area of economic development (with a focus on micro/small enterprises and microfinance). He currently serves in Mexico City. The views expressed here are the author’s own and not necessarily those of the U.S. Agency for International Development, the U.S. embassy in Mexico or the U.S. government.

must be better understood if the United States is to succeed in making development “transformational,” as called for by Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. An evaluation of these trends points to the need for a fundamental revision of our country’s role in the region — specifically, a serious redoubling of our commitment to economic development in order to stem the migration flow, encourage democratic participation in a globalized world, and reclaim our influence in the hemisphere.

Solving the Migration Issue

Much emphasis has been placed on the two aspects of migration as Americans view it: how to handle the legal status of the immigrants currently living in the U.S. and how to secure the border to keep future migrants out. Largely left out of this debate is any discussion of our long-term vision. If one believes that reducing the flow of migrants — especially illegal migrants — from the south is a desirable goal, is there a systematic way to achieve that reduction without spending billions of dollars building a wall, alienating a close friend and neighbor, and maintaining indefinitely what would have to be one of the world’s most sophisticated security apparatuses?

The most important statistic in the U.S. migration debate is one that is rarely heard: the border between the U.S. and Mexico, where per capita income is only a fourth of that of the United States, represents the world’s greatest absolute income disparity line. The absolute difference in average income between the two countries is greater than it is along any other land border in the world. Until this disparity is sig-

nificantly reduced, the wall will have to be extraordinarily tall to keep out the natural effects of supply and demand and to dampen the desires of poor people living in rural areas in Mexico, where the only hope for their children's future currently lies in their neighbor to the north.

Disaffection by Exclusion

A second sociopolitical phenomenon that must be better understood is a variant of a commonly heard theme: the disaffection with globalization in developing countries. In contrast to the highly visible role of anti-globalization activists, it is a subtle disaffection. What we are seeing is a frustration that has existed for decades, even centuries, and a disappointment that this new model of economic development does not appear to be any better than past models at addressing the question of socioeconomic exclusion.

To be sure, benefits have come as a result of the region's embrace of fiscal discipline and more open economies: namely, more stability and fewer crises. But Latin America's "man and woman in the street" have not missed the fact that these benefits have been highly concentrated among the relatively better-off, those with more access to education and, quite often, those fortunate enough to live in certain geographic zones. In Mexico, this has generally translated to more opportunity for those in the north and parts of the center of the country, those in urban areas, and those near certain markets or infrastructure.

Some of today's more astute political leaders are quite adept at capitalizing on disaffection. *The Economist* and other commentators have noted that the most significant pendulum swing in the region is not so much a resurgence of the left, but the emergence of democratically elected authoritarian and pseudo-authoritarian rulers. Others emphasize the re-emer-

***Chavez has challenged
the longstanding role
and image of the U.S.
as the region's most
important and generous
donor country.***

gence of populism, on both the left and right, as the defining shift of the last five to 10 years. In any case, politicians are responding — both positively and negatively — to the electorate's demands for governments to address the exclusion in their societies.

Clearly, encouraging more democratic regimes in Latin America is important in ensuring a friendly, collaborative and safe hemisphere. It would follow, therefore, that it is in the strategic interest of the United States to contribute to inclusive societies where such authoritarian tendencies do not gain traction.

The New Donor in Town

The noisiest of the new generation of political leaders who are capitalizing on this disaffection, of course, is Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez. As he moves closer to Fidel Castro, and as he recruits new "Bolivarian" partners in South America, he gets even more attention. Chavez has challenged the longstanding role and image of the U.S. as the region's most important and generous donor country, offering cheap oil, cash and social programs modeled after his own, to friendly governments. He has even offered cheap oil to poor U.S. communities in an effort to go "directly to

the people" with his foreign aid.

Recently, Chavez offered the new Evo Morales government in Bolivia \$100 million to implement a micro-credit program, to be modeled after Venezuela's highly distortionary and politicized program. This example is particularly telling because Bolivia is the birthplace of Latin American microfinance, and one of its most successful case studies. Following the example of Nobel Peace Prize winner Muhammad Yunus, Bolivia has been the "Bangladesh of Latin America," creating a diverse and competitive microfinance sector that serves the poorest members of society with much-needed financial services such as microenterprise loans, safe savings and insurance.

USAID is commonly credited as instrumental in bringing about the Bolivian success story. Indeed, for decades the U.S. has been widely recognized as the most important donor throughout the region, enjoying significant good will among the people of Latin America for bringing them improved health care delivery systems, better schools, broader access to financial services and better economic opportunities for the excluded. Equally important, this support did not consist of paternalistic giveaways, nor was it motivated by who was or was not allied with the United States at the moment. It was long-term in nature and oriented toward leaving sustainable development in its wake.

But now our status as the hemisphere's most generous neighbor is being challenged by a donor with a fundamentally different view of how best to raise the living standard of the region's most vulnerable populations. With his targeted support, Chavez may well undo the success of Bolivian microfinance (by flooding the market with cheap, subsidized loans that do not need to be repaid) and simultaneously demonstrate his ability to "out-give" the United States.

Dual Economies and the Rural/Urban Divide

If there is one characteristic of Latin American societies that has changed remarkably little over time, it is their dual nature. It is not the fault of globalization or the Washington Consensus (the pro-free trade views that emerged from the Washington-based institutions such as the World Bank and IMF) that Latin American societies are divided, nor that their economies reflect these fault lines. But fairly or not, the Washington Consensus is widely blamed for failing to narrow the massive equality gap in Latin America.

Consider Mexico, which in many ways is a wealthy country. Some of the world's richest men and women (including the world's wealthiest individual, Carlos Slim) are Mexican; the large cities are filled with expensive cars and houses; and there is a rela-

tively large and thriving middle class. For these groups, free trade and democracy has been a boon. The same goes for those regions of Mexico fortunate enough to be located near the right markets, roads, schools and other infrastructure.

Yet those excluded from these gains are numerous; similar to most countries in the region, more than 40 percent of the Mexican population live below the poverty line. They are disproportionately from rural areas, and often from certain regions, such as the south of Mexico. The rural/urban divide is one of the defining characteristics of the dualistic Latin American economies. It is also one of the most damaging, particularly because research (see de Ferranti and Perry, "Beyond the City: The Rural Contribution to Development") suggests that improvements in agricultural output cause a doubling of overall

national growth; that is, an increase of 5 percent in agricultural output leads to 10-percent growth nationwide. Thus, the stagnation we see in the Latin American countryside represents not only misery for rural residents, but also a lost opportunity to jumpstart the overall economy.

Those migrating to the U.S., not surprisingly, are largely from these areas. According to Manuel Orozco ("Remittances to Latin America: Issues and Perspectives on Development"), 10 predominantly rural states account for the majority of emigration from Mexico. Between 1993 and 1997, 46 percent of Mexican migrants to the U.S. came from towns with fewer than 2,500 inhabitants. For the 2001-2004 period, this proportion grew to 51 percent.

The income gap between rural and urban Mexico is intimately related to the U.S.-Mexico income gap. To

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make a dent in both income gaps, and to reduce and regularize the flow of migration to the United States over the long run, the benefits of globalization must be brought to those who have been excluded and left behind, throughout the region. Focusing only on border security as a way of addressing the migration problem is simply not enough.

A Marshall Plan for Latin America

Conducting a serious, sustained effort over several years to raise the standard of living in the Western hemisphere could be an extremely high-return investment for the United States, according to Jeffrey Davidow, former U.S. ambassador to Mexico. He and Luis Rubio, a Mexico-U.S. expert, wrote in the September/October 2006 issue of *Foreign Affairs*: “The immigration mess is a direct result of the lack of growth and opportunity in Mexico. As long as Mexico remains poor and the lure of opportunity across the border persists, workers will continue to head north.” Davidow goes so far as to recommend the creation of a major fund for infrastructure and other development goals, “along the lines of what the wealthier northern European nations created for their poorer European Union colleagues.”

Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid, D-Nev., has likewise been calling for a large increase in aid to Latin America, specifically to promote microcredit lending, small business and entrepreneurial development, small farms and farmers, and a system of private property ownership in rural communities. Reid argues that “the United States should assist the neighboring country of Mexico ... because the assistance would have a positive impact on the United States by reducing the flow of illegal migrants.”

Both Sen. Reid and President

Most importantly, such a plan would be based on a new urgency, a sense that the gaping disparity between the U.S. and its neighbors is dangerous.

Bush have made trips to Latin American countries (Reid to Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador; Bush to Mexico), during which they have called for a redoubling of our attention and efforts to support the expansion of opportunities to the poor in our neighboring countries. Finally, there are calls from Senators Robert Menendez, D-N.J., John Kerry, D-Mass., and others for a new “Social and Economic Investment Fund for the Americas,” whose purpose would be “to reduce poverty and foster increased economic opportunity in the countries of the Western Hemisphere.”

For the past several decades, U.S. support for economic development in Latin America has been effective in some cases — but not overwhelming and certainly not transformational. Funding levels are extraordinarily low compared to the resources the U.S. invested in Europe following World War II.

According to the American Association of Arts and Sciences, U.S. investments in Western Europe after World War II under the Marshall Plan amounted to a total of \$13.3 billion over a four-year period — the equivalent of \$450 billion if measured in constant 2002 dollars. Compare

that to the \$40 million to \$70 million per year that was provided in aid to Mexico from 2002 to 2006, right on our 2,000-mile-long border — only a small fraction of which goes to economic development activities.

Possibly more relevant to the U.S.-Latin America relationship, however, is the development assistance that poured into southern and Eastern Europe over the past two decades — and its results. For the period from 2000 to 2006, according to a United Nations study, European Union funding for rural development in the south and east amounted to more than \$68.4 billion. Today, according to a European Commission report, the income disparity between Western Europe and its poorer neighbors to the east and south (which was not nearly as big to begin with as the U.S.-Mexico difference) has been reduced, and employment and real income have increased. In short, all of Europe is benefiting today from a less divided union.

Unlike the European plan, the U.S. budget for development in Latin America (including all assistance except counternarcotics support to Colombia and other Andean countries) has always been relatively small — and could now be reduced even further. From 1980 to 1990, according to “U.S. Overseas Loans and Grants, Obligations and Loan Authorizations” (commonly known as “The Greenbook”), total U.S. assistance to Latin America averaged about \$1.4 billion per year in constant dollars. Between 1990 and 2000, this figure fell to \$929 million, and from 2000 to 2005, it was only \$671 million — a reduction of more than 50 percent in real terms over 20 years.

The Millennium Challenge Account was designed to complement USAID funding in those countries that pass the test of being well governed. (In Latin America, these include Bolivia, Honduras, Nicaragua and El Salva-

dor.) If we count MCA funding, the total development assistance figure was \$885 million in 2005, but this still represents a decrease from previous decades.

The MCA is a good start, but a much larger investment is needed. In addition, the increased funds must benefit more than a handful of countries in the region. The MCA may continue to reward high-performing countries, but the overall assistance program needs to have a broader base of beneficiaries. And the larger initiative must be focused on the kinds of assistance that can, if designed well, contribute to wealthier and more just societies in Latin America — especially in countries with large numbers of emigrants.

Some Broad Characteristics of the Proposed Plan

Like the two historical initiatives mentioned here (the Marshall Plan and the E.U. plan), this program would be based on the idea that prosperity elsewhere — in this case, in Mexico and its neighbors — is inherently good for the donor country. The potential benefits for the U.S. would include decreased immigration, a contribution toward global and hemispheric social peace and democracy, and the economic benefit of an expanded market for U.S. goods. Most importantly, such a plan would be based on a new urgency, a sense that the gaping disparity between the U.S. and its neighbors is dangerous, morally unacceptable and fundamentally against our interests.

Most polls suggest that Americans believe foreign aid accounts for between 15 and 25 percent of the federal budget, when in fact it represents less than 1 percent. Yet if they are properly informed about current aid levels and the benefits of foreign aid, there is evidence that Americans would be willing to fund more assistance. Some surveys show public

support for bringing assistance as high as 10 percent of the federal budget.

Of course, more money is not the solution by itself. Previous periods of increased aid were generally not successful in significantly reducing social exclusion. A Marshall Plan for Latin America would need to be well conceived and well designed, and focused on projects and ideas with proven success as well as promising new approaches.

Related initiatives in the areas of democracy and governance (reducing corruption, promoting justice reform and the rule of law, increasing competitiveness by ensuring a level playing field), health and education (contributing to a healthier, better educated populace that can better take advantage of economic opportunities) and the environment (ensuring that natural resources are well managed and thus able to play a sustainable role in economic development) would be important complements to such a program.

Careful steps would need to be taken to avoid the corruption and graft that can accompany significant new flows of resources. Such a plan might look something like this:

- It would be focused mostly on rural economic development as well as on helping governments improve rural infrastructure, and its objective would be broad-based economic growth (i.e., integrating the previously excluded) in rural areas with an emphasis on positive linkages to urban areas and the rest of the economy.

- This aid would be new. It would not replace, but complement, funds currently designated for important programs in health, democracy and governance and the environment. Nor would it replace resources currently designated for Africa, Asia or other regions whose development needs remain great and urgent.

- The new approach would draw heavily on lessons learned from past work in economic development, such as the importance of sustainability, longer horizons and building lasting institutions.

Clearly, development professionals would have different ideas on how best to structure such a plan, and how to best use such resources.

But the first step is to create a sense of political urgency, and to make the case that these political and economic trends are closely related. Ignoring them will risk squandering a once-in-a-generation opportunity to follow in the tradition of Secretary of State George Marshall by developing a policy that, in his words, is “directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos.”

Such a policy would be in line with America’s tradition of helping those less fortunate — and with our own self-interest. ■



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UNDER CONSTRUCTION

AFSA-HQ Relocates During Renovation

BY SHAWN DORMAN

On Sept. 19, the AFSA Governing Board approved plans for the renovation of AFSA headquarters. In late October, the building was closed so work could begin. If the schedule holds, employees will be back at work in the new and improved building by May 2008.

The AFSA building, located at 21st and E Streets NW, across from the State Department, is one of AFSA's most valuable financial assets: prime real estate in downtown Washington, owned debt-free by the association. But the physical plant is in dire need of renovation, both for cosmetic and structural improvements and for safety and energy-efficiency upgrades. The 26-person staff working in the headquarters building has been squeezed into tiny workspaces, including closet-size work stations.

No major work has been done on the



building since it was purchased in 1968, and it shows. From the squirrels building nests in the bathroom window to the electrical hazards from old wiring, no one who has visited headquarters in the last few years could deny the need for a major upgrade.

Until now, we have spared you the details of the multi-year quest by successive Governing Boards to determine exact-

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TAKING A STAND

AFSA Calls on State IG to Step Down

On Sept. 19, AFSA issued a press release calling for State Department Inspector General Howard J. Krongard to step down, the day after Rep. Henry Waxman, D-Calif., released a letter to the IG listing numerous allegations of interference with investigations. AFSA spoke out after numerous current and former OIG employees stepped forward with detailed allegations that questioned the integrity of the current inspector general. Several came to AFSA while a larger number approached the relevant congressional oversight committee.

The Waxman letter to the IG stated: "Officials from your office told my staff that you have consistently failed to pursue allegations of wasteful spending or procurement fraud in any contract involving Iraq and Afghanistan." As AFSA President John Naland explains, "Of particular concern to AFSA are allegations that he blocked investigations into possible substandard construction at the new U.S. embassy in

Continued on page 60

"The fact of the matter is this Foreign Service needs more dissenters, not fewer. And it needs to encourage — not discourage — them."

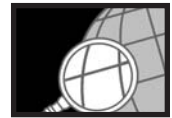
Former Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger

Call to Honor Dissenters

Do you know anyone in the Foreign Service who deserves to be recognized for constructive dissent? Let AFSA know.

Look for the official call for nominations for the AFSA Constructive Dissent Awards in the next issue of *AFSA News* and on our Web site at www.afsa.org/awards/index.cfm.

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



FS BOOK NEWS

FS Authors

This issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* features reviews of books by Foreign Service-affiliated authors (beginning on page 19). We encourage you to support your colleagues by purchasing the books you see on these pages. You can access them by going to the AFSA Web site at www.afsa.org/ads/books/.

We invite authors to send their new books for review to: Foreign Service Journal, 2101 E St. NW, Washington DC 20037-2990.

Books may be submitted at any time, but in order to be included in next year's compilation, they should reach the *Journal* by Sept. 1, 2008.

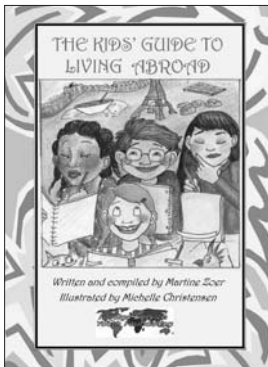
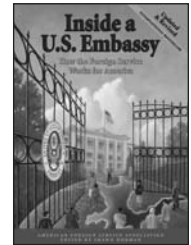
Inside a U.S. Embassy: Seeking Input

The 2003 AFSA publication *Inside a U.S. Embassy*, updated in 2005, is still selling well through Amazon and other booksellers (go to www.afsa.org/inside/). The State Department continues to send the book to all candidates who pass the Foreign Service Written Exam. Numerous military institutions purchase copies for training courses. More than 30 universities have adopted the book for courses, and it continues to be popular with students and others considering a Foreign Service career. U.S. embassies use the book for outreach purposes.

AFSA is exploring options for additional content to enhance the next edition. If you have suggestions on topics that should be included that are not in the current volume, please send an e-mail to embassybook@afsa.org. For the profile section — each type of FS position illustrated through one person serving in such a job — recommendations for outstanding Foreign Service employees are most welcome. Include contact information for the person being recommended if possible. We appreciate your input.

Realities II Released

On Oct. 23, a book launch was held at the State Department for the second volume of *Realities of Foreign Service Life*, published by The Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide. Edited by Melissa Hess, Patricia Linderman and Marlene Monfletto Nice, *Realities* sells for \$20.95 and is available from Amazon and other major booksellers. For more information, contact AAFSW at (703) 820-5420 or office@aafsw.org (also see page 39 of this issue).



The Kids' Guide to Living Abroad

Written for kids, this new book from the Foreign Service Youth Foundation, *The Kids' Guide to Living Abroad*, shares the excitement and fear kids experience when they learn they are going to live overseas. The book, by Martine Zoer, seeks to help children understand and cope with the harsh realities of homesickness and culture

shock, and lets them know what to expect on re-entry to their home country.

The latest in FSYP's collection of publications to assist globally-mobile families, the *Kids' Guide* is available through Amazon, and can also be ordered online at the FSYP Web site (www.fsyf.org/pubs/publications.html). The price is \$12.

How to Contact Us:

AFSA HEADQUARTERS:

(202) 338-4045; Fax: (202) 338-6820

STATE DEPARTMENT AFSA OFFICE:

(202) 647-8160; Fax: (202) 647-0265

USAID AFSA OFFICE:

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AFSA WEB SITE:

www.afsa.org

FSJ: journal@afsa.org

PRESIDENT: naland@afsa.org

STATE VP: kashkettsb@state.gov

RETIREE VP: pamichko@aol.com

USAID VP: fzamora@usaid.gov

FCS VP: donald.businger@mail.doc.gov

AFSA News

Editor **Shawn Dorman**: dorman@afsa.org

(202) 338-4045 x 503; Fax: (202) 338-8244

On the Web: www.afsa.org/news

Staff:

Executive Director **John Mamone**: mamone@afsa.org

Business Department

Controller **Twee Nguyen**: nguyen@afsa.org

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General Counsel **Sharon Papp**: papps@state.gov

Labor Management Attorney **Zlatana Badrich**: badrichz@state.gov

Labor Management Specialist **James Yorke**: yorkej@state.gov

Grievance Attorneys **Neera Parikh**: parikhna@state.gov and **Holly Rich**: richhe@state.gov

Office Manager **Christine Warren**: warrenc@state.gov

USAID Senior Labor Management Adviser **Douglas Broome**: dbroome@usaid.gov

USAID Office Manager **Asgeir Sigfusson**: asigfusson@usaid.gov

Member Services

Director **Janet Hedrick**: hedrick@afsa.org

Representative **Cory Nishi**: nishi@afsa.org

Web-site & Database Associate: vacant

Administrative Assistant **Ana Lopez**: lopez@afsa.org

Outreach Programs

Retiree Liaison **Bonnie Brown**: brown@afsa.org

Director of Communications **Thomas Switzer**: switzer@afsa.org

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Time to Mobilize

One of the frustrating realities that AFSA faces every day is that, unlike private-sector labor unions, we lack leverage. When we disagree with a management policy or seek to change something, we cannot summon our members to strike, stage a work slowdown, or organize a sick-day protest. Not many of our members would be willing to go out and picket the C Street entrance of the Department of State. We are highly unlikely to sue the U.S. government in federal court. In some cases, we have limited options for filing institutional grievances, unfair labor practice petitions, or impasse disputes, but these are slow, cumbersome processes that rarely bring about the kinds of sweeping changes many of our members believe are necessary to address major concerns affecting the Foreign Service career.

Mostly, we must rely on our ability to persuade department management that a particular change would facilitate the goals of the Secretary of State, would save the department money or would significantly advance the interests of the Foreign Service. Our strength lies in the fact that we can claim to speak for the vast majority of members of our profession, which includes many of the same senior management officials sitting across the negotiating table from us.

But sadly, in recent years this has often been insufficient to bring about results. Persuasion and appeals to fairness have not succeeded in getting the department to budge on many of the action items on the “wish list” that AFSA submitted to the director general just over a year ago.

Moreover, increasingly, the things that we are trying to obtain for our members require legislative action. Much of our personnel system — salary, assignments, promotion numbers, leave, transportation/shipping rules — is dictated by the provisions of the Foreign Service Act, which only Congress can modify. Some of our regulations depend on the laws governing all federal employees. And, of course, any initiative involving money requires congressional authorization and appropriation.

Unfortunately, few members of Congress pay much attention to the unique concerns of the Foreign Service because we constitute such a thin sliver of the federal work force and because we are already unfairly perceived as an overpaid, pampered minority. We barely number 13,000 in total, and we have no natural constituency within the general public. Even including thousands of FS retirees and family members, there are not enough champions of the Foreign Service in any one legislative district to have much impact on the support of any single member of Congress.

There is a way, however, for us to maximize the influence of the Foreign Service and to increase our chances of getting both department management and Congress to sit up and pay more attention to our demands: by mobilizing ourselves as a small but

important special-interest group. We are, after all, a unique corps that plays a critical role in representing our country overseas. AFSA members all over the world need to start writing letters and e-mails directly to department management and to Congress about the issues that they consider vital.



We at AFSA hear from our members all the time about their concerns over hot-button issues such as Iraq, directed assignments, unfairness in bidding rules, limited promotion opportunities and the dwindling family-friendliness of the Foreign Service. AFSA brings all these issues to department management. Maybe now it's time for the DG, the under secretary for management and the Secretary of State's office to start receiving hundreds of e-mails and letters on these subjects. A groundswell of direct communication from the people of the Foreign Service would be hard for senior officials to ignore.

At the same time, the 13,000-plus active-duty members of the Foreign Service at State and other agencies hail from every corner of our country and could be quite effective by writing directly, en masse, to their respective members of Congress on key issues. (Just don't do it on government letterhead, from government e-mail accounts or on government time!)

For example, there are bills before Congress that would grant our long-sought goal of overseas comparability pay, as well as other objectives we have fought for, such as tax breaks for civilians serving in combat zones, changes in maternity/paternity leave rules governing federal employees and provisions to allow same-sex partners of federal employees to enjoy certain family benefits. Letters or e-mails from Foreign Service employees around the world to their respective members of Congress could help push the latter to get on board with these initiatives. For more information about specific bills that affect the Foreign Service and how to reach out to the appropriate member of Congress to urge support, please contact AFSA Legislative Affairs Director Ian Houston (houston@afsa.org).

A mass letter-writing campaign might give a fresh impetus to our agenda. We at AFSA will keep fighting the good fight, but AFSA's lobbying efforts need a boost from the articulate, persuasive and usually not very shy people of the Foreign Service. □

Increasingly, the things that we are trying to obtain for our members require legislative action.

Q&A



Retiree Issues

Survivor Annuities: The Mechanics

BY BONNIE BROWN,
RETIREE COORDINATOR

Q: What should a surviving spouse do in the event of the death of an annuitant spouse?

A: The first step is to promptly report the death to the Retirement Office by phone: (202) 261-8960, or toll-free 1 (866) 224-9053; or by e-mail: retirement@state.gov. Return to the State Department any uncashed annuity checks received after the death. HR/RET will enter the death into the annuity system database to place a hold on future annuity payments to the annuitant.

In order to stop an annuity payment the following month and avoid an overpayment, RAD must receive notification of the death of an annuitant by the processing deadline of the 14th of the month.

Within 24 to 48 hours, HR/RET will fax a report of death to the Retirement Accounts Division in Charleston, send a survivor benefits package to the surviving spouse and, if he or she is eligible to continue health benefits, change FEHB enrollment to reflect the appropriate coverage for the survivor.

Q: When will a survivor become eligible for a survivor annuity?

A: The survivor will be eligible for an annuity the day after the death of the annuitant. However, annuities are paid a month in arrears: the payment received at the beginning of the month is for the previous month. That means that, if the annuitant died at some point during the month, he or she had been entitled to an annuity for that portion of the month when he or she was alive, and the survivor became

entitled to a survivor annuity beginning the day after the death of the annuitant.

Q: How does the Retirement Accounts Division handle this allocation?

A: In order to stop an annuity payment the following month and avoid an overpayment, RAD must receive notification of the death of an annuitant by the processing deadline of the 14th of the month.

Q: What happens if notification of death is received after the 14th of the month, the annuity check is not stopped in time, and it is automatically deposited in a joint account?

A: If, upon reviewing its pay records, RAD determines that an annuity payment was made after the death of the annuitant, RAD notifies the Treasury Department. If this happens, according to Treasury regulations, the entire annuity payment for the month in which the annuitant died must be reclaimed.

Treasury begins the reclamation process by requesting a refund from the financial institution where the annuity payments were automatically deposited and taking payment from the account. The financial institution is required to mail a copy of the notice requesting return of funds to the last known address of the account owners. If the annuity payment is not returned to the Treasury within 120 days, Treasury will begin other administrative offset and collection procedures.

Q: When will the survivor begin receiving a survivor annuity?

A: After HR/RET reviews its records and sends an authorization for a survivor annuity to the Retirement Accounts Division. RAD then processes a final payment to the eligible survivor, beneficiary or estate and initiates the survivor annuity. Again, this authorization must be received by the processing deadline (the 14th of the month) in order to make the change in payments effective the following month.

Q: What is a final death benefit?

A: A final death benefit is a payment for the number of days the annuitant lived during the month in which he or she died and was entitled to an annuity. After adjudication by HR/RET, RAD pays the final net annuity payment to the designated beneficiary, which in most cases is the surviving spouse.

Q: Whom should I call if I need an explanation of my survivor payments?

A: You can contact RM/RAD by phone: (843) 308-5552, or 1 (800) 521-2553; or by e-mail: RAD2@state.gov. Both RAD and HR/RET are always available to assist retirees and family members during this very difficult time. □

AFSANEWSBRIEFS

Apply now for AFSA Scholarships

High school seniors and college undergraduates who are children of Foreign Service employees can now apply for one-time-only Academic and Art Merit Awards and need-based Financial Aid Scholarships. Awards range from \$1,500 to \$3,000. The applications submission deadline is Feb. 6, 2008. Visit AFSA's scholarship Web page at www.afsa.org/scholar/index.cfm for complete details, or contact Lori Dec at dec@afsa.org, or 1 (800) 704-2372, ext. 504.

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The editors welcome and encourage submissions from active and retired Foreign Service professionals, as well as from scholars. Submissions may be sent to the editor, Ambassador (ret.) Jim Bullington, at: editor@americandiplomacy.org.

V.P. VOICE: FCS ■ BY STEPHEN J. ANDERSON, FCS REPRESENTATIVE

Should Commercial Officers Do Domestic Tours?



As your new AFSA representative, I am directly concerned about domestic tours outside of headquarters. Commercial officers hired after 1994 are required within the first seven years of service to begin a two-year assignment at U.S. Export Assistance Centers. I am now serving on such an assignment at USEAC Baltimore. To complete my full disclosure, I barely made our flexible deadline, receiving my assignment at the end of my seventh year of service. As I have come to expect, the needs of the Service result in considerable flexibility in the "seven-year rule."

For newly hired officers, the seven-year rule for USEAC assignments results in ambiguities for tenure, promotions and career planning. In a recent survey, management asked about the impact of these assignments on commissioning and tenure. The survey itself was conducted by an executive-level development team at Commerce to compare C&T procedures at FCS with those at the State Department and Department of Agriculture.

The survey asked junior commercial officers, senior commercial officers and Commissioning and Tenure Board members about mentoring and evaluations, and also addressed domestic assignments prior to tenure among other career-path issues. The survey results indicated that SCOs and JCOs appeared to agree that mentoring had improved.

SCOs said that the three-to-five-year window under current C&T policy should not be expanded. JCOs thought that evaluations should be more standardized. C&T Board members (only three responses) found room for improvement in the evaluation narratives addressing candidate potential: in general, the narratives showed a "lack of courage" by raters and reviewers, and used "nuanced language" that left the board guessing about whether to tenure JCOs.

The survey did not address the impacts of domestic assignments on promotion (see the April FCS "VP Voice") or the directions for renegotiating the "seven-year rule" (see the AFSA Web site's FCS page for the March 2007 proposal). In responding to "Please indicate the number of domestic tours you believe that one should have prior to being considered for C&T," commercial officers were split: 14 of 30 JCOs (47 percent) thought one domestic tour was appropriate and 14 of 34 SCOs (41 percent) thought one domestic tour appropriate. On the flip side, 16 of 30 JCOs (53 percent) would consider less than one tour acceptable, and 20 of 34 SCOs (59 percent) considered less than one tour a good idea. While the percentage differences are relatively small, they indicate that SCOs ascribe on average less importance to USEAC domestic tours for tenure, and probably for overall career path and promotion as well.

One of my projects as FCS representative will be to focus on domestic assignments and the need for more clarity about tenure, USEAC tours and career paths. The recent survey shows some divergence of opinion and shared concern about the domestic tours. We will stay in touch via AFSAnet, the Web site and future columns, and I hope to hear from commercial officers (as well as encourage them all to become AFSA members!). I would also like to survey all commercial officers and incorporate your opinions in appropriate and focused questions to as many of our colleagues as possible. Please let us know your reactions and any concerns so that AFSA may better represent commercial officers in Washington. □

IG Resignation Call • Continued from page 55

Baghdad, which may leave our members there even more vulnerable than they already are. Because OIG can only do its vital work if it maintains independence, credibility and objectivity, AFSA concluded that the public interest required new leadership at OIG until the allegations have been resolved.”

AFSA’s call for the IG to step down was reported in a Sept. 19 Associated Press article that was picked up by many newspapers nationwide.

The text of the AFSA press release follows:

State Dept. Inspector General Must Step Down

WASHINGTON, D.C.: The president of the American Foreign Service Association today called on embattled Department of State Inspector General Howard J. Krongard to surrender day-to-day control of State’s vital Office of the Inspector General pending the resolution of grave allegations of malfeasance leveled against him by numerous current and former career government officials.

AFSA President John K. Naland, noting the 13-page list of allegations released on Sept. 18, 2007, by Henry A. Waxman, chairman of the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, revealed that AFSA also has been approached in recent days by several concerned former State Department employees with direct knowledge of some of the events in question. The allegations against Mr. Krongard cover all aspects of the work of the Office of Inspector General: investigations, audits and inspections. They include allegations of his blocking investigations into possible substandard construction at the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad, Iraq, which may leave employees there unacceptably vulnerable.

Naland commented: “The worse-case scenario in corruption is when it endangers lives. The worse-case scenario in public service is when the watchdog becomes the suspected violator. Both of these allegations have been leveled against Mr. Krongard. As long as he maintains day-to-day control, his office’s ability to do its vital job with full credibility will be compromised. He should step down until the allegations are resolved one way or another.” □

AFSANEWSBRIEFS**Support AFSA with Your CFC Gift**

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State Department employees (active-duty or retired) can obtain a CFC pledge form or return their card to Shelly Kornegay in the Office of Employee Relations at (202) 261-8166 or kornegaysv@state.gov. Contributions will be accepted through Dec. 14. Thank you in advance for your support.

E-Classifieds on the Way

Be on the lookout for a new addition to the AFSA Web site. Coming soon and available exclusively to AFSA members are the all-new **E-Classifieds**, www.afsa.org/classifieds/. Members will be able to post advertisements in a variety of specific categories similar to those in our print version of classifieds within the *AFSA News* section of the *Journal*. For a limited time, all AFSA members can post ads for no charge.

The benefits of electronic ads will be the rapid turnaround time to reach the Foreign Service community and beyond. Have an apartment to sublet; a house to sell; furniture to pass on? In lieu of posting a notice on the bulletin board in the Truman Building (we all know how convenient *that* is!), AFSA is offering this pilot classifieds program as a service to members. As an added bonus, the option to insert a picture will be available. The basic interface is designed to be concise, effective and, hopefully, user-friendly. Contact FSJ Business Manager Andrew Kidd with questions (kidd@afsa.org).

Update on IRS Rule Change for Foreign Earned Income

The April edition of *AFSA News* reported on a change in the calculation of the Foreign Earned Income Exclusion that allows U.S. citizens who are not government employees and who live outside the U.S. to exclude a significant portion of their foreign-source income for tax purposes. This change could increase the tax liability for some Foreign Service families.

In order to help AFSA develop an advocacy approach and gauge the depth of the problem, President John Naland highlighted the issue in his Aug. 3 AFSA net, and asked that members tell us if they have been affected by the changes. The response was strong and identified an initial group of 50 members who have been affected and want to help work to reverse the new rule.

AFSA then worked to connect members of this core group (representing 14 states) with their House and Senate members, and is now developing other ideas to raise the profile of this problem with Congress. If this rule will have an impact on your tax liability but you did not respond to the request earlier, please send an e-mail to Legislative Director Ian Houston at houston@afsa.org with details, including the names of your congressional representatives if possible.

Success on Educational Travel Allowance

AFSA, working with the State Department, helped convince Congress to pass legislation that provides a long overdue group of enhancements to education and travel allowances that benefit FS members and their families. The new benefits cover certain dependents’ travel to the U.S. and now, for the first time, to a third country, for their secondary or post-secondary education. The measure covers storage of personal effects at or near the school, or shipment of those effects

once a year during trips to post (away-from-post Education Allowance). The measure also extends educational travel to children attending graduate-level programs prior to their 23rd birthday.

After congressional passage and presidential signature into law (PL 109-472), AFSA then engaged on the implementation plan. The changes to the educational travel benefit took effect on July 22. Details were included in a July 22, 2007, State ALDAC allowance biweekly.

Renovation • Continued from page 55

ly how to handle, and fund, a major AFSA-HQ renovation. The initial debate inside AFSA concerned whether to renovate the existing space or to build up from the three-story footprint to create space that could be sold or rented to outside parties. Experts were hired, committees were formed and countless meetings were held. In the final analysis, the numbers did not point to a guaranteed profit that would make adding new floors worth the cost and the risk.

There was also much debate about whether to add an elevator to the building, a costly proposition. AFSA's legal counsel and staff strongly urged the inclusion of the elevator, not only for the convenience of the staff—who pitch in daily to haul boxes of magazines, mailings and pamphlets, even copy machines and other equipment and furniture, up the three flights of stairs—but for visiting members, many of whom are advanced in years. Liability concerns were also highlighted. The elevator was approved and is included in the plans. The renovated building, unlike the current one, will comply with the Americans with Disabilities Act.

The Governing Board met on Sept. 19 in a special session to consider the recommendations from the Finance and Audit Committee on the reconstruction plans and budget. Votes were taken on which construction company to select from three viable bids, and on how to fund the \$2-million project. The board agreed to take the first million from the AFSA reserve fund, which was created for just such a purpose.



The board is still considering options for the second million, but will likely decide to borrow, at market rate, from the scholarship fund.

As the voice of the Foreign Service,

AFSA needs an improved face. The new building will be a more welcoming place not only for those who work inside, but for members and visitors as well. AFSA will be open for business throughout the construction, with some staff members and officers working out of temporary offices in

Rosslyn and others telecommuting. The Labor-Management Office in the Truman Building (Main State) will remain open. The AFSA e-mail system will remain operational throughout, and all employees will access their accounts from outside

the headquarters building. The temporary AFSA-HQ office is located at State Annex SA-15, 1800 N. Kent St., Arlington, Va.

Thank you for your patience during the renovation. □



Photos: Shawn Doman

MILESTONES: HONORING 10 YEARS OF SERVICE TO AFSA

Ed Miltenberger: A Great Fit

BY SHAWN DORMAN



Ed Miltenberger has been the *Foreign Service Journal's* circulation and advertising manager for 10 years. Responsible for the yearly expansion of advertising support for the magazine, he has raised annual ad revenue from \$344,000 in 1997 to \$531,000 today. Editor Steve Honley notes that thanks to Ed's hard work and creativity, the magazine covers approximately 70 percent of its costs through advertising.

Ed enjoys seeking out the most appropriate advertisers to serve the Foreign Service community and forming new relationships with advertisers who offer things that AFSA members need, such as housing, insurance, transportation, schools, etc. He established the *Journal's* popular twice-yearly Schools Supplement and the property-management

section. His team puts together advertising information charts to make navigation of information easier, and has added "Marketplace" to the AFSA Web site (www.afsa.org/ads) to offer an online compilation of advertiser information. Ed has sought to maximize the potential of the Internet to bring advertisers — and their services — and the *Journal's* unique readership together to benefit both.

Originally from Cumberland, Md., Ed came to AFSA from years of international work and travel. After graduating from Frostburg State College in 1986, he joined the Peace Corps and served in Ecuador and then Bolivia, spending a total of six years in Latin America. Following his return to the U.S., he worked for the Cochran

Fellowship Program at the Foreign Agricultural Service, focusing on the countries of the former Soviet Union.

In 1996, a temp job assignment to AFSA introduced Ed to his future employer and colleagues. While working in Bosnia with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe in 1997, he got a fateful phone call from AFSA. It was his first day in Brcko, and he was attending a regional team meeting. He closed the deal on the new position right then and there, and hasn't looked back since.

"I have a lot of freedom and independence to make decisions," Ed explains. As long as his sales goals are met, he says, he is free to try new things, experiment with innovative ideas. "The best part about AFSA is the people that you work with here. I actually like to come to the office." He adds that it's hard to imagine working anywhere else. And it's hard to imagine AFSA without Ed. □

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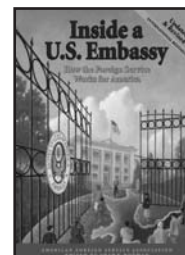
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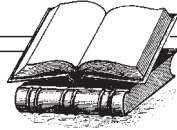
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BOOKS

In Praise of Balance

Testimony: France in the Twenty-First Century

Nicolas Sarkozy, edited and translated from the French by Philip H. Gordon; Pantheon Books, 2007, \$24.95, hardcover, 251 pages.

REVIEWED BY DEBORAH CAVIN

In July 2006, just as Parisians packed up beach reading for the long summer vacation, the French politician Nicolas Sarkozy released a book titled *Témoignage* that was part memoir and part political vision. Shortly before his election to the presidency in May 2007, Sarkozy released an English-language version: *Testimony: France in the Twenty-First Century*. This version includes a new preface for American readers and incorporates two chapters from Sarkozy's 2001 book *Libre (Free)*. A new edition of *Testimony* is being released this fall.

Like its author, *Testimony* is direct, unabashed and often persuasive, with a heavy focus on French domestic challenges. With early chapters covering topics such as politics, schools, work and social issues, it's tempting to skip straight to the penultimate section, "Rethinking Foreign Policy." Unfortunately, that chapter, reflecting the original work's purpose as an appeal to voters focused on domestic issues, reads like an annotated checklist compared to the detailed sections on economic and social issues.

Still, it offers some insight into the new president's thinking. France must strongly defend human rights as

a universal value, he writes, and he alludes to the failings of China and Russia — but without suggesting any foreign policy implications. He urges action on Darfur, but discusses Africa mainly in terms of his thesis that development aid, not unchecked immigration, is the solution to that continent's problems, and to Europe's problems with Africa.

In three pages on the broader Middle East, the author offers scant evidence of rethinking traditional French policy (perhaps because the section was called "Rethinking Our Foreign Policy Message" in the original French). Balance is the order of the day. Recalling the violence in Lebanon in 2006, Sarkozy defends President Jacques Chirac's decision to send troops, criticizes Hezbollah, and presents a nuanced understanding of Israel's legitimate defense needs — and "disproportionate" actions. He also carefully describes the Palestinians' right to a state as non-negotiable. Sarkozy defends Chirac's decision not to join in the invasion of Iraq, although he slams his predecessor's threat to veto a U.N. resolution authorizing U.S. intervention.

Turning to Iran, he insists that the "outlaw regime" must be prevented from developing nuclear weapons and stoking a regional arms race. Ideally, it should be blocked through diplomacy, but with all options on the table to strengthen chances for success. Sarkozy's one novel idea is a corollary to that position: he proposes the creation of a "World Bank for civilian nuclear fuel," under the auspices of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Sarkozy urges the French to embrace globalization and change, arguing that growth is required to address unemployment. He opines that France has adopted the worst elements of two neighboring economic systems: the "inequality and poverty of the Anglo-Saxon model" and the high taxes of the Nordic system — but with none of the benefits of either model.

The new president has given considerable thought to the French-American relationship. He takes on the leftist critics who dubbed him "Sarkozy, the American" by arguing cogently for strong relations with the United States, while defending his European sensibilities. Alluding to his status as the son of an immigrant, he praises the U.S. for its social mobility and diversity among elites, for valuing work, and for political checks and balances. But he prefers France's public health-care system, its strict handgun-control laws, and its tradition of giving immigrants a "new identity as French citizens."

Foreshadowing his efforts as president to reach out to Washington — while challenging the U.S. to lead — he diplomatically assigns some blame to both countries for poor relations. He tells his countrymen that they should refrain from systematically opposing or criticizing the U.S., a good friend and ally, but he notes that Americans have an irritating habit of always thinking they are on the side of good, "and thus everyone else is on the side of evil."

Despite occasional lapses into utopian political rhetoric, notably in the concluding section, *Testimony*



provides American readers with a clear outline of the new French president's personal and policy preferences. These center on action, plain talk and calculated risk-taking, along with what Sarkozy terms a "balanced" approach to governance.

Deborah Cavin, an FSO since 1983, is currently serving as a Foreign Service assessor in the Human Resources Bureau's Office of Recruitment, Examination and Employment.

Missed Opportunities

**A Second Chance:
Three Presidents and the
Crisis of American Superpower**
*Zbigniew Brzezinski, Basic Books,
2007, \$26.95, hardcover, 240 pages.*

REVIEWED BY HARRY C. BLANEY III

Zbigniew Brzezinski's new book is a highly personal tour of the strategic political landscape of the last 15 years, covering the presidencies of George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton and George W. Bush.

True to his policy-planning heart, the national security adviser to Jimmy Carter frames his analysis in terms of how well each of these leaders handled three broad sets of tasks: shaping or managing central power relations; containing or terminating conflicts, preventing terrorism and controlling the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; and promoting collective peacekeeping.

Along the way, Brzezinski sometimes succumbs to the temptation to defend old battlements. But he does take into account the landscape in which each leader operated, including emerging trends. He also asks strategic and moral questions: Is American

society guided by values? Is our government structured in a way that is congenial to effective long-term global leadership? On the latter point, I am giving nothing away to note that he has doubts that it is.

Overall, the author gives Bush 41 high marks for his conduct of foreign relations. But he does criticize him for a lethargic response to growing evidence that existing restraints on nuclear weapons proliferation were starting to crack. In particular, he cites Bush's slowness to recognize the danger of the India-Pakistan nuclear rivalry and North Korea's progress toward acquiring a nuclear capability.

Clinton's report card is mixed. There was some progress on nonproliferation issues, such as safeguarding nuclear stockpiles in the former Soviet Union, but the president left much undone. A chapter titled "The Impotence of Good Intentions" sets forth Brzezinski's view that most presidents, including Clinton, have not accompanied offers of inducements with sufficiently potent or credible threats to change the decisionmaking process of rogue states. But he weakens his case by not spelling out what we should do when neither carrots nor sticks work.

Few (if any) readers will be surprised that the current president gets poor or failing grades pretty much across the board in a chapter titled "Catastrophic Leadership (and the Politics of Fear)." The author is scathing about the decision to invade Iraq and the disastrous impact of the war on America's global capabilities. In his judgment, Bush 43's overall strategy in the Middle East, including the campaign to impose democracy, has been devastating, both in its effects on the ground and because it has pushed so many other pressing issues off the diplomatic agenda.

The book's final chapter, "Beyond

2008 (America's Second Chance)," asserts that Washington missed two grand historical opportunities in the post-Cold War period. All three administrations failed to shape and institutionalize an Atlantic community with a shared strategic focus and to move decisively on the Israeli-Palestinian problem.

Brzezinski argues that no other power is yet capable of playing our dominant role, providing some room for maneuver. He summarizes the landscape as follows: Europe still lacks the requisite political unity and will to be a global power, while Russia cannot decide whether it wishes to be an authoritarian, imperialist, socially backward Eurasian state or a genuinely modern European democracy. China is rapidly emerging as the dominant Asian power, but it has a rival in Japan; nor is it clear that Beijing can resolve the basic contradiction between its freewheeling economic momentum and the bureaucratic centralism of its political system.

The author is adept at identifying the shortcomings of the past and the challenges of the future, though he puts the emphasis on useful approaches rather than detailed recommendations. However, his attempts to thread the needle between realism and idealism are not always successful. For instance, despite his criticism of recent U.S. military actions, one gets the sense that he might be among the first to resort to that option in some cases. Yet he does offer a clear path forward, based on "intelligent, cooperative governance, reinforced by power that is viewed as legitimate." In that spirit, his policy recommendations deserve thoughtful consideration and, in many cases, adoption. ■

Harry C. Blaney III, a retired FSO, is a senior fellow at the Center for International Policy.



IN MEMORY

Ralph Nelson Clough, 90, a retired FSO, died on Aug. 10 at the Sunrise Assisted Living Center in Arlington, Va. He had been a resident of Arlington for 40 years.

Mr. Clough was born and raised in Seattle, Wash., where he developed a lifelong passion for the outdoors, expressed in mountain climbing (he made many ascents in the Cascades) and bird-watching. He graduated Phi Beta Kappa from the University of Washington in 1939, and completed an M.A. in international relations at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University in 1940.

In 1941, Mr. Clough joined the Foreign Service. His first posting was as a vice consul in Toronto. He was transferred to Tegucigalpa in 1942, and to Puerto Cortes in 1943. Mr. Clough was fluent in Chinese, and also spoke some Japanese and Korean. During the remainder of his 28-year diplomatic career, most of his assignments were in the Far East.

In 1954, he was posted to Kunming, moving to Beijing in 1946. From 1947 to 1950, he served in Nanjing; he was then transferred to Hong Kong, where he served until 1954, when he was detailed to the National War College. In 1955, he was named deputy director of Chinese affairs at the State Department, becoming director in 1957. During

the 1950s he was sent to Geneva and to Warsaw to attend talks with the Chinese.

Following a posting in London, Mr. Clough was assigned to Taipei in 1961. There he rose to be deputy chief of mission, spending two years as chargé d'affaires. In 1965, he was detailed to the Harvard Center for International Affairs. He ended his diplomatic career with three years on the Policy Planning Council under Zbigniew Brzezinski from 1966 to 1969.

After retirement, Mr. Clough began a second career as a writer on Asian affairs and American foreign policy toward Asia. During that 30-year period he had appointments at the Brookings Institution, the Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars and the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University. At the time of his second retirement in 2003, he was teaching the graduate seminar on Taiwan and organizing the China Forum, a speaker series, while working at SAIS in Washington.

Mr. Clough wrote and edited a number of books on the Far East and American foreign policy, including *East Asia and U.S. Security* (1975), *Deterrence and Defense in Korea* (1976), *Island China* (1978), *Reaching Across the Taiwan Strait* (1993) and *Cooperation and Conflict in the*

Taiwan Strait (1999). He became well-known internationally as an expert on the history and contemporary affairs of Taiwan.

In addition, during the 1970s and 1980s Clough advised the House Committee on Foreign Relations' Subcommittee on Asian Affairs. In that capacity, he accompanied Rep. Stephen Solarz, D-N.Y., then chair of the subcommittee, to talks with President Kim Il Sung of North Korea in 1979 and wrote the report on the visit.

Mr. Clough's first wife, Mary Lou Sander Clough, died in 1950. He is survived by his wife of 54 years, Awana Stiles Clough of Arlington, Va.; two sons, Frederick of Santa Barbara, Calif., and Marshall of Greeley, Colo.; two daughters, Laurie Clough Schuda of Arlington, Va., and Drusilla Clough Hufford of McLean, Va.; six grandchildren, Gregory, Carrie, Christopher, Alexander, Stephanie and Susannah; his brother Ray Clough of Bend, Ore.; and numerous nieces and nephews.



Jay Robert Grahame, 73, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Aug. 6 at the Potomac Center Nursing Home in Arlington, Va., of complications from diabetes.

Mr. Grahame was born in Brooklyn, N.Y., and grew up in Jamaica, N.Y. He received a bachelor's degree

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in political science from Queens College in Flushing, N.Y., and a master's degree in American history from Columbia University in 1957. After graduation, he served in the U.S. Army Reserve.

In 1958, Mr. Grahame joined the Foreign Service. After a two-year assignment at the State Department in Washington, he was posted to Chennai (formerly Madras). Later, he was assigned to posts in Kolkata (Calcutta) and Mumbai (Bombay), where he served as economic-commercial officer. Other assignments included Luxembourg, Malta and Cyprus.

In August 1974, he was in the embassy in Nicosia when, during a Greek Cypriot demonstration, it was attacked by Greek forces. Ambassador Rodger P. Davies and his administrative section assistant were killed by sniper fire in the attack. Mr. Grahame, who was slightly injured, was given an award for valor. He also helped Americans get out of Cyprus during the disturbances that year.

In the late 1980s, Mr. Grahame worked with an Afghan coordination unit and visited an Afghan refugee camp in Pakistan. His last postings were Israel and Tunisia, both as an economic officer. He retired in the early 1990s.

He returned to school and received a master's degree in social work from Catholic University in 1995. Mr. Grahame volunteered at the Washington Home. He was a member of the American Foreign Service Association.

His marriages to Marcia Grahame Moss and Joyce Grahame ended in divorce. Survivors include three children from his first marriage, Peter Grahame of Palm City, Fla., Laura Grahame of New York City and Nicholas Grahame of Indianapolis, Ind.; and three grandchildren.

Martin Y. Hirabayashi, 91, a retired FSO, died peacefully in his sleep of natural causes on June 14 in Edina, Minn.

Mr. Hirabayashi was born in Seattle, Wash., and grew up with seven younger brothers and sisters on a small farm outside the city. He graduated from the University of Washington in 1939 with cum laude honors, receiving a B.A. degree in business and economics. He subsequently pursued graduate work at the university with an emphasis in international trade and economics, followed by Japanese-language training at Kyoto Imperial University.

In 1942, Mr. Hirabayashi married Joyce Higuchi, whom he had met and courted at the university. During World War II, Mr. Hirabayashi worked as a Japanese-language instructor and also as a research analyst and translator for the U.S. Navy, moving frequently with his wife and including stays in Boulder, Colo., New York City and Cambridge, Mass. Following the war, he was assigned to Japan. There, he worked for the U.S. War Department on the Strategic Bombing Survey, helping to assess the impact of American bombing on the facilities and people of that country. In 1946, he moved to Washington, D.C., where he joined the State Department as an economic research analyst.

In 1956, Mr. Hirabayashi joined the Foreign Service and was assigned to Tokyo as a economic-commercial officer. In 1961, after two tours, he joined the Far Eastern Bureau's Japan Desk as an economist. In 1964, he was appointed a member of the U.S. delegation to the sixth round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade negotiations, held in Geneva, where his focus was on U.S. trade

talks with Japan. Following the negotiations, he was named chief of the Special Trade Activities and Commercial Treaties Division, Bureau of Economic Affairs, in Washington, D.C. In 1969, Mr. Hirabayashi was assigned to Helsinki as counselor for economic and commercial affairs, where he remained for two tours. In 1974, he was assigned to Stockholm in the same capacity. Retiring in 1976, he moved with his wife to the Minneapolis suburb of Edina to be close to their families.

In retirement, Mr. Hirabayashi stayed active, serving as a board member of the Minnesota World Trade Association, the United Nations Association of Minnesota and the Minnesota International Center. He was executive director and later president of World Trade Week, Inc., a board member and president of the Japan America Society of Minnesota, and a volunteer for the Service Corps of Retired Executives, where he assisted small businesses and entrepreneurs interested in international business opportunities.

His wife, Joyce, who had been in declining health following a stroke, passed away on Dec. 5, 2006. Besides five brothers and a sister, survivors include two sons, Tim of Monroe, Mich., and Jim of North Potomac, Md., and four grandchildren.



William Carter Ide, 88, a retired Foreign Service Reserve officer, died on July 27 of a heart ailment after a fall at his home in Vienna, Va.

Mr. Ide was born in Redlands, Calif., and graduated from Pomona College in Claremont, Calif. He interned for the federal government in Washington until the outbreak of

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World War II and served in the Army, rising from private to major in the transportation corps. He served in England, France and Germany.

After the war, he received a master's degree in political science and economics from Harvard University in 1948. He taught political science and Russian history at Claremont Men's College in California, and then returned to the Washington, D.C., area in 1951. Mr. Ide joined the former Bureau of the Budget as an economist and, in 1952, began working overseas for the federal government in Copenhagen, Paris and Karachi.

From 1956 to 1964, he held a variety of positions in the old Economic

Cooperation Agency and later at the U.S. Agency for International Development. In 1961, he was named deputy regional operations director for the Near East and South Asia at USAID. In 1964, he left his position as a deputy assistant administrator at USAID headquarters to become mission director in the Dominican Republic, also serving as counselor for economic affairs. In 1965, he was transferred to New Delhi as deputy director of the USAID mission there, and in 1969 was assigned to Kathmandu as mission director.

He returned to headquarters in 1974 as deputy director for public affairs. He also taught at the National

War College before retiring from the Foreign Service in 1980.

Though Mr. Ide's post-government work was in real estate investment and management, he also enjoyed the arts. He sang in the Wareham Chorale and played the flute. He also did watercolor painting, acted in community theater and served as president of the Vienna Arts Society. He volunteered for what is now Capital Hospice, the Northern Virginia Mental Health Institute, Housing Counseling Services of Washington and OAR of Fairfax County, and also helped out in the Pennywise Thrift Shop in Vienna.

Mr. Ide attended an Episcopal

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church in Vienna, Va., and the Unitarian Universalist Congregation of Fairfax, Va. He enjoyed reading the social sciences and humanities and was interested in his family genealogy: he was a descendant of Nicholas Ide, who was at Plymouth Rock with Miles Standish, and was distantly related to William Brown Ide, the only president of the Republic of California.

Survivors include his wife of 58 years, Helen Louise French Ide, of Vienna, Va.; seven children: Gretchen Ide Kossack of Shrewsbury, Mass.; David Chandler Ide of Arlington County; Jennifer Taylor-Ide of Franklin, W. Va.; Rebecca Ide Lowe of Ojai, Calif.; Peter McDonald Ide of Falls Church, Va., and Tunis; Susan Ide Patton of Vienna, Va.; and Nicholas Carter Ide of McLean, Va.; and 11 grandchildren.



Charles Edward Marthinsen, 76, a retired FSO and former ambassador to Qatar, died on July 12 in Carlisle, Pa.

Mr. Marthinsen was raised in Erie, Pa., the son of Kathleen and Alexander Marthinsen, and the brother of Robert Marthinsen, Sandra Maries and Alan Marthinsen. After graduating from Academy High School in 1949, he attended Gannon University, where he received his bachelor's degree in 1953. From 1953 to 1955, he served in the U.S. Army, after which he entered the Foreign Service.

Mr. Marthinsen's 32-year diplomatic career was spent largely in the Middle East and included postings to Bangladesh (then East Pakistan), Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Egypt, Libya and Qatar. His final posting was as deputy commandant for international affairs at the U.S. Army War

College in Carlisle. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1987.

In retirement, Mr. Marthinsen did consulting work and was also engaged in a number of civic activities, including supporting the local theater and the Old Neighborhoods League. He was a member of the Harrisburg Foreign Policy Association, as well as the Torch Club, where he served as president for one year.

Survivors include his wife of almost 48 years, Kate, of Carlisle, Pa.; two sons, Guy of Pittsford, N.Y., and Hugh of Tampa, Fla.; and two grandsons, Grant and Adam.



Patricia Whipple Olson, 73, the wife of retired FSO Oscar Julius Olson Jr., died on Aug. 14 at her home in Springfield, Va.

Born in Milwaukee, Wis., Mrs. Olson grew up in Texas — eventually moving to Corpus Christi, where she met her husband — and graduated from the University of Houston with a radio/TV degree. The couple was married in Bremerhaven, where Mr. Olson was serving in the Army. His Foreign Service career subsequently took them to Venezuela, Spain, Mexico, West Berlin, Panama and Ecuador.

Besides raising three children, Mrs. Olson's activities included lay ministry on three continents, a stint as community liaison officer in Quito, and work as assistant to Elizabeth Campbell helping to put Washington, D.C., radio's WETA-FM on the air. During their Foreign Service assignment to West Berlin, she was asked to air her own show, "People, Places and Pat," on Armed Forces TV. It was an effort to encourage military personnel and their dependents to take advan-

tage of the many cultural and entertainment opportunities available in that exciting city. The program featured interviews with Berlin luminaries and visiting Americans, such as James Michener.

Pat Olson thrived on the challenge of meeting new people and adapting to different cultures. That included shifting from the warmth of Latin American "besos" and "abrazos" to the cooler cultures of Germany, and even Boston, while Mr. Olson had an academic year at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. Her children recall fondly her admonition to "bloom where you are planted," which helped them cope with Foreign Service life.

After their retirement from the Foreign Service, Mrs. Olson entered Wesley Theological Seminary in Washington, D.C., and was ordained as a United Methodist minister. Her pastoral appointments were in Culpeper and Fauquier counties in Virginia and at the United Methodist Church in Springfield, Va. Following her retirement, she remained active in ministry, preaching, teaching, leading retreats and serving as chaplain at Inova Fairfax Hospital.

Survivors include her husband of 51 years, Oscar, three children and four grandchildren.



Dar Jalene ("Dar") Prybil, 71, a retired FSO, died on June 25 in Paris, France.

Ms. Prybil was a native of Enid, Okla. Her early career began in the U.S. section of NATO headquarters in Paris, and she continued with that office when it was moved to Brussels. In 1970, she was transferred to the Los Angeles District Office of the

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International Trade Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce, where she was an international trade specialist. Her responsibility was to assist southern California firms with export development. After a very successful 15 years in Los Angeles, she joined the Foreign Service and was transferred, in 1985, to Brasilia as commerce attaché.

One of Ms. Prybil's major accomplishments was her successful negotiation of a \$4 billion contract with the Brazilian government for the Amazon Surveillance System in favor of the American company, Raytheon. On Oct. 23, 1997, she was awarded the Order of Merit from the Brazilian government for "notable services rendered to Brazil."

From there, she was transferred to Paris, where she served as commercial attaché from 1998 to 2000. She retired in 2000 and continued to live alternately in Paris and Mougins, outside Cannes, until her death.



Hadia J. Roberts, 56, the wife of retired FSO Donald A. Roberts, died on July 12 of cancer at their home in Fairfax, Va.

An ethnic Pashtun, she was born Hadia Jilani to a prominent family on the Pakistani side of the "Pashtun Belt" that straddles the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan. She earned a master's degree in English literature and language from the University of Peshawar in Pakistan, and did postgraduate study in political science at Mount Holyoke College in Massachusetts.

Following her marriage, she became a U.S. citizen and accompanied her husband on assignments in Ankara (1976-1978), Bogota (1978-1980),

Bamako (1980-1981), Tunis (1986-1987), Abu Dhabi (1987-1989), Doha (1989-1992) and Manama (1992-1997). In 1998, the couple settled in Fairfax, Va., and, from 2000 until her death, she was a linguist and, later, a language analyst for the Department of Justice.

Hadia Roberts was active in the American community overseas, serving as president of the American Women's Club in Bogota and in various positions, including chairman of the Bahrain School's Local School Advisory Committee. She participated in choral and drama groups at all of her overseas posts, taught English as a second language in Ankara and Bamako, and worked in the consular sections in Doha and Manama. She was active in International Junior Diplomats of Washington and, later, in International Diplomats of Washington. She was also a frequent contributor to the newsletter of the Foreign-Born Spouse Network.

From 1981 to 1986, Hadia Roberts was a guest lecturer at the U.S. Foreign Service Institute in Rosslyn, Va., where her lectures on Muslim women in South Asian societies formed part of the junior officer training course for FSOs assigned to South Asian countries. During overseas postings, she developed a series of lectures on different aspects of Islam and the status of women in Islam, delivering these to foreign and expatriate organizations. She also briefed U.S. military personnel assigned to Bahrain.

In recent years, she spoke on the topics of Islam, women in Islam and Muslims in America at Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired, the American Association of Foreign Service Spouses, Peace Corps headquarters, the FBI Academy in Quan-

tico, Va., and Yale University, as well as at area churches and the Washington, D.C., branch of the Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research.

Besides her husband, Donald, Hadia Roberts is survived by her mother, three brothers, two sisters, and three sons. Her father, Maj. Gen. M.G. Jilani (Pakistan Army, retired), died in 2004.



Charles G. Sommer II, 88, a retired FSO, died on May 22 at his home in Escondido, Calif., of congestive heart failure.

Mr. Sommer was born in Lakewood, Ohio, on July 15, 1918. He attended Western Reserve University in Cleveland, graduating in 1940 with a B.B.A. degree. He served in the Army Signal Corps during World War II. He was awarded the War Department Certificate for his participation in the Manhattan project.

Mr. Sommer's 30-year Foreign Service career was spent at Embassy Mexico City and at the consulates in Tijuana and Merida, and in Brisbane. He served as consul general in Caracas. After Mr. Sommers retired, in 1976, he and his wife settled in Escondido, Calif.

Mr. Sommer is remembered for his love of family, humor, sports and music. A celebration of his life was held at his home on his birthdate.

Survivors include his wife of 61 years, Frances, who accompanied him to all of his posts; four children, and their respective spouses; seven grandsons; one granddaughter; and one great-grandson. ■

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