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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Your Union Needs You

BY JOHN LIMBERT

"The treasure of love is found on no chart," as the old song tells us.



Do you care about the future of the Foreign Service? Do you care about the well-being of your colleagues and their families? Can you write well? Do you enjoy the give-and-take of sharp debate? Do you enjoy solving individual problems? Are you a good listener? Then I have a great job for you that even your best friend, your CDO, won't talk about. If you are a Foreign Service member transferring in 2005, AFSA has some plum jobs that you will not find on any vacancy list. These jobs are those of AFSA president and the constituency vice presidents.

AFSA has a great professional staff and enjoys the support of its 13,000 members worldwide; much of its success, however, depends on members stepping forward to serve on its Governing Board. Those positions will turn over again in July 2005. Elections to fill them will start with nominations this autumn.

This column discusses the AFSA president position. For information on AFSA's vice president jobs at State, USAID, FCS and FAS, or for retirees, contact the incumbents or AFSA's executive director (their names and e-mail addresses are in the "How to

John Limbert is the president of the American Foreign Service Association.

Contact Us" box on p. 2 of *AFSA News*). In addition, anyone interested in serving on the AFSA Governing Board, but not ready to commit to a senior AFSA leadership job, may run for one of AFSA's 14 constituency representative positions, or the secretary or treasurer slots.

The AFSA presidency is a full-time position with responsibilities similar to those of an assistant secretary. Although there is no explicit grade requirement, the advocacy, negotiation, and public outreach skills are those demanded of a Senior Foreign Service employee. The AFSA president deals directly with senior officials at State, USAID, FCS, FAS and IBB; briefs members of Congress and their staffers; gives on-the-record interviews to national media; speaks before a range of groups (student, professional, business); and has frequent representational duties.

The job has a significant leadership component, as well. The AFSA president directs a 26-member professional staff, monitors annual operating expenditures of \$3 million, oversees trust funds (e.g., scholarships) exceeding \$5 million, and interacts with members worldwide.

The AFSA president, with the advice of the Governing Board, sets tone and policy for the association. Like a chief of mission, he or she needs clear goals and priorities, whether on workplace, legislative, or professional matters, such as upholding the pride of our profession. The president's first job is fighting for AFSA's 13,000 mem-

bers. When AFSA presidents speak, they speak not on behalf of the Department of State, but the men and women of the Foreign Service.

In other words, the job offers the opportunity to make a difference in the lives of your colleagues and their families. AFSA's staff and officers work hard. They do so with a sense of community, enthusiasm and conviction that AFSA is a force for good.

Who Can Run? Who can be AFSA president? Any member of the career Foreign Service who is a dues-paying AFSA member and who has not served in certain positions with responsibility for formulating personnel policies within two years of taking AFSA office. For further information on these limitations, contact AFSA General Counsel Sharon Papp at papp@afsa.org.

How is the position filled? The AFSA Election Committee has put out a formal call for nominations in this issue of the *Journal*. Candidates may run individually or in slates with candidates for other AFSA Governing Board positions. After worldwide balloting this winter, the winner will be announced next spring. After two years as an AFSA officer, I do not plan to run for re-election.

How can you find out more? Contact me at limbert@afsa.org or (202) 338-4045, ext. 502, or AFSA's executive director, Susan Reardon, at reardon@afsa.org or (202) 338-4045, ext. 505. We pledge not to reveal identities of potential candidates to other candidates or to anyone else. ■



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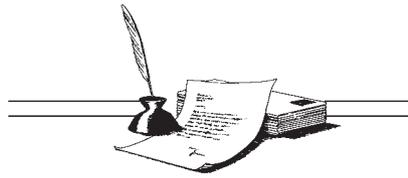
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LETTERS

Praise for MOH Coverage

Bob Guldin's article in the June issue on Members of Household was excellent: accurate, thoroughly researched, articulate and well written. I was president of Gays and Lesbians in Foreign Affairs Agencies for 1999 and 2000, and can attest that he has done a great job of laying out the history and the issues awaiting resolution through inclusion of MOH in the definition of Eligible Family Member.

My partner and I are currently confronting the indignities, costs and risks of his accompanying me to a foreign post after two domestic assignments. The article encouraged me to think our issues are at least seeing the light of day.

Bryan Dalton
FSO
Embassy Bucharest

An Expensive Proposition

It is with great interest that I read the MOH article in the June *Journal*. I made a lot of sacrifices to join the Department of State back in September 2002, including renouncing my Canadian citizenship. Though I had worked for the Department of Justice for six years in the 1990s and dual citizenship was never an issue, I was told by Diplomatic Security that I could not get a clearance without renouncing my Canadian citizenship. My entire family, except for my American partner of nearly 10 years, still lives in Montreal and its

vicinity. They were devastated that I had to do this.

In March 2003, just weeks before the last Persian Gulf War, I was assigned to Yemen as the financial management officer. For security reasons, my partner and I decided that it would be better if he stayed behind in D.C. for the duration of this tour. Life apart has been difficult over the past 15 months, especially after nearly 10 years without any separation.

Over the past several months, we revisited the issue and decided that Richard will come to post in September to join me for the remainder of my tour. He would have come sooner had there been employment opportunities. For example, I was told that an MOH could not be a community liaison officer even though the position had been vacant for over a year. As I write this e-mail, there is no guarantee that he will be able to secure employment at the embassy.

This is proving to be an expensive proposition. Richard must get a battery of shots at his own expense and the government will not pay for his airfare to Sanaa. The issue of whether he will be able to use the health unit is still unresolved, which is critical in Yemen where medical care is of poor quality.

For security reasons, we cannot travel by car outside of Sanaa without a diplomatic note and a military escort. State just recently autho-

rized children under 3 to return to this service-need differential post. We are very concerned should the need arise for evacuation. Sanaa has been under authorized departure several times in the past few years and we are still under a travel warning.

In times of sacrifice and ever-increasing danger, it is hard to understand why the MOH policy is not more inclusive. As one of your contributors stated, if it doesn't cost the department, it probably is okay. As a financial management officer, I can relate too well to this short-sighted philosophy.

Christian Charette
Financial Management
Officer
Embassy Sanaa

Caregiver as MOH

I was dismayed to see, in the article on Members of Household, my concerns brushed aside with a snide three-line parenthetical aside: "Even though a live-in nanny — especially one who has accompanied an employee from post to post — may seem like a member of the family, such helpers don't fall within the MOH category." My spouse and I are a tandem couple, and having a trusted caregiver for our child is not a luxury or even a convenience. It is essential to our ability to fulfill our duties as Foreign Service officers.

On more than one occasion, both of us have needed to travel for

LETTERS



work, which we could not have done without having a reliable caregiver at home. For example, on 9/11 I was in Indonesia's Papua Province on the island of New Guinea, 3,000 miles and nine hours from Jakarta by plane. My spouse was in Bali as one of the main organizers for a multi-country conference. We were not able to return to Jakarta for a couple of days, and the embassy went on authorized departure two weeks later. Our caregiver has traveled several times alone with our child to stay with our families — and even back to her country to stay with her family. We have done this explicitly so that they are both comfortable traveling alone, in case an emergency requires both of us to remain at post.

We consider our caregiver a member of our family, and we are considered part of her family. She has lived with us since the day our child was born, and before that cared for a relative's children for 20 years. The omission of this issue from this article (even though I sent input to the author) and the cursory treatment of most MOH categories (elderly parents, other family members, and heterosexual live-in partners) suggest that the *Journal's* intent was not to really examine all sides of an issue that does need addressing, but to advocate for the interests of selected constituencies. I thought AFSA was supposed to look out for *all* FSOs' interests.

Elaine Samson

FSO

Embassy San Jose

The Senior Seminar

Bill Stedman addressed an important subject in his recent "Speaking Out" article on the demise of the Senior Seminar (July/August). He deserves kudos for bringing the issue to the public forum, and his long-

term perspective is instructive.

As a proud member of the 42nd Seminar (1999-2000), I can testify to both the strengths and weaknesses of the program in recent years, but Bill's essay essentially asks us to consider what the Seminar "should be" and then reminds us of the real source of any problems that may have been used to justify its demise: "such situations reflect failures within the assignment process, not problems with the Senior Seminar itself." He is right. The same point can be made for the quality of intellectual content and purposefulness of its curriculum, which thanks to improved leadership and rigor has now been linked to current foreign policy strategic goals and objectives and longer-term emerging issues, as they relate to the U.S., both internationally and domestically. This is essential material on which future leaders should reflect.

The reality is that the Seminar has always been a reflection of the institution and the people who sustain it. Any problems with it only beg that we look at ourselves and fix what is really broken. Stedman's article is a timely reminder of that. My personal hope is that in the not too-far-distant future State will regain the will, the resources and the intellectual and managerial mettle to restore the Seminar to what it should be — the most advanced and highest quality executive training for foreign policy and diplomacy professionals in the U.S. government, selection for which indicates promotability into or through the executive ranks.

Stephanie Smith Kinney

42nd Senior Seminar

FSO, retired

Director, Strategic

Planning,

Keane Federal Systems

Washington, D.C.

Back to Basics

I am a recently retired FSO, having left the Service in 2003 out of Panama, where I was the supervisory general services officer. A friend sent me a copy of the June 25 AFSA State VP e-mail update. I was particularly interested in the "Extreme Diplomacy" section of this update. The first question that came to mind after digesting the fact that Baghdad will be the largest embassy in the world was — why? Haven't we (the U.S. government) humiliated ourselves enough by sending at least 900 U.S. military men and women to die in a place to which they should never have been sent?

The second thing that came to mind was a question: Is the department going to supply the targets to be stitched to the back of every embassy staff member to make it easier for the radicals in Iraq to shoot or bomb them? Why do we insist on following this ongoing, disastrous policy?

Time has more than adequately shown that we cannot even protect our own military personnel in Iraq, let alone the large numbers of U.S. contractor employees sent there, by virtue of the extremely lucrative (mostly single-bid) contracts handed out by State and DOD plus other agencies. We certainly do not have the ability to protect every member of this vast embassy staff 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

Once we send these 800 staff to Iraq, what are they going to do? It is my guess that all the agencies involved are being overwhelmed by testosterone attacks, feeling left out of the scramble for the war "glory" (and perhaps the budget bulges) enjoyed so far by DOD, CIA and State. It is a "pack" mentality of "monkey see, monkey do." I wonder how long that bravado will last when



the caskets start arriving in Dover.

It is my guess that a great deal of the work to be done could just as well be done by folks stationed in surrounding "friendly countries," where they can live with their families in a somewhat normal overseas environment, moving in and out of Iraq as needed. I think we would have a much better chance at protecting them if they were working in Iraq and moving in and out via secure transport, rather than by stationing them there, where they remain vulnerable at all times.

I also noted with interest your second item asking for feedback to an author doing a book on "America's Other Army." Has State begun to see itself as a service made up of diplomats hustling about in full armor and with M-16s slung over their shoulders, delivering communiqués regarding crop forecasts, etc.?

All one needs to do to see what happens to an "over-militarized" organization is to look down the river to the warmonger leadership of DOD. We cannot stand any more of that. Our image overseas has been sufficiently tarnished by invading another independent nation under false pretenses. We need to get back to the job of being "diplomats" — sharing and creating good will for the U.S.A.

This may sound radical, but as a retiree, I can express the true feelings of many of my former colleagues. Unfortunately, they do not feel free to do so. It is probably a shock to State leadership to learn that this kind of fear exists in the organization. It does fly in the face of the flag-waving claims of a "free society," doesn't it?

Roger L. Street
FSO, retired
Bethany Beach,
Del. ■

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CYBERNOTES

November Election Prompts A Diplomatic Flurry

For the first time since the Vietnam era, foreign affairs and national security issues are looming larger than economic concerns in a presidential election, a study by the Pew Research Association released Aug. 18 shows (<http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?ReportID=222>). Not surprisingly, retired diplomats and other officials have been active in helping to shape the debate.

As of August, three different groups of retired diplomats and military officers had staked their claims in the battle for the foreign policy of the next administration. One group is critical of the Bush administration, one is supportive, and one argues that retired diplomats and military officers/personnel should not engage in partisan politics at all. The complete statements and lists of signatories of the three groups can be found on the AFSA Web site (<http://www.afsa.org/news/FSRetireeStatements.cfm>).

Founded in June by a 27-member, bipartisan group of former ambassadors and four-star commanders, *Diplomats and Military Commanders for Change* (www.diplomatsforchange.com) has conducted a nationwide campaign to press for a change in U.S. foreign and defense policy and to ensure an informed public during a critical election year. Though explicitly advocating a Bush defeat in November, the group has not endorsed John Kerry.

"We believe we have as good an understanding as any of our citizens of basic American interests. Over nearly

half a century we have worked energetically in all regions of the world, often in very difficult circumstances, to build piece by piece a structure of respect and influence for the United States that has served our country very well over the last 60 years," the group said in a founding statement released June 16. "Today we see that structure crumbling under an administration blinded by ideology and a callous indifference to the realities of the world around it."

The statement continues: "We will be among the first to recognize that the nation currently faces unprecedented threats. We recognize, too, that the Bush administration is now reaching out to allies. But everything we have heard from friends abroad on every continent suggests to us that the lack of confidence in the present administration in Washington is so profound that a whole new team is needed to repair the damage."

DMCC members, including former Assistant Secretary of State Phyllis Oakley and former ambassador to Israel (and former AFSA president) William Harrop, have been active in publicizing the group's views. Said Oakley in a June 16 CNN interview, "We're all career [public] servants who have never taken a political stand, but what we want to get on record is our profound concern about the future security of the U.S." Harrop, who voted for George W. Bush in 2000, appeared on "The Newshour with Jim Lehrer" on June 25.

Counterpoints Sounded

On Aug. 17, at a joint press conference at the National Press Club, two

new groups made their debut. Both groups took issue with the DMCC's initiative, arguing that it creates the "false impression" that its anti-Bush message represents a consensus among experienced diplomats and military officers.

One group, *Diplomats and Military Professionals for National Security*, founded by former Ambassador Dennis K. Hays and 17 former and retired U.S. officials, strongly supports President Bush's foreign policy. [To contact DMPNS: Amb. Dennis Hays, (202) 974-1399.]

"We are speaking out because we find that the current president's foreign policy has been misrepresented as out-of-step with the wisdom of the 'professionals,'" the DMPNS statement reads. "In fact, in our professional judgment, the president is pursuing exactly the right approach. We strongly support the Bush administration's policies, proven leadership and resolve to eradicate international terrorism and to preserve and protect the national security of the United States of America."

In a question-and-answer session, Amb. Hays, a former president of the American Foreign Service Association, said that *Diplomats and Military Commanders for Change* did not represent most Foreign Service members. "We categorically reject the idea that there's only one opinion among foreign-policy experts and practitioners about the administration," Hays said. Hays said retired officers have a right and obligation to speak out, but as individuals, not as a group. His group would not have come forward, he said, were it not for the DMCC.



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The other group, *Diplomats for a Nonpartisan Foreign Service*, has as its focus the Foreign Service code of strict neutrality. The group, founded by Ambassador (and former AFSA president) Thomas Boyatt, and endorsed by almost all of the recent secretaries of State and other senior military and national security officials, calls for reinstatement of the principle that professional diplomatic and military officers as a group must always be nonpartisan and professional. [To contact DNFS: Amb. Tom Boyatt (703) 759-6658 or tdboyatt@aol.com.]

“Can you really argue that we in the Foreign Service can serve both red America and blue America impartially if the elders in our own tribe are turning themselves into political warriors?” Amb. Boyatt asked in an interview with David Sands of the *Washington Times*. In presenting the group’s statement on Aug. 17, Boyatt emphasized that it is not a political declaration, not a substantive comment about policies or candidates but deals with process.

Citing his defense of the professionalism and impartiality of the Foreign Service against charges of disloyalty leveled by former House Speaker Newt Gingrich earlier this year, Boyatt charged *Diplomats and Military Commanders for Change* with “polarizing the debate” and making it more difficult to defend the Foreign Service in the future.

As It Should Be

“Clearly former diplomats and military officers as individuals have the right, even the responsibility, to participate in the political life of our country, and a number have gone on to hold

elected office, including in Congress,” the *Diplomats for a Nonpartisan Foreign Service* statement says. “Others have been called back to duty as political appointees. They have done so as individuals, not as spokesmen for their profession, and this is as it should be.”

But with the “unprecedented” June 16 political statement of the *Diplomats and Military Commanders for Change*, the DNFS statement argues, “a core principle and deeply held tradition of our foreign and military services” has been put at risk. “We are confident the candidates for election this November — of whichever party — will respect and appreciate our determination that our career services remain and be seen as truly apolitical, in the best interests of our country.”

All three groups agree that active-duty Foreign Service officers are loyal professionals.

Retired Diplomats Put Australian Government On Notice

The U.S. is not the only place where former diplomats are stepping into the election arena. On Aug. 8, more than 40 retired senior Australian diplomats and military commanders

issued a statement accusing Prime Minister John Howard of deceiving the country over the reasons for the Iraq War and demanding honesty in the new government to be elected in Australia’s Oct. 9 general election (<http://www.scoop.co.nz/mason/stories/WO0408/S00128.htm>).

Addressing a “re-elected Howard government or an elected Latham government,” the statement centers on Australian participation in the Iraq War and Australia’s relations with the U.S. “We are concerned that Australia was committed to join the invasion of Iraq on the basis of false assumptions and the deception of the Australian people,” the statement reads. “It is wrong and dangerous for our elected representatives to mislead the Australian people.”

The diplomats also plead that their government, rather than being “a rubber stamp for policies decided in Washington,” maintain a genuine partnership with America. “It is of concern to us that the international prestige of the United States and its presidency has fallen precipitously over the last two years. Because of our government’s unquestioning support for the Bush administration’s policy, Australia has also been adversely affected.” ■

50 Years Ago...

The Foreign Service arm seems to be a natural whipping boy for all sorts of investigating and appropriations committees, not to mention the free-lance politicians and publicity hounds.



— Robert W. Dean, from a letter to the director of Foreign Service Personnel, excerpted in Letters to the Editor, *FSJ*, October 1954.

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SPEAKING OUT

A Failure of Imagination

BY BEATRICE A. CAMP

Oct. 1 marks five years since the United States Information Agency was absorbed into the State Department. Most State employees aren't aware of the anniversary and don't know why they should care. However, some of us remember Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's words on the day of the merger, when she stressed that public diplomacy must "survive and thrive in its new home." It is, she proclaimed, "a national security imperative."

Since that day, public diplomacy has survived, but has it thrived? Is it easier or harder today to promote and carry out creative public diplomacy ideas and programs that provide the context, create the relationships, and build the bridges for understanding the U.S. abroad? Do we even have a common definition within the State Department of what public diplomacy means?

From a purely administrative point of view, the merger might be considered a success. Budgets were sorted out, offices were shuffled into various bureaus, new officers were mainstreamed into State's A-100 classes, and grants and contracts were made to conform to State Department rules. Public diplomacy training, after several years of only basic course offerings, has been revamped and increased to levels comparable with other cones. The department also deserves credit for ensuring that public diplomacy officers are filling a decent share of principal officer and DCM jobs.

Change brings pain, of course, and many individuals, offices and programs

State has not capitalized on the public diplomacy assets it received in 1999.



took hits. Some longtime local employees found themselves "cross-walked" into other sections of the embassy and a number of educational advisers and English teachers were upset to learn that their long-held employment contracts were now labeled "illegal." A shortsighted decision killed the overseas designation of "USIS" (the U.S. Information Service), the well-known, well-respected brand-name associated with many of our partnerships abroad.

To reassure employees facing these and other transformations, Secretary Albright promised a marriage of equals: "In joining the Department of State, you change it forever." The truth, however, is that State managed to swallow the much-smaller USIA with a small burp and virtually no change in habits. After all, as one State colleague said to me, "Why should we change just because USIA has joined us?"

Lessons Learned — and Not Learned

But by not changing, the department missed the chance to try to

forge something better out of what it had absorbed. The general failure of imagination on the part of the U.S. government reported by the 9/11 Commission applies here as well. State did not take the opportunity to re-examine its own procedures and to develop and grow the resources it gained — even though the past five years have brought endless analyses of the failures and flaws in our conduct of public diplomacy. Despite otherwise strong and innovative leadership, State has not shown that it has capitalized on the public diplomacy assets it received in 1999. Instructions to "pay particular attention to PD," while nice to read, do not by themselves ensure the conditions and environment for public diplomacy to thrive.

In the few areas where State did take a page from USIA's book — such as finally ensuring Internet access for all employees — everyone benefited. Prior to the merger, State officers wondered why USIA had better equipment and Internet access. The answer was simple: most USIS sections made technology a budget priority, back when public affairs officers controlled their own funds. Secretary Powell's commitment to Internet access for all employees has since boosted the rest of the department to the pre-merger USIA levels of connectivity, but credit for the current level of speed and accessibility to OpenNet Plus is also due to the stubbornness of public diplomacy units that refused to accept services inferior to what they had come to expect from the former PDNet.



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SPEAKING OUT



This example of progress stands in contrast to other areas in which the department failed to take advantage of much of the creativity and innovation that existed in USIA. Nor does it help that five years on, many State employees still know so little about the two bureaus — Educational and Cultural Affairs and International Information Programs — that the department absorbed.

The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs knows the exchange business better than anyone else. More imaginative departmental thinking might have made this bureau an entrepreneurial zone incubating new exchanges to face changing world problems. It might have freed ECA to develop its own methods for grants, given it easier authority to accept outside funding for additional ECA programs, and insulated the bureau from pressures to execute “tactical programs.”

The Bureau of International Information Programs was reorganized a decade ago to reduce middle management and encourage teamwork in line with prevailing corporate practices. Despite many changes since, this bureau’s flat structure remains a notable contrast to traditionally top-heavy State Department bureaus, while IIP’s telecommuting record and ability to produce work from home during emergencies rank well above the rest of the department. Nevertheless, because IIP’s technological expertise, support for embassy Web sites, and information management resources are focused almost exclusively on field use, the bureau’s contributions fall under the radar of many in the department, who continue to reinvent the wheel.

Although Secretary Albright pledged to USIA employees that “you will be central to American foreign policy,” public diplomacy today usually seems to be an afterthought, the last refuge when all else fails.

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SPEAKING OUT



Edward R. Murrow famously warned that public diplomacy needs to be in on the take-offs, not just the crash landings. Imagine if in May 2003 someone had proposed what *New York Times* columnist Tom Friedman belatedly suggested a year later — transforming Saddam Hussein's notorious prison into the “Abu Ghraib Technical College for Computer Training,” with equipment donated by Dell, Hewlett Packard and Microsoft. Now try to imagine whether our current public diplomacy structure and environment would support this kind of vision.

A Two-Way Street

True integration should be a two-way street, but a survey of who rides the shuttle bus between SA-44 and Main State underscores the lopsidedness of the relationship. Public diplomacy officers within the geographic bureaus, tied down with that work known throughout the department as “substantive,” are reluctant to make the trek across town to serve on ECA panels determining how millions of dollars will be spent on university or other partnership programs. The Regional Program Office in Vienna, a major public diplomacy asset for over 50 years, is on the verge of being sacrificed to the department's need to find occupants for a large facility near Frankfurt. Other public diplomacy centers and programs find themselves having to justify their space and costs against criteria that often elevate short-term needs at the expense of long-term goals. When programmatic push comes to administrative shove, there is no bureau to stand up for the public diplomacy function as, for example, the Bureau of Consular Affairs does for its programs and offices.

Public affairs officers in the field report that much of their time is now devoted to internal issues instead of programs that build understanding.

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“You spend half your time talking to people inside the mission and the other half talking to Washington; there’s no time left for talking to the local audiences that we’re trying to reach,” notes one PAO.

This administrative burden, combined with the fact that PD officers have no true home bureau to turn to, makes inhospitable ground for growing creative ideas. When an embassy’s front office tells a PAO not to send a media reaction cable, censors a speaker program, or insists that an international visitor grant be given to serve the purposes of short-term expediency, public diplomacy is subverted. Under USIA, PAOs had the option of appealing to a headquarters office back in Washington. With public diplomacy responsibilities now fragmented and no central authority to coordinate priorities, this possibility

Public diplomacy today usually seems to be an afterthought, the last refuge when all else fails.

has virtually disappeared.

When internal chain-of-command duties are given top priority, field work suffers. Although the results of this neglect may not be obvious immediately, eventually our relationships with host country publics weaken. Sure, it would be better if an American officer accompanied the

performing arts group outside the capital, we rationalize, but the front office wants me here, and the programs will go on anyway. We establish a dozen new American Corners, but can’t spare American officers to visit them. And yet, if the most important part of public diplomacy is to carry our message that last three feet, then we need to be out there, rather than in here.

Strong field work benefits from good coordination and support in Washington. Consular sections that encounter problems in the field follow Bureau of Consular Affairs instructions to “phone home and let us try to help.” Neither ECA or IIP can offer similar aid to PAOs, nor would the regional bureaus be happy if they did. Certainly none of the three under secretaries for public diplomacy and public affairs — with tenures ranging from six to 18 months — has offered any such assistance or support for the troops in the field.

Five years after consolidation, it is clear that State accepted USIA’s resources but took away the independence and authority that public diplomacy needs to thrive as anything but a supporting actor on the foreign policy stage. Its functions are now scattered through many parts of the department. The program bureaus — ECA and IIP — stand as isolated outposts that turn out PD products but are rarely visited by inhabitants of the Truman Building of any rank.

The patient has survived, by becoming more and more like the other inhabitants of the ward. This is not the way it was supposed to be. ■

Bea Camp is consul general in Chiang Mai, Thailand. After joining USIA in 1983 she served in China, Thailand, Sweden, Hungary and Washington, D.C. Since 1999 she has worked in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs and the Bureau of International Information Programs.

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EUROPE WILL BE DISAPPOINTED — NO MATTER THE OUTCOME

IF EUROPEANS HAD A VOTE IN THE U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, GEORGE W. BUSH WOULD LOSE IN A LANDSLIDE AGAINST ANY CANDIDATE.

BY MATTHIAS RUEB

Sooner or later they will all be disappointed. The vast majority of Europeans, that is, will be disappointed by the results of the U.S. presidential election of Nov. 2, 2004 — no matter what the outcome. For them there is only the difference between an immediate, deeply shocking disappointment and a delayed sort of creeping disenchantment. It is difficult to judge which would be worse for them, which would do even more harm to relations with their closest political and military ally of the last half-century.

The shocking, even stunning disappointment for most Europeans would be the re-election of George W. Bush. When asked by friends and colleagues from Germany and other European countries who will win the presidential election later this year, I reply that it is impossible to predict because the race between President Bush and Democratic candidate John Kerry is so close and the country so evenly divided between the opposing political camps. This answer leaves them incredulous, and my guess that the president, as the incumbent, might still be in a slightly better position to win the race adds a certain degree of despair to their confusion: How can this possibly be the case, they wonder? Their disbelief has a foun-

ation. Were Europeans to participate in the decision-making process on who should be the “leader of the free world,” President Bush would lose in a landslide against any candidate.

Even in 2000, the majority of Europeans were hardly able to grasp how the American people could elect a man president of the United States whom they regarded as a gun-slinging cowboy. No other U.S. president since Ronald Reagan has been so deeply disliked and mistrusted in Europe as George W. Bush has been since he assumed office in January 2001.

Expecting an Apology

The invasion of Iraq in March 2003 seemed to prove how irresponsible and dangerous the man is: How could he dare — after the Europeans willingly had backed the toppling of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan because of its cooperation with the al-Qaida terrorist network and Osama bin Laden — to squander the deep sympathies everybody felt with the victim of the terrorist attacks of 9/11? German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder won re-election in September 2002, after trailing his conservative opponent Edmund Stoiber badly in all polls for months, solely because of his opposition to the Iraq “adventure” that the American president was about to plunge the U.S. and its Western allies into. According to all polls, about

Matthias Rueb is Washington bureau chief for the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung.

F O C U S

nine in 10 Germans remain convinced that the invasion of Iraq and the deposing of dictator Saddam Hussein were wrong, unjustified and unnecessary.

Almost everybody who opposed the invasion of Iraq in the first place is expecting a kind of apology for this “war of choice” that, in their perspective, fueled terrorism instead of fighting it. But the president and the members of his “war cabinet” are far from being prepared to backpaddle. That is why, from a European perspective, the best apology for this wrong war would be a crushing defeat of George W. Bush at the ballot box on Nov. 2. Yes, most Europeans really are waiting for an apology — if not one presented by the current administration, then (perhaps even more appropriate) one given by the American people who, alongside the vast majority of their elected officials in Congress, backed an invasion of Iraq that was

No other U.S. president since Ronald Reagan has been so deeply disliked and mistrusted in Europe as George W. Bush.

based on false premises. Europeans feel vindicated by the unfolding events in Iraq, with almost daily attacks on coalition forces, infighting between Shiite factions and, last but not least, the unsuccessful search for weapons of mass destruction: “We knew it from the beginning, and now it’s time for you to give in and to confess that you were wrong!”

It is not by chance that recent polls in Europe show that the opinion of the U.S. is at a historic low point. More striking, these polls show that the U.S. is no longer regarded as a strong partner who is protecting its allies against common threats, but, on the contrary, is considered a growing threat to its own partners. The best protection against Islamist terrorism would be to disassociate from the U.S. instead of committing to the common fight or war against terrorism: That is the lesson many Europeans have drawn from the Madrid bombing

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of March 11, 2004.

Those ever-growing hostile feelings toward the U.S. are very much personalized; they are considered to be anti-Bush and not anti-American. One would hardly find any European who admits openly that he opposes the U.S. just because the only remaining superpower is too strong and should not be allowed to “rule the world” and instead ought to face an emerging counter-power — regardless of what is at stake in Iraq and elsewhere. But French President Jacques Chirac is doing just that in threatening a veto against any involvement of NATO in Iraq under a U.N. mandate, even though Paris backed the last U.N. Security Council resolution in June 2004 that established the U.S.-led Multinational Force for Iraq and reiterated the U.N.’s “leading role in assisting the Iraqi people and government in the formation of institutions for representative government.” The U.S. under President Bush is regarded as a democratic hegemon. But being first and foremost a hegemon, the U.S. is to be confronted — and cannot be trusted simply because it is also one of the oldest and most successful democracies in history.

Crazy for Kerry

The widespread misconception among Europeans that Pres. Bush is the main or even only culprit responsible for America’s alleged new unilateralism and hegemonic foreign policy is paired with a romantic view of the candidate who is supposed to unseat the “wild man” in the White House. In Germany alone, there are at least four biographies of John Kerry available — mostly originally and hastily written for the German-speaking public and not just translations of the many books on Kerry published in the U.S. Those books have titles like *John Kerry – America’s Chance*, and portray the Democratic candidate as the last, best hope for Europeans, the transatlantic relationship and the world as a whole. Never before has there been such a flood of publications in Europe about a single American presidential candidate, and never before have most of the authors so wholeheartedly sung such praise of a politician instead of critically reviewing the man, his biography and his convictions. Critical judgment has given way to wishful thinking.

The same is true for polls taken in Europe, where usually more than two-thirds are convinced that Kerry will easily defeat Bush — for no other reason than that most people want to see this change in the White House. Unlike the broad presentation of peacenik-and-later-sen-

ator-turned-Vietnam-veteran Kerry’s life, his and the Democratic Party’s recent positions on national security and the war on terror are merely reported in Europe. Even though Kerry and other major speakers at the Democratic National Convention in Boston reiterated that America is at war against terrorism and that this new kind of war might take decades to fight and win; even though the Democratic platform is at least as “strong” as the Republican on national security, and as uncompromising as Pres. Bush in never ceding the decision to go to war to defend the national interest to any foreign country or international organization like the U.N., most Europeans tend to believe that the transatlantic relationship will be miraculously repaired as soon as John Kerry is elected president. They are even told so by some of their political leaders, who promise them that everything will be fine once George W. Bush is ousted.

This is not only unrealistic but irresponsible. In order to heal the wounds caused not only by the conflict over the war in Iraq, but by the post-Cold War divergence within the Western alliance, it is of paramount importance to come to grips with the conflicting interests Europeans and Americans have today and will develop in the future. For example, while it is part of the political consensus in the U.S. that America is at war against international terrorism and faces a challenge that is similar to that of fighting and finally defeating communism in the Cold War, Javier Solana, foreign policy chief for the European Union, told a German newspaper recently that “Europe is not at war.”

Likewise, American opposition to international treaties like the Kyoto Protocol and international organizations like the International Criminal Court has little to do with party affiliation or who is residing in the White House, but is part of a broad political consensus in the U.S. that was and is reflected by the voting record of Congress.

These conflicts between Europeans and Americans will, of course, persist even under a President Kerry, so should he really be elected, the disappointment of many Europeans might be even deeper than it would be in the case of a second term for George W. Bush. Being disappointed when your favorite candidate is not elected or when, in the case of his election victory, he later behaves as one would not have wished might be naïve, but it is not a political sin. But to close one’s eyes in the face of realities one doesn’t like is a political sin, and makes the path to resolving deeply-rooted conflicts all the more rocky and difficult. ■

THE ARAB STREET IS WATCHING

T LIKE AMERICANS, ARABS ARE DIVIDED OVER THE CHOICE BETWEEN BUSH AND KERRY. THEY KNOW THE WINNER WILL PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN RESHAPING THE REGION'S FUTURE.

BY SALAMEH NEMATT

The U.S. has never been more involved in the Middle East than it is today. Both on the military and national-security levels, and in the political and economic spheres, Washington is, by far, the leading player and power broker in this perpetually volatile part of the world.

Since 9/11, the U.S. has used force to overthrow two hostile regimes in that region: the Taliban in Afghanistan, and Saddam Hussein in Iraq. And, apart from using its military prowess and political influence to shape the future of these two countries, the U.S. has used its international clout to launch an ambitious project aimed at democratizing 20 Arab states in the region, from Morocco to the Persian Gulf. The Broader Middle East and North Africa Initiative, adopted at the G-8 summit in Sea Island last June, is viewed in the region as an American attempt at achieving a series of "regime changes" by non-military means in the heart of the Arab world. The prospect has arguably "terrorized" many dictatorships and authoritarian regimes throughout the Middle East, perhaps even more than the U.S. application of brutal military force in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Salameh Nematt is Washington bureau chief of the London-based, pan-Arab international newspaper Al-Hayat.

Some of these regimes are already active in Iraq in an attempt to bog down American forces to keep the U.S. "monster" from moving farther into the region. Syria, which is strategically allied with Iran, has made no secret that it hopes to give America a bloody nose in Iraq to stymie its regional ambitions. Other Arab states, such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Jordan, have been more subtle in their resistance to American plans — showing outward diplomatic cooperation, while escalating anti-American propaganda in their state-run media.

Amman and Cairo, in particular, feel they need to walk a fine line in view of generous annual U.S. economic and military aid grants. Others, especially the Persian Gulf Arab states, have shown more reluctance to go along with American plans, hoping Washington would eventually abandon its "forward strategy" in the Middle East.

Whether the Bush administration used the attacks of 9/11 to overthrow the Taliban to build oil and gas pipelines linking Caspian Sea reserves with hot Asian markets through Afghanistan, or whether it did so to try to bring international terrorists to justice, people of the region remain dubious about American intentions. When America moved next to overthrow Saddam Hussein's regime, people and governments in the Arab world, though very few had any sympathy for the brutal Iraqi dictator, became more and more convinced that the U.S.,

the world's largest consumer of energy, was mainly after oil. They argued that Washington is more concerned with controlling Iraq's oil holdings, which make up 11 percent of the world's reserves, in order to dictate future global oil policies and pricing, than in liberating an oppressed people or ridding Iraq of weapons of mass destruction.

A Choice Between Coke and Pepsi

America's support for Israel, despite its violation of dozens of U.N. Security Council resolutions related to its continuing occupation of Palestinian territories and oppression of the Palestinian people, has made it even more difficult for fellow Arabs to believe that the U.S. has any good intentions in the Middle East. Conspiracy theories abound regarding Washington's plans, but frustration and resignation remain the dominant themes.

The "Arab street" (the term used to refer to regional public opinion) briefly hoped for a "regime change" in the White House that would bring about a more balanced and credible approach to Middle East problems. This was most true while Howard Dean was (briefly) the front-runner for the Democratic nomination, running on a strong anti-war plank. But once he was forced out of the race and John Kerry cruised to the nomination, those hopes rapidly faded. (Even Ohio Congressman Dennis Kucinich, the most outspoken opponent of the war, abandoned his position at the Democratic Convention to back Kerry.)

Arabs note with disquiet that both Kerry and his running mate, Senator John Edwards of North Carolina, voted in October 2002 for the congressional resolution authorizing Bush to attack Iraq. Both also voted in favour of the Patriot Act. That measure, under the guise of fighting the "war on terror," gives the CIA, FBI and other police agencies unprecedented powers to spy on the American public, particularly Muslims and Arab-Americans, and to override constitutionally protected civil liberties.

Then the Democratic National Convention, which people in the Arab world thought might show the difference between the two main political parties in America, failed to offer an alternative to the Bush administration's

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policies on two of the most critical issues for the Arab world: Iraq and Palestine. In his acceptance speech, Kerry seemed to go out of his way to stress his support for the occupation of Iraq and the crushing of the anti-U.S. insurgency, mainly criticizing Bush for not deploying more troops. He has also repeatedly proclaimed his support for the war on terror and the doctrine of pre-emptive war, which is the centerpiece of the Bush administration's policy of using military force to topple unwanted governments.

Even this late in the election campaign, there does not seem to be any serious debate on the ongoing war and occupation of Iraq. And adding insult to injury, the Democratic Party seems very active in trying to oust independent presidential candidate Ralph Nader from the race. Nader, who is an Arab-American of Lebanese origin, opposes the war in Iraq and has called for a balanced U.S. policy toward the Arab-Israeli conflict.

As a result, most Arab observers see the choice between Bush and Kerry — at least on Mideast issues — as amounting to the difference between Pepsi and Coca-Cola.

Much Is at Stake

It is important to bear in mind that the Arab people and their non-democratic governments have different reasons for opposing U.S. policies. The regimes — especially the ruling families themselves — are concerned above all with their own survival, so they are highly critical of the U.S. for pressuring them to democratize. By contrast, the people of the region are hostile toward America for *not* fulfilling its promise to bring democracy to the region, and for continuing to support both authoritarian regimes and Israel's occupation of Palestinian lands.

Still, beleaguered reform elements within Arab societies, who are convinced that the transformation to democracy in their countries cannot be achieved without outside help, cling to the hope that America, regardless of who wins the elections in November, will pursue the proclaimed "forward strategy for reform and democracy" in the Middle East. True, many have been disillusioned by the U.S. performance in Iraq so far, and by Washington's

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unwavering, bipartisan support for the government of Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. But they are alert for signs that the Broader Middle East and North Africa Initiative, backed by the European Union and other industrialized powers, will eventually come to fruition.

Betting the other way, Osama bin Laden's al-Qaida terrorist organization is said to be preparing major attacks on U.S. soil, possibly on the eve of the November elections, in an attempt to repeat the success of its March bombing in Madrid, which appears to have precipitated the ruling party's defeat. They are also reportedly working with local insurgents and supporters of former dictator Saddam Hussein, in the belief that America cannot tolerate too many casualties among its forces, and would thus vote against the administration that put these troops in harm's way. If that is true, then for the first time since World War II, foreign countries and extremist groups have become players in the U.S. presidential elections, with most external forces hoping for a "regime change" that would alter the global

dynamic that started on Sept. 11, 2001.

Like Americans themselves, then, Arabs are divided between those who believe they're better off with a second Bush administration and those who prefer a Democratic president, with those favoring a change in the majority. But they all know that whoever will occupy the White House next will play a major role in reshaping the future of the Middle East, for better or worse. American success in establishing an Arab democracy in the Middle East could help spread reform and democratization in the entire region.

In contrast, a failure of the American reconstruction and stabilization of Iraq would give rise to the dark forces of extremism who are now active in trying to abort the U.S. effort. It would also encourage undemocratic regimes throughout the region to stand firm in resisting pressure to liberalize.

All this makes the American presidential election this year the most important in many years for the people and governments of the Middle East. ■

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IN SOUTH AFRICA, KEEN INTEREST

THE STRONG SOUTH AFRICAN INTEREST IN THE CAMPAIGN IS LARGELY DRIVEN BY RISING ANTI-BUSH AND ANTI-U.S. SENTIMENT.

BY DEON LAMPRECHT

In my mind's eye, I see a picture of a 6-year-old boy wearing a mock suicide bomber's vest. The haunting image was captured during a recent march in Johannesburg that was organized by Muslims and other groups protesting Israeli and U.S. policy in the Middle East. Splashed on the front page of every major South African newspaper, it caused unease in a country which has been bloodied since 1998 by the Muslim vigilante movement People Against Gangsterism and Drugs, which is loosely allied with Qibla, an Iranian-inspired group.

Analysts are quick to point out such militant statements are not representative of the majority view in South Africa. But it does serve to illustrate a significant interest here in the 2004 battle for the White House that is driven to a large degree, I'm obliged to point out, by a rising anti-Bush and anti-U.S. sentiment.

In the past, most South Africans have followed American presidents like they do British royalty. The memory of John F. Kennedy is still celebrated here; Reagan is fondly recalled as the "Hollywood president;" and the warm relationship between Bill Clinton and Nelson Mandela evokes nostalgia. Of course, they love the scandals, too: Kennedy's trysts with the likes of Marilyn

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Monroe, Nancy Reagan's tantrums and, best of all, the Monica Lewinsky affair.

Then came the 2000 election. South Africans, who are rightly proud of the way they defied doomsday prophets by avoiding a bloody civil war and pulling off a peaceful democratic transition, were scandalized by the vote-counting fiasco in Florida. But they had no real problem with the winner, as Al Gore was considered to be even more boring than the previously unknown George W. Bush. At least "Dubya" gave the world the gift of "Bushisms," so South Africans warmed to him slightly.

Bush's Unilateralism vs. Kerry's Multilateralism

As horrified South Africans watched the fall of the Twin Towers on their television screens three years ago, their hearts bled. They rallied behind the U.S., as did the rest of the world. But the events that followed that terrible day were to change their view of Bush permanently. At first they merely bristled at what they perceived to be his cowboy-like arrogance, but the war in Iraq brought outright hostility on the part of a majority of South Africans.

South African analysts concur that there is an unusual degree of interest in the Bush/Kerry contest among the intellectual and political elite this year.

Sampie Terreblanche, political economist and profes-

sor emeritus of the University of Stellenbosch, puts it starkly: "The world cannot endure another four years of George Bush in the White House." The gray-haired, outspoken Terreblanche, who as an Afrikaner academic did the unthinkable by breaking ranks with the apartheid regime in the 1980s and entering into secret negotiations with the banned African National Congress, admits he only reflects the views of the liberal intellectuals he consorts with. "But everyone I talk to is deeply hostile towards Bush. Who knows what he's going to do next if he's re-elected?"

Nor is it just Bush's unilateralism that concerns Terreblanche. "It's the neocons around him, people like Paul Wolfowitz, who want to use American power to shape the world the way they see it. People like Dick Cheney and Donald Rumsfeld, who are the worst of capitalists and ideologues." Like many secular intellectuals, he is also uncomfortable with the way Bush carries his religion on his sleeve.

Henry Jeffreys, political journalist and president of the South African National Editors' Forum, agrees with Terreblanche, but sees another motivation at work. "There's a great interest in this year's race among the establishment elite. The South African media have been following the process pretty closely. But so far it has been personality-driven. This has not been about John Kerry; it has been about Bush, his lone-cowboy stance."

He adds that South Africans remember the controversial 2000 election and wonder whether it is going to happen again this time. Teresa Heinz Kerry is another factor, getting good play in the media because of her Mozambican and South African background, and her outspoken nature.

Jeffreys does not believe that South Africa and the present American administration are natural partners. "South Africa tries very hard to fit into the foreign policy role the U.S. wants it to play, but Bush's 'go it alone' attitude makes it difficult." He notes that the country is proud of the fact it managed to negotiate a peaceful end to apartheid. And in the view of Jeffreys and other analysts, that accomplishment is integral to President Thabo Mbeki's foreign policy, which is based on solving problems through international partnerships while respecting the sovereignty of other countries. "In other words, Kerry's multilateralism is more in line with the South African vision," Jeffreys says.

But not every prominent South African shares

Terreblanche's strong views, nor do they believe interest in the presidential race is as intense as he portrays it.

Patricia de Lille is a grass-roots politician if ever there was one. Tough as nails, she is an independent crusader against government corruption, a champion in the fight against HIV/AIDS and a fierce protector of women and children. De Lille, who as a "Colored" member of parliament enjoys electoral support across racial divides, thinks there is no real interest in the American contest at the public level in South Africa. "People watch it on television, but to most it's just another grand American spectacle with brass bands and balloons. They don't see it as something that touches their life."

Always one to frown on lavish expenditure, as somebody fighting for South Africa's poor, de Lille is particularly disgusted by the amount of money Americans spend on campaigning. She also believes Democrats and Republicans have converged politically to the degree that there is little to choose from between them. "There's no activism in American politics anymore," says de Lille, who has been given the freedom medal awarded by the city of Birmingham, Ala. "We South Africans can teach them to count ballots," she adds.

A senior South African diplomat who served in Washington, D.C., for many years offers yet another view. "Ordinary people in South Africa, the vast majority of whom are desperately poor, face a daily battle to survive. They may have an opinion on the U.S. one way or the other, but they have no time to worry about who ends up in the Oval Office."

Not Anti-American

Professor Adam Habib, executive director of the democracy and governance research program of the Human Sciences Research Council in Pretoria, disagrees that the South African political establishment universally opposes Bush. "I have heard from powerful people who believe a conservative White House is better for South Africa. Citing Bush's \$15-billion HIV/AIDS plan, the Millennium Challenge Account, and his \$60-million plan to support training of African peacekeeping forces, Habib notes their belief that "Bush has done more for the fight against AIDS and poverty than Clinton and all his rhetoric ever did."

Rather than ideology, Habib says South Africa's main concern is what future concessions it will get from whoever wins the election. "Will the next U.S. administration

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increase [funding] for the AIDS battle? Will there be more trade concessions and market access? Will the U.S. be forceful in the Sudan?"

In any case, anti-U.S. sentiments among South Africa's black majority predate Bush, Habib says. Many people believe the demise of apartheid would have come about much sooner if the U.S. had taken a more forceful stand against the now-defunct National Party. "Anti-Bush sentiments are relatively new and cut across racial lines," he notes. He maintains that, in general, black South Africans are more comfortable with a Democratic administration in Washington. Nelson Mandela, although no longer president of South Africa, remains a godlike figure, and his condemnation of Bush has helped shape South African views of the presidential incumbent. The exceptions are mostly white right-wingers and religious conservatives, who identify with Bush's views on abortion and gay marriage.

Henry Jeffreys also cautions that South African animosity toward Bush should not be seen as anti-Americanism. "People still see ordinary Americans as nice people. We

embrace so much of the American culture ... blue jeans, hip-hop. We like and emulate all that is good about America." And he points out that, "No matter who is in the White House, South Africa has to do business with the U.S." The country is keenly aware that whoever occupies the White House will influence the extent of U.S. engagement on issues like trade, the fight against HIV/AIDS and support for African peacekeeping missions.

Finally, South Africans are also keen on somebody in the White House who will loosen U.S. immigration policies, which were tightened after 9/11. About 40 percent of South Africans are jobless and many more are working poor. That, combined with the resultant high rate of violent crime, is driving many professionals to seek a better economic future in the U.S. When it comes to the survival of their families, many South Africans will jump at the chance to swear allegiance to the American flag, no matter what they think of whoever is leading the country.

So rest assured, South Africa will be tuned in to the news on Nov. 2. ■

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IN RUSSIA: THE KREMLIN VS. THE PEOPLE

THE KREMLIN'S PICK IN THE U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WOULD BE QUITE THE OPPOSITE OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE'S CHOICE.

BY DMITRY SIDOROV

If Russians could vote in the upcoming U.S. presidential elections, the consensus would be a strong condemnation of both candidates but, if pushed to choose, a stronger rejection of George Bush. This choice, in my view, represents a rejection of the Kremlin and its pro-Bush political preferences and, at the same time, an affirmation of its anti-American propaganda operation, which dominates domestic TV and the major print media.

The majority of Russians are not actually interested in the U.S. election results; they view the contest, at best, as an amusing distraction from their constant struggle for survival, not as an example of how free and democratic choices should be made.

Russia is not like other countries, such as India, where the middle class eagerly awaits the results of the November election, trying to figure out what the new or re-elected U.S. president would do in regard to the job-outsourcing issue. It is more like Brazil, in that the majority of its residents are more concerned with making ends meet than with faraway elections that have no immediate or discernable influence on their daily struggles.

The growing anti-American sentiment in Russia is a reflection of current U.S.-Russian relations, the decline of

the Russian role in the international arena, and the Kremlin's successful and widely popular nationalistic rhetoric about Russian superiority.

A U.S.-Russian Partnership?

Official pronouncements notwithstanding, in terms of economic ties America and Russia could be described as distant relatives, at most. The United States' declared interest in Russia's vast energy resources is not proportional to the actual penetration of American business in this field, and merely confirms the Kremlin's assessment that the U.S. needs Russia more than Russia needs America. It is clear that Russia is leaning toward Europe, as demonstrated by its trade balance. Major European states like France, Germany and Italy are at the top of the list of Russia's trading partners, while the U.S. is at the bottom.

Maybe this context explains why the two countries call each other partners without bothering to explain to their citizens what this partnership is about. Is there really anything to explain?

Right after Vladimir Putin's March 2004 re-election and the subsequent substantial changes in the Russian government — which are still in progress at this writing in mid-August — I asked a high-ranking U.S. official about his expectations for the Russian government. "We do not know who we should be talking to in the Kremlin," this offi-

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cial responded. "We are tired of signing documents that Russians are not willing to implement."

The Kremlin sees this situation from quite a different angle. "We would do almost anything to stop U.S. political and economic expansion within Russia and in the areas of our vital interests," a Russian Foreign Ministry official told me last summer, before I left to take up a post as the Washington correspondent for a major Russian newspaper.

Although definitely not willing to engage in a direct confrontation with the U.S., the Kremlin is trying hard to convince the Russian people that it can stand up to the imagined U.S. threat. In the Kremlin's view, this "toughness" should serve as verification to the Russians that their nation's strength, last experienced in the old Soviet Union, has been revived.

Nationalist Revival

The latest twist in Russian policy is the government's notion that it should revitalize the idea of Russia as a great power, to convince its people that every nation in the world must take their motherland seriously. "Russian nationalism is agitated by concerns that America's global might, both military and economic, threatens to erode a distinctively Russian identity," Paul Starobin notes in the *National Journal* ("The Rise of Nationalism," July 3). "Nationalism is emerging both as a political tool by which strongman ruler Vladimir Putin aims to unite disoriented society and as a grass-roots movement by chauvinists bent on remaking Russia along ethnic lines."

In my view, this is another example of what I call a "post-imperial phantom limb." It is a substitute for a genuine national idea. Although the Kremlin claims the moves toward renewed authoritarianism and government monopoly have been necessary "to clean up the mess left by Yeltsin and the reformists," these changes in Russian foreign and domestic policy seem to me to be a huge step backward, toward the old Soviet ideology.

"Russia is not ready for real democracy," a member of Putin's team whispered into a Washington expert's ear a few months ago, explaining the need for an "iron fist" policy. The new policy is returning the Russian press and society to the never-really-forgotten, anti-American propaganda disseminated for many years over the vast Soviet territory. The major Russian TV channels, which are directly or indirectly government-owned, have uniform coverage of the U.S. It is blamed for almost every problem on the face of the planet. This was more true than ever when I

visited Moscow in June.

In short, those Russians who are interested in the U.S. elections, would likely "vote" against both candidates. If given a second chance, Russians would, I believe, punch their voting cards for John Kerry — thanks to the government-promulgated propaganda that portrays George Bush as a unilateral warmonger.

Senator Kerry is viewed as somebody who has a potential to stop the U.S. from implementing what Russians see as the new world order based on the current White House rules of the game. Slogans for health insurance and education for everybody and war as a last resort, combined with Kerry's military background and his anti-Vietnam war views look appealing. Mr. Kerry's inconsistent Senate voting record as portrayed by the Bush-Cheney campaign does not bother the average Russian. He knows that, like a Duma member, an American legislator could have many reasons for changing his position on specific issues.

Still, not without reason, Russians would tend to see the Kerry-Bush competition as a fight between two camps of wealthy people hungry for power. They have learned tough lessons during the short history of "free" election campaigns in Russia, where nobody and nothing could have stopped the buck from becoming a major player in the Kremlin's hunt for power.

Regrettably, no polls have been conducted to test my theory. If such polls were conducted, it would be more informative to take the pulse of people in rural Russia, rather than in big cities like Moscow, St. Petersburg or Novosibirsk, where better living conditions and higher educational levels allow at least some people to distinguish the political apples and oranges.

Behind the Red Wall

Strange as it may sound, the Kremlin's choice in the U.S. presidential elections would be quite the opposite of the Russian people. I have a feeling that President Putin himself would vote for President Bush, if he could.

Despite the fact that U.S.-Russian relations are going nowhere — or maybe because of that — the current occupants of the White House are acceptable to their counterparts behind the Red Wall. The Kremlin is mildly irritated by the U.S. government's tepid complaints in regard to human rights issues, freedom of the press and religion, the war in Chechnya, and the suppression of the business community, but that is about the extent of its concern.

Meanwhile, former Senator Bob Dole was perhaps the

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first heavyweight U.S. politician to call attention to what is actually happening in Russia. Said Dole, in a June 16 *Financial Times* op-ed: "The return to authoritarian policies and unconstitutional processes has already begun to undermine the historic leap that Russia took when the Soviet system was pushed aside 13 years ago. Russia is at a crucial crossroads and must make a historic decision about its future path." Dole was reacting to the situation with the Russian oil giant Yukos, and the crisis within the business community in Russia provoked by the arrest of its founder, Mikhail Khodorkovsky.

This situation has taken several further turns, as of this writing. On July 28 the Russian court ordered Yukos to stop production in Russia, sending oil prices on the New York Stock Exchange to a 21-year record of \$43 per barrel (until the Kremlin called off the stop order 24 hours later). On the same day, Igor Sechin, President Putin's close friend, adviser and first deputy head of the presidential administration, was made chairman of the board of Rosneft, currently the sixth-largest oil producer in Russia.

As my newspaper, *Kommersant*, reported, "The first steps of Rosneft in its new capacity are expected to be linked with solving of the main political and economic problem at present: the final disposal of Yukos." Kremlin sources do not deny that Putin's administration is trying to create a monster state oil and gas company, and that its acquisition of the Yukos producing subdivisions may be a good start. "We do not know what will happen with any of us tomorrow," one Russian tycoon told me. "We should carry on and hope for the best."

America Too Busy to Notice

But America is too busy with wars in Iraq and Afghanistan to notice those changes. And the Kremlin believes that its problems in the war against terror will keep the U.S. busy for years. Russia feels it is one of the few beneficiaries of this war: the bigger the mess in the Middle East, the higher oil prices will go.

Thus, with Bush in the White House, the Kremlin feels safe enough to reshuffle the bureaucratic deck, merely

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pretending to change the government structure, and to sell those changes to the people as if they were essential reforms. This explains the recent adjustments to the FSB's (formerly KGB) status that will bring it greater control over different departments within the Russian government and increase the monitoring of citizens' everyday activities.

What government in its right mind would like to change this sweet situation? Despite Putin's and Kerry's common enthusiasm for downhill skiing, the Kremlin understands that the Democrats have concerns regarding a variety of issues in Russia. I have been told that Kerry's foreign policy advisers have already presented a strong case for their "Kremlin-bothering strategy" to some Washington experts.

Kerry's promise to create alliances and bring the U.N. to the Iraqi table, though in my view hard to achieve, would not necessarily prevent his administration from bringing this kind of pressure to bear on Moscow. So Putin probably understands that the Democrats who are writing op-eds criticizing him today may be sitting in the White

House in January.

Regardless of the election outcome, Russia's relentless anti-American propaganda offensive isn't likely to stop any time soon. Bashing the United States is a useful substitute for essential reforms. The first set of reforms needed to set Russia on a new course are very basic: to honestly tell Russians that their country is in bad shape, and to suggest a national idea that means something to the average citizen. This, in my view, would require a totally different approach by those in power.

The cynicism of the Kremlin's foreign and domestic policy during 13 years of stunted Russian democracy, under Boris Yeltsin and Vladimir Putin alike, has taught the Russian people that its promises have no meaning whatsoever, and even more that it has become synonymous with corruption.

So, by analogy, to most Russians the U.S. presidential election is not about the conflict between two sets of ideals, or even ideologies. It is simply a clash of opposing gangs, a turf battle like they are used to seeing at home. ■

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TWO DEMOCRACIES, SHARED CHALLENGES

INDONESIANS WANT A CHANGE IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY BECAUSE THEY BELIEVE THIS CHANGE WILL REVERBERATE IN DOMESTIC INDONESIAN POLITICS.

By DINI DJALAL

A decade ago, as a student in London, I would often meet Indonesians who would ask me why I had not chosen to study in the U.S. The pro-American sentiment followed me on my return to Indonesia soon thereafter. American brands were wildly popular, as were holidays in the U.S. Parents aspired to ship off their teenagers to U.S. high schools and colleges. The American embassy in Jakarta and its staff were seen as a positive presence, a window to the world.

Fast forward 10 years: The embassy in Jakarta is now a veritable fortress, obscured by barbed wire from the regular band of protesters demonstrating against “American colonialism” or “U.S. hegemony.” Parents of children who could not obtain return-entry to the U.S. are enrolling them in Australian schools. Vacationers, too, look to other locales, as tourist visas to the U.S. take months to process. Now, when I explain to Indonesians that I live in the United States, they look at me not with envy, but with pity and concern.

So much has changed since 9/11!

Dini Djalal, of Jakarta and Washington, D.C., writes for the Indonesian newsweekly Tempo and its daily newspaper, Koran Tempo. She is also producing an independent documentary that compares the elections in the United States and in Indonesia.

Two Countries, Two Democracies

2004 is an election year for both the U.S. and Indonesia. But the similarities do not end there. Superlatives often accompany descriptions of U.S. democracy, “the world’s oldest” being the most oft-repeated. But superlatives also suit Indonesia’s fledgling democracy. With some 150 million eligible voters, Indonesia is the world’s third-largest democracy, and the world’s largest Muslim democracy.

If you factor in voter turnout, Indonesia easily becomes the world’s second-largest democracy, after India. Consider the numbers: during the 1999 elections, the country’s first free vote in four decades, voter turnout was in excess of 90 percent — the highest in recent world history, according to the Asia Foundation.

Indonesia may be coming late to democratic politics, but the country is on a rapid learning curve, and may soon teach its peers a thing or two about free and fair elections. Indonesians rich and poor, young and old, long insecure about the strides they’ve made in democratization, are increasingly making this observation.

Take the 42-year-old administrator of a quiet Jakarta hamlet, Suyatno (who, like many Indonesians, uses just one name). Underneath a makeshift tarpaulin tent on a sweltering July day, he joined dozens of neighbors as they patiently watched the counting of votes in the country’s first direct presidential elections. Aware that I was making a

documentary comparing U.S. and Indonesian elections, Suyatno lamented, “Indonesian elections must seem backward compared to American polls. We vote under plastic tents and count the votes with pen and paper!”

I felt compelled to remind him of the 2000 election in the U.S. There, I explained, the winner is decided by an electoral college, not by the total number of popular votes. Stepping back, Suyatno replied: “That’s democracy?”

Indeed, after years debating and formulating the shape of the current presidential polls — in which voters are given a single, non-transferable vote — politicians and academics are thinking twice about the U.S. being the democracy to emulate. They decided against having legislators choose a president; instead, they gave that choice back to ordinary citizens. Hadi Soesastro, head of a Jakarta think-tank, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, says of the U.S. electoral college: “Compared to our own elections, where we elect the president directly, the U.S. system now looks very antiquated.”

Disbelief is also a standard reaction when Indonesians are told that only half of America’s population votes during presidential elections, and even fewer during legislative elections. “If so few Americans vote, why should we copy the U.S. model?” asks Riyanti, a student at the University of Indonesia. Riyanti had long regarded the U.S. as an exemplary electoral system. Now she is not so sure.

A Vote for Multilateralism

If many Indonesians are still learning about the weaknesses about the U.S. electoral process, they have clearer opinions about American foreign policy — and how the upcoming presidential poll can change its direction.

Most vehement amongst Indonesians eager for a change in leadership in the U.S. are those who spent many years living there. They are not just nostalgic for the America of their yesteryear. Indonesians want a change in U.S. foreign policy because they believe this change will reverberate in domestic Indonesian politics.

Harvard University graduate Daniel Budiman, 37, for example, is a Christian concerned about recent religious conflict in Indonesia. He worries that the current military operations in Iraq do not help efforts to “win the hearts and minds of the Islamic world,” including in Indonesia. Budiman would like to see Democratic Party presidential candidate John Kerry in the White House because he believes Kerry shares his goals of multilateralism — and that these goals would impact religious harmony at home. Says

the investment banker: “Another four years (of President George W. Bush and Vice-President Dick Cheney) would be destructive to the U.S. and to the world.”

Indeed, as militancy rises in pockets of Indonesia, the country’s moderate Muslim majority fears that external conflicts will fuel internal discord. Protests by Indonesian Islamic groups against U.S. military operations in Iraq are commonplace. Umar Juoro, an economist at the Center for International and Development Studies, an Islamic think-tank, believes that resentment against the Bush administration’s Middle East policy is mounting among Indonesians, turning moderate Muslims into hard-liners. Boston University graduate Juoro prefers John Kerry’s promises of multilateralism, specifically the involvement of more Muslim countries in solving the region’s problems. “Muslims know how to deal with other Muslims. We need to be included more in those issues,” says Juoro.

“Issues” and “problems” are code words for another foreign policy juggernaut that has a direct bearing on Indonesia: terrorism. Indonesia has thrice been a victim of major terrorist attacks: a 2002 bombing in Bali killed 202 people; in 2003, a car bomb at Jakarta’s Marriott Hotel killed 12 and injured more than 100; and in 2004, the bombing of the Australian embassy killed nine and injured more than 180.

Criticisms of U.S. anti-terrorism policy are plentiful. Aristides Katoppo, editor of the daily newspaper *Sinar Harapan*, points out that while many suspects of the Bali bombing and other terrorist strikes have been detained and put on trial, the chief suspected mastermind, Hambali, remains in the custody of U.S. officials. Indonesian investigators have had scant access to Hambali. This is yet another example of American unilateralism, says the U.S.-educated Katoppo, and one that impedes Indonesia’s efforts to tackle terrorists in its backyard.

Wimar Witoelar, 59, a former spokesperson for former President Abdurahman Wahid and a popular television commentator, is equally unsympathetic toward the Bush administration. Witoelar, too, spent his early adult years in the U.S. and maintains an affection for the America he once knew, an America that is “a strong, mostly benevolent leader of the world ... [gaining leadership] not just by attacking enemies, but by consolidating nation states and the budding civil societies in the developing world.” He sees that America fading away under a government led by a president he describes as having “no talent nor desire to be an international citizen.”

F O C U S

A former student activist, Witoelar's concern is human rights advocacy, a sore point in U.S.-Indonesia relations. Due to alleged abuses in previously Indonesian-occupied East Timor, the U.S. Congress does not want military training aid to resume for Indonesia, much to the dismay of Indonesia's generals. Now, after the Abu Ghraib scandal and the alleged abuses at Guantanamo Bay, the Indonesian military is gloating. And Witoelar fears that human rights will now become a peripheral issue.

Already, many Indonesians — military and civilian — resentful of years of lecturing by U.S. officials, are publicly saying that Washington can no longer tell us how to adhere to human rights. Even editor Katoppo, himself a victim of legal arbitrariness when the government banned his newspaper, complains of American double standards when it comes to human rights. How can the U.S. demand the trials of suspected war criminals, he asks, while at the same time insisting that U.S. soldiers serving overseas be exempt from the same laws?

Fear prompts this censure. The military is regaining

clout and power in Indonesian politics: two former generals vied for the presidency this year, and one advanced to the run-off. Without the U.S. setting a stern example, activists say, human rights advocacy may retreat to oblivion. Says Witoelar: "The human rights approach, while not always simple to implement without drifting into a patronizing relationship, is much better than the polarizing signals the U.S. sends now."

Fretting about Free Trade

If there is some agreement that a Kerry administration would offer a friendlier foreign policy, there is less accord that its trade policy — another hot-button issue in Indonesia — would be as benign.

As is the case with human rights, some Indonesians argue that the U.S. does not practice what it preaches. Katoppo outlines the protective tariff barriers on steel and other domestic manufactured goods, as well as the subsidies on agricultural products, as examples of what he describes as "self-interest at stake."

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F O C U S

Erry Hardjapamekas, currently a deputy chief of the Anti-Corruption Commission, echoes this opposition to “double-standard policies.” America is redefining globalization, says Hardjapamekas, and Indonesians can see through the rhetoric. “It has to be clear that a level playing field between nations does not exist,” he says.

This self-serving approach may worsen under Kerry, says economist Juoro. Indeed, Kerry’s campaign in swing states such as economically-troubled Ohio and Pennsylvania is closely watched by Indonesia’s business community, particularly his promises to return jobs lost to Asia.

Again, two countries, shared challenges. If Pennsylvanians are lamenting the loss of jobs, so are Indonesians, who have struggled in recent years against the departure of manufacturers to cheaper labor markets such as China and Vietnam.

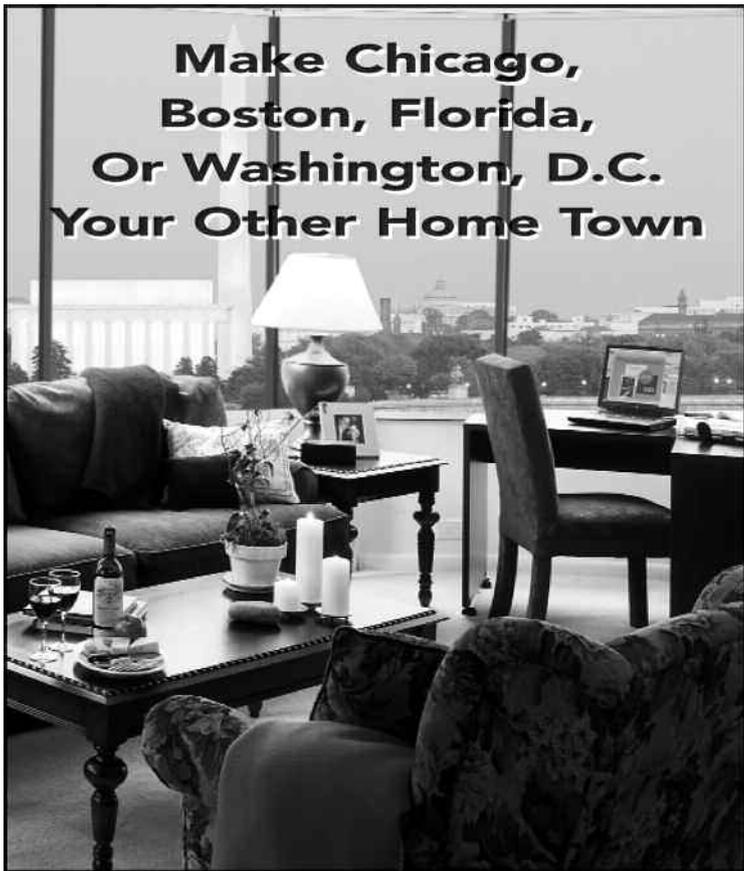
Says Juoro, a former economic advisor to former President Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie: “When Kerry proposes against outsourcing, that is protectionism — at the cost of exports for developing countries like ours.” In

short, Indonesians seem to be saying: Kerry is preferable to Bush, but his policies need some rethinking.

Indeed, ambivalence is yet another shared experience of these two giants of democracy. Just as Democrats support Kerry but do not seem particularly motivated by him, Indonesians, too, are not entirely sure whether to support the Massachusetts senator. “Is the support for Kerry genuine, or is it about supporting anyone who has a reasonable chance of beating Bush?” asks Adinda Simanjuntak, 27, manager of a Jakarta bookstore.

But never mind, says Simanjuntak. After all, Indonesia just faced a similar dynamic. It was not really his own appeal that catapulted the newly-elected president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, from relative obscurity to the status of a national icon and, ultimately, electoral victory. He was the beneficiary of widespread discontent toward President Megawati Sukarnoputri, regarded by many Indonesians as an ineffective leader.

Two countries, same war cry: Anyone But Bush; Anyone But Mega. ■



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WHAT MATTERS FOR ARGENTINA

T

he U.S. presidential election finds Argentina-U.S. bilateral relations in a precarious state. It is difficult to foresee a new attentiveness toward Latin America in Washington, no matter who prevails at the ballot box in November. The main concerns of the White House are national security issues and, inevitably, U.S. foreign policy will focus on the Middle East. At the same time, Argentina is beholden to the world's private investors, many of them Americans, in the utilities and banking sectors. And in connection with the estimated \$100-billion debt default of 2001, it relies on continued U.S. support for its recovery program.

U.S.-Argentine relations were hit hard by the dramatic events of December 2001, when the largest sovereign debt default in history toppled the Argentine government and rocked financial markets. The breakdown of law and order after the abrupt "pesoization" — the conversion to pesos of all dollar assets in the economy — the devaluation, and the freezing of utilities prices, was severe, and even today continues to trouble American businesses operating in Argentina. Nevertheless, the U.S. government

Mara Laudonia is the U.S. correspondent for El Cronista Comercial of Argentina.

DESPITE OFFICIAL PREFERENCES, ARGENTINA IS PREPARED TO WORK WITH EITHER CANDIDATE ON THE COUNTRY'S PRIORITY ECONOMIC ISSUES.

BY MARA LAUDONIA

played an important role in helping Buenos Aires to maintain relations with the IMF and World Bank.

For the Argentine government, the key in relations with the next U.S. president, whoever he may be, will be to continue to re-establish ties with foreign investors, and cooperate in those "niches" U.S. foreign policy has left open — not the least of which is security.

Style vs. Substance

Taking a closer look at the U.S. election, Argentine analysts observe that for both George W. Bush and John Kerry, Latin America is not a priority, though the Democratic candidate has put more emphasis on supporting the democracies in the region.

"Despite the importance of the Hispanic vote, Latin America continues to occupy a very small space in the electoral campaign of the two candidates, whose programs for the region do not show substantial differences," maintains political scientist Rosendo Fraga. Fraga believes both candidates are missing the strong connection between Hispanic immigrants and their families all around Latin America — a connection that is shown in the \$30 billion in remittances expected for 2004, according to an Inter-American Development Bank study.

So, what can Argentina expect from the next government of the United States? Analysts anticipate differences of style rather than substantial changes in U.S. policies. They point also to the fact that in the American system, it is not so much the president but rather Congress that is decisive as far as the framework for bilateral relations is concerned. This is especially true today as the Republicans control the House and the Senate as well as the presidency.

But this does not change the top priority for Argentina: that the next U.S. administration continue supporting Argentina in dealing with the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the rest of the international financial community. "The fundamental thing for us this year was clearly to have the comprehension and the support of the U.S. government in our recovery framework, stabilization and economic growth proposals for Argentina, and especially our decisions in the international financial field," says Argentina's ambassador in Washington, José Octavio Bordón.

What Is Important

And so, Ambassador Bordón emphasizes, it is very important that both the Republicans and the Democrats understand the reasons the American administration passed from a critical or indifferent stance — adopted well before the Argentine crisis and maintained by the Bush administration, despite former president Carlos Menem's extensive market-based reforms, throughout 2002 — to a favorable attitude toward Argentina during the past 18 months.

During that period, looking forward to the presidential elections in Argentina in May 2003 in which President Nestor Kirchner was elected, the U.S. supported the country in reaching an unusual deal with the IMF (for only six months) that was the beginning of re-establishing international relations and economic recovery. Kirchner's economics minister, Roberto Lavagna, realized that a new paradigm against rescue packages was emerging in the interna-

***John Kerry's idea
of creating a
"New Community
of the Americas"
has sown new hope
in Argentina.***

tional community, and that Argentina could not expect to get fresh money for a long period of time. Lavagna's new recovery strategy was to maintain exposure on multilateral debt, in order to get some fiscal room to deal with private creditors. More recently, he has inferred also that the country is willing to reduce its exposure somewhat.

Pres. Kirchner's initial overtures toward the Bush administration led to a new agreement with the IMF in which, again, the U.S. played a predominant role. The program set at the IMF-World Bank meetings in Dubai was strongly resisted by the Europeans and Japanese, because of the Fund's lending-into-arrears policy, in which a sovereign country's good-faith negotiations with private creditors are the basis for exceptional access to a Fund program.

Now, it is time for the Argentine government to again sit at the table with the IMF to discuss the next two years' goals. Argentina will ask the next president of the United States to continue with the process, supporting the country with credit rollovers in the IMF, the World Bank and the IDB, until private investors' confidence is fully restored.

Official Preferences

John Kerry's idea of creating a "New Community of the Americas" has sown new hope in Argentina. Besides developing a continental transport master plan and working to harmonize customs, immigration and security politics, Kerry is backing legislation to create a "Social Investment and Economic Development Fund for the Americas." Authored by a bipartisan group led by Kerry advisor and Democratic caucus head Rep. Bob Menendez, D-N.J., H.R. 3447 would establish a fund to distribute \$250 million per year to strengthen democracy and combat poverty in Latin America. Introduced in the House in November 2003, the bill was reported out of subcommittee and referred to the full House International Relations Committee for action in May.

Although nobody has mentioned Argentina specifically in connection with the initiative, news of the

fund sounded very good to First Lady Cristina Kirchner, who publicly stated that it is in line with her husband's proposal for a Marshall Plan for Latin America. Cristina, who is also an Argentine senator from Santa Cruz province, does not hide her preferences: she is surrounded by Democratic officials when she visits the United States. She met former President Jimmy Carter and Sen. Hillary Clinton, D-N.Y., and gladly went to the Democratic Convention at the invitation of former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright.

Until the investment and development fund proposal, "I couldn't find a novel proposal in relation to the region," says Amb. Bordón. Like his president, he believes the U.S. will have to return to a Marshall Plan concept. "It was not only an aid, but a framework of democratic coincidences to help to generate conditions for economic development," Bordón explains. "The U.S. understood that helping Europe to have developed democracies was going to create a larger economic competence, but also [give a major boost to] security and peace internationally."

Progress on the FTAA?

In the Argentine view, problems of economic aid and commercial relations in the Western Hemisphere — where the hot topics are market access and agricultural subsidies — are linked. There is interest in building free-trade zones, claims Amb. Bordón, but it lacks depth. For now, the Free Trade Area of the Americas negotiations seem bogged down due to the differing interests of the United States and MERCOSUR, the customs union that includes Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay, and accounts for the largest chunk of Argentina's import and export trade.

"Once the elections in the United States are over, the hemispheric negotiations could receive a new political push," states Felix Peña, an Argentine specialist in international economic relations, who also notes that the strategic vision necessary as a frame-

Though it is understood that campaign speeches are aimed at captivating the local electorate, Kerry does maintain that he will revise all commercial contracts.

work for the negotiations has so far been missing. "In all likelihood, all the main actors would like to see negotiations progress before the expiration in mid-2005 of the present mandate given by Congress to the U.S. president through the Trade Promotion Authority," Peña adds.

In terms of the Democrats' proposals, however, there is some concern about what they would finally do if the Kerry-Edwards ticket prevails. Though it is understood that campaign speeches are aimed at captivating the

local electorate, Kerry does maintain that he will revise all commercial contracts, and John Edwards does not hide his protectionist inclinations. Generally, however, Kerry's Senate voting record favors free commerce, recalls Amb. Bordón.

Security Issues

Last, but not least, are security issues in the region, in which both U.S. presidential candidates have demonstrated interest. "The United States and Argentina are facing the common need to tackle an increasing governance crisis in South America, which is expressed in a particularly virulent manner in most countries of the Andean region," says Jorge Castro, president of the private Institute of Strategic Planning in Buenos Aires. The conflict in Haiti, Colombia, the situation in Venezuela, not to mention the confrontations in Peru and Bolivia, present both Argentina and the United States with a strong common interest in maintaining peace and stability in South America, Castro adds.

"The security issue is important for us," Bordon acknowledges. "The U.S. Department of State recognized that Argentina is on the top levels in fighting against organized crime, like drug and weapons trafficking, terrorism, and money laundering. I believe that with either of the two administrations, this work will continue to move forward."

While hoping for a Kerry victory, Argentina will need — and is prepared — to work with either man to address financial and security issues. ■

BEIJING'S PERSPECTIVE: FIRST, DO NO HARM

WHETHER BUSH OR KERRY WINS IN
NOVEMBER, BEIJING EXPECTS LITTLE CHANGE
IN SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

BY YUNZHAO PAN

Chinese interest in the U.S. presidential election traditionally hinges on one question: which candidate will be better for Sino-American relations? This year is no exception. While scholars and media reports are discussing which candidate — incumbent President George W. Bush or Senator John Kerry — has a better chance of winning this year's U.S. presidential election, the Chinese public is paying only limited attention. For most Chinese, the United States is a kind of one-dimensional construct, located on the other side of the globe, that uses its position as the world's only superpower to bully other nations, China included, whenever it wishes.

Nonetheless, the American election has great significance for Beijing, and it watches closely for indications of what China policy a prospective president of the United States will adopt after assuming office.

When Bill Clinton was campaigning on the Democratic ticket for the White House in 1992, his proposed China policy caused much worry in Beijing. In a televised debate with President George H. W. Bush on Oct. 11, 1992, Clinton attacked the Bush administration's policy of maintaining engagement

with China as "a mistake," though he acknowledged the importance of the U.S.-China relationship. In particular, he opposed the Bush administration's stand in favor of unconditional extension of most-favored-nation trade status for China, and indicated that if he became president, he would be "firm" in pursuing the issues of human rights and democracy in China, utilizing the most-favored-nation status as leverage.

Yet it was during Clinton's presidency that the United States and China concluded the 13-year-long negotiations for China's accession to the World Trade Organization in 1999, and it was also during his presidency that the two sides agreed to build a constructive strategic partnership.

Then, in the 2000 presidential campaign, George W. Bush sharply criticized the Clinton administration's China policy, saying that Beijing was not a "strategic partner" of the United States. On Jan. 17, 2001, U.S. Secretary of State-designate Colin Powell laid out a cautious new policy, describing China as "a competitor and a potential regional rival, but also a trading partner."

Progress after a Bumpy Start

The worst episode in relations with China during George W. Bush's presidency came less than three

Yun Zhao Pan is the Washington correspondent for the Xinhua News Agency.

months after he assumed office. After a Chinese jet fighter collided with a U.S. EP-3 electronic surveillance plane off the coast of Hainan Island in the South China Sea on April 1, 2001, the Chinese plane crashed and the U.S. plane was forced down. The incident put relations between China and the United States to a severe test, but bilateral talks eventually resolved it, averting a potential confrontation.

Following the 9/11 attacks on the United States, relations between the two countries began to warm. Washington sought Chinese support for the war on terrorism and also requested Beijing's influence to bring the Democratic People's Republic of Korea into multilateral talks on the latter's nuclear programs.

At a meeting on the sidelines of the APEC summit in Bangkok, in October 2003, Chinese President Hu Jintao and U.S. President George W. Bush reached a consensus on promoting the all-round development of a constructive and cooperative relationship. Since then, China and the United States — the most populous country and the most developed, powerful country, respectively, on the globe — have engaged in close cooperation on anti-terrorism, Iraq, the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula and other complicated issues.

Citing that cooperation, several senior Bush administration officials have spoken positively about the future of U.S.-China relations. On Sept. 5, 2003, Secretary of State Powell said, in a major foreign policy address at The George Washington University, that Sino-American relations are the best since former President Richard Nixon paid his first visit to China in 1972. Days later, at a hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State James A. Kelly testified that the U.S.-China relationship "is on some fronts the best it has been in years." Said Kelly: "It is marked by complementary and sometimes common policies on a broad range of issues that are critical to U.S. national interests. The war on terrorism and critical regional security issues are two examples."

For China, Taiwan Is the Key

As major trading partners, the two countries are tightly interwoven in an increasingly globalized economy, and the economy has become a vital element in the bilateral relationship. But it is Taiwan that remains

the most important and sensitive issue in Sino-American relations, as it bears on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China.

In an interview in Beijing with the *Washington Post* on the eve of his visit to the United States in December 2003, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao said the Taiwan question is the most important and sensitive issue in the bilateral relationship. The Chinese government's position on upholding the one-China principle "is rock-firm and defies all challenges," he declared. The Chinese people "will not sit by and do nothing faced with provocative activities aimed at splitting the motherland."

Wen added: "So on the question of Taiwan, the U.S. side must be very straightforward in adhering to the principles of the three Sino-U.S. joint communiqués, and in opposing Taiwan independence." In particular, Washington must adhere to the principle of the Aug. 17 (1982) communique and stop all arms sales to Taiwan. "This will fundamentally help maintain peace and stability in the Taiwan Straits. It will also be conducive to the advancement of the process of the peaceful reunification of China. It will also be fundamentally helpful to the maintenance of world peace and stability," Wen said.

Nevertheless, on July 15, 2004, the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives passed a joint resolution concerning Taiwan, reiterating the U.S. commitment to sell arms to Taipei under the terms of the Taiwan Relations Act (enacted in 1979, shortly after the U.S. government severed ties with Taipei in order to shift diplomatic recognition to Beijing). And two days later, on July 17, Chinese Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Zhang Qiyue said China firmly opposed the resolution and the Taiwan Relations Act, which had infringed on China's sovereignty and intervened in its internal affairs.

No Clear Preference

As November approaches, Chinese interest in the U.S. presidential election is slowly growing. But most Chinese still haven't developed a preference for either candidate. While most disapprove of the Bush administration's unilateralism, its pre-emptive strike policy and, most of all, its arms sales to Taiwan, they know little about Sen. Kerry, and even less about his views and policies on China.

Nor do they expect to see much change no matter who is elected. By contrast with the 1990s, when the two major political parties often attacked each other on the China issue during presidential campaigns, this year the “China factor” has given way to other prominent issues such as terrorism, Iraq, homeland security, employment and the economy.

This is an indication that the two parties have to some extent reached a consensus on the importance of pursuing a continuous, stable China policy, says Zhu Feng, a professor in the School of International Studies, at China’s prestigious Peking University.

Zhu Feng concedes that it is risky to forecast trends

***Taiwan remains
the most important
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as it bears on the
sovereignty and
territorial integrity
of China.***

in the China-U.S. relationship, one of the world’s most influential yet volatile nation-to-nation ties. But he expects that whoever is elected the next U.S. president will do little to upset bilateral relations.

His views are shared by Tao Wenzhao, professor and deputy director of the Institute of American Studies of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, who correctly predicted four years ago, when China was a relatively hot topic in the campaign, that U.S. policy toward China would remain consistent.

Still, Beijing will be watching closely for potential shifts in American policy toward China, particularly in the areas of counterterrorism cooperation, trade and, most of all, Taiwan. ■

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THE U.S. ELECTION — A VIEW FROM LONDON

T

his year's U.S. presidential contest, the most closely watched in living memory, is replete with paradoxes for America's European allies.

Tony Blair is George W. Bush's staunchest ally. The British prime minister has never stepped back from his unwavering belief in the righteousness of the Iraq war. For all that their special relationship and the unpopularity of the war have drained his political capital at home, he never speaks of the U.S. president as anything but a trusted friend. Now comes the irony. Mr. Blair needs John Kerry to win the coming presidential election. The French and the Germans may be the public cheerleaders for a Democratic victory in November, but Britain has more to gain from it.

An Exceptional Election

U.S. elections rarely penetrate deep into Europe's consciousness. Once chosen, of course, the occupants of the White House quite quickly make their mark on European opinion. JFK was revered for his youthful ambition. LBJ (unfairly, given his domestic achievements) is remembered only for the Vietnam War,

Philip Stephens is associate editor and chief political commentator of the Financial Times, and a biographer of Tony Blair.

FOR BRITAIN, THE OUTCOME IN NOVEMBER CARRIES PROFOUND IMPLICATIONS — BOTH POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC.

BY PHILIP STEPHENS

Richard Nixon for his narrow-eyed notoriety, and Ronald Reagan for his determination to defeat Moscow's evil empire. But these were reputations built after the fact. It is rare for Europeans, of the British or the continental variety, to be fiercely partisan during the campaigns.

The coming November poll is thus something of an exception. It is different because America is different. The status-quo superpower of the 1990s now looks more like a revolutionary hegemon; the architect of the postwar multilateral system has become an unapologetic unilateralist. If they were being honest, Europeans might also admit that the past few years have thrown up an uncomfortable truth, long obscured by the Cold War, about the essentially unequal nature of the transatlantic alliance. The collapse of communism and the emergence of Islamist terrorism have successively underscored the extent of American primacy and downgraded Europe as a focus of Washington's geopolitical interests. In a Europe forced to confront the limitations of its own power, the character and tone of George W. Bush's administration have hardened the sense of estrangement.

Thus the solidarity that followed the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001 — who can forget the *Le Monde* front page declaring we were all Americans, or the British

guardsmen playing “The Star Spangled Banner” outside Buckingham Palace? — has given way among most Europeans to fear and anger. Fairly or otherwise, America is much unloved and President Bush bears the brunt of the opprobrium. The question Europeans now ask themselves is whether the American people are set to endorse the policies of a president so widely disliked in the world beyond.

That is as true in Britain as elsewhere. Mr. Blair’s support for the Iraq War and his close relationship with Mr. Bush have dominated the nation’s politics during the past two years. Public anxiety about the march to Baghdad — the nation was about evenly divided when Mr. Blair sent British troops into action — has turned into opposition. The failure to find weapons of mass destruction, allegations about the manipulation of intelligence, the mishandling of postwar reconstruction, and the torture scandals at Abu Ghraib have badly damaged public trust in the prime minister. So, too, has his seemingly unquestioning support for Mr. Bush. The image of Mr. Blair as the president’s poodle has become the favorite of political cartoonists. In his own party, where opposition to the war has been fiercest, Mr. Blair is compared unfavorably with Harold Wilson, the 1960s Labor prime minister who firmly rebuffed LBJ’s call for British military involvement in Vietnam. Mr. Blair’s position as prime minister has remained relatively secure only because the opposition Conservative Party, led by Michael Howard, is a traditional ally of the Republicans and was as firm in its support for regime change in Iraq as was the government.

So the outcome in November carries profound implications for Britain — both political and strategic. On one level, the result could severely test Mr. Blair’s capacity to shake off the damaging domestic political consequences of the war. On another, it could shape decisively the future of the special relationship with Washington that has been the leitmotif of British foreign policy since the Suez debacle of 1956.

Kerry’s Strength

John Kerry’s greatest strength, in Britain as elsewhere in Europe, is that he is not Mr. Bush. The Democratic candidate presents himself as a member of

**John Kerry’s
greatest strength, in
Britain as elsewhere
in Europe,
is that he is not
Mr. Bush.**

the East Coast Atlanticist club with which Europeans have always been comfortable. His background and career are steeped in foreign policy. But, above all — this, at least, is how the conventional wisdom runs — his election as president would mark a clean break with the past, allowing fractured political and personal relationships to be repaired.

My own view is that many on the continent — Jacques Chirac and Gerhard Schroeder among them — expect too much of Mr. Kerry’s promises to return America to the path of multilateralism. Once installed in the White House, Mr. Kerry would demand as much as he offered to European leaders; and the defeat of Mr. Bush would rob Paris and Berlin of a convenient excuse for withholding support for the rebuilding of Iraq. But for the time being, hostility toward Mr. Bush tends to swamp such nuanced judgments.

In the short term, the awkwardness of a Democratic victory would be felt by Mr. Blair. As Mr. Bush’s co-conspirator in the invasion of Iraq, defeat for the president could leave the prime minister looking dangerously isolated. Persistent calls from critics within his own party for a change of leadership could well grow louder if the U.S. electorate was seen as having voted for a fresh start. How, some of his more ambitious colleagues would ask, could Mr. Blair leave history behind and build a warm relationship with Mr. Kerry? Might not the new president decide to make a point by inviting Mr. Chirac to the White House ahead of Mr. Blair?

These are all real concerns — heard among Mr. Blair’s aides as well as from his political rivals. But they mask the deeper significance of the election for Britain’s foreign policy. In strategic terms, Britain’s interests lie firmly with a victory for the Democratic contender.

A Deeper Significance

If that seems counter-intuitive, the explanation lies in the likely consequences of Mr. Bush’s re-election. In such an event, Mr. Blair, of course, could expect to remain a privileged guest at the White House. The harsh realities of power revealed by postwar Iraq might also temper Mr. Bush’s unilateralism. But — and this is the critical point

F O C U S

— it is scarcely possible to imagine that the transatlantic alliance could be rebuilt during a second Bush term. The personal animosities and ideological divisions run too deep to imagine a serious rapprochement between Washington and Paris or Berlin. The best that could be hoped for would be a sullen agreement to disagree.

Politically — and this is another of those paradoxes — a Bush victory might well be more comfortable for France and Germany than a victory by Mr. Kerry. Mr. Chirac and Mr. Schroeder, both weak at home, have profited politically from the rift with Washington. A re-elected Mr. Bush would spare them the difficult questions. By contrast, it would strike at the heart of Mr. Blair's strategic ambition to restore the equilibrium between Britain's twin relationships with its European allies and the U.S.

***Mr. Blair's ambition
is to restore the
equilibrium
between Britain's twin
relationships with its
European allies
and the U.S.***

For all his closeness to Mr. Bush — and his quarrels over Iraq with Mr. Chirac and Mr. Schroeder — Mr. Blair subscribes to the foreign policy doctrine first enunciated a half-century ago by Conservative Prime Minister Harold MacMillan after Britain's retreat from Suez. That places Britain as a pivotal player — a bridge, in the prime minister's favoured metaphor, between Europe and the U.S. This role, however, depends critically on a healthy transatlantic alliance. If the alliance is broken, as it has been for the past two years, Britain is forced to

choose between America and Europe — and thus is less able to leverage influence on one side of the Atlantic to enhance its influence on the other.

So, if Mr. Blair's heart is with Mr. Bush, his head is with Mr. Kerry. ■

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KEEPING SCORE IN THE CONGRESSIONAL GAME

AFSA PROFILES HOW YOUR SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES SUPPORTED AMERICAN ENGAGEMENT IN WORLD AFFAIRS.

By *KEN NAKAMURA*

Since 1996, as part of the *Foreign Service Journal's* election issue, AFSA has worked to help inform our members of their senators' and representatives' positions on key foreign policy issues. By explaining how these legislators voted on measures that have influenced how the United States participates in the world arena and whether funding has been provided to do so, we hope that the Scorecard has helped you evaluate how you are being represented, and that it has served as a tool in making voting decisions.

AFSA continues to provide this service. However, we have changed the format.

In prior years, we sought to put ourselves in the position of legislators, and asked how each elected official's vote matched the vote that AFSA would have cast. We

then gave each legislator a score based on how similar his or her voting record was to AFSA's virtual vote. This is the closest that AFSA has come to taking a position on political issues.

In the new format, we selected certain issues that arose in the 108th Congress (eight for the Senate, nine for the House of Representatives) and recorded how your elected representative voted on them. We did not, however, create an AFSA position or tabulate a rating as we have in the past. Rather, the purpose is to serve as an impartial source of information on, rather than an evaluation of, your representatives' views on specific issues. We also tried to diversify the votes so that they cover a fairly wide range of issues, from strict foreign policy matters to trade to human rights. We hope you will find this new format helpful.

Again, we would like to caution that this congressional voting profile is but a snapshot of how your elect-

Ken Nakamura is AFSA's Director of Legislative Affairs.

SCORECARD

ed officials stand on foreign affairs. On the Senate side, out of a total of 163 votes on the floor as of July 22, we considered 79 foreign affairs-related votes and ultimately chose eight for inclusion in the Scorecard. On the House side, we looked at 186 foreign affairs-related votes (out of a total of 421 votes as of July 22), and chose nine for the Scorecard.

These are, moreover, all floor votes, taken after bills have been through the committee process where they are often massaged to the lowest common denominator that would pass. In some cases, the controversy is not worked out in committee but rather in a deal in the cloakroom. As a result, the selected vote does not necessarily reflect how a member who serves on a committee that is important to the Foreign Service may have worked to help or impede our foreign policy in committee. Nor does it reflect how a legislator may have been helpful in advancing AFSA's issues by sponsoring or cosponsoring legislation valuable to us, or writing a letter in support of an AFSA position. Accordingly, while we hope that you will consider this voting profile AFSA has prepared, we urge you also to consider the many other sides of the incumbent or candidate seeking your vote.

The profile is the product of three AFSA legislative affairs interns — Joanna McNamara (fall 2003), Meredith Richardson (spring 2004), and Victoria Sprow (summer 2004). We thank them all for their hard and diligent work on this project.

In conclusion, it is AFSA's hope and urging that you and those in your family eligible to do so vote this November.

AFSA'S 108TH CONGRESS VOTING PROFILE

SENATE

1. IMET.

FY03 Omnibus Appropriations/IMET (H.J. Res. 2) — Bill to restrict funds for International Military Educational and Training Program (IMET) assistance to Indonesian military personnel unless certain conditions were met regarding the Indonesian government's efforts to fight ter-

rorism after the October 2002 terrorist bombing in Bali. VOTE: 36-61, 1/23/03 (R: 4-47; D: 31-14; I: 1-0).

2. CPA & SEC/STATE.

Iraq Supplemental, 2004 (S. 1689) — Motion to table (kill) amendment that would place the Coalition Provisional Authority to Iraq under the direct authority and foreign policy guidance of the Sec/State. VOTE: 56-42, 10/2/03 (R: 51-0; D: 5-41; I: 0-1).

3. STATE AUTHORIZATION.

FY04 Foreign Operations Appropriation/State Department Authorization (S. 925) — Motion to suspend the Byrd Rule to allow Sen. Lugar to insert text of S. 925 into the Foreign Operations Appropriations bill under consideration. VOTE: 40-57, 10/28/03 (R: 35-16; D: 4-41; I: 1-0).

4. ABSTINENCE PROGRAMS AND AIDS.

FY04 Foreign Operations Appropriations/Abstinence Programs and AIDS (H.R. 2800) — Amendment to clarify the definition of HIV-prevention programs to mean only those directed at preventing sexual transmission of the disease; requires that 1/3 of prevention funding must be for abstinence until marriage programs; and applies only to HIV prevention funds rather than all AIDS prevention funds. VOTE: 45-47, 10/30/03 (R: 3-46; D: 41-1; I: 1-0).

5. GLOBAL AIDS INITIATIVE.

FY04 Foreign Operations Appropriations (H.R. 2800) — Bill to give \$200 million to the Global AIDS Initiative and reduce the Millennium Challenge Account by \$200 million. VOTE: 41-51, 10/30/03 (R: 0-49; D: 40-2; I: 1-0).

6. SYRIA ACCOUNTABILITY.

Syria Accountability Act/Passage (H.R. 1828) — Bill to halt Syrian support for terrorism, end its occupation of Lebanon, stop its development of WMDs, cease illegal importation of Iraqi oil and illegal shipments of weapons and other military items to Iraq, and by so doing hold Syria accountable for the serious international security problems it has caused in the Middle East, and for other purposes. VOTE: 89-4, 11/11/03 (R: 47-2; D: 42-1; I: 0-1).

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7. CORPORATE REIMPORTATION TAX.

Corporate Tax Overhaul/Corporate Reimportation Tax (S. 1637) — Motion to table (kill) amendment that would partially repeal a tax deferral regulation for U.S. multinational companies by requiring those companies to pay federal income taxes on foreign factories when goods are reimported back into the U.S. Employers would also be required to notify employees and the Labor Department when jobs will be moved offshore, including the number of jobs affected, the relocation destination of those jobs and the reason for the relocation. VOTE: 60-39, 5/5/04 (R: 51-0; D: 8-39; I: 1-0).

8. U.S. FOREIGN SUBSIDIARIES.

FY05 Defense Authorization/U.S. foreign subsidiaries (S. 2400) — Amendment to require that any restrictions on transactions of U.S. companies that do business with countries determined to be state sponsors of terrorism also apply to their foreign subsidiaries where there is at least 50-percent ownership by the U.S. company. VOTE: 49-50, 5/19/04 (R: 3-28; D: 45-2; I: 1-0).

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

1. CONSULAR ID CARDS.

Consular ID Cards/State Authorization (H.R. 1950) — Bill to give Sec/State authority to regulate the issuance of and track consular identification cards by foreign missions in the U.S. VOTE: 226-198, 7/15/03 (R: 203-21; D: 23-176; I: 0-1).

2. UNESCO FUNDS.

FY04 Commerce, Justice, and State Appropriations/UNESCO Funds (H.R. 2799) — Amendment to drop \$71 million from bill to fund U.S. re-entry into UNESCO. VOTE: 145-279, 7/22/03 (R: 141-84; D: 4-194; I: 0-1).

3. CHILE FREE TRADE.

(H.R. 2738) — Bill to approve the U.S.-Chile Free Trade Agreement. VOTE: 270-156, 7/23/03 (R: 195-27; D: 75-128; I: 0-1).

4. HIV/AIDS.

FY04 Foreign Operations Appropriations, HIV/AIDS and Millennium Challenge Account (H.R. 2800) — Increase funding for HIV/AIDS by \$300 million and offset the cost with a reduction in Millennium Challenge Account funding. VOTE: 195-226, 7/23/03 (R: 12-209; D: 182-17; I: 1-0).

5. SAUDI ARABIA.

FY 04 Foreign Operations Appropriations (H.R. 2800) — Includes no direct funds for Saudi Arabia along with Cuba, Libya, North Korea, Iran, and Syria. VOTE: 191-231, 7/23/03 (R: 80-143; D: 110-88; I: 1-0).

6. WAR IN IRAQ.

War in Iraq (H.R. 561) — Previous Question on the Rule of Debate, to consider the resolution affirming the U.S. and the world are safer with the removal of Saddam Hussein and his regime from power in Iraq. It also commends U.S. and coalition forces for liberating Iraq. VOTE: 217-197, 3/17/04 (R: 217-0; D: 0-196; I: 0-1). (Subsequent to the vote on the Previous Question on the rule, the principal resolution, H.R. 557, was adopted by the House by a vote of 327-93.)

7. PAY PARITY.

Federal Employee Pay Parity (H.R. 581) — Federal civilian employees and military personnel should receive the same percentage pay increase for FY05. VOTE: 299-126, 4/1/04 (R: 95-126; D: 203-0; I: 1-0).

8. LIBYAN DISARMAMENT.

Libyan Disarmament (H.R. 4548) — Libyan disarmament would not have been possible without U.S. resolve in the war on terror. VOTE: 335-83, 6/23/04 (R: 222-1; D: 113-81; I: 0-1).

9. TREATMENT OF PRISONERS.

FY05 Intelligence Authorization/Treatment of Prisoners (H.R. 4548) — Withhold 25 percent of funds available to intelligence agencies, until appropriate congressional committees receive all documents related to detainee treatment in Iraq. VOTE: 149-270, 6/23/04 (R: 3-220; D: 145-50; I: 1-0). ■

SCORECARD

U.S. Senate

State	Senator	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
AK	Lisa Murkowski	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
AK	Ted Stevens	R	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
AL	Jeff Sessions	R	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
AL	Richard Shelby	R	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
AR	Blanche Lincoln	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
AR	Mark Pryor	R	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
AZ	John McCain	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
AZ	Jon Kyl	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
CA	Barbara Boxer	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CA	Dianne Feinstein	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CO	Ben Nighthorse Campbell	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N/V	N	N
CO	Wayne Allard	R	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
CT	Christopher Dodd	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CT	Joseph Lieberman	D	N/V	N/V	N/V	N/V	N/V	N/V	Y	Y
DE	Joseph Biden Jr.	D	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
DE	Thomas Carper	D	Y	N	Y	N/V	N/V	Y	Y	Y
FL	Bill Nelson	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
FL	Bob Graham	D	N	N/V	N	Y	Y	N/V	Y	Y
GA	Saxby Chambliss	D	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
GA	Zell Miller	D	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N/V	N/V
HI	Daniel Akaka	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
HI	Daniel Inouye	D	N/V	N	N	Y	Y	N/V	Y	Y
IA	Charles Grassley	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
IA	Tom Harkin	D	N/V	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ID	Larry Craig	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
ID	Mike Crapo	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
IL	Peter Fitzgerald	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
IL	Richard Durbin	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IN	Evan Bayh	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
SENATE		1. FY 03 Omnibus Appropriations/IMET (H.J. Res. 2) 2. Iraq Supplemental 2004 (S. 1689) 3. FY04 Foreign Operations Appropriation/State Department Authorization (S. 925) 4. FY04 Foreign Operations Appropriations/Abstinence Programs and HIV/AIDS (H.R. 2800) 5. FY04 Foreign Operations Appropriations (H.R. 2800) 6. Syria Accountability Act/Passage (H.R. 1828) 7. Corporate Tax Overhaul/Corporate Reimportation Tax (S. 1637) 8. FY05 Defense Authorization/U.S. foreign subsidiaries (S. 2400)								

SCORECARD

U.S. Senate

State	Senator	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
IN	Richard Lugar	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
KS	Pat Roberts	R	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
KS	Sam Brownback	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
KY	Jim Bunning	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
KY	Mitch McConnell	R	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
LA	John Breaux	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
LA	Mary Landrieu	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MA	Edward Kennedy	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MA	John Kerry	D	Y	N	N/V	N/V	N/V	N/V	Y	Y
MD	Barbara Mikulski	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MD	Paul Sarbanes	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ME	Olympia Snowe	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
ME	Susan Collins	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
MI	Carl Levin	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MI	Debbie Stabenow	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MN	Mark Dayton	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MN	Norm Coleman	D	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
MO	Christopher Bond	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
MO	James Talent	D	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
MS	Thad Cochran	R	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
MS	Trent Lott	R	N	Y	Y	N/V	N/V	Y	N	N
MT	Conrad Burns	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
MT	Max Baucus	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NC	Elizabeth Dole	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
NC	John Edwards	D	Y	N	N/V	N/V	N/V	Y	Y	Y
ND	Byron Dorgan	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ND	Kent Conrad	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NE	Ben Nelson	D	N	Y	N	N/V	N/V	N/V	N	Y
NE	Chuck Hagel	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	N/V	N	N
NH	John Sununu	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
NH	Judd Gregg	R	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
NJ	Frank Lautenberg	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NJ	Jon Corzine	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

SCORECARD

U.S. Senate

State	Senator	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
NM	Jeff Bingaman	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NM	Pete Domenici	R	N	Y	Y	N/V	N/V	Y	N	N
NV	Harry Reid	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NV	John Ensign	R	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
NY	Charles Schumer	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NY	Hillary Rodham Clinton	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OH	George Voinovich	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
OH	Mike DeWine	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
OK	Don Nickles	R	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
OK	James Inhofe	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
OR	Gordon Smith	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
OR	Ron Wyden	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
PA	Arlen Specter	R	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
PA	Rick Santorum	R	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
RI	Jack Reed	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
RI	Lincoln Chafee	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
SC	Ernest Hollings	D	N	Y	N	N/V	N/V	Y	Y	Y
SC	Lindsey Graham	R	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
SD	Tim Johnson	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SD	Tom Daschle	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TN	Bill Frist	R	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
TN	Lamar Alexander	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
TX	John Cornyn	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
TX	Kay Bailey Hutchinson	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
UT	Orrin Hatch	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
UT	Robert Bennett	R	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
VA	George Allen	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
VA	John Warner	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
VT	James Jeffords	I	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
SENATE		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. FY 03 Omnibus Appropriations/IMET (H.J. Res. 2) 2. Iraq Supplemental 2004 (S. 1689) 3. FY04 Foreign Operations Appropriation/State Department Authorization (S. 925) 4. FY04 Foreign Operations Appropriations/Abstinence Programs and HIV/AIDS (H.R. 2800) 5. FY04 Foreign Operations Appropriations (H.R. 2800) 6. Syria Accountability Act/Passage (H.R. 1828) 7. Corporate Tax Overhaul/Corporate Reimportation Tax (S. 1637) 8. FY05 Defense Authorization/U.S. foreign subsidiaries (S. 2400) 								

SCORECARD

U.S. Senate

State	Senator	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
VT	Patrick Leahy	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WA	Marie Cantwell	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WA	Patty Murray	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WI	Herb Kohl	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WI	Russell Feingold	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WV	John Rockefeller IV	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WV	Robert Byrd	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WY	Craig Thomas	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
WY	Michael Enzi	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N

House of Representatives

State	Representative	District	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
AK	Don Young	At Large	R	Y	Y	N	N/V	N/V	Y	Y	N	Y
AL	Robert B. Aderholt	4th	R	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
AL	Spencer Bachus	6th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
AL	Jo Bonner	1st	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
AL	Robert E. (Bud) Cramer Jr.	5th	D	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N/V
AL	Artur Davis	7th	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N/V
AL	Terry Everett	2nd	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
AL	Mike Rogers	3rd	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
AR	Marion Berry	1st	D	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
AR	John Boozman	3rd	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
AR	Mike Ross	4th	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
AR	Vic Snyder	2nd	D	N	N	Y	Y	N	N/V	N	Y	Y
AS	Eni F. H. Faleomavaega	Delegate										
AZ	Jeff Flake	6th	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
AZ	Trent Franks	2nd	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
AZ	Raúl M. Grijalva	7th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

1. Consular ID Cards/State Authorization (H.R. 1950)
2. FY04 Commerce, Justice, and State Appropriations/UNESCO Funds (H.R. 2799)
3. U.S.-Chile Free Trade Agreement (H.R. 2738)
4. FY04 Foreign Operations Appropriations, HIV/AIDS and

Millennium Challenge Account (H.R. 2800)

5. FY 04 Foreign Operations Appropriations (H.R. 2800)
6. War in Iraq (H.R. 561)
7. Federal Employee Pay Parity (H.R. 581)
8. Libyan Disarmament (H.R. 4548)
9. FY05 Intelligence Authorization/Treatment of Prisoners (H.R. 4548)

SCORECARD

House of Representatives

State	Representative	District	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
AZ	J. D. Hayworth	5th	R	N/V	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
AZ	Jim Kolbe	8th	R	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N/V
AZ	Ed Pastor	4th	D	N	N	N/V	N/V	N/V	N	N	Y	Y
AZ	Rick Renzi	1st	R	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
AZ	John B. Shadegg	3rd	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CA	Joe Baca	43rd	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Xavier Becerra	31st	D	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Howard L. Berman	28th	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N/V
CA	Mary Bono	45th	R	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CA	Ken Calvert	44th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CA	Lois Capps	23rd	D	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Dennis A. Cardoza	18th	D	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Christopher Cox	48th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N/V	N	Y
CA	Randy "Duke" Cunningham	50th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CA	Susan A. Davis	53rd	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N/V
CA	Calvin M. Dooley	20th	D	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
CA	John T. Doolittle	4th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N/V	N	Y
CA	David Dreier	26th	R	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CA	Anna G. Eshoo	14th	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Sam Farr	17th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Bob Filner	51st	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Elton Gallegly	24th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CA	Jane Harman	36th	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Wally Herger	2nd	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CA	Michael M. Honda	15th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Duncan Hunter	52nd	R	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CA	Darrell E. Issa	49th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CA	Tom Lantos	12th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y

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4. FY04 Foreign Operations Appropriations, HIV/AIDS and

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5. FY 04 Foreign Operations Appropriations (H.R. 2800)
6. War in Iraq (H.R. 561)
7. Federal Employee Pay Parity (H.R. 581)
8. Libyan Disarmament (H.R. 4548)
9. FY05 Intelligence Authorization/Treatment of Prisoners (H.R. 4548)

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CA	Barbara Lee	9th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Jerry Lewis	41st	R	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CA	Zoe Lofgren	16th	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N/V
CA	Howard P. "Buck" McKeon	25th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CA	Robert T. Matsui	5th	D	N	N	Y	N/V	N/V	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Juanita Millender-McDonald	37th	D	N/V	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Gary G. Miller	42nd	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CA	George Miller	7th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Grace F. Napolitano	38th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Devin Nunes	21st	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CA	Doug Ose	3rd	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
CA	Nancy Pelosi	8th	D	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
CA	Richard W. Pombo	11th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CA	George Radanovich	19th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CA	Dana Rohrabacher	46th	R	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
CA	Lucille Roybal-Allard	34th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Edward R. Royce	40th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N/V	N	Y
CA	Linda T. Sánchez	39th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Loretta Sanchez	47th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Adam B. Schiff	29th	D	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Brad Sherman	27th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Hilda L. Solis	32nd	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Fortney Pete Stark	13th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Ellen O. Tauscher	10th	D	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CA	William M. Thomas	22nd	R	T	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CA	Mike Thompson	1st	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Maxine Waters	35th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Diane E. Watson	33rd	D	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Henry A. Waxman	30th	D	N	N		Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Lynn C. Woolsey	6th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
CO	Bob Beauprez	7th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CO	Diana DeGette	1st	D	N	N	Y	Y	N	N/V	N	Y	Y
CO	Joel Hefley	5th	R	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y

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CO	Scott McInnis	3rd	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N/V	N	Y
CO	Marilyn N. Musgrave	4th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
CO	Thomas G. Tancredo	6th	R	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
CO	Mark Udall	2nd	D	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
CT	Rosa L. DeLauro	3rd	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CT	Nancy L. Johnson	5th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CT	John B. Larson	1st	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N/V
CT	Christopher Shays	4th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N/V
CT	Rob Simmons	2nd	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
DC	Eleanor Holmes Norton	Delegate										
DE	Michael N. Castle	At Large	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
FL	Michael Bilirakis	9th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
FL	Allen Boyd	2nd	D	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
FL	Corrine Brown	3rd	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N/V
FL	Ginny Brown-Waite	5th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
FL	Ander Crenshaw	4th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
FL	Jim Davis	11th	D	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
FL	Peter Deutsch	20th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
FL	Lincoln Diaz-Balart	21st	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
FL	Mario Diaz-Balart	25th	R	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
FL	Tom Feeney	24th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N/V
FL	Mark Foley	16th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
FL	Porter J. Goss	14th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
FL	Katherine Harris	13th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
FL	Alcee L. Hastings	23rd	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N/V	Y
FL	Ric Keller	8th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
FL	Kendrick B. Meek	17th	D	N	N/V	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
FL	John L. Mica	7th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y

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FL	Jeff Miller	1st	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
FL	Adam H. Putnam	12th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
FL	Ileana Ros-Lehtinen	18th	R	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N/V
FL	E. Clay Shaw Jr.	22nd	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
FL	Cliff Stearns	6th	R	Y	Y	N/V	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
FL	Dave Weldon	15th	R	N/V	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N/V
FL	Robert Wexler	19th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
FL	C. W. Bill Young	10th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
GA	Sanford D. Bishop Jr.	2nd	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
GA	Max Burns	12th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
GA	Mac Collins	8th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
GA	Nathan Deal	10th	R	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N/V
GA	Phil Gingrey	11th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N/V	N	Y
GA	Johnny Isakson	6th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
GA	Jack Kingston	1st	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
GA	John Lewis	5th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
GA	John Linder	7th	R	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N/V	N	Y
GA	Denise L. Majette	4th	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
GA	Jim Marshall	3rd	D	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
GA	Charlie Norwood	9th	R	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
GA	David Scott	13th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
GU	Madeleine Z. Bordallo	Delegate										
HI	Neil Abercrombie	1st	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
HI	Ed Case	2nd	D	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
IA	Leonard L. Boswell	3rd	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
IA	Steve King	5th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
IA	Tom Latham	4th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
IA	James A. Leach	2nd	R	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
IA	Jim Nussle	1st	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ID	C. L. "Butch" Otter	1st	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ID	Michael K. Simpson	2nd	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N/V
IL	Judy Biggert	13th	R	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
IL	Jerry F. Costello	12th	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N/V	Y

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IL	Philip M. Crane	8th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
IL	Danny K. Davis	7th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
IL	Rahm Emanuel	5th	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
IL	Lane Evans	17th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
IL	Luis V. Gutierrez	4th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
IL	J. Dennis Hastert	14th	R	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
IL	Henry J. Hyde	6th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N/V	N/V	N/V	N	Y
IL	Jesse L. Jackson Jr.	2nd	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
IL	Timothy V. Johnson	15th	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N/V	Y	N	Y
IL	Mark Steven Kirk	10th	R	Y	N	N/V	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N/V
IL	Ray LaHood	18th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
IL	William O. Lipinski	3rd	D	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N/V
IL	Donald A. Manzullo	16th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
IL	Bobby L. Rush	1st	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
IL	Janice D. Schakowsky	9th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
IL	John Shimkus	19th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N/V
IL	Jerry Weller	11th	R	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
IN	Dan Burton	5th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N/V
IN	Steve Buyer	4th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
IN	Julia Carson	7th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N/V	Y
IN	Chris Chocola	2nd	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
IN	Baron P. Hill	9th	D	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
IN	John N. Hostettler	8th	R	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
IN	Mike Pence	6th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
IN	Mark E. Souder	3rd	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
IN	Peter J. Visclosky	1st	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
KS	Dennis Moore	3rd	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
KS	Jerry Moran	1st	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y

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KS	Jim Ryun	2nd	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
KS	Todd Tiahrt	4th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N/V
KY	Ben Chandler	6th	D	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
KY	Ron Lewis	2nd	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
KY	Ken Lucas	4th	D	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
KY	Anne M. Northup	3rd	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N/V
KY	Harold Rogers	5th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N/V
KY	Ed Whitfield	1st	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
LA	Rodney Alexander	5th	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
LA	Richard H. Baker	6th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
LA	William J. Jefferson	2nd	D	N/V	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N/V
LA	Christopher John	7th	D	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
LA	Jim McCrery	4th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
LA	W. J. (Billy) Tauzin	3rd	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
LA	David Vitter	1st	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MA	Michael E. Capuano	8th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N/V	Y	N/V
MA	William D. Delahunt	10th	D	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N/V	Y
MA	Barney Frank	4th	D	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
MA	Stephen F. Lynch	9th	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N/V	Y	Y
MA	James P. McGovern	3rd	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
MA	Edward J. Markey	7th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MA	Martin T. Meehan	5th	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MA	Richard E. Neal	2nd	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MA	John W. Oliver	1st	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
MA	John F. Tierney	6th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MD	Roscoe G. Bartlett	6th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MD	Benjamin L. Cardin	3rd	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MD	Elijah E. Cummings	7th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MD	Wayne T. Gilchrest	1st	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	N/V	Y	N	Y
MD	Steny H. Hoyer	5th	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MD	C. A. Dutch Ruppersberger	2nd	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
MD	Chris Van Hollen	8th	D	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
MD	Albert Russell Wynn	4th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y

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ME	Thomas H. Allen	1st	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
ME	Michael H. Michaud	2nd	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MI	Dave Camp	4th	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MI	John Conyers Jr.	14th	D	N	N/V	N	Y	Y	N	N/V	N/V	N/V
MI	John D. Dingell	15th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
MI	Vernon J. Ehlers	3rd	R	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MI	Peter Hoekstra	2nd	R	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MI	Dale E. Kildee	5th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
MI	Carolyn C. Kilpatrick	13th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N/V
MI	Joe Knollenberg	9th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MI	Sander M. Levin	12th	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
MI	Thaddeus G. McCotter	11th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MI	Candice S. Miller	10th	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N/V	Y
MI	Mike Rogers	8th	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MI	Nick Smith	7th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MI	Bart Stupak	1st	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MI	Fred Upton	6th	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MN	Gil Gutknecht	1st	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MN	Mark R. Kennedy	6th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MN	John Kline	2nd	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MN	Betty McCollum	4th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
MN	James L. Oberstar	8th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N/V	Y	Y
MN	Collin C. Peterson	7th	D	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MN	Jim Ramstad	3rd	R	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MN	Martin Olav Sabo	5th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
MO	W. Todd Akin	2nd	R	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MO	Roy Blunt	7th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MO	Wm. Lacy Clay	1st	D	N	N	N	N/V	N/V	N	N	Y	Y

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MO	Jo Ann Emerson	8th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MO	Richard A. Gephardt	3rd	D	N/V	N/V	N	Y	N/V	N/V	N/V	N/V	N/V
MO	Sam Graves	6th	R	Y	Y	Y	N/V	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MO	Kenny C. Hulshof	9th	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N/V
MO	Karen McCarthy	5th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N/V	Y	Y
MO	Ike Skelton	4th	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MS	Charles W. "Chip" Pickering	3rd	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MS	Gene Taylor	4th	D	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
MS	Bennie G. Thompson	2nd	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N/V	Y
MS	Roger F. Wicker	1st	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MT	Dennis R. Rehberg	At Large	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NC	Cass Ballenger	10th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NC	Richard Burr	5th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NC	G. K. Butterfield	1st	D	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NC	Howard Coble	6th	R	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NC	Bob Etheridge	2nd	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NC	Robin Hayes	8th	R	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NC	Walter B. Jones	3rd	R	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N/V	N	Y
NC	Mike McIntyre	7th	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N/V	N/V	Y	Y
NC	Brad Miller	13th	D		N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
NC	Sue Wilkins Myrick	9th	R	Y	Y	N/V	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NC	David E. Price	4th	D	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
NC	Charles H. Taylor	11th	R	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N/V
NC	Melvin L. Watt	12th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
ND	Earl Pomeroy	At Large	D	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N/V
NE	Doug Bereuter	1st	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NE	Tom Osborne	3rd	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NE	Lee Terry	2nd	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NH	Charles F. Bass	2nd	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NH	Jeb Bradley	1st	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NJ	Robert E. Andrews	1st	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NJ	Mike Ferguson	7th	R	N/V	N/V	Y	N/V	N/V	Y	Y	N	Y
NJ	Rodney P. Frelinghuysen	11th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y

SCORECARD

House of Representatives

State	Representative	District	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
NJ	Scott Garrett	5th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NJ	Rush D. Holt	12th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
NJ	Frank A. LoBiondo	2nd	R	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NJ	Robert Menendez	13th	D	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N/V
NJ	Frank Pallone Jr.	6th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N/V
NJ	Bill Pascrell Jr.	8th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
NJ	Donald M. Payne	10th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N/V
NJ	Steven R. Rothman	9th	D	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NJ	Jim Saxton	3rd	R	N	N	Y	N/V	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NJ	Christopher H. Smith	4th	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N/V	Y
NM	Stevan Pearce	2nd	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NM	Tom Udall	3rd	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
NM	Heather Wilson	1st	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NV	Shelley Berkley	1st	D	N/V	N/V	N/V	N/V	N/V	N	N	Y	Y
NV	Jim Gibbons	2nd	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NV	Jon C. Porter	3rd	R	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NY	Gary L. Ackerman	5th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
NY	Timothy H. Bishop	1st	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NY	Sherwood Boehlert	24th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NY	Joseph Crowley	7th	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N/V
NY	Eliot L. Engel	17th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NY	Vito Fossella	13th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N/V
NY	Maurice D. Hinchey	22nd	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NY	Amo Houghton	29th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N/V
NY	Steve Israel	2nd	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NY	Sue W. Kelly	19th	R	Y	N/V	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NY	Peter T. King	3rd	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NY	Nita M. Lowey	18th	D	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N/V

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NY	Carolyn McCarthy	4th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
NY	John M. McHugh	23rd	R	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NY	Michael R. McNulty	21st	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NY	Carolyn B. Maloney	14th	D	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
NY	Gregory W. Meeks	6th	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NY	Jerrold Nadler	8th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N/V
NY	Major R. Owens	11th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NY	Jack Quinn	27th	R	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NY	Charles B. Rangel	15th	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NY	Thomas M. Reynolds	26th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NY	José E. Serrano	16th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
NY	Louise McIntosh Slaughter	28th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N/V	Y	Y
NY	John E. Sweeney	20th	R	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NY	Edolphus Towns	10th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N/V	Y	Y
NY	Nydia M. Velázquez	12th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N/V	Y	N/V
NY	James T. Walsh	25th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NY	Anthony D. Weiner	9th	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N/V
OH	John A. Boehner	8th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
OH	Sherrod Brown	13th	D	N	N/V	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
OH	Steve Chabot	1st	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OH	Paul E. Gillmor	5th	R	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
OH	David L. Hobson	7th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
OH	Stephanie Tubbs Jones	11th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
OH	Marcy Kaptur	9th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
OH	Dennis J. Kucinich	10th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
OH	Steven C. LaTourette	14th	R	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OH	Robert W. Ney	18th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
OH	Michael G. Oxley	4th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
OH	Rob Portman	2nd	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
OH	Deborah Pryce	15th	R	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N/V
OH	Ralph Regula	16th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
OH	Tim Ryan	17th	D	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
OH	Ted Strickland	6th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y

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OH	Patrick J. Tiberi	12th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
OH	Michael R. Turner	3rd	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
OK	Brad Carson	2nd	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
OK	Tom Cole	4th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
OK	Ernest J. Istook Jr.	5th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N/V
OK	Frank D. Lucas	3rd	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N/V
OK	John Sullivan	1st	R	Y	Y	N/V	N/V	N/V	Y	Y	N	N/V
OR	Earl Blumenauer	3rd	D	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
OR	Peter A. DeFazio	4th	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
OR	Darlene Hooley	5th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
OR	Greg Walden	2nd	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N/V	N	Y
OR	David Wu	1st	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
PA	Robert A. Brady	1st	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
PA	Michael F. Doyle	14th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
PA	Phil English	3rd	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
PA	Chaka Fattah	2nd	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
PA	Jim Gerlach	6th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
PA	James C. Greenwood	8th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
PA	Melissa A. Hart	4th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
PA	Joseph M. Hoeffel	13th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
PA	Tim Holden	17th	D	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
PA	Paul E. Kanjorski	11th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
PA	Tim Murphy	18th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
PA	John P. Murtha	12th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
PA	John E. Peterson	5th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
PA	Joseph R. Pitts	16th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
PA	Todd Russell Platts	19th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
PA	Don Sherwood	10th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y

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PA	Bill Shuster	9th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
PA	Patrick J. Toomey	15th	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N/V
PA	Curt Weldon	7th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
PR	Anibal Acevedo-Vilá	Resident Commissioner										
RI	Patrick J. Kennedy	1st	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
RI	James R. Langevin	2nd	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N/V
SC	J. Gresham Barrett	3rd	R	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
SC	Henry E. Brown Jr.	1st	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
SC	James E. Clyburn	6th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
SC	Jim DeMint	4th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N/V
SC	John M. Spratt Jr.	5th	D	N/V	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
SC	Joe Wilson	2nd	R	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
SD	Stephanie Herseth	At Large	D	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
TN	Marsha Blackburn	7th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
TN	Jim Cooper	Delegate	D	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
TN	Lincoln Davis	4th	D	Y	N/V	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
TN	John J. Duncan Jr.	2nd	R	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
TN	Harold E. Ford Jr.	9th	D	N	N/V	Y	N/V	N/V	N	N	Y	Y
TN	Bart Gordon	6th	D	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
TN	William L. Jenkins	1st	R	Y	Y	Y	N/V	N/V	Y	N	N	Y
TN	John S. Tanner	8th	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
TN	Zach Wamp	3rd	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
TX	Joe Barton	6th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
TX	Chris Bell	25th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
TX	Henry Bonilla	23rd	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
TX	Kevin Brady	8th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
TX	Michael C. Burgess	26th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
TX	John R. Carter	31st	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
TX	John Abney Culberson	7th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
TX	Tom DeLay	22nd	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
TX	Lloyd Doggett	10th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
TX	Chet Edwards	11th	D	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
TX	Martin Frost	24th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y

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State	Representative	District	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
TX	Charles A. Gonzalez	20th	D	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
TX	Kay Granger	12th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
TX	Gene Green	29th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
TX	Ralph M. Hall	4th	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
TX	Jeb Hensarling	5th	R	N	N/V	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
TX	Rubén Hinojosa	15th	D	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
TX	Sheila Jackson-Lee	18th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
TX	Eddie Bernice Johnson	30th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
TX	Sam Johnson	3rd	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
TX	Nick Lampson	9th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
TX	Randy Neugebauer	19th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
TX	Solomon P. Ortiz	27th	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
TX	Ron Paul	14th	R	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N/V	N	N
TX	Silvestre Reyes	16th	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
TX	Ciro D. Rodriguez	28th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
TX	Max Sandlin	1st	D	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
TX	Pete Sessions	32nd	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
TX	Lamar S. Smith	21st	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
TX	Charles W. Stenholm	17th	D	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
TX	Mac Thornberry	13th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
TX	Jim Turner	2nd	D	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
UT	Rob Bishop	1st	R	Y	Y	N/V	N/V	N/V	Y	Y	N	Y
UT	Chris Cannon	3rd	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N/V	Y
UT	Jim Matheson	2nd	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
VA	Rick Boucher	9th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
VA	Eric Cantor	7th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
VA	Jo Ann Davis	1st	R	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
VA	Tom Davis	11th	R	N	N	N/V	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y

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VA	J. Randy Forbes	4th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
VA	Virgil H. Goode Jr.	5th	R	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
VA	Bob Goodlatte	6th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
VA	James P. Moran	8th	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
VA	Edward L. Schrock	2nd	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
VA	Robert C. Scott	3rd	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
VA	Frank R. Wolf	10th	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
VI	Donna M. Christensen	Delegate										
VT	Bernard Sanders	At Large	I	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N/V
WA	Brian Baird	3rd	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
WA	Norman D. Dicks	6th	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
WA	Jennifer Dunn	8th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
WA	Doc Hastings	4th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
WA	Jay Inslee	1st	D	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
WA	Rick Larsen	2nd	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
WA	Jim McDermott	7th	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
WA	George R. Nethercutt Jr.	5th	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N/V
WA	Adam Smith	9th	D	N/V	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N/V	N/V
WI	Tammy Baldwin	2nd	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
WI	Mark Green	8th	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
WI	Ron Kind	3rd	D	N	N	Y	N/V	N/V	N	N	Y	Y
WI	Gerald D. Kleczka	4th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N/V	Y
WI	David R. Obey	7th	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
WI	Thomas E. Petri	6th	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WI	Paul Ryan	1st	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
WI	F. James Sensenbrenner Jr.	5th	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WV	Shelley Moore Capito	2nd	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
WV	Alan B. Mollohan	1st	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N/V
WV	Nick J. Rahall II	3rd	D	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
WY	Barbara Cubin	At Large	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y

CHALLENGING SAMUEL HUNTINGTON

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON'S NEWEST BOOK EXPRESSES CONCERN ABOUT THE CURRENT WAVE OF HISPANIC IMMIGRATION TO THE U.S. HIS WORRIES ARE SINCERE BUT EXAGGERATED.

By JOHN DICKSON

Those of us who have lived overseas are familiar with our nation's enormous impact on other cultures, particularly as seen through the eyes of non-Americans concerned about losing their identity in the face of the Hollywood, Wal-Mart and CNN onslaught. Even those of us without this kind of daily, intimate contact have been made aware — through protests in Seattle, Venice, Davos, Cancun and elsewhere — of strong opposition to globalization's economic impact on other countries.

Now, along comes Samuel Huntington, who forces us to look at the other side of the coin: the effects of immigration — as one important facet of globalization — on our *own* identity. His article in the March/April 2004 issue of *Foreign Policy*, "The Hispanic Challenge," as well as the book it is excerpted from, *Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity* (Simon & Schuster, 2004), both describe the loss of the core American values at the foundation of our identity as a result of the current, historic wave of immigration, principally Hispanic and largely Mexican in origin. He notes differences in this current wave that set it apart (in his view) from earlier immigration patterns, which moved quickly toward assimilation. The size, the illegality, the language, the proximity and the historic claims to U.S. territory involved all make Huntington worry more about this current wave of immigration than any previous ones.

Many, especially in Mexico where I served as DCM until this summer, have dismissed Huntington as xenophobic or even racist, and perhaps a bit senile. However, three things

should give us pause before we join in this blanket dismissal. First is the predictive ability and staying power of Huntington's earlier works, such as *The Clash of Civilizations* (Simon & Schuster, 1996). He is an enormously thoughtful man whose concerns deserve to be taken seriously.

Second, it is true that some of Huntington's arguments date back more than a century, to a time when some political parties appealed openly to voters' nativism and xenophobia. Yet many of the critics who call him racist for sounding an alarm about losing our identity have no objection when other countries protest our cultural onslaught on their identity.

Finally, we need to acknowledge that Huntington is articulating concerns that are sincere and commonly held throughout the United States. And those concerns must be dealt with on their merits, not by name-calling or knee-jerk dismissal.

All that said, there is a lot to take issue with in Huntington's latest screed. In fact, here are 10 areas of disagreement.

Ten Errors

1. Most fundamentally, Huntington underestimates the strength of our own values, among which he lists: religious faith, rule of law, responsibilities of rulers, rights of individuals, work ethic, a belief that humans have the ability and the duty to try to create a heaven on earth, economic opportunity and political liberties. Does he really feel that so impressive a set of attributes, strengthened over the history of our nation, is so vulnerable to outside influence? I, for one, find it hard to believe that after all the challenges and ordeals we have gone through as a nation, we or our culture is vulnerable.

2. He incorrectly assumes that by their mere presence among us, the new arrivals are changing these values. In fact, like their predecessors, the new immigrants are coming to

John Dickson, an FSO since 1984, has served in Lagos, Durban, Lima, Mexico City and Washington, D.C. He is now deputy chief of mission in Ottawa.

our country precisely because they *embrace* our values. Even those who may claim they are coming for purely economic motives, more often than not, end up staying because without our values, those monetary incentives simply would not exist.

3. Along the same lines, Huntington seems to believe that the values the new immigrants bring are not good. Yet he doesn't even examine what they are! When I asked a class of university students here in Mexico to list their values, they identified family, culture, music, history, color. Others commonly associated with Mexico might include strong religious faith, courtesy and hospitality, hard work and entrepreneurialism. Which of these values are objectionable? Which of these are not compatible with what we want for our country?

4. Huntington doubts the ability of our country to adapt and change and to take advantage of any change that comes our way. But why can we not do as we have always done, and absorb these values into our own core set? Make them ours; make ours better. I am forever amazed when I return home at the speed of change. From the shelves in stores to renovations along city streets, change and improvement are part of our nature. Americans do not stand still, but move on, adapting, absorbing and taking advantage of innovations to make life better.

5. One of the changes Huntington seems to be most worried about is the "invasion" of our country by the Spanish language, which he treats as a new phenomenon despite its long history within our borders. He identifies regional concentrations where Spanish is predominantly spoken, and implies that those Americans who speak only English justifiably feel threatened by hearing a different language in their midst. Perhaps that is true to some degree. But as for me, I would feel threatened by only knowing one language, not by hearing others spoken around me — particularly as the global economy becomes ever more closely knit together and we can no longer take our competitiveness for granted.

As a nation, Americans have always been among the worst language learners, because we saw little need. That may have been true for most of our history, but no longer. Thus, we ought to see language acquisition as an *opportunity*. Even if we don't value the ability to learn other languages for its own sake, there is considerable economic benefit in it.

6. Huntington worries that these new immigrants hold more allegiance to their country of birth than to ours. But he overlooks the fierce pride these new immigrants have in their new country as well, extending to doing things for their new country which were completely frowned on in their old country. Mexico, for example, has a long history and deeply-rooted belief that countries should not intervene in the affairs of other countries. Yet how many soldiers in Iraq are Mexican immigrants? Quite a few. Last year, Mexican news-

papers reprinted letters from Mexican-Americans who said they want to go fight for their new country, which has given them everything they have. Mexicans were stunned; Mexican-Americans were not.

7. His case that the current wave of immigrants is different from preceding influxes is empirically weak. The crux of his argument seems to be that because so many of the current immigrants have entered illegally, that so many are from one country (Mexico), and that so many are from a neighboring country, the majority of them are going to enclaves from which they are unlikely to emerge. But he offers little substantiation for such sweeping assertions, which fly in the face of our national experience.

Students of immigration know the histories of the many ethnic enclaves in New York, Chicago and elsewhere — such as the Polish, Irish, Italian and Chinese, to name some of the main ones during the 19th and early-20th centuries. True, their tendency to settle among their compatriots initially fostered the development of gangs and ghettos (in part because of the hostility and bigotry they faced), but before long, they and their children were becoming integrated into American society and contributing richly to their new homeland. There is little reason to think the newest arrivals will behave any differently.

8. Huntington mistakes Mexicans' pride in their roots and heritage as contempt for their new country. He even goes so far as to call this a sign that Mexicans define themselves "in terms of culture and creed" as opposed to our distinct Anglo-American values. I disagree. This is part of being American; finding our roots, displaying the signs and symbols in our homes, but doing so side-by-side with our pride in our country. I am married to a third-generation Irish-American. I worked most recently for an ambassador who is a third-generation Mexican-American. Both are proud of their heritage, and both are fiercely loyal to our country. There is a big difference between cheering for a team at a soccer match and making a genuine contribution to our new country, such as joining our armed forces.

9. Strangely, Huntington writes as if the Spanish-speaking migrants in the U.S. were a homogeneous group, and the millions of Mexican migrants were monolithic in their views and attitudes. In fact, Spanish-speakers in the U.S. distinguish between Cubans and Peruvians and Mexicans, and the Mexicans themselves are divided according to their regions of origin. In New York or in Los Angeles, you can find clubs and associations representing those from the state of Zacatecas or Puebla, or even from single hometowns. This is further manifested in the fact that many of the most recent migrants are not even moving to traditional or historic destinations. They are increasingly going to states where there are few other migrants at all — e.g., North Carolina, Ohio, North Dakota, Utah — belying

Huntington's argument of regional concentrations. This is equally true for the political leanings of these migrants: current political polling is showing, for example, that more recent Mexican immigrants are more likely to be Republican than their predecessors.

10. Finally, Huntington overlooks another value which is inherent in our very beginnings: tolerance. Yes, our history is littered with shameful periods of intolerance and discrimination, but such deviations have always been followed by resurgences of incorporation and acceptance. Not only is that one of our prime values; it is part of the American psyche.

Dealing with Reality

Huntington seems to believe that it is both desirable and possible for the U.S. to prevent the current wave of immigration from having the deleterious effects he fears. But countries are not static; neither are cultural values.

There are external forces acting on all societies every single day, and we cannot wish or legislate or enforce that reality away. Perhaps this is why Huntington, properly mindful of the horrific responses undertaken by other societies who also felt threatened by this kind of diversity during the past century, offers no "solution," no road map.

One interesting irony comes from a poll on various countries' attitudes towards immigration that Ipsos-Bimsa put out shortly after the appearance of Huntington's article. The country most open to immigration was Canada (where I am currently serving), which has historically encouraged immigrants to populate its vast, relatively empty landscape. Interestingly, not far behind Canada in its openness to immigration was the U.S. More interesting still, the country least open to immigration and most concerned about loss of jobs and identity in the face of immi-

gration was Mexico — the very country (at least judging from the pronouncements of its intellectuals) most offended by Huntington's expression of concerns about our national identity.

But whatever one thinks of the merits of his stance, Huntington deserves our gratitude for moving this perennial debate to a new level. We should therefore avoid the trap of branding this scholar a racist. Waves of immigration, whatever their origins and destinations, are a defining element of globalization that need to be acknowledged and discussed. Open dialogue, especially about contentious, even divisive matters, is also part of our tradition as a country. Such dialogue has always helped us figure out which path to take, and hopefully it will once again enable us to figure out how best to take advantage of this historic wave of immigration for our benefit. ■

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APPRECIATION

Tributes to An Outstanding Diplomat Hume Alexander Horan 1934 – 2004

An Appreciation of the late Amb. Hume Horan, who died July 22, appeared in the September issue of the Journal. In response to an AFSANET message announcing Amb. Horan's passing, the Journal received so many tributes from friends and colleagues that we were unable to publish them all in September. Here are the balance.
— Susan Maitra, Senior Editor

A RARE COMMODITY

Mentors and cheerleaders are so important to a successful Foreign Service career. Truly outstanding mentors are a rare commodity. Hume Horan was a member of that elite and distinguished group. Hume's philosophy for selecting DCMs was to identify officers who were likely to achieve the rank of ambassador themselves. He sought out self-confident deputies. His track record in identifying such persons was phenomenal.

But Hume failed to appreciate that it was not so much his choice of deputies as it was his mentoring and nurturing that allowed them to move into ambassadorial positions. I had the privilege of serving as Hume's deputy in Yaoundé and Khartoum. I was one of the lucky beneficiaries of Hume's very personal ambassadorial training program. I am deeply indebted to Hume Horan's friendship and guidance.

David Shinn
Ambassador, retired
Washington, D.C.

A FIRST-RATE LEADER

Hume was a first-rate mentor and leader, and he extended these skills across two generations. In the 1980s, as the U.S. ambassador in Cameroon and Sudan, he mentored and taught my father — his DCM at both posts — the essence of being an ambassador. In 1993, he became my mentor. I was

a novice writer, free-lancing for a Washington state newspaper during a yearlong African journey. During an extended Christmas visit in Abidjan, where Hume was also ambassador, he coached me on how to tailor the travel articles, and edited the initial four or five stories. His advice and encouragement then, and periodic e-mails over the years, led me to more significant successes in the years that followed.

The last time I saw Hume and his wife Lori, he had invited my wife and me, and my parents, to their house in Georgetown. It was a special occasion. With characteristic enthusiasm for a profession he adored and epitomized, he toasted my recent success in the Foreign Service oral examinations. Cheers to the quintessential diplomat: Hume Horan.

Chris Shinn
Country Director
America-Mideast Educational and Training
Services, Inc.
Jerusalem

FRIENDLY AND UNPRETENTIOUS

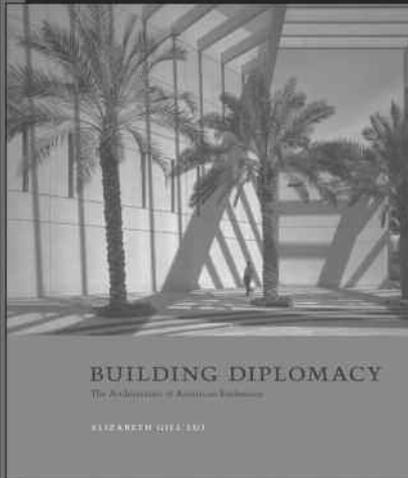
I only met Amb. Horan once, in the 1990s, at FSI. I think he spoke at one of my classes. Afterwards, in a cocky way, I went up and began speaking with him in Arabic. I was a JO and he was the ambassador mentioned in *The Arabists* as the model of success, but he was incredibly warm, friendly and unpretentious. I felt I was in the presence of a human being who had gone a long way toward being what God planned for him to be, and I won't forget him.

Craig White
Refugee Coordinator
Nairobi

AN UNCOMMON APPROACHABILITY

I never worked with or for Amb. Horan, but I did come to know him in the corridors of the Foreign Service Institute. I think that, in itself, says a lot about his approachability and

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winning personality. That a senior, experienced diplomat so easily developed friendly relationships with passers-by in the hallway, to the extent that we could have several in-depth conversations about the future of the department, is uncommon and underscores Amb. Horan's great dedication to all members of the Foreign Service. He will be missed.

*Benjamin Dille
Management Officer
Minsk, Belarus*

NO FOREIGNER SPOKE ARABIC SO FLUENTLY...

Hume Horan was the officer in charge of the branch office of the American Embassy in Baida, Libya, from 1964 to 1966. His principal function at this very small post was to maintain liaison with the members of the Libyan government, chiefly from the Foreign Office, who went to Baida whenever the king, who normally lived in Tobruk, was in residence. In that capacity, Hume had an excellent opportunity to use his Arabic skills and his knowledge of Arab culture.

One such opportunity occurred when the Libyan landlord from whom the embassy rented the small office and two or three other buildings suddenly demanded an increase in the rent the embassy paid to him. When Hume pointed out that the embassy had a lease that still had a long time to go and that the rent was set out in the lease, the Libyan landlord continued to insist on an increase.

Hume went to the Foreign Office official in Baida with whom he usually dealt and told him why the United States could not agree to breaking the lease. The Libyan official, clearly unhappy, pointed out that Baida had practically no surplus housing and that the pressure was on everybody to pay more. He also noted that the Libyan landlord was very well connected to a local family and tribal society. The Libyan official wondered what Hume

expected him to do. He had no ideas himself.

All this conversation was in Arabic. Hume suggested to the Libyan official that the United States would be willing to consider an increase in the rent if the rents of everyone else in Baida were also being increased. To clinch his point, Hume noted, still in Arabic, that the Koran, after all, points out that "the sun shines for everybody."

The Libyan official smiled and said he would look into the matter further. Hume heard nothing more about a possible rent increase. Through his fluency in Arabic and his intimate knowledge of the Arabic culture, he had saved the American taxpayer money that he would otherwise probably have had to pay.

Later, after he had been assigned to the department as Libya desk officer, Hume accompanied the assistant secretary of the bureau on the latter's visit to Libya, which was part of a larger trip the officer was making to Africa. Hume served as the interpreter for the assistant secretary in the meetings with high-ranking Libyan officials, and, at times, seemed to be interpreting for the Libyans. After one such session that lasted over an hour, the Libyan foreign minister, who spoke perfect English, expressed his astonishment to an American who was present at Hume's fluency in Arabic. He said he had never heard any foreigner speak the language so perfectly, catching every nuance, and finding for his Arab listeners words that it would be very difficult to translate from English into Arabic.

*James J. Blake
Ambassador, retired
Washington, D.C.*

LASTING MEMORIES

I served with Amb. Horan in Cameroon as Peace Corps Director from 1979 to 1981. Although new to working with the Peace Corps, Amb. Horan adopted his own style of recog-

nizing the differences between volunteers and Foreign Service officers. He was always eager to visit volunteers, but learned to do so quietly. He even circumvented the regulation that excluded ambassadors from writing Peace Corps directors' efficiency reports. Instead, he wrote a long (and complimentary) open cable to the Peace Corps about my performance, a wonderful twist that certainly helped my later Foreign Service career.

But the most lasting and embarrassing memory was the discussion we had one day about security violations just before country team. As Amb. Horan entered the room, I was declaring that anyone who observed a "clean desk policy" clearly didn't have enough to do. My colleague poked me and said that the ambassador was famous for his clean desk. Never one to take himself too seriously, Amb. Horan laughed heartily when I apologized later. I will always remember the delight

that he and his wife took in the openness of Cameroon society, especially in contrast to the Saudi Arabia they had just left.

*Constance J. Freeman
FSO, retired
Regional Director, East
and Southern Africa
International
Development
Research Center
(Canada)
Nairobi, Kenya*

A JOY AND PRIVILEGE TO WORK WITH

I was saddened to hear about Amb. Horan's death.

I was his secretary in Jeddah, where the embassy was then located, from 1971 to 1972. Amb. Horan was the youngest DCM in the Foreign Service at the time. I was continually amazed by his intelligence, sense of humor, his interest in and concern for others, and his linguistic abilities. He

had not been at post very long, when one day I was away from my desk for a short while. I came back in and heard spoken Arabic coming from his office. I rushed in, worried that someone had come in to his office while I was away. I was amazed to see him leaning back in his chair with his feet on his desk chattering away in fluent Arabic. That was the beginning of my realization of how special he was. Over the years, we would occasionally run into each other in Washington and have lunch. He would always have news of those who were at post with us during that time. Such a memory he had!

I know you will receive many tributes to him, so I won't go into long stories about what a joy and privilege it was to work with him. He was a supreme example of an American diplomat. He is sorely missed already.

*Anna J. Thomas
Management Assistant
Embassy Ankara*



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A MAN COULD COUNT ON HIM

I met Mr. Horan for the first time in Cameroon in 1981, and I was impressed by his knowledge and integrity. He was a caring person and a gentleman. I haven't heard him speaking Arabic, but his friends told me he is fluent in that language. He was an outspoken person and a man could count on him.

*Bijan Yazdani
Certifying Officer
REDSO/RFMC/
Nairobi-Kenya*

A SUPERLATIVE INDIVIDUAL

I first met Hume in Baghdad in 1960, where we both were junior officers on the first year of our first tours with the Foreign Service, Hume with the embassy and I with USAID. He was a few years younger than I, a little shy and instantly likeable.

We inducted him into our weekly embassy/USAID/spook/attaché nickel-and-dime poker night. It didn't take him very long to learn the game, become very good at it, and usually get the best of the rest of us. Thus, he quickly upset our plans to fleece him every week. We just didn't get it. Here was a young man with a charming way about him, who was seemingly somewhat naive. Or so we very mistakenly thought! It was obvious early on that this young man was brilliant, and had a great career in the Foreign Service ahead of him.

Baghdad at that time was definitely a hardship post, and the personalities of everyone in the mission played a key part in maintaining the high morale we all enjoyed there. Hume and his wife, Nancy, were contributing factors leading to that result. In fact, I believed at the time that if the Foreign Service was going to be as great an experience as it was during that tour, it had to be the most satisfying career one could have. And

that, indeed, has proved true.

Later in Hume's career, when he was the ambassador to Cameroon, I was the USAID desk officer. When I visited Yaoundé on TDY, he most kindly arranged a party in my honor, which mightily impressed the USAID/Cameroon staff. But that was typical of Hume: a spontaneous kindness.

It's not usual to meet a large number of superlative people on life's path. Hume was one of those people. I was very glad to have known him, and my wife Sheila and I are very sorry that his life was cut short.

*William H. Faulkner
USAID FSO, retired
Falls Church, Va.*

WHAT AN AMAZING GUY!

As Hume's former colleague during his two tours as diplomat-in-residence at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, I recall with delight the many hours in which he shared his apparently infinite knowledge on subjects both esoteric and mundane. Best of all, he called upon me to assist in publishing *To the Happy Few: A Story of Death, Love, and Loss in the Sudan*, the novel he completed after returning from his mission as ambassador in Abidjan. We had a fantastic time during the long editorial process that included long digressions on anything and everything related (or unrelated) to this valentine to the Foreign Service.

The book's hero was the DCM in Khartoum, a dashing former Marine, whose daring adventures included life-threatening encounters with Islamist extremists, a sizzling but agonizing romantic dilemma, and thinly-veiled portrayals of classic Foreign Service types to cheer or hiss or chuckle over. We published the novel with Electric City Press, and launched it at the Foreign Service Club in October 1996. When Hume moved abroad a few years later, he donated most of his supply of the book to the Association for

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Diplomatic Studies and Training, designating all proceeds to support ADST's book-publishing program. (You can read more about the book and its enthusiastic reviews by George Vest, Robert Kaplan, the *FSJ*, and others at www.adst.org.) What an amazing guy!

*Margery Thompson
Association for
Diplomatic Studies
and Training
Washington, D.C.*

A GREAT GENTLEMAN

I was privileged to know Amb. Horan in Yaoundé. I was working as a rover in the communications (now information management) section. We quickly found common ground in our interest in the Middle East. His experiences there had left him with a great respect for the culture of that area. I enjoyed the times we had to talk of the area and people. He, his wife and family showed such grand

hospitality to all — even TDY personnel. During one of my six or so visits, I received word of a promotion. Amb. Horan took time from his busy schedule to not only write me a letter of congratulation, but to include a postscript in Arabic, which has made it an even more special memento of that time. Many years later, while visiting Washington from Damascus, I ran into Amb. Horan. He immediately recognized me, and took time for a short discussion on current events and their possible ramifications. He was a great gentleman, who will certainly be missed by all who knew him.

*Judy Chidester
FS (IM), retired
Las Cruces, New Mexico*

SUPPORT FOR CONSULAR OFFICERS

Ambassador (then-Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of Consular Affairs) Hume Horan was

always known to be highly supportive of consular officers — and I am sure of many of his subordinates — working in the field.

I'll never forget the short cable he sent to me personally in the late 1970s on my detailed reporting from Montevideo on the arrest — and the prospective legal process regarding that arrest — of the chairman of the Ford Motor Company in Uruguay. That he took the time to focus on an individual consular officer's work (although I am sure he had received quite a number of calls from Ford in Michigan about the case), and to praise my efforts, was evidence of a genuine concern and appreciation of the work consular officers do on a daily basis. (I also had the chance to meet with him upon my return to Washington and talk about the case.)

*Richard P. Livingston
FSO
Washington, D.C. ■*

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BOOKS

A Proud Legacy

Inventing Public Diplomacy: The Story of the U.S. Information Agency

Wilson P. Dizard Jr., Lynne Rienner
Publishers, 2004, \$49.95, hardcover,
260 pages.

REVIEWED BY ALLEN C. HANSEN

The United States Information Agency was absorbed into the Department of State five years ago this month, on Oct. 1, 1999. Had that reorganization not occurred, last year would have marked the 50th anniversary of USIA's founding. With that in mind, the publication of Wilson P. Dizard's *Inventing Public Diplomacy: The Story of the U.S. Information Agency*, while a welcome addition to the other histories of the agency, is also a somewhat bittersweet occasion — particularly since Dizard also produced the first book about USIA (*The Strategy of Truth*, 1961).

Dizard begins this account by describing two organizations that preceded USIA: the Office of War Information, a model for USIA's overt programs, and the Office of Strategic Services, a model for the CIA's covert information programs. Refreshingly, he has no qualms about calling USIA a propaganda agency — nor should he, even though that term has always bothered even some of its practitioners.

As he explains, some within the agency also questioned the use of another term for the agency's mission, "public diplomacy." Curiously, Diz-

ard does not tell us that the term reportedly was first coined in 1965 by Edmund Gullion, dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, when the Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy was established. But despite that minor omission, he helps us understand its meaning, both in theory and practice.

Another often-debated subject throughout USIA's existence was the varied roles of media and cultural programs and the importance of each. Rather than taking sides in that perennial dispute, Dizard points out how they complement each other. Even when supervision of cultural exchange programs remained within the State Department (until 1979), USIA offices overseas (known as the U.S. Information Service, USIS) administered cultural programs with mostly positive results, refuting the argument that cultural and informational programs don't mix.

Throughout his narrative, Dizard masterfully intertwines the major global issues and events (and domestic ones, as well) that affected U.S. foreign policy concerns from 1940 to the present time. As he notes, USIA was called upon to explain, refute or support official positions to overseas audiences, and it was through that process that public diplomacy USIA-style evolved. Likewise, he gives careful attention to the dramatic technological changes in communications that occurred during the last half of the 20th century, and documents how the agency changed its methods of operation in response. For more

details, see his previous books, particularly *Megamet: How the Global Communications Network Will Survive* (Harper Collins/Westview, 1997) and *Digital Diplomacy: U.S. Foreign Policy in the Information Age* (Praeger, 2001).

This seminal study is a gold mine of information for researchers interested in U.S. foreign policy and how the U.S. government's media and cultural activities sought to garner international support for Washington's policies during the Cold War. Replete with footnotes that support many of his views (thoughtfully placed after each chapter rather than at the end of the book), and a comprehensive bibliography, *Inventing Public Diplomacy* is an excellent reference book as well as an interesting history to read.

In his final chapter, "The Future of Public Diplomacy," one does wish Dizard had discussed in greater detail the current organization of the State Department that, in the view of many observers, has seriously hamstrung public diplomacy in the post-USIA era. This reviewer would also have welcomed a discussion about the possibility of creating another single propaganda agency, even though current conventional wisdom indicates that such a possibility is impractical.

Such small quibbles aside, Dizard has produced what will surely be viewed for a long time to come as a definitive history of USIA. ■

Former USIA FSO Allen Hansen is the author of USIA: Public Diplomacy in the Computer Age (Praeger, 1984; 2nd edition, 1989).



IN MEMORY

Sharon Bagwell Akalovsky, 61, wife of retired FSO Alexander Akalovsky and a former Foreign Service secretary, died April 4 at Sibley Hospital in Washington, D.C., after a long battle with breast cancer.

Mrs. Akalovsky was with the Foreign Service from 1966 until her marriage in 1977. During that period, she served in Kabul, Hong Kong, Bern, Saigon, Berlin, Lusaka and Washington, D.C. After leaving the Service, she became a resident of Bethesda, Md., worked for several years as a legal secretary and then turned to developing her considerable talent as an artist. Her watercolor paintings were given high marks by juries at a number of local art exhibits.

Mrs. Akalovsky is survived by her husband, Alexander, of Bethesda, Md.; three stepchildren, Irene McClendon, Elaine Kallay and Alexander Akalovsky Jr.; five step-grandchildren; and her mother, Juanita Bagwell of Deland, Fla.



David Morgan Bane, 88, retired FSO and former ambassador, died in West Palm Beach, Fla., on March 23.

Ambassador Bane was born in Pennsylvania. He earned his B.A. at Duke University in 1938 and his LL.B. at the University of Pennsylvania in 1941. He was a member of the Pennsylvania bar. Commissioned as a lieutenant in the cavalry of

the U.S. Army in 1941, he served in the China-Burma-India theater, and was awarded the Bronze Star and the Soldier's Medal. He was honorably discharged with the rank of colonel in 1946.

In 1947, Amb. Bane joined the Foreign Service and was posted to Tokyo as a political-economic officer. He was transferred to Seoul in 1949 as an economic officer, and a year later received orders to report to Bordeaux, where he served as a consular officer. In 1953, he was assigned to Paris as a political officer, returning to Washington in 1956 to work in the Office of U.N. Political Affairs. After being detailed to the National War College in 1957, in 1958 he became deputy director of the Office of Northeast Asian Affairs in the State Department, assuming the directorship in 1959.

From 1961 to 1964, Amb. Bane served as consul general in Lahore. He then spent a year as diplomat-in-residence at the University of Iowa. In 1965 he was appointed by President Johnson to serve as ambassador to Gabon. After four years there, he was named political adviser to the commander-in-chief of the U.S. Strike Command/U.S. Commander-in-Chief to the Middle East, Africa and South Asia based at McDill Air Force Base in Tampa, Fla. His final posting before retiring in 1975 was to Bombay as consul general.

Following retirement Amb. and Mrs. Bane settled in Florida. Amb.

Bane's love of sporting activities brought him to the Palm Beach Polo Club in Wellington, where he enjoyed the Sunday afternoon international high goal polo tournaments when in season. He took up skiing in his seventies, and he and his wife Patty would spend each February in Sun Valley, Idaho, skiing and dining in the resort's many fine restaurants. In summers he enjoyed fly fishing and hiking in Montana and the Sawtooth Mountains. At home, gardening and reading were his hobbies. In 1984, he and Patty made a nostalgic trip around the world.

Amb. Bane is survived by his wife, Patricia Miller Bane of Wellington, Fla.; a married daughter, Patricia Huston Long of Alexandria, Va.; two granddaughters and two great-grandchildren. Memorial contributions may be made to the Hospice of Palm Beach County, Inc., 5300 East Avenue, West Palm Beach FL 33407-2387.



Francine L. Bowman, 63, a Foreign Service officer who retired in 1991, died of cancer in Asheville, N.C. on Nov. 4, 2003.

Ms. Bowman began her career in the Foreign Service in 1961 in Athens. She later served in Vietnam and Chile, where she learned to fly. During her posting to Mexico she had her own private plane. Twelve years after joining the Foreign Service as a secretary, she became an administrative officer and finished

IN MEMORY



her career as such. She also served in Havana, Conakry, Athens, Abidjan, Ivory Coast, Luxembourg, Bahrain and Asuncion. Ms. Bowman was fluent in Spanish and could speak some French.

She traveled extensively in the United States and throughout the world after her retirement, even though she was in cancer recovery. In 1995 she came out of retirement to serve as an administrative officer for the Summit for the Americas that was held in Miami and attended by 34 heads of state. She was active in her church, the Life After Cancer organization and other volunteer groups in Asheville.

Ms. Bowman is survived by her brother James Bowman of Bayonne, N.J.; a sister Theresa Lambertson of Long Island, N.Y.; three nieces, and one nephew. A memorial service was held at the Unitarian Universalist Church in Asheville.



Morgan Lyall Breckon, 68, retired senior diplomat and FSO, died suddenly in Singapore on June 22, while on assignment there for the Center for Naval Analyses of Alexandria, Va.

Mr. Breckon was born in Saltcoats, Saskatchewan, Canada, on June 30, 1936. His early years were spent in Minnesota and Oregon. He received a Bachelor of Arts from Harvard College in 1958, and in September of that year was commissioned an officer of the United States Foreign Service, where his first assignment was in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Following Vietnamese language training at the Foreign Service Institute, he was assigned to the political section of Embassy Saigon in July 1961.

After Thai language training, he was assigned to Bangkok as political

officer from 1966 to 1969. During his tenure there, he opened the consular post in Songkhla, in southern Thailand. He was again assigned to Saigon in 1969, and returned to Bangkok in 1970, and following that was posted to Madras as consul in 1971. In 1973, he returned to Washington to serve in the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs. He was a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Service at Princeton University in 1975-76.

Later assignments included the Policy Planning Staff of the State Department, where he worked on East Asia matters. He served as chargé d'affaires and deputy chief of mission in Kuala Lumpur from 1979 to 1983. During that time he was also appointed to and served as consul general for Brunei.

Mr. Breckon then became director of the office of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia Affairs at the State Department, where he worked closely with the POW-MIA organization The National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia. He was among the first group of American officials to travel to Hanoi following the war.

Mr. Breckon was DCM from 1986 to 1989 in Vienna, for the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction talks and later the Conventional Forces in Europe negotiations. From 1990 to 1992, he served as deputy U.S. representative to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, and in New York on the United Nations First Committee during the final negotiations on the Chemical Weapons Convention. Mr. Breckon retired from the Foreign Service in 1993, with the rank of minister-counselor. Throughout his career he received numerous superior honor and meritorious awards.

Following retirement, he became a senior analyst at the Center for Naval Analyses, where for the past 10 years he directed a wide range of studies on strategic and operational issues in East Asia and the Pacific. He frequently visited the region, participating in seminars and conferences, and meeting with senior government and nongovernment officials and experts. Both the U.S. Pacific Fleet and the U.S. Pacific Command, to which he provided numerous briefings and advice, considered him an invaluable resource in understanding political-military dynamics in Asia. Mr. Breckon also contributed to numerous Track II dialogues and publications, wrote on China and Southeast Asia for the quarterly online journal *Comparative Connections*, published by the Pacific Forum/CSIS, and lectured frequently on Southeast Asia at the Foreign Service Institute.

Mr. Breckon had a keen fascination for the natural world and thoroughly enjoyed exploring his surroundings and meeting people wherever he traveled. His hobbies included music, cycling, sculling, squash, skiing, cooking, woodworking and his rose garden. He was a member of Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired; The Asia Society; The Far East Lunch Group; the Council for Security Cooperation in Asia and the Pacific; the Association for Asian Studies; the Malaysia-American Society; and the United States-Indonesia Society.

He is survived by his wife of 43 years, Claire; their two children, Morgan Alexander of Washington, D.C., and Lydia of Providence, R.I.; a grandson, Jolyon Lyall, and his brother, Garry, of Portland, Ore. In remembrance, please consider donations to So Others Might Eat, 71 O St. NW, Washington DC 20001.

IN MEMORY



Richard G. Cushing, 87, retired FSO, war correspondent in the Pacific for the Associated Press in World War II and later head of the Voice of America, died at his home in Mill Valley, Calif., on July 23.

Mr. Cushing served in Chile, Cuba, Mexico, Venezuela and Kenya in press and cultural relations assignments with the U.S. Information Agency. In 1968 and 1969 he was acting director of the Voice of America. He retired from the Foreign Service at the end of 1976 and returned with his wife Nancy to their home in Mill Valley. From there he continued his link with VOA as a string correspondent for the Bay Area — “to keep my hand in journalism.” For a time he did news reporting for UPI radio.

Born April 30, 1917, in New York City, Mr. Cushing was raised in California. He was a 1934 graduate of Galileo High in San Francisco, and received his undergraduate degree from San Francisco State after attending U.C. Berkeley for three years. He worked for 15 years in the San Francisco bureau of the Associated Press; then, a year before the end of World War II, he was sent to the Pacific as an AP correspondent in the Philippines and Okinawa.

Mr. Cushing and two other correspondents were the first Americans to enter Tokyo when the war ended. They rode a streetcar into the capital from Yokohama's Atsugi Airport, where the first U.S. planes landed. A few days later he helped cover the Japanese surrender to General Douglas MacArthur on the main deck of the battleship *Missouri*, then flew that afternoon to Shanghai, via a low-level flight over the destroyed city of Hiroshima. In Shanghai, he reopened the Associated Press bureau.

Mr. Cushing was married for 58 years to the former Nancy Heizer of Lovelock, Nev., who died in 1998. He is survived by three children, Jeffrey

of Huntington Beach, Calif., Lincoln of Berkeley, Calif., and Martha, of Corrales, N.M.; four grandchildren; one great-grandchild; three nephews; and his companion and lifelong friend Janet Partridge of Greenbrae. His only sibling, Maxine Cushing Gray of Seattle, owner-publisher of the fortnightly *Northwest Arts*, died in 1987. Contributions in Mr. Cushing's memory may be sent to St. Michael's Home, 416 Fourth Street, San Rafael CA 94901.



Jacob (“Jack”) Sloan, 86, retired FSO, died in Venice, Fla., on June 26.

Mr. Sloan was born in Brooklyn, N.Y., on Jan. 10, 1918. He participated in an educational-cultural exchange program in Jerusalem in 1961 and 1962, and joined the U.S. Information Agency in 1965. Mr. Sloan served for many years with USIA in Washington and overseas in India and North Africa. An accomplished editor of international publications, he also wrote several volumes of poetry and a book about the Holocaust.

Upon retirement, in 1986, he moved to Florida.

Survivors include his wife of 32 years, Ann of Venice, Fla.; a daughter, Judith of Zirconia, N.C.; and a grandson. Memorial donations may be made to the All Faiths Food Bank, Attn. Aundria Schooles, 717 Cattleman Road, Sarasota FL 34232. ■

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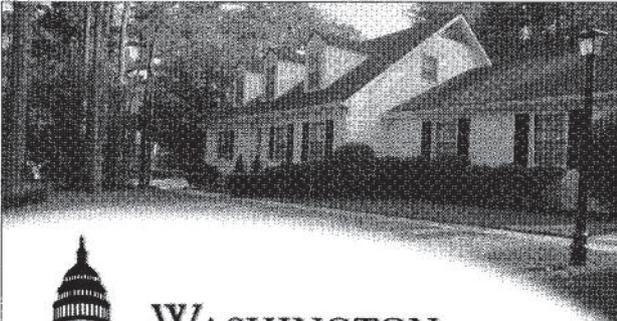
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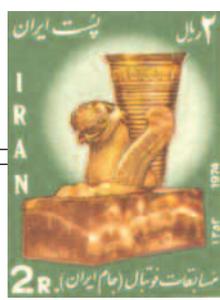
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REFLECTIONS

A Real Hatchet Job

BY THOMAS R. HUTSON

One day in early 1971, our refined, elegant administrative counselor, John Hedberg, asked me to go to the ambassador's residence for a ceremony.

It was mid-morning, and there were only a handful of people present: Amb. Douglas MacArthur II and Mrs. MacArthur; John, the deputy chief of mission (the self-effacing Doug Heck), Don Toussaint (our brilliant, intense political counselor) and the ambassador's supremely capable secretary, Mary Ann McKeown. Also present were the diminutive, mustachioed and cherubic Haikaz Ovanessian, the ambassador's chauffeur, and his wife.

I was completely in the dark about what was to unfold. The purpose of the small gathering, it developed, was to present Haikaz with the highest award possible for Foreign Service National employees, and a check for a substantial sum of money — for saving the lives of Ambassador and Mrs. MacArthur. I was stunned for not knowing this, as I practically lived with the MacArthurs — as do most ambassadorial aides.

It was only after the presentation

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

that I learned what had happened: one night, while returning late from the residence of Court Minister Assadollah Alam, the ambassador's limousine had been forced to the side of the wide avenue descending from Shemiran to the city center by several Peykan passenger cars. (Peykans were the locally produced version of a British Rootes Group car known to me as a Hillman.)

Apparently one of the Peykans pulled in front of the ambassador's Cadillac, with another two at the side and rear. Although he must have slowed momentarily, Haikaz had the presence of mind not to stop. He ducked below the steering wheel while flooring the powerful V-8 engine of the classic Cadillac (which had partial armor plating) and literally knocked the lightweight Peykan aside. The terrorists jumped from their cars and opened fire with machine guns that took out the windows, but did not ignite the fuel tank nor hit the tires.

Somehow, in the mayhem, one of the terrorists hurled a hatchet that sailed through the small rear opera window of the limousine, over the heads of the MacArthurs, who had laid as low as humanly possible in the back seat, and stuck in the back of the driver's seat — quivering, according to the ambassador's wife — just like in the movies.

On the empty streets of the shah's capital, Haikaz sped the car back to the huge estate where the MacArthurs lived and drove it immediately into the garage. It was not seen for

several weeks. A special team was flown in to repair the damage, and the vehicle was soon back on the road, with a substitute being used in the meantime.

No one was the wiser — except for those in the room and the shah's secret police, the Savak. I didn't have a clue.

In presenting the award certificate, plaque and check to Haikaz, the tough, ever-professional Douglas MacArthur II broke down and wept, in utter and humble gratitude to Haikaz. There was hardly a dry eye among that small crowd. Except one.

Haikaz just kept smiling.

After the ambassador was able to compose himself, we found out why. Haikaz stepped into an anteroom and came back with a wrapped package. When the ambassador opened it, he found the very hatchet which had been thrown that nearly fateful night, mounted handsomely on a plaque, with only the date written below it — Feb. 14, 1971. That historic memento now is displayed in the den of the MacArthurs' grandson, in Belgium.

But, whenever I see a hatchet, I cannot but think of the weeping ambassador and the smiling Haikaz, both reflecting on what nearly was a real hatchet job.

Although this attack was kept secret for well over a year, it was also the start of a period of terror that ended the Pahlavi dynasty, brought us the ayatollahs of Iran, and then the terrorists in neighboring lands. Now, *that* was truly a hatchet job! ■

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • October 2004

Call for Nominations – 2005 AFSA Governing Board

Election season is in full swing. You may be limited by the Hatch Act from active involvement in the presidential campaign, but you can play a vital role right here at home in the AFSA election. One person can make a difference. AFSA is calling on you to step up and join the team working to protect and advance the Foreign Service.

Please look over the positions available and consider running for an AFSA Governing Board position, or nominate a colleague. This election is for a board that will take office July 15, 2005, and serve for two years. We are beginning the process at this early date because of the time needed for overseas ballots to reach us and in order to complete the process by March 2005 for active-duty members who may need to transfer or bid on other jobs. Below are instructions on how to run and be nominated for the 2005-2007 AFSA Governing Board.

Important Dates:

- NOV. 16, 2004** Deadline for nominations
- JAN. 3, 2005** Ballots and candidate statements mailed
- MARCH 1, 2005** Ballots counted
- JULY 15, 2005** New board takes office

2005 Election Call

This election call, issued in accordance with Article VII (2)(a) of the AFSA bylaws, constitutes a formal notice to all AFSA members of the opportunity to participate in nomination and election of a new governing board. All of the officer and representative positions listed below are for two-year terms beginning July 15, 2005.

A. Positions to be Filled

1. The officer positions to be filled in this election are:

- President
- Vice President for State
- Vice President for USAID
- Vice President for FCS
- Vice President for FAS
- Vice President for Retirees
- Secretary
- Treasurer

The positions of President and State, USAID and FAS Vice President are full-time positions detailed to AFSA. The FCS Vice President is detailed 50 percent of his/her time to AFSA. These employees are assigned over-complement and eligible for time-in-class extensions.

2. The constituency representative positions to be filled in this election are:

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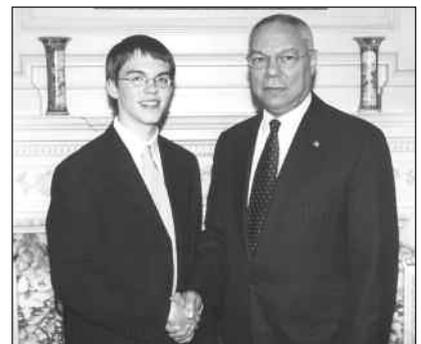
AFSA NATIONAL HIGH SCHOOL ESSAY CONTEST

Youth Awards Ceremony Honors Writers, Directors and Volunteers

BY KRISTOFER LOFGREN,
EDITORIAL INTERN

On July 29, Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage offered the keynote address at the 2004 Youth Awards Ceremony honoring the winners of the AFSA National High School Essay Contest. He said that the success of the contest was evidence that, “children who

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Essay contest winner Andrew Rohrbach is congratulated by Secretary of State Colin Powell.

Mike Gross



JOSH

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



Welcome to New Board Members

AFSA welcomed three new Governing Board members in August, following the departures of State reps Ray Maxwell and Cynthia Efird, and IBB Rep Alex Belida. The new State reps are Tulinabo "Tuli" Mushingi and Elizabeth Horst, and the new IBB rep is Laurie Kassman, also a member of the *Foreign Service Journal's* Editorial Board.

Laurie Kassman joined the Voice of America in 1983 and has served in Mexico City as correspondent for Mexico and Central America; Washington; Paris; Cairo; and London (covering crises in the Middle East and Eastern Europe). She is now based in Washington, and has done stints in Baghdad and other hot spots. Before joining the Foreign Service in 1991, Tuli Mushingi worked for the Peace Corps and taught at several universities, including Dartmouth College and Howard University. He has served in Kuala Lumpur, Maputo, Casablanca and Washington. He was the featured admin officer in AFSA's best seller, *Inside a U.S. Embassy*. Elizabeth Horst is a new-entry professional who joined the Foreign Service in 2001 after serving in the Peace Corps. Her first FS assignment was to Lahore, and she is now serving in the State Department Operations Center. Welcome to all!

AFSA and Politics: Remaining Non-Partisan

There has been much buzz recently about groups of retired Foreign Service and military personnel joining the election-year political debate. (See Cybernotes for details on the various groups.)

AFSA recognizes that our retired colleagues have the right to express freely their views concerning American foreign policy and American politics in whatever forums they wish. In fact, such expressions can make a valuable contribution to a more informed national discussion on foreign policy.

AFSA wishes to remind members that the association takes no position concerning foreign policy questions or political candidates. We remind active-duty Foreign Service personnel that they, as all federal employees, are enjoined by the Hatch Act of 1937 from participation in partisan activities of any political party. For further information on Hatch Act provisions, see the Legal Affairs Bureau's Web page on the State Department site, www.state.gov.

Embassy Baghdad Hit

We need no reminders that service in Iraq is dangerous. But lest anyone forget, AFSA has posted photos from the August mortar attack that hit Embassy Baghdad's communications unit. Two colleagues were injured in the attack; fortunately, neither injury was life-threatening. To see the photos, go to www.afsa.org/baghdadpics.cfm.

Calling AFSA Reps

As AFSA post representatives, you are in the best position to know the current concerns at your post and what issues AFSA should be paying attention to in order to better serve members and the broader Foreign Service community. To use the currently fashionable military-speak, you are AFSA's "boots on the ground" around the world.

We plan to initiate a semi-regular feature in *AFSA News* focusing on the work of AFSA post reps, member concerns and the association's advocacy on behalf of members in the field. We want to hear from you, so please send input to *Foreign Service Journal* Associate Editor Shawn Dorman at dorman@afsa.org.

Briefs • Continued on page 6

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FAS REPRESENTATIVE: Michael Conlon



Austin Tracy

AFSA President John Limbert with essay contest first-place winner Andrew Rohrbach and second-place winner Ashley Mathis.

have never experienced life at one of our posts overseas still understand the importance of our Foreign Service.” Armitage filled in for Secretary of State Colin Powell, who was traveling in the Middle East. AFSA President John Limbert presented certificates to the first- and second-place winners of the contest. The contest provides a creative way for high school students across the country to learn about the implications of U.S. diplomacy and the work of the Foreign Service. Over the past six years more than 3,500 high school students have submitted essays for the annual contest.

The 2004 first-place winner, Andrew Rohrbach, wrote on “Controlling Russian Weapons of Mass Destruction.” He credited his Russian-language teacher with inspiring him to write about Russia, and explained that he learned a lot about the Foreign Service while researching his topic. Rohrbach, a native of McLean, Va., received a check for \$2,500 for his essay. He is a senior at Thomas Jefferson High School, which will receive a gift of \$500 in honor of his success. His winning essay can be read on the AFSA Web site (www.afsa.org/essaycontest/winningessay04.cfm).

The second-place award went to Ashley Mathis of Carnation, Wash., who wrote about the U.S. security situation she encountered while living in Nepal with her parents, who are veterinarians. She is now a freshman at Simpson University in California where she is studying international relations. For her essay, Mathis

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No Reward

Lately, there has been a lot of chatter about rewards. The Foreign Service should “reward” service in Kabul or Tripoli or wherever the next big trouble spot is. The Foreign Service should “reward” those who exhibit good leadership. Et cetera.

The idea behind this method of Foreign Service-rearing (I call it that because it reminds me of those books on how to raise your children) seems to be that in order to get the children, oops, I mean our colleagues, to do what management wants — volunteer for Baghdad, not shout at subordinates, etc. — it needs to reward them.



If AFSA ever agrees to automatic promotions as a reward for hardship service, then I will eat my AFSA membership card.

In the Foreign Service, rewards boil down to two things, assignments and promotions. Well, color me a target for my colleagues’ wrath, but I think that’s a pretty stupid way to manage the FS. First, we’re adults and shouldn’t need to be bribed to exhibit proper behavior. Secondly, we’re members of the Foreign Service, and danger and hardship come with the territory. When you join, you know the risks. Everyone should already know that half of all of our 254 posts are designated hardship at the 15-percent and higher rates. Hardship and danger do not stop a third of all the recent entry-level classes from waving their hands saying, “Pick me, pick me!” when the call for Baghdad service is issued. There is something inherently exciting about being “present at the creation,” to use Acheson’s elegant phrase.

Of course, promotion panels will take service at hardship posts into consideration. But automatic promotions for those at hardship posts and in dangerous countries as a “reward” for service there? I don’t think so. A promotion is what you get when your performance merits it. If AFSA ever agrees to automatic promotions as a reward for hardship service, then I will eat my AFSA membership card at high noon in the department cafeteria. For that would mean that the performance of those doing substantive work in non-hardship posts like Buenos Aires and Seoul would never be recognized.

Rewards in the form of promises of promotions or cushy onward assignments are a bad idea, and AFSA doesn’t endorse them. However, we must staff the difficult and dangerous posts. So what does AFSA endorse? We endorse incentives and expectations. We think you should expect comfortable housing, reasonable allowances and benefits, good and fair supervision, and that your onward assignment be handled transparently and not decided by some inside cabal. You should expect to receive solid training so that you can do your job well. You should expect that your bureaucratic needs (payroll, HHE shipping, travel arrangements, etc.) will be handled expertly and with despatch. If you are at an unaccompanied post, you should expect a reasonable separate maintenance allowance for your family. The department should seek more opportunities for your spouse to work and earn Social Security and retirement credits.

The department is right to expect members of the Foreign Service to be good supervisors, mentors and managers. The department is also right to expect them to serve not just where they desire, but where they are most needed.

One thing is so important it deserves the last word. As the world gets more dangerous, the department does not lower its expectations of service wherever there is a diplomatic need. In return for more dangerous service, the department must commit itself to securing for every member of the Foreign Service overseas ... locality pay. □

State Representatives (eight positions)

USAID Representative (one position)

FCS Representative (one position)

FAS Representative (one position)

IBB Representative (one position)

Retired Member Representatives (four positions)

Article V (4)(b) of the AFSA bylaws authorizes a constituency vice president for each constituency with a minimum of 100 members and one constituency representative position for every 1,000 members or fraction thereof.

B. Nomination Procedures

1. Any AFSA member in good standing (i.e., a member whose dues are automatically deducted or who has paid dues as of Nov. 16, 2004) may submit names (including his or her own name) in nomination for any or all of the above-mentioned positions for which the nominee is eligible. No member may nominate more than one person for each officer position or more than the number of representatives established for each constituency. No member's name may appear on the ballot for more than one position.

2. In order to be nominated, a person must be a member in good standing and remain in good standing through the election process and, if elected, for his/her term of office.

3. The Foreign Service Act restricts employees occupying certain positions in the foreign affairs agencies from serving on the governing board. Only employees in AFSA's bargaining unit may serve on the AFSA Governing Board or nominate others to serve on the board. Therefore, individuals who will be serving as management officials and confidential employees (as defined below) when the new board takes office on July 15, 2005, are ineligible to occupy a position on the Governing Board. In addition, management officials and confidential employees may not make nominations for Governing Board positions. For the purpose of the above discussion, management official means an individual who: is a chief of mission or principal officer; occupies a position of comparable importance to chief of mission or principal officer; is

serving as a deputy to the forgoing positions; is assigned to the Office of the Inspector General; or is engaged in labor management relations or the formulation of personnel policies and programs of the foreign affairs agency. Confidential employees are employees who act in a confidential capacity with respect to an individual who formulates or carries out management policies in labor management relations.

Furthermore, the Foreign Service Act also places a two-year restriction on the movement of Foreign Service personnel between certain positions in AFSA and certain Washington-based jobs in the foreign affairs agencies. Pre-AFSA restrictions: Any individual who has served 1) in a management position in Washington in which he or she has engaged in labor management relations or the formulation of personnel policies and programs or 2) as a confidential employee (as defined above) within two years prior to taking office in AFSA is ineligible to hold the position of AFSA president or constituency vice president. Post-AFSA restrictions: In addition, any individual who has held one of the foregoing positions in AFSA may not serve 1) in a management position in Washington which involves labor management relations or the formulation of personnel policies and programs or 2) as a confidential employee, for two years after leaving AFSA.

Members should consider these restrictions before deciding whether to run for AFSA Governing Board positions covered by these restrictions. Please direct questions regarding this issue to Sharon Papp, General Counsel, by phone: (202) 647-8160, fax: (202) 647-0265, or e-mail: papps@state.gov.

4. Nominations may be submitted individually or in slates. To qualify as a slate, a proposed slate must have a minimum of four candidates from at least two constituencies. Slate designations will be noted on the ballot.

5. All nominations must be submitted in writing by letter, cable, fax or e-mail. All written nominations must be addressed to the AFSA Elections Committee, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20037. To be valid, they must, without exception, be

received at this address no later than 5 p.m. on Nov. 16, 2004. Members overseas can send "AFSA channel" cables marked for delivery to the AFSA Elections Committee. They must be received in the State Department's Communications Center within the same time limit. Faxes can be sent to (202) 338-6820 and e-mails to reardon@afsa.org.

Alternatively, nominations can be hand-delivered to a committee member who will be in the AFSA office in the State Department, Room 1251, from 11 a.m. to 12 noon on Nov. 16, or to a committee representative at AFSA headquarters at 2101 E Street during that same time period.

6. A nominee can indicate his or her acceptance of a nomination by appending a letter to the letter of nomination or by appropriate notation on that letter, or by communicating in writing with the Elections Committee, AFSA, Room 1251, Department of State, or AFSA, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20037, or by sending a fax or e-mail as listed above. Otherwise, an authorized representative of the Elections Committee will communicate with each nominee (excluding members who nominate themselves) as quickly as possible after the receipt of each nomination to determine whether the nominee wishes to be a candidate. Any member who so accepts the nomination must confirm his or her acceptance in writing through one of the channels described above, addressed to the AFSA Elections Committee, to be received no later than 12 noon on Nov. 30, 2005. Any nominee whose written acceptance of nomination has not been received by the Elections Committee by the above time limit will be considered to have declined candidacy.

C. Election Campaign

1. All candidates nominated under the procedure outlined above will be given the opportunity to submit campaign statements for dissemination to the AFSA membership with the election ballots. Further information regarding such statements and editorial deadlines will be contained in the "Instructions to Candidates," which will be issued by the Elections Committee on or before Nov. 16, 2004.

2. The AFSA bylaws provide that, should candidates wish to mail supplementary statements to the membership, the association will make available to them on request, and at their expense, the membership mailing list or address labels. Further information on this and other campaign procedures will be included in the "Instructions to Candidates" mentioned above.

D. Voting

Ballots will be distributed on or about Jan. 3, 2005, to each person who is a regular AFSA member as of Dec. 1, 2004. Candidates or their representatives may observe the ballot distribution process if they so desire. Each member may cast one vote for president, secretary, treasurer, and, in addition, one vote for a constituency vice president and each representative position in the member's constituency. Votes may be cast by voting for candidates listed on

the official ballot, or by writing in the name(s) of member(s) eligible as of Nov. 16, 2004, or by doing both. To be valid, a ballot must be received by Monday, Feb. 28, 2005, at the address indicated on the envelope accompanying the ballot. More detailed balloting instructions will accompany the ballots.

E. Vote Counting and Announcement of Results

On or about March 1, 2005, the Elections Committee will count the ballots and declare elected the candidate receiving the greatest number of votes for each position. Candidates or their representatives may be present during the tally and may challenge the validity of any vote or the eligibility of any voter. The committee will inform candidates individually of the election results by the swiftest possible means and will publish the names of all elected can-

didates in the *Foreign Service Journal*. The elected candidates will take office on July 15, 2005, as provided in the bylaws.

F. Questions, Suggestions, Complaints or Challenges

Any member may file a written question, suggestion or complaint concerning the conduct of the 2005 election. Such questions, suggestions or complaints should be addressed to: "Chair, AFSA Elections Committee," and mailed or delivered to AFSA, Room 1251, Department of State, Washington, DC 20520, or to AFSA, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20037, by May 31, 2005.

Members may also file a written challenge to the outcome of the election. Such challenge must be filed by April 18, 2005, and should be addressed to: "Chair, AFSA Elections Committee," and mailed or delivered to either address stated above. The AFSA Elections Committee will respond in writing to the challenge within three months of receipt of the challenge. If the member is not satisfied with the response, he/she may file a written complaint with the U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Labor-Management Standards. The complaint must be filed within one month of receipt of the Elections Committee's response. □

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Essay Contest • Continued from page 3

received a check for \$1,750. The third-place winner, Shannon Guy of Phoenix, Ariz., was unable to attend the ceremony, but did receive a check for \$750.

Kid Vid Contest

Following the recognition of the essay contest winners, Director General W. Robert Pearson honored the winners of the Kid Vid Awards. The awards are given to Foreign Service children who produce exceptional videos that depict life at their home posts in an interesting and unique way. The Kid Vid contest, dating from 1995, is sponsored by the Foreign Service Youth Foundation and the Overseas Briefing Center.

The first-place award recipients were Jake and Kayleen Fulton for their video of

Guangzhou. Second place went to Andrew Johnson for his depiction of life in Prague. There were two third-place award winners: Pablo Alaves, Brad Dunn Jr., and Sean and Stephanie Skinner for their group video of Mexico City, and Thomas and Nicholas Keen for their view of life in Armenia at their post in Yerevan.

Community Service Awards

After the Kid Vid Awards, Foreign Service Youth Foundation President Pamela Ward presented the FSYF Awards for Community Service. These awards recognize teenagers for exceptional volunteer efforts either through community service or in service to their peers, all while facing the challenges of growing up in an international mobile lifestyle.

The first-place winners were Elaine

Tousignant in Johannesburg, and Erin Duffy in Kuala Lumpur, though both were unable to attend the ceremony.

"Highly commendable" awards went to Abigail O'Connor for her community service in Lisbon and to Matthew Everhart, who worked to provide more than 7,000 toys for children in the Afghan-Pakistani border region, all from his home in Silver Spring, Md. Honorable mentions were given to Matthew and Marcus Hershey in Sao Paolo, Andrew Telles in La Paz, and Tanya Sievert in Asuncion.

Certificates of appreciation were given to David Goodspeed, Brian and Alicia Scott, Matthew Seidel and Marni Zaideman, all of Amman; Alexandra Blakenship of Alexandria, Va.; Guy Leichty of Buenos Aires; and Monica Maher and Naomi Trego of Athens. ■

Institutional Narcissism: Searching for a Cure

USAID officers, as practitioners of development, understand that one of the fundamentals of successful implementation is the absolute need to have your partner fully on board for whatever endeavor is being pursued. If your counterpart or the host country is not fully committed to the proposed activity, then be prepared for the biggest of belly flops. Over the years, USAID has had many terms to describe this concept, including “collaborative style,” “partnering,” and “host government buy-in.”



There are similar concepts prevalent in the private sector, through programs such as profit-sharing and employee ownership through stock plans. The theory is that if labor and management are all hauling in the same direction with a mutual stake in the results, there is greater productivity and greater chance of success.

So, where is the rub? Institutionally, USAID espouses the virtue — in fact, the necessity — of collaboration. Yet, it does not practice what it preaches with regard to its own Foreign Service employees, represented by their collective bargaining unit. You want some examples? Okay, let's cite a few:

In matters of arbitration, by law USAID must accept and implement the decisions of the Foreign Service Grievance Board unless it appeals to federal court. Yet, recently, when the FSGB came down powerfully in favor of a USAID officer unjustly selected out, the agency refused to implement the decision. But it also refused to initiate an appeal, leaving the employee in limbo. This forced the employee to appeal to the court himself to compel agency compliance. The clear message and attitude seem to be that “we'll abide by the decision of the FSGB when it rules in our favor, and we will ignore it when it does not.” We ask: where is the partnership?

AFSA witnessed first-hand the agency's willingness to spend increasingly escalating sums on “re-blocking” (the term for putting everyone in contiguous office space following reorganization). But the agency has consistently ignored AFSA's “invest in the employee” agenda, which calls for much more moderate amounts for employee benefits, equivalent to those given to State FSOs, including student loan repayment and spousal training. Management's monotonous mantra has been: “We have no funds,” resulting in a stark deafness to the concerns of the partner. We ask: where is the partnership?

It is difficult to foster an environment of partnership when top managers fly business class for flights considerably under 14 hours and the rank and file are told they cannot do the same for flights over 14 hours, even where the regulations permit it. This does not engender the spirit of being in the effort together. To the contrary: it saps morale. We ask: where is the partnership?

For 10 years there has been no clear-cut Automated Directives System published on the Senior Management Group process: transparency avowed, but not practiced. AFSA's request for a briefing on the SMG was rebuffed for months before it was finally granted. We ask: where is the partnership?

Habits, like smoking and institutional narcissism, even though you know they are bad for you, are hard to give up. As the agency witnesses attrition increasing at the lower grades, maybe an epiphany will occur and there will be recognition that partnership works and dismissive behavior does not. The problem is clear, but so is the solution — respect and engage your partner. □

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

Continued from page 2

Capital Gains Reminder

The deadline for submitting amended tax returns to claim back capital gains tax on the sale of a house after May 6, 1997, and before Jan. 1, 2001, expires on Nov. 10, 2004. If sold in 2001, the deadline is April 15, 2005.

What's Significant about \$127,850?

This is the amount that the AFSA Scholarship Fund will bestow in financial aid scholarships in the 2004/2005 school year to 63 Foreign Service undergraduate college students. First semester checks totaled \$64,675 and were sent in August to various schools from Yale University to Skidmore College to Santa Fe

Community College in Gainesville, Fla. Over 90 individual scholarships were awarded; DACOR and AAFSW also helped to provide this financial assistance.

New scholarships bestowed this year include an award to honor Ambassador Prudence Bushnell, sponsored by the 111th A-100 Training Class, and two perpetual scholarships (each representing a donation of at least \$12,000): the Richard R. Hallock Memorial Scholarship and the Martin G. Patterson Memorial Scholarship. Of the 63 recipients, 39 received AFSA scholarships last year. AFSA awards range from \$1,000 to \$3,000, depending on the family's financial situation.

Children of active-duty, retired and deceased Foreign Service employees are eligible to apply for such awards. For more information, contact Lori Dec at 1 (800) 704-2372, ext. 504, or dec@afsa.org, or visit the AFSA Scholarship Web site at www.afsa.org/scholar/index.cfm.



JOSH

Briefs • Continued on page 7

MEMO OF THE MONTH

USAA & the Foreign Service: The “Discussion” Continues

BACKGROUND: Text of the June 16 letter from AFSA President John Limbert to USAA CEO Robert G. Davis:

I recently returned from a tour of duty in Iraq to resume my duties as AFSA President. Upon my return, I found [Vice President for Marketing] Karen Presley’s letter of May 21 to AFSA Vice President Louise Crane on the subject of your association’s exclusion of Foreign Service officers from the U.S. Agency for International Development, the Department of Commerce, and the Department of Agriculture from membership. I have also seen copies of the identical letters from Ms. Presley to Secretary of Commerce Donald Evans, Secretary of Agriculture Ann Veneman, and USAID Administrator Andrew Natsios.

I can only conclude from Ms. Presley’s letters that USAA, for reasons of its own, is determined to exclude this small group. Your initial argument was that the agencies did not have the appropriate mission statement, yet there was no change in your stance when we noted that State and USAID had the same mission statement. At that point, the argument became about national security. When it was clear that all Foreign Service officers serve and protect U.S. national security, the argument yet again changed, now hitched to a point about a “niche market.” Mr. Davis, whatever will USAA think of next?

Mr. Davis, what kind of niche includes hundreds of thousands of enlisted and commissioned military personnel and still excludes less than 2,000 Foreign Service officers who serve their country in very dangerous places? I hope that USAA is not saying, for instance, that USAID employee Laurence Foley, murdered by terrorists in Jordan in October 2002, was not part of USAA’s “niche market.”

Thank you for your prompt attention to this matter.

July 22 Response from USAA CEO Davis:

Thank you for your letter of June 16, 2004. I appreciate the opportunity to respond to you on behalf of the USAA Board of Directors.

I am aware of the series of correspondence between USAA and the American Foreign Service Association regarding USAA eligibility. By way of this letter, I am reinforcing USAA’s position. It is incumbent upon the USAA Board of Directors

to preserve USAA for the purpose for which it was founded — to serve the needs of United States military forces. Based on our clear mission, any deviations from our eligibility criteria, such as those you suggest, could deteriorate the definition of USAA’s market niche to an indefinable group. This stringent criteria allows us to legally preserve USAA for generations to come.

All of the eligibility criteria you refer to have been in effect for several years. As we receive requests for eligibility, we evaluate every request with that criteria. Your request does not meet our requirements. The USAA Board of Directors has deep regard for United States citizens serving on behalf of the Department of Commerce, Department of Agriculture, and United States Agency for International Development. Their work is certainly important, but that does not constitute eligibility for USAA.

Ambassador Limbert, I appreciate your candid remarks and the consideration you have given to this issue. Thank you for allowing us to clarify our position. ■

Looking for a Few Good Memos

Have you gotten a memo recently that leaves you scratching your head, laughing at the absurdity or crying at the craziness? If you have, and if it’s unclassified, please share it with AFSA. Even institutions as sober as the State Department, USAID and our other foreign affairs agencies generate a few absurd memos from time to time. Let’s cherish them, share them, use them to lighten an otherwise heavy load.

We will print the best of the worst as Memos of the Month periodically on these pages. Send your submissions anytime to fsjedit@afsa.org. Our AFSANET call has already generated several worthy contenders for Memo of the Month. Keep them coming!

By way of example, we offer up the first contribution, the July 22 response to AFSA President John Limbert from Chairman and CEO of USAA Robert G. Davis. His letter offers the latest in a series of illogical explanations for why USAA now rejects all applications from USAID, FCS and FAS members.

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

Continued from page 6

AFSA MEMBERSHIP Keeps Growing

AFSA has added over 600 new active-duty members this year. The majority of these new members join at our well-attended recruitment luncheons for incoming generalists and specialists. By mid-August, AFSA had hosted over 687 new employees in 2004 at these events, including entry classes from State, USAID and FAS. These new members not only bring new strengths and abilities to the Foreign Service, but allow AFSA to take a fresh look at the concerns of the next generation of Foreign Service leaders. Membership stood at 12,761 in mid-August.

If you’re not a member, visit www.afsa.org/mbr/active.cfm to see what membership can offer you.

Briefs • Continued on page 8

BOOKFAIR: A 44-YEAR-OLD INSTITUTION CARRIES ON

BY METTE BEECROFT, AAFSW PRESIDENT EMERITA

This month, the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide is again holding its annual BOOKFAIR, for the 44th consecutive year. In 1986, a longtime AAFSW volunteer wrote that when BOOKFAIR began in 1960, "... there was simply no other way anyone could think of to try to help raise money for scholarship assistance." Since 1960, BOOKFAIR has remained faithful to its goal to raise money for scholarships for Foreign Service young people.

The first BOOKFAIR collected approximately 7,500 books and reported a "benefit" of \$1,159.80. BOOKFAIR now offers for sale well over 100,000 volumes and in 2003 grossed \$82,439. Even given the earlier value of the dollar, the profits have risen dramatically, as has the immensity of the task.

For many reasons, it is remarkable that BOOKFAIR continues. Most of the books and art objects are donated by Foreign Service families and almost all our volunteers are the spouses of active or retired FS employees. AAFSW has highly dedicated and committed volunteers. However, similar to other charitable organizations, it, too, experiences difficulty in attracting the numbers of volunteers it once had.

The increased and additional costs of running the AAFSW and BOOKFAIR have also made it more difficult to turn a profit. A 1999 *Washington Post* article on the demise of the 50-year-old Vassar Book Sale reported that in 1999, the VBS earned only \$40,000 on total sales

of \$120,000. The AAFSW must use a certain percentage of the proceeds to make BOOKFAIR happen, but has managed to keep overhead costs low, mainly because the Department of State allows AAFSW to use the Diplomatic Exhibit Hall at no cost.



The value of BOOKFAIR cannot be measured only in dollars and cents. Volunteers believe passionately in the importance of raising scholarship money.

There are many logistical considerations that have made BOOKFAIR a complicated undertaking. Parking is much more limited than it used to be, and access to the building is much more controlled. Demographics have changed as well. Whereas people used to be able to return conveniently after work for BOOKFAIR, this is no longer the case, because so many live far from the department. The cafeteria used to remain open for dinner on opening night. Because the department

needed the space, the former "Book Room" operation has now been split so that the books are sold in "Book Place" and processed in the "Book Room." This split operation — on two sides of the garage — has made the entire process more difficult.

Still, the value of BOOKFAIR cannot be measured only in dollars and cents. Volunteers believe passionately in the importance of raising scholarship money. They also enjoy books and the camaraderie the BOOKFAIR generates. Faithful customers in the greater Washington area come back year after year. Thus, even though it is a Herculean task, as long as the benefits outweigh the disadvantages, AAFSW will continue the tradition. (See p. 12 for dates and details.) □

Hallock Scholarship

A perpetual Financial Aid Scholarship, the Col. Richard R. Hallock Memorial Scholarship, was established by Mrs. Myriam Hallock in her late husband's memory. His distinguished military career spanned 25 years. Serving in both World War II and the Korean War, he was the youngest-ever major to serve as a battalion commander and earned 23 medals and/or commendations and the Legion of Merit. He helped to campaign successfully to introduce the M-16 rifle into the Army, Air Force and Marine Corps. His civilian achievements included being an adviser to Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger in the mid-1970s and working for the Rand Corporation. Separately, Mrs. Hallock has also established a scholarship for Foreign Service children to attend the prep school, West Nottingham Academy, in Colorado, Md.

The memorial scholarship will be bestowed in perpetuity on a Foreign Service child to help meet his or her undergraduate college expenses using only the interest from the principal as the scholarship award. For more information on how to establish an AFSA scholarship, contact Lori Dec at 1 (800) 704-2372, ext. 504, or dec@afsa.org, or visit the Web site at www.afsa.org/scholar/index.cfm.

AFSA President Visits Retirees in Southern California

In late July, AFSA President John Limbert spoke to groups of retirees in the Los Angeles area. Limbert reports that former State FSO Marguerite Cooper is doing an excellent job coordinating activities for the large number of Foreign Service retirees in southern California. Retirees he met in California were concerned both with traditional union issues such as health care and annuities as well as larger issues of foreign policy. Of particular interest was language and area specialization and how the Foreign Service is making use of its pool of talent.

Briefs • Continued on page 9

Surviving and Thriving in Language Training

Spending a year in language training is difficult, especially with school-age children. A year is too long for a vacation or to live out of a suitcase, with most of your belongings stored away. Recently, we found ourselves back in D.C., learning Korean in preparation for our next post, Seoul. In retrospect, it was a good year. Here is what made a difference.

PLAN AHEAD. We started making preparations months before departing our last post. Most people settle for furnished apartments while in language training, but we thought we could do something else. We wanted a place that was affordable, close to Fairfax High School, the Metro system and a mall (we do have a teenage daughter!). With these requisites in mind, my husband and daughter went to work. Shopping around via the Internet, they built a file of options, which we discussed as a family. Then, sight unseen, we made a deposit on an unfurnished apartment in Fairfax that met our needs. Once in Virginia, we contacted one of the furniture rental companies we had also researched online and selected the furniture, which was delivered four days later.

MAKE IT HOME. We had chosen very carefully what furnishings we would bring (I started a list months before packing out). In the air freight — our only shipment — there were bed linens, towels, the indispensable kitchen stuff, and also a few photographs, games, selected decorative

items (our collection of refrigerator magnets, for instance), our laptops and some electronic equipment. My daughter's treasure box (containing her CDs and a few other things) also came in the air freight. We added new bed comforters and bathroom rugs, which we planned to mail to our next post. These things made a huge difference, adding color and comfort to the apartment.

HIT THE GROUND RUNNING. We made the point to visit the school before we went on vacation. At orientation, we encouraged our daughter to approach other new students (she had cards with her name, address, and telephone number). Soon, the phone was ringing. Extracurricular activities are particularly important to Foreign Service children. In a large school such as Fairfax High School, or in any overseas school, integration comes easier if the new student is involved in a smaller group. In language training, this is equally important. Six weeks after school started, our daughter auditioned for a play and was playing in the band.

CELEBRATE. Carry on with seasonal traditions. Don't skip them because you don't have your china or because your living quarters are small. Use disposable plates, cups and ornaments. During language training, we had friends and family over. Our daughter's new friends came to spend the night. In December, we went looking for a Christmas tree, the 18-inch variety. We also did what we can't do

while at post: traveled and visited relatives around the U.S., and enjoyed the local library.

AVOID THE SHOPPING TRAP. I thought we had done well until the time came to pack out. The moving company's estimate reassured us. But we had been buying little things: a book here and there, a pretty plate . . . I didn't realize how much we were accumulating until the movers reached our weight allowance. We had to mail the extra stuff. Had I suspected trouble, I would have selected something other than expensive suits to send by post. The lessons: keep shopping to a minimum and make sure the movers pack the most valuable items first.

CONCLUSION. Language training for a year was not an interruption of ordinary living, but an opportunity to reconnect with friends and catch up on family matters. Even teenagers, who have the toughest time moving, can thrive during this period, as long as they are made active participants in the process. One thing is for sure: language training teaches you to make the best out of today. A year goes by so quickly you can't afford to procrastinate.

Adelaida Lucena-Lower is a Foreign Service spouse who has accompanied tours in Mexico City, Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, and is currently enjoying Seoul. She contributes to the Seoul-based English language magazine Arirang, and writes reviews for the Historical Novel Society.

AFSANEWSBRIEFS

Continued from page 8

IMMEDIATE BENEFIT PLAN FROM AFSPA

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AFSA encourages all eligible members to review the Immediate Benefit Plan to determine if this new life insurance program should be a part of their overall benefits coverage. To enroll in this plan and/or for more information, please visit AFSPA's Web site, www.afspa.org. □

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a aFsW BoOkFaIR opens oct. 15
For months, volunteers have been preparing for the 44th annual BookFair of the associates of the American Foreign service Worldwide. BookFair opens on Friday, oct. 15 at 2 p.m. in the exhibit Hall at Main state.

employees and their escorted guests, and retirees and their spouses, are cordially invited. during the week, from oct. 18 through 22, this same group of people will be admitted from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m.

BooKFaIR is open to the general public on two weekends: oct. 16-17 and oct. 23-24, from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. each day. some items are marked down to half-price on the final day of the fair. visa, MasterCard and checks are accepted. questions? please call: (202) 223-5796.

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