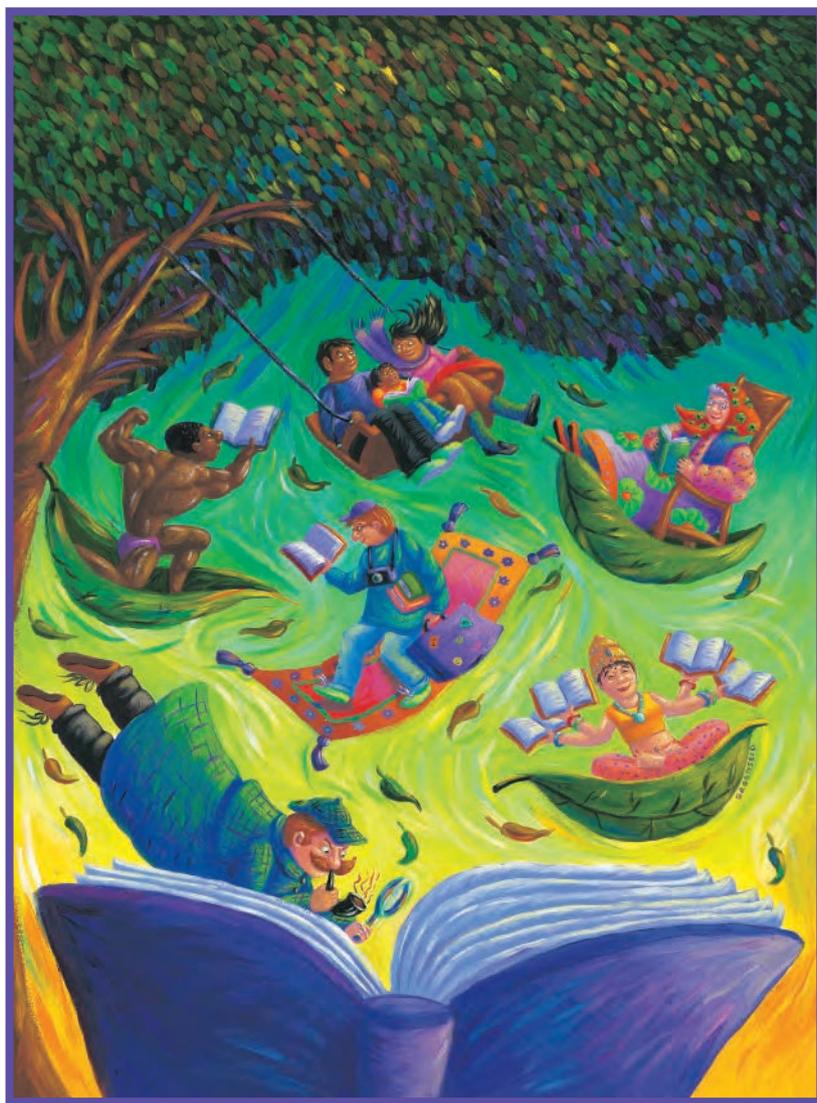


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# CONTENTS

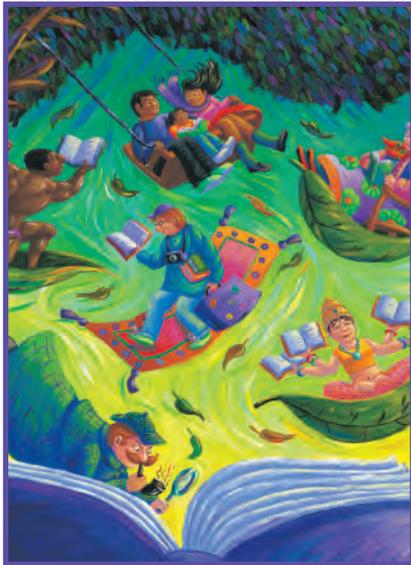
November 2004 ■ Volume 81, No. 11

## FOCUS ON FS AUTHORS

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

Once again we are pleased to feature a compilation of recently published books by Foreign Service-affiliated authors. In addition to 14 memoirs of Foreign Service life, this year's selection contains a strong policy studies and issues section, a wide-ranging history section and a respectable sampling of novels, poetry and travel works.

*By Susan Maitra*



**PAGE 18**

## FEATURES

### **RESCUING THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL: SHOULD WE? CAN WE? / 49**

Turning the tide at the United Nations must begin with rejuvenating the Euroatlantic partnership.

*By James Goodby and Kenneth Weisbrode*

### **HOW TO STEAL FROM AN INTERNATIONAL AGENCY / 54**

It is a cliché that the cost of doing business in many countries includes certain "extras."

But some aid contractors have taken these techniques to new heights.

*By James Olsen*

## COLUMNS

### **PRESIDENT'S VIEWS / 5**

An Attack on One Is an Attack on All

*By John Limbert*

### **SPEAKING OUT / 13**

Achieving Full Diversity in the Foreign Service

*By Ajit Joshi*

### **REFLECTIONS / 68**

*By Gail Kenna*

## DEPARTMENTS

**LETTERS / 7**

**CYBERNOTES / 10**

**MARKETPLACE / 12**

**BOOKS / 60**

**INDEX TO ADVERTISERS / 66**

**AFSA NEWS /**

**CENTER INSERT**

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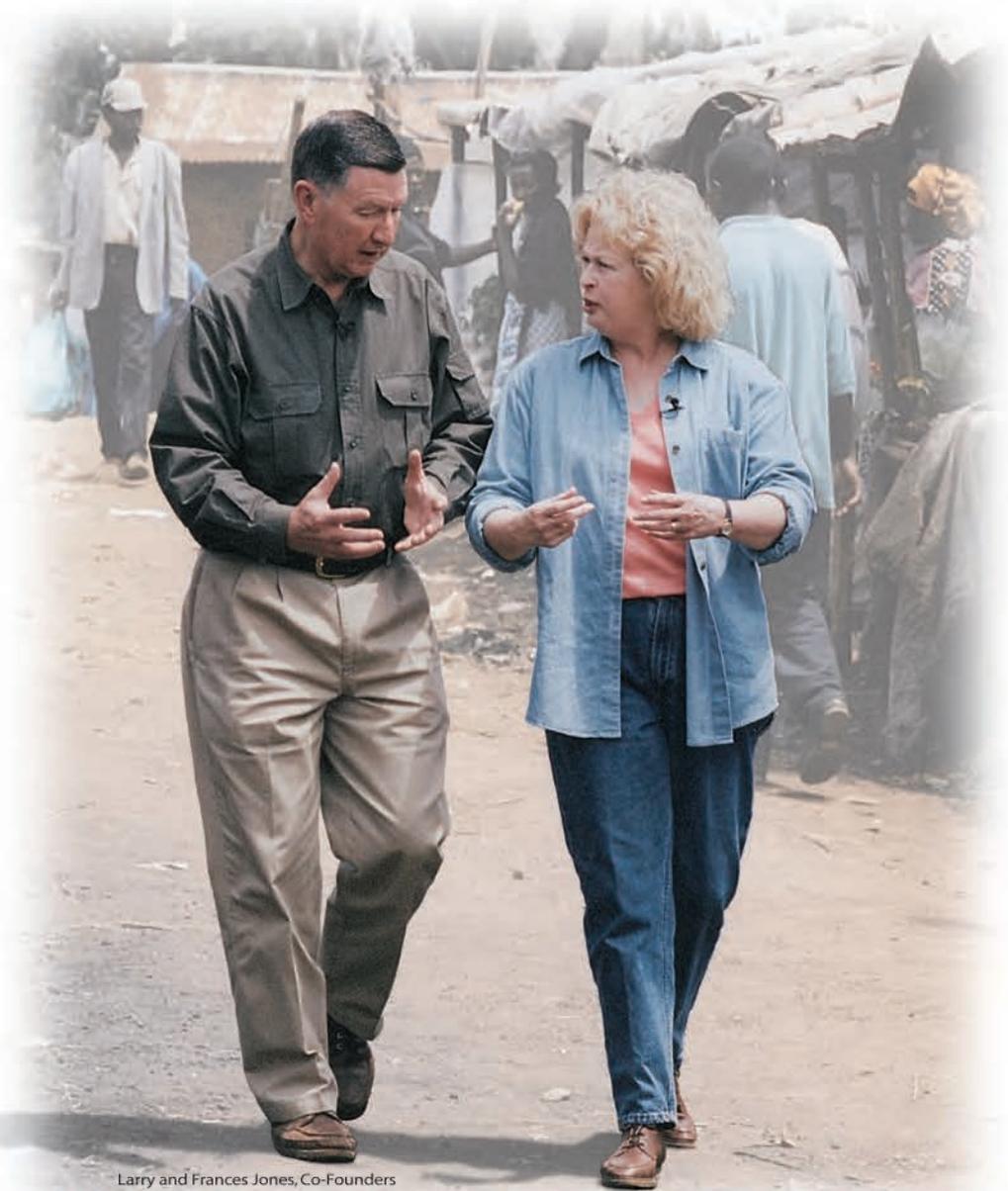
TED WILKINSON

## **THE MAGAZINE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS**

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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

## *An Attack on One Is an Attack on All*

BY JOHN LIMBERT

In September PBS rebroadcast a "Frontline" program called "The Man Who Knew." It traced the career and work of an FBI agent who pursued the al-Qaida and Osama bin Laden terrorism files, his difficulties with the FBI administration, and his work in Yemen with the investigation of the bombing of the *USS Cole* on Oct. 12, 2000. After retiring from the FBI, the agent became chief of security at the New York World Trade Center and died there in the tragic events of Sept. 11, 2001.



The program was remarkable for its cheap shots at the Foreign Service and, in particular, at the career Foreign Service officer who was chief of mission in Yemen at the time of the *Cole* bombing. The program's producers left the impression that the agent had waged a one-man campaign within the U.S. government against terrorism in general, and the al-Qaida network in particular. Opposing him, according to the producers, were the small-minded bureaucrats of the FBI and the compromisers of the State Department.

Nothing could have been further from the truth. Hundreds of agents within the FBI worked these cases and professionals throughout the U.S. government also worked to combat al-

---

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

*U.S. embassies, especially those in the Middle East and South Asia, have dealt constantly with terrorism, building relations with host governments whose help has been essential to our counterterrorism efforts.*

Qaida and other terrorist organizations. This particular agent held no monopoly on the truth or on the desire to protect our country and our people. In the years before the *USS Cole* attack, U.S. embassies, especially those in the Middle East and South Asia, dealt constantly with terrorism, building relations with host governments whose help has been essential to our counterterrorism efforts.

The issue here comes down to this: how do we best stop terrorism? By bullying, ordering, and threatening officials of other countries or even our own compatriots who work for different agencies or disagree with us? Or by being smart in our own work and in our relations with our host countries? To quote an earlier *Foreign Service Journal* "President's Views" column:

"Pseudo-tough and phony-macho policies don't beat terrorists; smart ones do."

According to all accounts, while the FBI agent ("The Man Who Knew") carved a swath through Yemen, bullying everyone in his path, our ambassador and a host of inter-agency colleagues, including State's own Office of Counterterrorism, sought to limit the damage he was wreaking on our counterterrorism efforts and on our mandate to establish a credible joint investigation. To its credit, the Department of State understood what was at stake and confirmed the ambassador's correct judgment. And, contrary to the "Frontline" allegations, senior officials at the FBI, the military and other government agencies shared this judgment. Far from being fixated on "good relations" as an end in themselves (as implied by the program), the ambassador had long understood the importance of being smart in fighting terrorists.

It is regrettable that "Frontline" should have rebroadcast such an unbalanced piece of reporting. One would also have liked to have seen the department support one of its most experienced professionals by refuting publicly the distortions and innuendos against a loyal member of the Foreign Service.

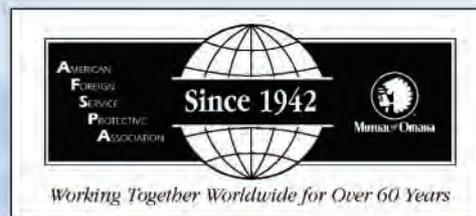
An attack on one of us is an attack on all of us. AFSA, for its part, will not let cheap shots at the Service go unanswered. Neither should the department. ■

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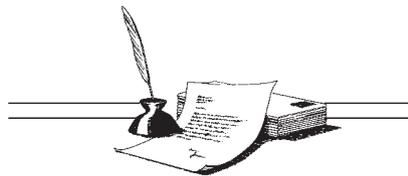
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# LETTERS

## Ending Discrimination

The June 2004 issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* appropriately outlines the many difficulties still faced by Members of Household residing at our diplomatic posts. While we await further legal changes to better accommodate such family members, persistent post leadership can overcome barriers that would block full assimilation of an MOH into the foreign community.

In Montevideo, host-country practices prevented a newly-arrived MOH from obtaining diplomatic residency status. This meant that the MOH had to periodically leave the country in order to renew her stay in Uruguay. Furthermore, she did not qualify for a diplomatic dependent ID card and the status that recognition confers.

Determined to end such discrimination, the ambassador raised this issue directly and candidly with the acting foreign minister. The ambassador followed up his appeal with the president's chief of protocol, who immediately agreed to treat the MOH the same way as any other mission dependent. As a result, the MOH received her visa and now enjoys equal status with other eligible family members at post.

This kind of direct intervention at the highest level ought not to be necessary. But when the situation calls for it, determined action on behalf of our MOH community can and will produce results.

*David J. Savastuk  
Management Officer  
Embassy Montevideo*

## Free Housing Matters

I read with great interest the special

report about new hires (*FSJ*, June), especially since I'm currently number 17 on the management list of eligible hires and hope to get called for an A-100 class soon.

Spousal employment is mentioned quite a bit in the article. I would think that couples make the decision to join the State Department jointly, knowing that there will be sacrifices to go along with the whole "living abroad, new cultures, new experiences" thing. It seems that families with major spousal employment issues might have made the wrong decision to join in the first place.

The part that I found most interesting about the special feature was the discussion about the Washington, D.C., locality-pay issue. There is a related issue not mentioned in the article, the fact that people assigned to D.C. do not get a housing allowance. I'm a DOD civilian in Okinawa right now, and I did indeed make more base salary when I was a DOD civilian assigned to Los Angeles Air Force Base. However, in terms of total compensation, I'm making practically twice what I made in L.A., because my rent and utilities here in Japan are picked up by Uncle Sam. I'd rather have free housing than 17-percent locality pay. My rent is equal to an almost 100-percent locality pay. When you consider being overseas with no housing costs, plus hardship bonuses, aren't you doing much better in terms of compensation than you would in D.C.?

Thanks for the great article. I look forward to starting my career with the Foreign Service soon.

*Tim Dougherty  
Okinawa, Japan*

## Accentuate the Positive

Frankly, I was disappointed over the concerns expressed by the new members of the Foreign Service in the June *FSJ*. Ever the optimist, I had assumed that there would be a new, enhanced spirit of service radiating from the current international situation — i.e., the war on terrorism — or that a bold, dynamic focus in our diplomatic history was emerging as our country's "best and brightest" — better educated, more culturally aware, more sensitive than we were — entered the field.

Sadly, the article instead offered a recitation of past problems that have obtained folkloric status: family employment at the mission, lack of language training, better employment available outside the Foreign Service, lack of respect for junior officers, discrimination against single officers.

Could someone in the vast readership of the *FSJ* please inform me of any international company, American or foreign, that grants family employment opportunities to its overseas employees? Could any reader name a mission that does not offer at-post language training?

As for better employment opportunities outside the U.S., professional placement agencies will confirm that Wall Street positions are scarce. Any experienced placement counselor will also note few entry-level positions offer half the benefits received in government service.

Discrimination against single officers? Quite the contrary: as a single officer, you are more assignable overseas in a wide variety of positions. And as a bachelor for more than half my Foreign Service career, I met a

## LETTERS



number of charming, well-educated women — one of whom I was fortunate enough to marry and who accompanied me on a number of assignments.

In the future, could the *FSJ* carry a series of informative, positive articles about Foreign Service wives who have had successful careers overseas outside the embassy? There is a sizable number. My wife was a teacher, and later principal of several American and international schools, who transferred her skills to an American university campus as a foreign student adviser. A number of the ladies have gone into real estate and done very well.

Perhaps new FSOs should be exposed during their initial training to active or retired members who could

comment on these concerns from personal experience.

*William H. Lindsey Jr.*  
FSO, retired  
Wicomico Church, Va.

### A Tired Phrase

As a regular viewer of “The Newshour with Jim Lehrer” on WETA in the evenings, I was offended by a comment Mark Shields made on the Sept. 1 program. While I usually find his comments valid and helpful, his use of the tired and hackneyed phrase “a limp-wristed State Department type” was offensive and totally unnecessary. As I told PBS, this type of comment only perpetuates the prejudicial and pejorative perspective on diplomacy. At a time when a little more diplomacy and a little less military force might be

helpful in our foreign policies, slamming the State Department and diplomats as spineless or effeminate is not the way to generate public support for diplomacy.

If Mr. Shields ever meets Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage, I doubt he will find him “limp-wristed.” That appellation also insults and denigrates Foreign Service officers implementing U.S. (i.e., administration) policies, whether or not they agree with them, around the world. The names on the walls of the State Department lobby reveal the number of diplomats killed in service to their nation over the years: more in the past 40 years than the previous 178.

I hope Mr. Shields will apologize for his remark and be more supportive of the vital role of the State Department and Foreign Service personnel in protecting and advancing U.S. interests and security around the world.

*Eugene Martin*  
FSO, retired  
Bethesda, Md.

### Author Request

I am currently researching my father Charles W. Yost's career for a book that I am writing. He was a Foreign Service officer with the State Department from 1930 until 1971. In that capacity, he attended the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, the San Francisco United Nations Conference and the Potsdam Conference. He also served in various countries in the Far East, the Middle East and Europe. In 1961 he returned to the States to serve as deputy U.S. Representative to the U.N., and was appointed permanent U.S. representative to the U.N. in 1969.

I am seeking recollections from his friends and colleagues that could be included in my book. I can be contacted at [yost@un.org](mailto:yost@un.org) or at 310 East 46th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017.

Felicity Yost  
New York, N.Y. ■



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# CYBERNOTES

## “Results Report” Issued for the Powell-Green Era at State

On Aug. 9 the Department of State issued a report to its employees on the major accomplishments in the area of management over the past three-and-a-half years (<http://www.state.gov/m/p/results/index.htm>).

In a preface to the report, Secretary Powell states: “Our report is organized around the management priorities which Deputy Secretary Armitage, Under Secretary for Management Green, and I consistently put forth: people; security; technology; facilities; and management reform and improvement. When I became Secretary, I made clear that not only was I the president’s chief foreign policy adviser, but also the chief executive officer of the department, and that I would take very seriously the role of leading and managing the men and women of the department.”

**M**y own view is that these negative attitudes are driven more by policy disagreements than an inherent dislike or hatred of America or Americans. I think we’re still respected throughout the world, and there’s still a strong residual base that we can get back to once we get past these policy problems.

— Colin Powell, interview with Fred Francis, *NBC Nightly News*, Sept. 17, 2004.

By all accounts he did. First and foremost, over 2,000 positions beyond attrition have been added since 2001, the largest work force expansion in three decades and a needed correction to longstanding staffing gaps. Total hiring in FY 2002 was up 70 percent over FY 2001, and through the Diplomatic Readiness Initiative the department seeks to maintain these gains. But that is just the beginning. As the report details, the department has also met ambitious targets for increased training, information technology upgrades, embassy construction, and security improvement.

## Crisis Builds Over Iran’s Nuclear Program

Even as Iraq continues to dominate headlines, foreign policy experts are increasingly turning their attention toward its neighbor and long-time foe: Iran. Reports of that country’s alleged development of weapons of mass destruction have created a scene reminiscent of the buildup to the Iraq war. Once again, the international community has to decide what to do about a potential crisis.

Israeli National Security Adviser Glori Eiland declared Sept. 27 that Iran’s nuclear weapons program would reach the “point of no return” by November. The announcement came after Iranian Vice President Reza Aghazadeh stated that Iran had begun converting raw uranium into the gas needed for enrichment, a step that is necessary for both nuclear energy production and bomb-making, and one that would violate a resolution passed by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Days earlier, following the U.S. sale of 500 “bunker-busting” bombs capable of destroying underground nuclear facilities to Israel, Secretary of State Powell issued a statement that Washington has no plans to attack Iran’s nuclear facilities. But neither Powell nor Israeli Foreign Minister Silvan Shalom would rule it out.

November is also the date for the next IAEA meeting, where Director General Mohamed El-Baradei is expected to present the latest findings from its investigation of several anomalies in the nuclear program Iranian authorities insist is strictly for nuclear power production. If Tehran is found to be running a secret weapons program under the cover of its power program, it would be a direct violation of the 1970 Non-Proliferation Treaty to which Iran is a signatory.

The *Nuclear Threat Initiative* (<http://nti.org>) discusses an equally frightening possibility: that Iran has functioning biological and chemical weapons programs, despite the fact that it ratified the 1973 Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention and the 1997 Chemical Weapons Convention. The NTI, founded by media mogul Ted Turner and former Georgia Senator Sam Nunn, seeks to reduce the risk of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons.

In the coming weeks and months, it will be essential to stay informed about Iran and keep fact separate from fiction. A good place to start is the Iran resources page of the Carnegie Endowment’s Non-Proliferation Program Web page (<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/npp/country/index.cfm?fa=view&id=1000089>).



# CYBERNOTES

Here one can find links to organizations like the IAEA, the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, and the Federation of Atomic Scientists, and other concerned players and analysts, along with the latest developments on Iran and WMD.

A July report by an independent task force of the Council on Foreign Relations offers a valuable overview and approach to the problem of dealing with Iran ([http://www.cfr.org/pdf/Iran\\_TF.pdf](http://www.cfr.org/pdf/Iran_TF.pdf)). Similarly, a January study by analysts at the U.S. Army War College's Strategic Studies Institute gives food for thought (<http://www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pdf/files/00359.pdf>).

For details of the arms control process, the *Center for Non-Proliferation Studies of the Monterrey Institute* (<http://cns.miis.edu/>) and the *Arms Control Association* (<http://www.armscontrol.org>) are vital resources.

— David Coddon, *Editorial Intern*

## Intelligence Reform: A Road Map

For the first time since the Goldwater-Nichols Act of 1986, intelligence reform has entered the forefront of U.S. foreign policy debates. This increased attention is the result of two distinct, yet interrelated, phenomena: the failure to prevent the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, and the failure to find weapons of mass destruction in Iraq.

The now-ubiquitous 9/11 Commission Report, which can be read in full at <http://www.fas.org/irp/hotdocs.htm>, offers detailed recommendations for structural reform of the intelli-

gence community. Foremost among these are the replacement of the director of central intelligence with a national intelligence director and the creation of a National Counterterrorism Center. These suggestions are driven by what the authors consider a fundamental need to integrate what is now a loose collection of intelligence-gathering bureaucracies.

For its part, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence has undertaken an extensive review of U.S. intelligence regarding the status of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction (also available at <http://www.fas.org/irp/hotdocs.htm>). Whereas the 9/11 Commission focuses on structural changes, the Senate Intelligence Committee report calls attention to the mentality underlying prewar intelligence estimates. It places particular emphasis on the phenomenon of "group-think," a "collective presumption that Iraq had an active and growing weapons of mass destruction program."

Reaction to the reports has been mixed, but mostly positive. In a Sept. 8 press release titled "Reforming and Strengthening Intelligence Services," (available at <http://www.fas.org/>

<http://www.fas.org/irp/news/2004/09/wh090804.html>), the White House reiterated President Bush's support for the creation of the national intelligence director position and a National Counterterrorism Center, but suggested that the NID should be assisted by a Joint Intelligence Community Council. Studies on the strengths and weaknesses of the commission's report have been released by the *Center for Strategic and International Studies* (<http://www.csis.org/features/911commission.pdf>) and the *Foreign Policy Research Institute* (<http://www.fpri.org/enotes/20040813.americawar.galehusick.911commission.html>). In addition, Senator Carl Levin, D-Mich., recently gave an address on intelligence reform at the *Council on Foreign Relations* in Washington, D.C. ([www.cfr.org](http://www.cfr.org/)).

Implementation of the commission's recommendations has already involved considerable political wrangling, and there is certainly more to come. In the Senate, Susan Collins, R-Maine, and Joe Lieberman, D-Conn., introduced legislation that would, in addition to creating a NID and the NCTC, limit the Pentagon's control over the \$40-billion intelli-

## 50 Years Ago...

Our fascinating little Earth seems to be a "rapidly shrinking world" only because of the ever-geographically widening outreach of communication, transport, and travel available to individual human beings and society — which is the truly significant factor.



— S. Whittemore Boggs, "Global Relations of the United States," *FSJ*, November 1954.

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**Site of the Month: [www.aldaily.com](http://www.aldaily.com)**

Literary aficionados and amateur scholars of the humanities will find *Arts & Letters Daily* ([www.aldaily.com](http://www.aldaily.com)) to be an invaluable source of highbrow direction for the latest in literature, book reviews, essays and opinion. The Web site, begun in 1998 by Denis Dutton, is updated six days a week with new links to articles on language, philosophy, culture, history and more.

Dutton, a philosophy professor at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch, New Zealand, and his editorial partner Tran Huu Dung, an economics professor at Wright State University in Dayton, Ohio, offer pithy comments and quick links for their largely academic readership to some of the day's most fascinating bits of controversy, discussion and creativity.

On the left column of the page are links to newspapers, journals, columnists, book reviews, real-time radio feeds, popular blogs and other interesting diversions. The site is designed as a one-stop source for a whetting of one's intellectual palate. Its Latin motto, "Veritas Odit Moras" (Truth Hates Delay), suggests the fast-paced nature of today's pursuit of knowledge.

*Arts & Letters Daily* has been owned by *The Chronicle of Higher Education* since 2002. The Web site now attracts more than two million hits per month and is growing steadily. Laid out in the style of an 18th-century broadsheet newspaper, *Arts & Letters Daily* serves as a fine springboard for tracking the latest in academic insight, cultural debate and literary excellence.

— *Kris Lofgren, Editorial Intern*

gence budget, and create a Civil Liberties Board that would ensure the protection of privacy and civil liberties. The Senate bill met resistance from House Republicans, who introduced their own legislation in an attempt to limit the NID's power and preserve the Pentagon's influence. Though both bills have passed, they are so different that lawmakers fear they may be impossible to reconcile.

The issue of intelligence reform is quite complicated and, at times, can seem overwhelming. Fortunately, there are several Web sites dedicated to the study and analysis of the intelligence community.

Here is a sampling of what the Web has to offer:

**<http://www.fas.org/irp/index.html>**

The Federation of American Scientists Intelligence Resource Program presents a helpful mix of official and unofficial resources on intelligence. Particularly interesting is

its collection of "hot documents."

**<http://www.intelforum.org>**

The Intelligence Forum is the place to go for links to all things related to the study of intelligence, from government Web sites to academic papers and books.

**<http://frode.home.cern.ch/frode/crypto/INS.html>**

"Intelligence and National Security" offers an index of articles related to intelligence and national security.

**<http://www.cia.gov/csi>**

The CIA Center for the Study of Intelligence "seeks to promote study, debate and understanding of the role of intelligence in American society."

**<http://www.dia.mil>**

Official Web site of the Defense Intelligence Agency, the Department of Defense's intelligence branch.

**<http://www.state.gov/inr>**

The Bureau of Intelligence and Research is the Department of State's intelligence arm. ■

— *David Coddon, Editorial Intern*



# SPEAKING OUT

## *Achieving Full Diversity in the Foreign Service*

By AJIT JOSHI

Two articles in the June issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* were particularly compelling reading: Bob Guldin's "Not Quite Family: 'Members of Household' at State" and Shawn Dorman's "Special Report: New Hires and the Foreign Service." I commend AFSA and the *Journal* for paying attention to the issues faced by Foreign Service personnel as they seek to balance their personal and professional lives. But the situation depicted in both articles speaks eloquently to why I, and many other Civil Service employees (gay and straight), whose families include Members of Household, have ruled out pursuing a Foreign Service career for the foreseeable future. Let me explain.

I joined USAID as a Presidential Management Intern in 1998 and have since received tenure as a Civil Service employee. I thoroughly enjoy my work and believe I've been able to give back as much as I have gained (as evidenced by two administrator-level awards I received in 2001: a Superior Honor Award and the Equal Employment Opportunity Award).

Now a GS-14, I have seriously considered joining the New Entry Professional Program — USAID's intake program into the Foreign Service — at the FS-4 level (even though I would actually take a pay cut), or waiting for a mid-career conversion opportunity. In fact, several USAID mission directors and other highly experienced senior Foreign Service officers have encouraged me to join the Foreign Service.

*Resources for maintaining a healthy lifestyle are far more available to some members of the Foreign Service and their families than others.*



From my discussions with them and many other people of varied backgrounds within USAID, State and the Foreign Commercial Service (going all the way up to senior officers), a pervasive theme has emerged: the importance of contentment in one's personal life within the fishbowl environment of the Foreign Service. Elements that are helpful in this regard include: the assurance that one's agency treats all employees fairly; the support of a spouse or partner (same or opposite sex) and children; and effective coping and support mechanisms both to deal with crises and chronic stress and to avoid self-destructive behavior (e.g., alcoholism).

Yet, these resources for maintaining a healthy lifestyle are far more available to some members of the Foreign Service and their families

than others. For example, married employees posted to accompanied posts are able to manage these work-induced stresses by taking their family (and children, when schooling is available) to post. They have their families, the core of most people's support mechanisms, with them at virtually no cost to themselves. In contrast, as a single employee, I would have to assume massive out-of-pocket costs to bring a domestic partner with me to post, and we would find far less institutional and financial support there than our married colleagues enjoy.

Through the Members of Household policy and other initiatives, the traditional "big four" foreign affairs agencies (State, USAID, Foreign Commercial Service, Foreign Agricultural Service) are making real progress in creating workplaces that treat all employees fairly. But there is still a long way to go, as the June articles make clear. This is particularly true for gay couples, but all single Foreign Service employees, gay or straight, have to take these disparities into account as they pursue their careers.

### **Toward a Meaningful MOH Policy**

As a longtime member of Gays and Lesbians in Foreign Affairs Agencies, I know first-hand how hard AFSA has worked to bring the MOH policy to life and to make it as broad and meaningful as possible. Such efforts go all the way back to former AFSA President Marshall Adair's letter of

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## SPEAKING OUT



Dec. 1, 1999, to then-Under Secretary for Management Bonnie Cohen, in which he laid out a convincing argument for including domestic partners (either same-sex or opposite-sex) in the MOH policy:

"American society is changing. Changes in the economy, workforce, social and economic roles of men and women, and what constitutes socially acceptable sexual relationships have all impacted on family structure. Single-parent households are far more prevalent today than 25 years ago; common-law marriages and single-sex couples are more common. Long-term committed relationships with unmarried domestic partners are a reality of our society, and increasingly have access to the same social and economic support systems as do married people. AFSA believes that the unique circumstances of overseas service make it imperative for the department to reduce barriers that employees with unmarried domestic partners face in trying to live their private lives while stationed abroad."

Adair's successors at AFSA, John Naland and John Limbert, have likewise welcomed employee input (through GLIFAA, an officially recognized employee organization) and that of the association's members on these issues, and have continued to press management to be more inclusive. Yet while things are undeniably better than ever before for those of us with "non-traditional" families, the Foreign Service is still far from parity with the American private sector in regard to employee benefits. In the post-9/11 environment, the Foreign Service simply has to do better on this and other diversity-related issues if it wants to keep recruiting and retaining the best and brightest in a career which becomes less attractive as the death counts from Iraq rise well over 1,000 for uniformed service members alone. Eager international relations

## SPEAKING OUT



*State and the other  
foreign affairs agencies  
are making real progress  
in creating workplaces  
that treat all employees  
fairly. But there is still  
a long way to go.*

graduates in their 20s, waiting for their security clearances or offers from either State or USAID, and having grown up in a culture encouraging common ground through gay-straight alliances, may soon start to look elsewhere for more attractive compensation and benefits packages. This will inevitably hinder efforts to attract a truly diverse workforce under the Diplomacy Readiness Initiative. Indeed, the Human Rights Campaign's Work Net project (<http://www.hrc.org/worknet/index.asp>) offers abundant evidence that the American private sector is moving rapidly ahead with providing benefits for domestic partners as for those with spouses.

Current Foreign Service policy essentially forces employees to be extra creative and find loopholes to address their special concerns. It is ironic that, barely three decades after the abolition of archaic rules barring female Foreign Service personnel from being married at all, heterosexual women (and men) *must* marry their partners to confer on them government benefits. At least five straight female colleagues (of different ages, seniority levels and races) have either decided not to join the

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Foreign Service because they were unwilling to marry their partners, thereby rendering themselves potentially less competitive professionally, or have gotten married simply to “fit” into the Service and advance their careers. Of course, gay and lesbian couples don’t have such a choice to “test” their relationship at the cost of the American taxpayer.

Or consider another aspect of the policy. I thank AFSA for pushing to include parents in the MOH category, which is truly a progressive stance. As a single man with elderly parents, I am grateful that the MOH policy (adopted by USAID in May 2001, about six months after State implemented it) covers them, at least on paper — though not for any benefits that would incur costs on behalf of the government. Yet as the Guldin article, in particular, documents, many Foreign Service employees already bear significant caretaking responsibilities for their mothers and fathers, and more will do so as time goes on. With the skyrocketing costs of health care, long-term care and nursing care, this socio-cultural and economic reality is increasingly relevant to all employees. Yet as it stands, the MOH policy offers no means to cover air fare, living expenses, evacuation costs, or overseas medical insurance for parents.

As a son of immigrants, I have a bicultural perspective, one based in Asian-American family values. My parents fed, clothed, and paid for my education; now it’s my turn. While I recognize that all three categories of MOH — aging parents, adult children, and partners (same-sex or opposite-sex) of employees — are barred from receiving the at-cost benefits afforded to spouses by private sector companies, State and USAID have chosen to include these three categories of family within the definition of MOH. So it should follow through to make that commitment a reality.

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***As a longtime GLIFAA member, I know firsthand how hard AFSA has worked to bring the MOH policy to life and to make it as broad and meaningful as possible.***

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#### **More to Do**

These struggles all come down to parity, equity, dignity — and employee productivity. If we are to recruit and retain a productive workforce in an era in which development, defense and diplomacy are the three pillars of national security, our human resource policies must embody those values — just as we advocate those principles for the stakeholders in the countries in which we work. Let us remember that the issue of equal benefits for domestic partners and Members of Household is unrelated to morality or the use of taxpayer dollars for subsidizing lifestyle, as some might argue. It is related to only *one* issue — efficient business practice. In fact, our friends and allies such as the Canadians, Australians and British are already well ahead of us in this regard, offering at-cost benefits to officers with domestic partners and other Members of Household — a situation that sometimes put the U.S. in an awkward situation when negotiating reciprocal partner visa privileges.

As Bob Guldin reported, some officials assert that the Defense of Marriage Act prohibits the extension of benefits to domestic partners and

other Members of Household, but that is very much open to debate. In any case, the fact that the MOH policy is now incorporated into the Foreign Affairs Manual provides a regulatory basis to move forward. And already, both State and USAID have allowed GLIFAA to sponsor speakers and other events on site to celebrate Gay Pride Month for the past several years and to invite high-profile keynote speakers such as openly gay Jim Kolbe, R-Ariz., chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Affairs. Two GLIFAA board members won USAID’s Equal Employment Opportunity Award in 2001. And, going the extra mile, State has acknowledged gay and lesbian partners of FSOs on its external Web site (<http://www.state.gov/m/dghr/flo/rsrsc/c1992.htm>.)

Yes, this is an election year, but these milestones suggest that there is political cover for proceeding regardless of who wins this month. The Bush administration has already enacted human resource policies that make good business and management sense. Enabling workers to be productive by treating them equitably is not an issue of special rights but of *human* rights; *civil* rights; *American* rights. And as more Foreign Service officers get married in Massachusetts, Canada and Europe, they will rightly move to have the federal government recognize their families and adjust its policies accordingly.

In waging the “war for talent,” State, USAID and the other foreign affairs agencies have appropriately emphasized the importance of recruiting a diverse workforce, especially in the post-9/11 environment. Secretary of State Colin Powell regularly and proudly cites the growing number of minorities joining the Foreign Service through the Diplomatic Readiness Initiative and

## SPEAKING OUT



has pledged that such efforts will continue. Nor can there be any doubt that recruiting and retaining employees of color are consistent with work force planning and the mission/core values of State and USAID.

As an Asian-American, I welcome that commitment. But as a gay man, I would remind the Secretary that diversity also means attracting and retaining lesbian and gay Native Americans, Latinos, blacks, Asian-Americans — in addition to lesbian and gay white Americans — and those with disabilities (including the HIV-positive). And it means taking into account the very real needs of all employees, gay or straight, who have Members of Household (in all categories) to consider and care for.

One day I hope to join the Foreign Service. But right now, there is not enough evidence that USAID would be financially supportive of me as I fulfill my responsibilities both to my elderly parents and to a potential future partner — to all my family members. So until I see tangible progress in this regard, I will, reluctantly, continue to defer a decision to join. ■

*Ajit Joshi, a Civil Service employee of the U.S. Agency for International Development since 1998, currently works in the Bureau for Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance. Prior to joining USAID, Joshi lived, studied and worked in sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia and Latin America; interned with the State Department in Maracaibo and in the Bureau for Population, Refugees and Migration; consulted for the United Nations; and researched under a Fulbright Fellowship to India. He is a member of Gays and Lesbians in Foreign Affairs Agencies, and served as a GLIFAA board member for partnership issues from 2000 to 2002.*

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DIANE GREENSEID

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ONCE AGAIN WE ARE PLEASED TO FEATURE A COMPILATION OF RECENTLY PUBLISHED BOOKS BY FOREIGN SERVICE-AFFILIATED AUTHORS RANGING FROM MEMOIRS TO POLICY STUDIES, HISTORY, NOVELS, POETRY AND TRAVEL WORKS.

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The *Journal* is pleased to present our annual Foreign Service authors roundup as a cover story, in plenty of time for holiday orders. Here is an annotated list of some of the volumes written or edited by Foreign Service personnel and family members, past and present, in 2003 and 2004.

This year's selection contains a strong policy studies and issues section, a wide-ranging history section, and a respectable sampling of novels, poetry and travel works, in addition to 14 memoirs of Foreign Service life. As in the past two years, a significant portion of our titles are self-published.

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

While many of these books are available from bookstores and other sources, we encourage our readers to use the AFSA Web site's Marketplace feature to place your orders. We have created a Bookstore there with links to Amazon.com. For the few books that cannot be ordered through Amazon.com, we have provided the necessary contact information.

But enough crass commercialism. On to the books!  
— Susan Maitra, Senior Editor

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#### POLICY STUDIES & ISSUES

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**Chronology of World Terrorism,  
1901-2001**

*Henry E. Mattox, McFarland & Company, Inc., 2004, \$45.00, hardcover, 195 pages.*

Its perpetrators have changed and its form has varied, but terrorism has been a prominent factor in political life during the past century. This book presents a year-by-year account of the main terrorist incidents from the September 1901 assassination of President William McKinley to the Sept. 11, 2001, suicide attacks on New York and Washington. The study begins with the contentious topic of defining terrorism and concludes with a discussion of its effectiveness. Useful appendices contain the texts of international agreements bearing on terrorism and an extensive English-language bibliography of sources in the field.

Henry E. Mattox served as a Foreign Service officer from 1957 to 1980, and now resides in Chapel Hill, N.C., where he is editor of the online magazine *American Diplomacy* ([americandiplomacy.org](http://americandiplomacy.org)). He is the author of *Army Football in 1945: Anatomy of a Championship Season* (1990).

**The Humanitarian Conscience:  
Caring for Others in the Age of Terror**

W. R. Smyser, *Palgrave Macmillan*, 2003,  
\$23.80, *hardcover*, 320 pages.

This is a timely study, right from the first chapter that paints a portrait of the 65,000 to 75,000 professionals engaged at any one time today carrying out humanitarian work in the midst of crises — whether it is protection, relief, post-conflict reconciliation or rehabilitation. Carefully researched and engagingly written, the book traces the history of humanitarian activity, from its origin in the natural-law concepts of Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas, through its vicissitudes as the nation-state rose to prominence through the 20th century, and the rise after World War II of permanent United Nations organizations to deal with refugees and of NGOs to carry out humanitarian missions. The author argues that the United States and the West have increasingly disregarded the humanitarian conscience at a time when it is needed most.

W. R. Smyser, a retired FSO, directed the State Department refugee program and served as U.N. deputy high commissioner for refugees during the 1980s. He has visited more than 50 countries on five continents in over three decades to study and help conduct humanitarian operations. He is the author of *From Yalta to Berlin* (2000), *The German Economy: Colossus at the Crossroads* (1993) and *How Germans Negotiate* (2003).

**U.S. Development Aid — An Historic First:  
Achievements and Failures in the Twentieth Century**

Samuel Hale Butterfield, *Praeger Publishers*, 2004,  
\$92.95, *hardcover*, 336 pages.

The first comprehensive account of U.S. development assistance policies and their implementation in Africa, Asia and Latin America, this book is a singular contribution to the literature on so-called Third World development. The book traces the changes in U.S. aid strategy and policies over the decades following President Truman's groundbreaking Point Four program initiative in 1949, assessing both the achievements and challenges.

Samuel Butterfield, a retired FSO, served from 1958 through 1980 with USAID in Africa, South Asia and Washington, D.C. Following retirement he taught theory and practice of international development and

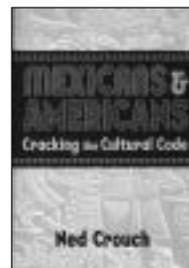
has served as an adviser on sustainable resource management in the Third World. This is his first book.

**The U.S. and Mexico: The Bear and the Porcupine**

Jeffrey Davidow, *Markus Wiener Publishers*, 2004,  
\$24.95, *paperback*, 298 pages.

This highly engaging book, whose Spanish-language edition is already a best-seller, offers a revealing look at the complex U.S.-Mexican relationship through the eyes of the ambassador who served both Clinton and Bush. The author guided U.S. policy through Mexico's democratic transition and Vicente Fox's election, and through the phase of euphoric friendship between Presidents Bush and Fox and the later distancing in the run-up to the war in Iraq. The book draws heavily on the author's experiences from 1998 to 2002 and also examines current U.S. policies, especially those relating to immigration, and the so-far-unsuccessful efforts to find new approaches to old problems. Said retired FSO Ted Wilkinson, in a review for the *FSJ* (September 2004): "Davidow has given us an engrossing, revealing, vivid and, at times, hilarious account of four historic years that spanned two Mexican presidencies."

Ambassador Jeffrey Davidow retired in 2003 after 34 years in the Foreign Service. In addition to Mexico, he served as ambassador to Venezuela and Zambia, principal deputy assistant secretary for African affairs, and as assistant secretary of State for Latin America. He is now president of the Institute of the Americas in La Jolla, Calif. *The U.S. and Mexico* has been nominated for the American Academy of Diplomacy's 2004 Book Award.



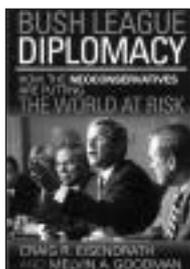
**Mexicans & Americans:  
Cracking the Cultural Code**

Ned Crouch, *Nicholas Brealey  
Publishing*, 2004, \$22.95,  
*paperback*, 260 pages.

"I can't tell you how many times in the course of my international business career I've heard successful executives say that the 'cultural thing' is the most difficult part of doing business around the world," author Ned Crouch says in his introduction to this insightful and highly readable book. Though Crouch's reference point is business relationships, you

do not have to be an entrepreneur to find this book of great practical value. The author sees his approach to the analysis of culture in the Mexican-U.S. relationship as transferable: "Once we have learned to recognize the patterns of another culture and to hold the mirror up to ourselves, we will be better at 'cracking the cultural code' in China, Brazil or wherever we go."

As Crouch explains, he did not come by cultural fluency only as a result of his 30-year international business career, but rather from the experience of growing up in a Foreign Service family, shuttling from post to post through Latin America and Europe, learning to survive in different cultures.



**Bush League Diplomacy:  
How the Neoconservatives  
Are Putting the World at Risk**

*Craig R. Eisendrath and Melvin  
A. Goodman, Prometheus Books,  
2004, \$26.00, hardcover, 268  
pages.*

In this comprehensive critique of the Bush administration's handling of international relations, Craig Eisendrath and Melvin Goodman discuss the folly and the dangers of abandoning diplomacy and relying on military force as the chief means of conducting U.S. foreign policy. The authors see the international community becoming dangerously unstable, not more secure, under a Pax Americana maintained by military might.

Both Eisendrath, a former FSO, and Goodman are senior fellows at the Center for International Policy in Washington, D.C. Eisendrath is the author of *The Phantom Defense: America's Pursuit of the Star Wars Illusion* (2001) and *At War with Time: The Wisdom of Western Thought from the Sages to a New Activism for Our Time* (2003; see next entry). Goodman, a former CIA official, is a professor of international security at the National War College and an adjunct professor at Johns Hopkins University. He is the author of *Gorbachev's Retreat: The Third World* (1991) and *The Wars of Eduard Shevardnadze* (1997).

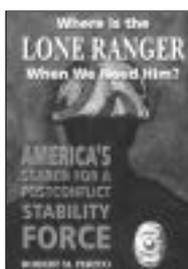
**At War with Time: The Wisdom of Western Thought  
from the Sages to a New Activism for Our Time**

*Craig Eisendrath, Helios Press, 2003, \$24.95,  
paperback, 293 pages.*



How does one find meaning in today's unstable, ever-changing world? That is the question former FSO and social critic Craig Eisendrath asks in this book. He demonstrates in an incisive, cross-disciplinary review of Western thought that our ancestors found meaning in the face of crisis by adhering to what he terms "beliefs of permanence" — the idea of an eternal soul, an almighty God, fixed natural laws and historical purpose — beliefs, however, that have been undermined by modern science and history. The author suggests the beginnings of a new philosophy that embraces the reality of impermanence, and at the same time inspires us with a new sense of activism and a constructive approach to the future.

Craig Eisendrath has written several books (see the previous entry), and is also an accomplished novelist and playwright. He is a co-founder of the National Constitution Center, and lives in Philadelphia.



**Where Is the Lone Ranger  
When We Need Him?  
America's Search for a  
Postconflict Stability Force**

*Robert M. Perito, United States  
Institute of Peace Press, 2004,  
\$19.95, paperback, 400 pages.*

"A unique, badly needed compilation of international policing and constabulary capabilities and a description of how they have been used" is how Ambassador Robert B. Oakley describes this book. Though the U.S. has played the primary role in organizing and leading post-conflict stability operations, Robert M. Perito's extensive research raises serious questions about how well prepared the U.S. is for these nonmilitary tasks. The author makes proposals for the creation of a U.S. Stability Force composed of constabulary, police and judicial teams of lawyers, judges and corrections officers.

Perito, a retired career FSO, is a visiting lecturer at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs and an adjunct professor at George Mason and American Universities. He is a special adviser to the U.S. Institute of Peace's Rule of Law Program and a former fellow of the Institute.

## F O C U S

Earlier he was deputy director of the International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program at the U.S. Department of Justice, responsible for police training programs in Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo and East Timor. Before joining the Foreign Service, Perito was a Peace Corps volunteer in Nigeria.

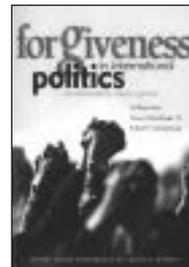
### **A Sense of Place: Discovering the Stratton Open Space**

*Ruth Obee, Blue River Publishing, Inc., 2002, \$9.99, paperback, 86 pages.*

The Kentucky writer Wendell Berry said that if you don't know where you are, you don't know who you are. In 1998, an ecologically varied 300-acre site overlooking the city of Colorado Springs called the "Stratton land" was saved in perpetuity as open space after a sustained and unprecedented community-wide effort. This slim volume brings together the words of a poet, the notes of a botanist and biologist, and the images of a landscape painter, watercolor artist and photographer

to celebrate what the Stratton land has come to mean to those who live there and to the many summer visitors who come to enjoy its beauty.

Author Ruth Obee, born and raised in Idaho, lived for 14 years with her FSO husband in South Asia and Africa. Presently a resident of Colorado Springs, she is also the author of *Es'kia Mphahlele: Themes of Alienation and African Humanism* (1999).



### **Forgiveness in International Politics: An Alternative Road to Peace**

*William Bole, Drew Christiansen SJ, and Robert T. Hennemeyer, United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, 2004, \$19.95, paperback, 220 pages.*

In a time of suicide bombings, ethnic and nationalistic conflicts and the global war on terrorism, the idea that forgiveness



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has a practical role to play on the world stage may seem unlikely. But, drawing mainly from case studies in Northern Ireland, Bosnia and the truth commissions in South Africa, this unusual book shows that political leaders such as the late King Hussein of Jordan, Nelson Mandela of South Africa, Kim Dae Jung of South Korea and others have helped heal political wounds by engaging in “transactions of forgiveness.”

Authors Hennemeyer, a retired FSO and former ambassador to The Gambia, Christiansen and Bole are fellows of the Woodstock Theological Center at Georgetown University. The book is an outgrowth of Woodstock’s project, “Forgiveness in Conflict Resolution: Reality in Utility,” conducted in cooperation with the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops’ Office of International Justice and Peace. Hennemeyer and Christiansen are also authors of *Peacemaking: Moral and Policy Challenges for a New World* (1994).



**Commercial Diplomacy and the National Interest**

*Harry W. Kopp, American Academy of Diplomacy/Business Council for International Understanding, 2004, \$9.95, paperback, 140 pages.*

This is a lucid and lively presentation of the history and workings of commercial diplomacy, from its flowering in the 1970s to the challenges of today’s globalized world. Based on stories and case studies from the fiercely competitive world of international business, the author examines strategies adopted, tactics executed and results achieved to plead for greater recognition that, in the author’s words, “America’s commercial power is the primary source of American global leadership.” The book also shows diplomats and business leaders the many ways they can and must work together to their mutual benefit.

Harry W. Kopp is a retired FSO.

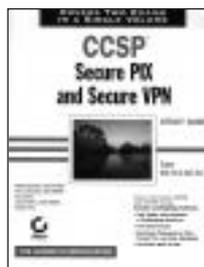
**Political Islam in Southeast Asia: Moderates, Radicals and Terrorists**

*Angel M. Rabasa, International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2003, \$29.95, paperback, 82 pages.*

This slender volume presents a comprehensive but concise overview of the evolution of political Islam in

Southeast Asia — a subject of critical interest since the events of 9/11 — and its implications for the future of the region. The author looks in turn at Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore, and the Philippines, and assesses the terrorist networks in the region. The impact of the U.S.-led war on terrorism and policies that Southeast Asian governments and the U.S. and its allies could pursue to strengthen moderate and tolerant tendencies within Southeast Asian Islam are also discussed.

A retired FSO, Angel Rabasa is a senior policy analyst with the RAND Corporation. He is the author of numerous books and articles on Southeast Asia. His latest publication, with John Haseman, is *The Military and Democracy in Indonesia: Challenges, Politics and Power* (2002).



**CCSP: Secure PIX and Secure VPN Study Guide**

*Eric Quinn, SYBEX Inc., 2004, \$59.99, paperback, 525 pages plus CD-ROM.*

This book, though not for the general reader, is a mark of the diversity and quality of professional expertise within the Foreign Service today. For anyone preparing for the Cisco Certified Security Professional exams for the Secure PIX Firewall and Secure VPN technologies, this study guide is essential. It provides in-depth coverage of all exam topics, practical information on implementing the technologies, hundreds of challenging review questions, and exam preparation software that includes a test engine and electronic flashcards.

Eric Quinn, an information management specialist currently serving in Athens, has more than a decade of experience in supporting security for corporate and government LANs and WANs. He is the author of four books relating to network configuration and security, and was instrumental in designing Cisco’s course on the 6500 series switch.

**One Planet, One People: Beyond “Us vs. Them”**

*Carl Coon, Prometheus Books, 2004, \$22.00, hardcover, 150 pages.*

This is a bold and interesting look at human civilization on the threshold of a new world order. “The sec-



ond ‘Big Bang’” is how the author refers to the transition now underway from a world of competing ideologies and nation-states to a world that accommodates diversity and lives in peace and harmony. The author draws on both his experience as a senior diplomat and his upbringing as the son of the late anthropologist

Carleton Coon, who studied prehistoric and modern societies in the Middle East, Patagonia and India. With a masterful economy of expression, he provides an overview of the evolution of human society and a vision of the future in this highly readable study.

During Carl Coon’s 35-year career in the Foreign Service he lived and worked in many lands and cultures in both the East and the West. He was ambassador to Nepal from 1981 to 1984. He is the author of *Culture Wars and the Global Village* (2000) and a brief memoir, *From the Heartland* (see p. 39).

## TRAVEL

### **Travels for Daggers: Adventures in Collecting**

*Eiler R. Cook, Historic Edged Weaponry, 2004, \$50.00, hardcover, 300 pages with 288 illustrations.*

Here is a handsome, leather-bound coffee-table book. More than 500 knives and other edged weapons are pictured and described in the course of a globe-spanning trip by this retired FSO, whose duties as a diplomatic courier and a political officer from 1947 to 1980 carried him to diplomatic posts all over the world. The narrative is laced with the author’s personal adventures and experiences as he visits post-World War II Europe, Scandinavia and Lapland, Cold War-era Berlin and Moscow, Istanbul and Cairo, Zululand, the Khyber Pass, Moroland and the Orient, Peru and Argentina.

Eiler R. Cook lectures on edged weaponry in the U.S. and abroad, and is a staff correspondent for *Knife World*.

### **Food and Drink in Argentina**

*Dereck Foster and Richard Tripp, Aroma y Sabores, 2003, \$8.95, paperback, 128 pages.*

Like the United States, Argentina is a country of

immigrants producing unique culinary and linguistic results. This book, which one reviewer describes as “essential for helping you to discover the treasures of Argentina,” is an introduction to Argentina’s regional cuisines and a guide to its restaurants, menus, and even where to shop. The book was designed to meet the needs and interests of tourists and new residents.

Dereck Foster was born in Buenos Aires and has lived there most of his life. As a journalist specializing in gastronomy and travel, he has visited 36 countries on five continents. He is food and wine editor for the *Buenos Aires Herald*, and lectures widely. Richard Tripp, who has had a lifelong interest in food and cooking, traveled extensively as an active-duty officer in the U.S. Navy. Following retirement in 1988 he accompanied his Foreign Service wife to posts in Brussels, Madrid and Buenos Aires.

### **Living in Panama**

*Sandra T. Snyder, Panama Relocation Services, 2002, \$19.95, paperback, 218 pages.*

Panama is a mecca for expatriates, whether for business or pleasure, for short-term visits or retirement living. This very readable little book contains everything the newcomer needs to know about the country and its culture, presented in a simple, direct fashion and with oodles of useful lists and resources (including those online) to deal with almost any type of question or challenge — from getting a driver’s license to opening a bank account, paying utility bills and tips on children’s parties.

Sandra Snyder, currently acting community liaison officer at Embassy Panama, is an expat herself. She and her husband settled in Panama 10 years ago, after living and traveling for a decade in Central and South America. Snyder has long been an information resource for newcomers to Panama, initially on an informal basis but later as a relocation specialist with Panama Relocation Services, publishers of this volume.

### **Washington, D.C., From A to Z: The Traveler’s Look-Up Source for the Nation’s Capital**

*Don Hausrath and Paul Wasserman, Capital Books, Inc., 2003, paperback, \$20.00, 412 pages.*

Written particularly with newly-returned Foreign Service officers in mind, this book offers comprehen-

sive and reliable information on the entire range of features and attractions of the nation's capital and its environs in Virginia and Maryland. Hotels, restaurants, nightclubs, etc., because there are simply too many, have been screened to provide a selective listing across locations and price levels, but every other category is inclusive. Current Web-site information for many of the entries, as well as an extensive listing of events, including a monthly checklist of festivals, parades, celebrations and other activities are two unique features of this handy, easy-to-use guide.

After retirement from the Senior Foreign Service in 1995, Don Hausrath, who grew up in Washington, D.C., served as a volunteer at the Parks and History Association in Washington, as well as at the Naval Historical Museum. He currently lives in Tucson, Ariz. Paul Wasserman, professor emeritus at the University of Maryland College of Information Studies and author of *New York from A to Z* (2002), lives in the Washington, D.C., area.

## HISTORY

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

*Wilson P. Dizard Jr., Lynne Reinner Publishers, 2004, \$49.95, hardcover, 255 pages.*

Reviewing this book in the October 2004 *FSJ*, FSO Allen Hansen said: "Dizard has produced what will surely be viewed for a long time to come as a definitive history of USIA." Dizard traces the political ups and downs of the U.S. Information Agency and its precursor, the Office of War Information, offering a comprehensive look at the role of public diplomacy in U.S. foreign policy from World War II to today. Not simply concerned with policies and programs, Dizard also focuses on the people, both famous and otherwise, who spoke for the United States during the last half of the 20th century. The surge of anti-Americanism around the world in the recent period provides the context for Dizard's thoughtful concluding discussion of the future of public diplomacy.

### **U.S. Government Publications for the Foreign Affairs Professional**

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**Foreign Consular Offices in the United States, Fall/Winter 2003**

Contains a complete and official listing of the foreign consular offices in the United States, and recognized consular officers. Designed with attention to the requirements of government agencies, State tax officials, international trade organizations, chambers of commerce, and judicial authorities that have a continuing need for handy access to this type of information. 2003. 120 p. S/N 044-000-02573-6. \$17.00

**Foreign Labor Trends**

These reports describe and analyze the labor trends in some of the most important foreign countries. They cover significant labor developments, including labor-management relations, trade unions, employment and unemployment, wages and working conditions, labor and government, labor administration and legislation, training, labor and politics, labor mitigation, and international labor activities, as appropriate. Subscription. List ID FLT. \$95.00

**Background Notes on the Countries of the World**

Each note and gives information on its land, people, history, government, political conditions, economy, and foreign relations. These short, factual pamphlets cover different countries or territories (or international organizations) and include information on each country's land, people, history, government, political conditions, economy, and foreign relations. Subscription. List ID BGN. \$63.00

**World Factbook 2003**

Provides brief information on the geography, people, government, economy, communications, and defense of countries and regions around the world. Contains information on international organizations. Designed to meet the specific requirements of United States Government Officials in style, format, coverage, and content. Includes unstashed maps. 2003. 720 p. ill. 12 maps (3 folded maps). S/N 041-015-00231-7. \$100.00



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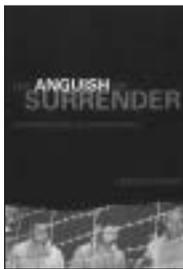
Retired FSO Wilson Dizard Jr. served in the State Department and the USIA from 1951 to 1980, and is the author of seven books and many articles. This book is part of the ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy Series, and has been nominated for the American Academy of Diplomacy's 2004 Book Award.

**The Return of the Exiles: Australia's Repatriation of the Indonesians, 1945-47**

*Frank C. Bennett Jr., Monash University Press, 2003, \$42.80, paperback, 328 pages.*

With the declaration of independence of the Republic of Indonesia at the close of World War II, Australia found itself torn between loyalty to its European allies and sympathy with the anti-colonial struggle in Asia. In assisting the return of Indonesian political dissidents interned by the Dutch or sheltered in Australia, Canberra effectively supported the Indonesian independence movement, to the consternation of the Dutch. The story of the return of these exiles, comprehensively researched and engagingly related in this book, provides an illuminating record of relations among the Australian, Dutch and Indonesian governments at the time and of Australia's efforts to define a distinct foreign policy of its own.

Frank Bennet Jr. is a retired FSO who now lives in Melbourne. A graduate of the University of California, Berkeley, he served largely in Southeast Asia, including three years in Indonesia.



**The Anguish of Surrender: Japanese POWs of World War II**

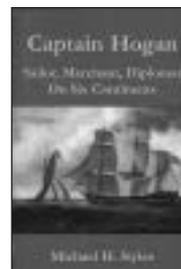
*Ulrich Straus, University of Washington Press, 2004, \$27.50, hardcover, 272 pages.*

"In *The Anguish of Surrender*, Rick Straus combines scholarship, expertise and empathy to convey, for the first time in English, the truly dramatic and deeply human stories of Japanese POWs ...

In the process he advances our understanding of the paradoxical wartime roots of postwar Japanese-American friendship," Kenneth Brown and Robert Funseth write in their foreword to this unusual book. Beginning with an examination of Japan's prewar ultra-nationalist climate and the harsh code that precluded the possibility of capture, the author investigates the

circumstances of surrender and capture of the Japanese POWs and how they dealt with their dilemma, both in captivity and, later, in reintegrating in their homeland after the war. He shows, among other things, how, despite the bitterness of the war, trained Allied linguists extracted information from the POWs by affording them humane treatment.

Ulrich "Rick" Straus lived for 21 years in Japan, first as a child and later as a U.S. Army language officer during the occupation, when he participated in the trial of Japan's major war criminals. A career FSO, Straus was consul general of Okinawa from 1978 to 1982 and retired in 1987. Since then he has taught at various universities in the Washington, D.C., area. This book is part of the ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy Book series.



**Captain Hogan: Sailor, Merchant, Diplomat on Six Continents**

*Michael H. Styles, Six Continent Horizons, 2003, \$20.22, paperback, 434 pages.*

This biography of Michael Hogan (1766-1833), written by his great-great-great-grandson, FSO Michael Styles, is the story of an adventurous

seaman, merchant and diplomat who traveled the world's oceans and lived on six continents during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The book is based on a wealth of original letters and other memorabilia of Capt. Hogan and on supplementary research in libraries, archives and historical societies around the world. The author presents a rich narrative that captures the many details of Hogan's life and the historical background of the events and activities in which he was involved. Of particular interest to Foreign Service readers will be the chapters covering Hogan's consular career, describing the early days of the Department of State and the diplomatic and consular corps.

Michael Styles is a retired FSO who lives in Fairfax Station, Va. A history buff, he teaches history courses at the Learning in Retirement Institute at George Mason University.

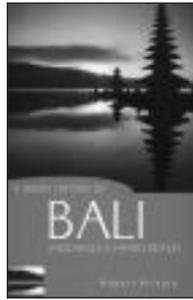
**Poland: A Transitional Analysis**

*Richard J. Hunter Jr., Leo V. Ryan CSV, and Robert E. Shapiro, PIASA Books, 2003, \$15.00, paperback, 204 pages.*

## F O C U S

In 1989, following the fall of communism, Poland embarked on a program of radical economic reform. This book, clearly and concisely written, and with comprehensive data and source material, assesses where Poland and its "Economic Transformation Program" stand nearly 15 years after the transition. The authors evaluate the impact of foreign direct investment and international trade on the development of Poland's post-communist market system, assess the evolution of the Polish taxation system, and appraise Poland's readiness for accession into the E.U.

Leo V. Ryan CSV, a retired FSO, is professor of management emeritus at DePaul University. Richard J. Hunter Jr. is professor of legal studies in the Stillman School of Business at Seton Hall University. Robert E. Shapiro is associate professor of accounting and taxation at the Stillman School of Business and a specialist in international taxation. This work is a follow-up to an earlier study by Ryan and Hunter, *From Autarchy to Market: Polish Economics and Politics, 1945-1995* (1998).

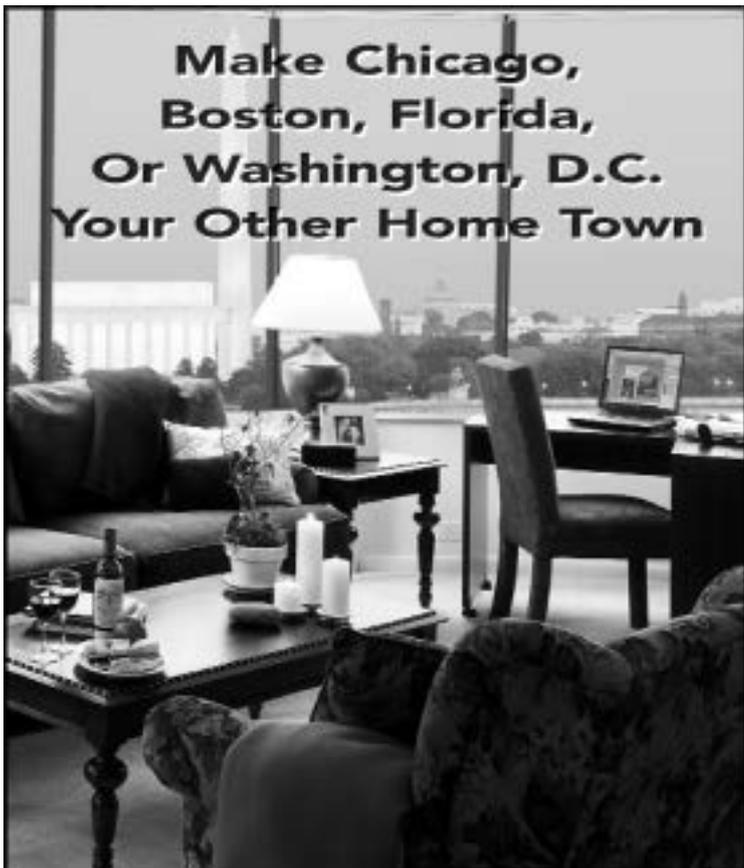


### **A Short History of Bali: Indonesia's Hindu Realm**

Robert Pringle, *Allen & Unwin*,  
2004, \$16.95, paperback, 266  
pages.

Two million tourists visit Bali every year. This book surveys the fabled island's complex history from before the Bronze Age to the presidency of Megawati Sukarnoputri and the tragedy of the Kuta bombings in October 2002, and offers insights into some of Bali's enduring mysteries along the way. As reviewer Prof. Jamie Mackie, of Australian National University's Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, wrote: "This beautiful little book is a gem. Its striking cover photo entices you in; then Robert Pringle's engaging style takes over with crisp, well-informed accounts of Balinese society, culture, politics, agriculture and ecological conditions that add up to something far more than a conventional history."

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Robert Pringle is an historian, journalist and diplomat with special interest in environmental issues, ethnic minorities and conflict resolution. A retired FSO, he spent much of his career in Indonesia, the Philippines and Papua New Guinea. He has a doctorate in Southeast Asian history from Cornell University and lives in Alexandria, Va.

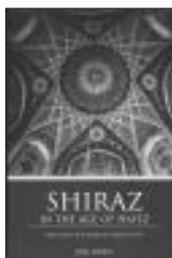


**Reagan and Gorbachev:  
How the Cold War Ended**

*Jack F. Matlock Jr., Random House, 2004, \$27.95, hardcover, 363 pages.*

Here is a unique eyewitness account of the personal dynamics between the two world leaders who brought an end to the Cold War. It is an exceptional story that encompasses the vision of two men for change, high-level political balancing acts, and traditional bureaucratic in-fighting between their closest advisers. The book has fresh insights, new judgments and new material — including, for instance, Reagan’s visceral hatred of nuclear weapons and his determination to find a way to rid the world of them, and the role of Sen. Edward Kennedy and former French President Francois Mitterrand in encouraging Gorbachev to deal with Reagan — to add to our understanding of this key event in modern history.

A veteran Foreign Service officer and respected expert on the Soviet Union, Jack F. Matlock served as principal adviser on Soviet and European affairs during the Reagan administration and later as the final U.S. ambassador to the USSR. He is the author of the authoritative *Autopsy on an Empire: The American Ambassador’s Account of the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (1995). *Reagan and Gorbachev* has been nominated for the American Academy of Diplomacy’s 2004 Book Award.



**Shiraz in the Age of Hafez: The Glory of a Medieval Persian City**

*John Limbert, University of Washington Press, 2004, \$22.50, paperback, 182 pages.*

In the 14th century Shams al-Din Mohammad Hafez Shirazi composed an unequalled collection of lyric poetry that is still beloved today in Iran and among all lovers of great verse. The backdrop to

Hafez’s work is the city of Shiraz, with its religious devotion, its flourishing of scholarship and arts, and its deadly political intrigues. This book presents the history of Shiraz, from its founding in the first century of Islam to its conquest by Amir Timur (Tamerlane) at the end of the 14th century, including a profile of its geography, its people, its administration and social organization.

Ambassador John Limbert is president of the American Foreign Service Association. Fluent in Persian and Arabic, he was one of the first civilian officials to enter Baghdad in April 2003, and served another tour of duty there in 2004. Before joining the Foreign Service, Limbert taught in Iran, both as a Peace Corps Volunteer and as an English instructor at Shiraz University. He holds the Department of State’s Award for Valor, received after spending 14 months as a hostage in Iran. He is the author of *Iran: At War with History* (1987).

**Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia**

*David H. Shinn and Thomas P. Ofcansky, The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2004, \$95.00, hardcover, 633 pages.*

This reference work is a comprehensive source of authoritative information on the cultural, political, economic and historical dimensions of one of the world’s oldest countries that, with a population of 67 million people, is today the third-most populous country in Africa after Nigeria and Egypt. The book contains hundreds of entries, including, for instance, one for each of Ethiopia’s 85 ethnic groups. A 200-page bibliography organized by historical period and topic lists thousands of new and old source materials.

David Shinn served in the Foreign Service for 37 years, many of them dealing with the Horn of Africa. He was U.S. ambassador to Ethiopia from 1996 to 1999. Thomas Ofcansky, currently with the State Department, has traveled widely throughout East Africa. He is the author of *Paradise Lost: A History of Game Preservation in East Africa* (2002).

**Uncle Sam in Barbary: A Diplomatic History**

*Richard B. Parker, University Press of Florida, 2004, \$59.95, hardcover, 316 pages.*

*Uncle Sam in Barbary* is the story of the young American republic’s first hostage crisis, and earliest encounter with Islam, which began in 1785 when Algerian corsairs — the Barbary pirates — captured

## F O C U S

two U.S. vessels off the coast of Portugal. The incident was not finally resolved until 1796, and ultimately led to the creation of the U.S. Navy and America's presence in the Mediterranean. The author relied on dispatches, personal papers and official communications, including unpublished British, French, Italian and Tunisian documents to provide the intriguing details of the international diplomacy mobilized to address the crisis. The book offers serious lessons about the limitations of force not backed by diplomacy. And, as retired FSO Charles Dunbar put it in his review for the *FSJ* (July-August 2004), "Beyond the lessons it imparts, *Uncle Sam in Barbary* is a really good read."

Retired FSO Richard B. Parker received the 2004 AFSA Award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy. Fluent in Arabic and the ambassador to Algeria, Lebanon and Morocco in the Ford and Carter administrations, Parker has taught at several universities, edited the *Middle East Journal*, and published six other books. This book is part of the ADST-DACOR

Diplomats and Diplomacy series, and has been nominated for the American Academy of Diplomacy's 2004 Book Award.



### **In His Own Words: The Writings, Speeches and Letters of George Henry White**

*Compiled and edited by Benjamin R. Justesen, iUniverse, Inc., 2004, \$22.95, paperback, 340 pages.*

The first African-American to serve in the U.S. Congress in the 20th century, George Henry White (1852-1918) was also a renowned American orator and public servant for nearly four decades. The letters, speeches and other documents in this collection highlight White's thoughts on key issues of the day, such as: the epidemic of lynching, Southern disfranchisement of African-American voters, dismissal of African-American soldiers, and an effective political phi-

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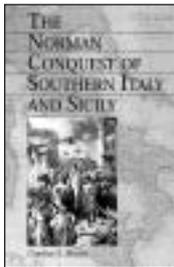
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losophy for African-American voters.

This book is a follow-up to Justesen's 2001 biography, *George Henry White: An Even Chance in the Race of Life*, the first full-length study of this African-American political pioneer; that work was nominated for the Pulitzer Prize in biography. Benjamin Justesen, a former FSO, is a free-lance writer and editor who lives in Alexandria, Va.



**The Norman Conquest of Southern Italy and Sicily**

Gordon S. Brown, McFarland & Company, Inc., 2003, \$35.00, paperback, 222 pages.

The Normans originally came to Italy and Sicily in the 11th and 12th centuries looking for adventure or a livelihood, but once there, found opportunity for fame and fortune. This rich and often dramatic study focuses on the eight sons of Tancred of Hauteville, relating how they expanded their lands throughout southern Italy, and then took Sicily from its Muslim rulers. The brothers, often in conflict with each other, challenged both the papacy and the Byzantine empire, became the main supporters of the reform papacy, and founded a rich, sophisticated kingdom that lasted until the 19th century.

Retired FSO Gordon S. Brown was ambassador to Mauritania from 1991 to 1994, and before that served as political adviser to General Schwarzkopf during the first Gulf War. During his 35-year career he was also posted in Tunisia, Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt, France and Saudi Arabia. This book reflects his lifetime interest in history. He is also the author of *Coalition, Coercion and Compromise* (1997), an analysis of the diplomacy of the Persian Gulf War coalition. He lives in the Washington, D.C., area.

**The Press of Battle: The GI Reporter and the American People**

Jack E. Pulwers, Ivy House Publishing Group, 2003, \$42.50, hardcover, 850 pages.

"Jack Pulwers has written a powerful and much-needed book on the oftentimes heroic exploits of the GI reporter. I encourage anyone who is interested in the history of battle, and especially World War II, to read this inspiring book," is what former Senator Robert Dole had to say about *The Press of Battle*.

Thirty years in the making, this book is a tour de force, presenting as it does the dramatic, complete story of the men and women who provided the eyes and ears for the troops, their families and the rest of the country during world War II. With over 400 interviews and 350 photographs, the book documents the history of the wartime press and media.

Dr. Jack Pulwers followed military service in World War II with a distinguished career as a news, radio and broadcast journalist. A former FS spouse (his first wife, Ethyl, was editor-in-chief at Voice of America for many years), Pulwers is a longtime member of AFSA and Diplomatic and Consular Officers Retired. Throughout his career as news and broadcast chief of the Armed Forces Radio and Television network, and later on missions with the Department of Defense, he has worked closely with the Foreign Service. He resides in Fairfax, Va.

**Shef-Ideolog: M. A. Suslov I "nauka" o kommunizme v SSSR (Chief Ideologue: M.A. Suslov and the "Science" of Communism in the USSR)**

Paul M. Carter Jr., TEIS Press, Moscow State University, 2003, hardcover, 199 pages.

A study in "ideological biography," this book presents the late Soviet chief ideologist Mikhail Suslov, who was often characterized as the Kremlin's "red eminence" from the late Stalin period through the Brezhnev era. The book analyzes the unique connections among Suslov, Marxism-Leninism and the Soviet Communist Party's totalitarian authority and power.

FSO Paul Carter is a political officer, currently serving on the Ukraine desk. The study draws on his research in Russia and the U.S. over almost 20 years, including new information gathered during his recent tour as political officer at Embassy Moscow. Translated from the original English manuscript, the book is available only in Russian through TEIS Press at Moscow State University.

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**NOVELS & POETRY**

**But It Does Move: Poems from an Orbiting Earth**

Gordon King, Central Publishing Limited, 2003, \$14.50, paperback, 88 pages.

This is retired FSO Gordon King's fourth book of

## F O C U S



poems. The title poem, “But It Does Move,” a lyrical affirmation of life, is inspired by the words — “Eppur si muove!” — Galileo Galilei is reported to have whispered as he left the Inquisition chambers after being forced to recant the Copernican theory in 1632. This delightful collection is

sprinkled with echoes from King’s 30-year diplomatic career, a large part of it spent in South and West Asia, such as “Assadullah Safi,” “The Great Buddhas at Bamian,” “The Opium Smoker, Yahya Khan,” and others.

Gordon King returned to the U.S. recently from Surrey, England, where he and his late wife, the artist Josephine deBeauchamp, lived for six years near their daughter and her English family. Three books of his poetry have been published in the United States, and individual poems have appeared in a number of magazines in the U.S. and U.K. “To Anita Killed By the

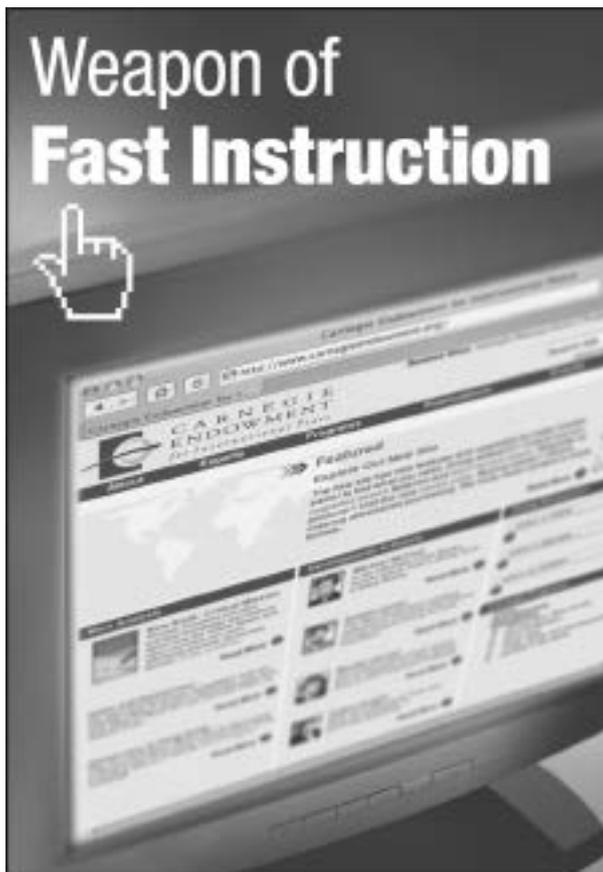
Bandits,” a poem based on a true episode when King served as consul in Isfahan in 1955-1957, appeared in the *Foreign Service Journal* (July-August 2003).

### **A Field of Flowers: Poems and Essays from a Diplomat’s Journeys**

*Betsy Orlando, Xlibris Corporation, 2003, \$21.99, paperback, 204 pages.*

The poems and short essays in this collection reflect Betsy Orlando’s life experiences during 12 years of travel to more than 160 countries as a diplomatic courier. The book is an accessible and enjoyable tour around the world that sometimes zings straight to the heart, as in “Cut Off,” about the no-man’s-land of a hospital stay captured in the plea: “So, please don’t bring me flowers...”

Raised on Long Island, N.Y., Orlando is a graduate of the University of Akron School of Law and a member of the Ohio State Bar Association. She joined the Foreign Service in 1992, and was the 2004 winner of



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AFSA's Tex Harris Award for constructive dissent by a Foreign Service specialist, in recognition of her strong commitment to fairness and her willingness to put her own career on the line to help others. She is the author of three novels and numerous short stories.

### **The Way Home: A Novel**

Robert Earle, Daybue Publishing, 2003, \$24.00, hardcover, 367 pages.

"Impressive ... compelling ... highly original," said the *Baltimore Sun* about Robert Earle's debut novel. "Positively gripping," said *Washingtonian Online*. *The Way Home* is the story of 16-year-old Max, an only child, who is faced with the collapse of his world as, first, his beloved grandfather dies, then his parents divorce, and he is packed off to a boarding school. There he encounters a cast of diverse characters who seem determined to force him to grow up quickly. "Foremost a coming-of-age tale," says *Booklist* magazine, "it is tinged with Earle's philosophical riffs on

marriage and divorce, the economics of aging, and the often inscrutable ties between generations."

Robert Earle is a retired FSO and veteran of the U.S. Information Agency.



### **Conflicting Loyalties: A Novel**

Harry Caicedo, iUniverse, Inc., 2004, \$14.95, paperback, 190 pages.

Six months after 9/11, the mysterious sinking of a U.S. Coast Guard cutter off the coast of Cuba detonates outraged demands for a war of punishment and revenge against the Castro regime. War hysteria quickly possesses average citizens and policy-makers alike from Miami to Washington. Thousands of U.S. servicemen prepare to risk death in a massive invasion of Cuba to protect American national security and honor. A Cuban-American reporter for a Miami newspaper

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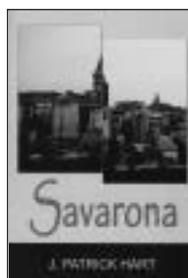
faces the test of her life when she's assigned to cover the presumed terrorist attack. The story she digs up challenges conventional assumptions and puts her life in danger. *Conflicting Loyalties* is a gripping tale of personal courage in the context of grand-scale intrigue and power lust. It explores issues of patriotism and honesty in a complex world where easy definitions of right and wrong don't always fit the facts.

Retired FSO Harry Caicedo spent 20 years with USIA, serving in Washington, Miami, Peru and Mexico. He opened the first Voice of America bureau in Latin America. A longtime resident of Miami, this is his first work of fiction.

**Savarona**

*J. Patrick Hart, PublishAmerica, 2004, \$19.95, paperback, 218 pages.*

Istanbul's sights, sounds and scents permeate this darkly comic first novel of international and bureaucratic intrigue set at the crossroads of East and West.



Bill Bigelow is a drifter with a history of mental illness and a habit of removing his clothes at the worst possible times. When he lapses into psychosis, his only hope is George McCall, a junior diplomat with demons of his own, both real and imagined. "Hart has a rare gift for making his characters three-dimensional (even if what some of them do is frankly unbelievable)," wrote Steve Honley in his review of *Savarona* in the *Foreign Service Journal* (September 2004). "Hart also captures, as well as any Foreign Service writer I've ever encountered, the rhythm of life overseas, the excitement and ennui of consular work, and the tensions of balancing work and a personal life."

J. Patrick Hart (pseudonym) is an FSO who has served in Istanbul, Melbourne, USNATO Brussels and in Washington, D.C.

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*Suzanne, just out of Boot Camp, proudly wears her Marine uniform, August 1984.*



*Suzanne and her brother, Stephen, on their way to school in Athens, October 1972.*

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**Vengeance Is Mine: JIHAD**

*Gerald Olsen, Washington House, 2003, \$15.50, paperback, 198 pages.*

The state of Israel is a land that has known many names: Palestine, Canaan and others now obscured by the passage of time. Today it is the world's most enduring nightmare.

For the personnel at the U.S. embassy in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, this festering sore had not been their problem until a violent killing at the embassy gate put them in the middle of the next level of horror that threatens Israel and the Middle East. Can it be stopped? Washington's answer is to send Jake Borg: diplomat, warrior, spy. Can he do it?

Gerald Olsen is a retired FSO who spent seven years in Saudi Arabia on a joint U.S.-Saudi Arabian development project. He lives in Muskegon, Mich., and Orange County, Calif. This is his first novel.



**A Handful of Kings: A Novel**

*Mark Jacobs, Simon & Schuster, 2004, \$24.00, hardcover, 274 pages.*

Former FSO Mark Jacob's fourth novel is an elegantly written tale of suspense and moral dilemma set in contemporary Spain, Latin America and the United States. It is a story

of terrorism, espionage and backroom diplomacy in a modern world that knows no borders.

This page-turning thriller follows the story of American diplomat Vicky Sorrell's fast-paced tour of duty — one where she must decide who the bad guys are, who is lying, and who just might be telling the dangerous truth — and illuminates the unexpected ways people betray and defend one another and, ultimately, how they learn to love.

Mark Jacobs served as cultural attaché and information officer in Spain, Turkey and several posts in Latin



**A Diplomat's Progress: Ten Tales of Diplomatic Adventure in and around the Middle East**

*Henry Precht, Williams & Company, 2004, \$14.95, paperback, 236 pages.*

"Henry Precht's tales are alive with the intense sights and sounds of the Middle East and with the culture of deception and betrayal in which

America is now a full partner," says David Ignatius of the *Washington Post* about this book.

Through the stories — set in Egypt, Mauritius, Afghanistan, Iran, Israel and Palestine, England and Syria — we are taken inside the Cold War and regional strife; we meet religious radicals and rough regimes up close; we negotiate drug deals and participate in diplomatic niceties; we get entangled with the CIA and the secret police of this or that nation; we challenge the "dragons of dogma" over U.S. policy in Iran; and much more.

Henry Precht joined the Foreign Service in 1961, and spent the next 25 years working mainly on Egypt, Iran and Arab-Israel affairs. Following retirement, he served as president of the World Affairs Council in Cleveland, where he taught international affairs at Case Western Reserve University. He now spends his time writing in Bethesda, Md., and Bridgton, Maine. This is his first book.



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America. He has published more than 60 short stories in a range of literary and commercial magazines, and is the author of three previous, highly acclaimed books: *Stone Cowboy* (1999), *The Liberation of Little Heaven* (1998), and *A Cast of Spaniards* (1994).



### **Legend: A Novel**

Alan Michaels, AuthorHouse, 2004,  
\$11.25/paperback, \$4.95/e-book,  
271 pages.

Set in the near future in California, the Southwest and Mexico, *Legend* tells the story of four characters: Juana, a talented young Mexican woman who flees to California after her wealthy, influential father is assassinated; Alan, an American charter yacht captain who falls in love with Juana; Alan's partner Robin, a former professional tennis coach who is equally attracted to the young Mexican; and Juana's powerful Spanish-

Mexican uncle Ricardo, who moves to California to pursue his own secret agenda. The love triangle plays out amidst political intrigue, mystery and adventure. In addition to telling an interesting story with distinctive characters, this political thriller explores the issues of border control between the United States and Mexico and the treatment of Mexican immigrants by American authorities and employers.

Alan Michaels is the pseudonym of a retired FSO who has served on the *FSJ* Editorial Board and, briefly, on the AFSA Governing Board. He has published more than 100 works under several different names, including in the *Journal*. *Legend* is available online at [www.authorhouse.com](http://www.authorhouse.com).

### **Diplomatic Intrigue**

Robert G. Morris, Xlibris Corporation, 2004, \$18.69,  
paperback, 254 pages.

In *Diplomatic Intrigue*, the author's fourth Foreign Service novel, American FSOs and their families



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## F O C U S



become directly involved in the aftermath of a military coup and the cover-up of human rights violations in a South American country. Like his earlier work, also set in the fictional South American country of Colonia, this story has all the intrigue of a spy thriller but is at the same time about ordinary Foreign

Service folk, and gives a straightforward look into their world.

Morris is from Des Moines, Iowa, and has a Ph.D. degree in physics from Iowa State University. After teaching and doing research, he joined the Foreign Service in 1974, and worked on nuclear nonproliferation, science cooperation and environmental protection issues in Washington, D.C., Paris, Bonn, Buenos Aires and Madrid. He retired in 1992. He is the author of *Diplomatic Affairs* (2002), *Diplomatic Relations* (2002), and *Diplomatic Circles* (1999).

### **MEMOIRS OF FOREIGN SERVICE LIFE**

#### **Seeing Arabs through an American School: A Beirut Memoir, 1998-2001**

*Robert F. Ober Jr., Xlibris Corporation, 2003, \$21.99, paperback, 284 pages.*

In 1998, in the midst of Israeli air attacks, Hezbollah resistance, a Syrian occupation and local sectarianism, Robert F. Ober Jr. was appointed president of the International College of Beirut, with a mandate to revive the school's American attributes. This book, which details the history of the college, a private institution serving 3,500 Arab students from preschool through high school, is the story of his experience.

Robert Ober, a retired FSO, served in Athens, New Delhi, Hamburg, Moscow, Warsaw and Washington, D.C., and was a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York.

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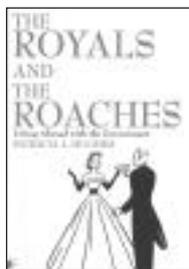
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**The Royals and the Roaches: Living Abroad with the Government**

Patricia L. Hughes, *iUniverse, Inc.*, 2004, \$22.95, paperback, 314 pages.

In this absorbing and well-written memoir, FSO spouse Patricia Hughes gives readers a candid, tough-minded and fun look at living abroad at the behest of our government. She expresses the frustrations and concerns of a mother and wife, while accepting with good humor that the Foreign Service acquires “two for the price of one.” From terrorism and a civil war to lunch in a palace; from demonstrations and groupies, president and princesses to lifelong friends — this book presents the remarkable range of experiences, emotions, personalities and places that the author encountered during her husband’s two years with the Army and 35 years as a diplomat.

Patricia Hughes grew up in Nebraska and graduated

from the University in Lincoln. She accompanied her husband overseas in the Army and the Foreign Service, living in six countries. Now, after six years in Rome with a peacekeeping organization, they have returned to Bethesda, Md.



**River of Pearls**

Mary Stickney, *iUniverse, Inc.*, 2004, \$22.95, paperback, 325 pages.

“The danger and romance of the lands comes alive in the book,” is what the *Florida Times-Union* said about Mary Stickney’s second book of memoirs, which is set in Southeast Asia during the Vietnam era. Accompanying her husband, a Foreign Service agricultural scientist who was working in a USAID pacification program in South Vietnam, the author and her children first settled in Bangkok and later

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moved to Manila, making periodic visits to Saigon and Danang. After returning to America, she found herself suddenly alone. A divorcee, she went back to college and shaped a new life and career for herself.

Drawing on her journals, with a personal, colorful style, the author conveys the wonders, excitement, the sorrow and the surprising joys of exploring far corners of the globe with an open heart and mind. Mary Stickney lives and writes in Ponte Vedra, Fla. Her first book was *Jungle Paths and Palace Treasures* (2001).

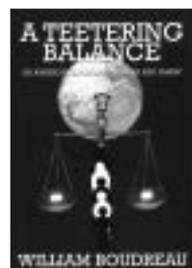


**The Last Word**

*James K. Welsh Jr., Trafford Publishing, 2004, \$27.00, paperback, 274 pages.*

As the title suggests, this autobiography is a sometimes startling but always candid portrayal of a many-faceted lifetime spanning five continents. It describes in detail both the author's naval and Foreign Service experience. His extensive and straightforward discussion of the trials and tribulations of a bicultural Foreign Service family will strike a chord with many. Readers will also find a close-up view of New Hampshire politics, the Catholic Church and the contemporary scene in France, Turkey, Morocco and Central Africa.

Jim Welsh, a French- and Turkish-speaking Annapolis graduate and naval officer, served with the U.S. Information Agency in Turkey, the French West Indies, the Central African Republic, Morocco and France. Following retirement from the Foreign Service, he sought the governorship of New Hampshire before moving to France, where he still resides, to become a gentleman farmer and ordained Catholic deacon.



**A Teetering Balance: An American Diplomat's Career and Family**

*William Boudreau, 1stBooks, 2003, \$24.90, paperback, 437 pages.*

*A Teetering Balance* provides an inside view of an American diplomat at work. Much of the story is centered on Africa during the Cold War, from the 1960s to the mid-1980s,

where the author was posted in the Congo, Madagascar and the Comoros. He also worked on African-related

issues in the State Department and at the Pentagon. Readers are given a close-up view of a white mercenary rebellion, missionaries at risk, Angolan liberation movements, devastating natural disasters and attempts to deny Soviet military access to bases in Africa, among other historical events. As the title conveys, however, the story is also about the challenges of sometimes competing interests. The author describes the balancing act of being true to his chosen profession as a diplomat and looking after the best interests of his family.

William Boudreau joined the Foreign Service in 1960 and retired in 1984. He currently resides in Seabrook Island, S.C., and serves as vice president for programs for the Charleston Foreign Affairs Forum, a World Affairs Council affiliate.

**From the Heartland**

*Carl Coon, Five and Ten Press Inc., 2004, \$10.00, paperback, 101 pages.*

Beginning with a collage of reminiscences from two years the author spent as the U.S. consul in Tabriz, Iran, this little book takes the reader through the former Soviet Central Asia deep into the heartland to Tibet and the Xinjiang province of China. Prefaced with summary geopolitical background, this is essentially a personal trip report that combines insights into the peoples and cultures of the region with the mundane but often humorous details of day-to-day events on the road.

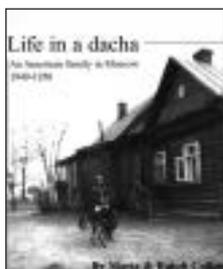
Carleton Coon, a retired FSO, is also the author of *One Planet, One People* (see p. 23).

**One of the Very Best Men**

*Robert Sherwood Dillon, Five and Ten Press Inc., 2004, \$5.00, paperback, 56 pages.*

In the spring of 1951, after service in the Army and anticipating graduation from Duke University and marriage, Robert Dillon went to Washington, D.C., with a fraternity brother who was going to interview with an outfit Dillon had never heard of — the CIA. This lean and well-written little memoir recounts the events that led to Dillon's own recruitment by the CIA during the Korean War, and what he remembers (and can repeat) of the nearly five years he spent working in covert operations on the China coast. The story ends with the launching of the author's Foreign Service career in 1956.

Robert Dillon is a retired FSO and former ambassador to Lebanon.



**Life in a Dacha: An American Family in Moscow, 1949-1950**

*Maria & Ralph Collins, Erica Collins Steffee, 2003, paperback, 175 pages.*

This beautiful book tells the story of an American Foreign Service family's adventure living in Moscow in 1949 and 1950. A joint project of the children of Maria and Ralph Collins, the book is dedicated to the couples' grandchildren and great-grandchildren. The Collins' narrative about life in Moscow comes from Maria's memoirs, recorded back at home in Tennessee, and Ralph's autobiography, *View from Leconte* (1988). The second part of the book reflects the Collins children's findings in their later journey through miles of National Archives paper and microfilm in search of documents from the 1945-1953 period that would help fill out the context for the family's

experiences. The post reports and various State Department documents they unearthed add a fascinating dimension to the personal story. Tastefully and instructively illustrated throughout, and printed on coated stock, this book is much more than an ordinary memoir.

Ralph Collins, an FSO from 1945 to 1967, died in 1998. His wife Maria died in 1992. Erica Collins Steffee, their eldest daughter who steered the production of this book, lives in Cleveland Heights, Ohio. Though it is not available for sale in stores, those interested in obtaining a copy may contact Erica Collins Steffee by phone at (216) 229-6740, or by e-mail at Bill@steeffee.com.

**Living with Multiple Sclerosis: A Caregiver's Story**

*John Morris Fenley, iUniverse, Inc., 2003, \$26.95, hardcover, 181 pages.*

The author's early training in life coincided with the Great Depression, from the late 1920s into the first years of the 1940s. Moving frequently to earn a living, becoming a Mr. Fix-it for his family, and forced to be financially

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independent, he credits this experience with preparing him for his later professional work as an agricultural scientist with the U.S. Foreign Service as well as for his unofficial labor as the primary caregiver for the last 44 years of his wife Eileen's life as a multiple sclerosis patient. This book is full of insights and inspiration for every full-time caregiver.

John Morris Fenley spent 16 years in Africa with USAID, and subsequently with the FAO helping underdeveloped countries to start or improve agricultural extension services for their farmers.

**Something Will Come Along: Witty Memoirs of a Foreign Service Officer with Nine Children**

Malcolm Lawrence, Ivy House Publishing Group, 2004, \$24.95, hardcover, 216 pages.

A delightful string of witty vignettes, *Something Will Come Along* chronicles the author's youth, his World War

II service, his marriage and college days at George Washington University, and the adventures of his family as they prepared for and experienced living abroad — six years in England and four years in Switzerland — during his career with the Foreign Service. Lawrence's stories of rearing nine children throughout his many travels in Europe attest to the comedic impact that his family had on his life, and inspire readers to reflect on their own lives and the simple joys that take place every day. This entertaining book attests to the dedication of one man to his family, his career and his life.

Born and raised in Washington, D.C., Malcolm Lawrence is currently an education analyst and free-lance writer. He resides with his wife, Jacqueline, in Chevy Chase, Md.

**A Farm Boy in the Foreign Service: Telling America's Story to the World**

Harry H. Kendall, 1st Books Library, 2003, \$19.95, paperback, 318 pages.

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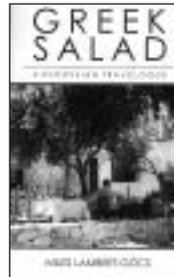
## F O C U S



"This is 'must' reading for students of the Cold War and for anyone interested in what is now called public diplomacy," the late Richard Cushing, a former director of Voice of America, said of *A Farm Boy in the Foreign Service*. Harry Kendall's very readable autobiography chronicles his 29-year Foreign Service career in the U.S.

Information Agency, during which the author interacted with audiences on every level of society in Latin America, Europe and Asia, telling America's story to the world. Touching on some of the critical events of recent decades, Kendall's challenging assignment to help publicize NASA's space program at a critical time is also included.

Harry Kendall retired from the Foreign Service in 1979, and took up work at the Institute of East Asian Studies at the University of California at Berkeley. Though he retired a second time in 1991, he remains a research associate with the institute.



### **Greek Salad: A Dionysian Travelogue**

*Miles Lambert-Gócs, Ambeli Press, 2004, \$14.95, paperback, 283 pages.*

This book is just what its title suggests: a Dionysian travelogue through the islands and mainland of Greece — one that happens to be lively and very well-written. Here you will meet an array of Greek characters, from taxi drivers to shipping magnates, and enjoy a unique "take" on Greece as seen from rustic taverna tables. Those considering a first vacation in Greece and old Grecophiles alike will appreciate Lambert-Gócs' wit and insight about this ancient land.

Miles Lambert-Gócs lived in Greece with an Athenian taverna family as a teen, covered Greece for the Department of Agriculture from 1979 to 1987 and was a wine reporter for *The Athenian*, a monthly magazine, from 1993 to 1996. He retired from the Foreign Agricultural

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## F O C U S

Service in 2003, and settled in Williamsburg, Va. His previous book, *The Wines of Greece* (1990), won awards from the Anglo Hellenic League and The Wine Guild of the U.K., and was a finalist for the James Beard Awards.



### **Alias Pegge Parker**

*Pegge (Parker) Hlavacek*,  
*iUniverse, Inc., 2003, \$18.95,*  
*paperback, 219 pages.*

Pegge Parker's life was full of adventure: fearless female reporter, mother of five, world traveler. A former vice consul in Lahore, she wrote — lucidly, captivatingly — through all the phases of her life, from the beginning of her journalism career as an advice columnist for teenagers, as a reporter for the *Washington Times-Herald* and then the *Fairbanks (Alaska) News Miner*, then on to China where she met and married CIA agent Douglas Mackiernan and gave birth to twins

(MacKiernan was killed by Tibetan border guards when China fell to the communists), and to Pakistan, where she accepted a position at the embassy and met the man who would become her second husband — John Hlavacek, a foreign correspondent for UPI.

This autobiography, containing many of her most interesting interviews with famous people, spans the years from 1941 to 1961. Like the earlier volume that concentrated on the family's stay in India, *Diapers on a Dateline* (2003), this book is an act of love; put together by Pegge's husband John Hlavacek from a manuscript he found in a box of yellowed newspaper clippings, photographs, letters and scrapbooks four decades after it had been written.

### **Fleet Tug Sailor: A Memoir of World War II**

*Allen C. Hansen, self-published, 2004, \$14.95,*  
*paperback, 88 pages.*

This is a World War II memoir of three years with  
*Continued on p. 48*

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**OF RELATED INTEREST...**

**Opening NATO's Door: How the Alliance Remade Itself for a New Era**

Ronald D. Asmus, *Columbia University Press*, 2004, \$19.50, paperback, 415 pages.

This is an account of the ideas, politics and diplomacy that went into the historic decision to expand NATO to Central and Eastern Europe by a senior fellow at the German Marshall Fund and Council on Foreign Relations who served as deputy assistant secretary of State for Europe from 1997 to 2000. *Opening NATO's Door* has been nominated for the American Academy of Diplomacy's 2004 Book Award.

**The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace**

Dennis Ross, *Farrar, Straus and Giroux*, 2004, \$35.00, hardcover, 840 pages.

"A masterful, riveting, and scrupulously fair account ... There are wonderful insights here into the strengths and weaknesses of the numerous players in this drama, including, of course, Arafat, Peres, Barak, Assad, and more obscure but still significant figures ... essential reading for anyone wishing to better understand this seemingly intractable problem," says *Booklist*. Dennis Ross was chief Middle East peace negotiator in the administrations of George H.W. Bush and Bill Clinton. *The Missing Peace* has been nominated for the American Academy of Diplomacy's 2004 Book Award.

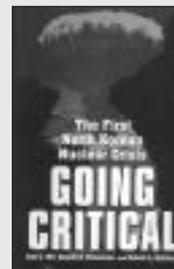


**Under the Wire: How the Telegraph Changed Diplomacy**

David Paull Nickles, *Harvard University Press*, 2003, \$30.95, hardcover, 265 pages.

This lively study of how the new technology of telegraphy transformed diplomacy during the 19th century, based on an examination of three

cases from the diplomatic records, is particularly fascinating in light of today's leap into the cyber age. David Paull Nickles is a historian at the Department of State. *Under the Wire* has been nominated for the American Academy of Diplomacy's 2004 Book Award.



**Going Critical: The First North Korean Nuclear Crisis**

Joel S. Wit, Daniel B. Poneman, and Ambassador Robert L. Gallucci, *Brookings Institution Press*, 2004, \$32.95, hardcover, 474 pages.

This book gives a detailed account of the difficult negotiations of the first North Korean nuclear crisis in 1994. Wit, Poneman and Gallucci are among only a handful of American officials who have negotiated with North Korea, and they provide key wisdom for American diplomacy as it once again addresses the consequences of nuclear weapons on the most heavily militarized border in the world: the DMZ dividing North and South Korea. *Going Critical* has been nominated for the American Academy of Diplomacy's 2003 Book Award.

**Islam, Politics and Pluralism: Theory and Practice in Turkey, Jordan, Tunisia and Algeria**

Jennifer Noyon, *Royal Institute of International Affairs*, 2003, \$15.95, paperback, 134 pages.

"A valuable, accessible and timely introduction to events and movements that lie behind the headlines of atrocity and terror," says Islam expert and author Karen Armstrong about *Islam, Politics and Pluralism*. The author explains why political Islam contributes to democratization in some nations while triggering repression in others. Jennifer Noyon has spent most of her career in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. She is currently INR's senior analyst for Afghanistan and Nepal.

**Engaging Africa: Washington and the Fall of Portugal's Colonial Empire**

*Witney W. Schneidman, University Press of America, Inc., 2004, \$33.00, paperback, 312 pages.*

Based largely on primary sources, this book tells the story of one of the Cold War's most intense confrontations as successive administrations — Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon and Ford — tried to maintain the confidence of NATO ally Portugal while facilitating the process of decolonization in Angola and Mozambique. Witney Schneidman served as deputy assistant secretary of State for African affairs in the Clinton administration.

**Peace Corps Pioneer or "The Perils of Pauline"**

*Pauline Birky-Kreutzer, 2003, hardcover, \$20.00, 376 pages.*

Pauline Birky-Kreutzer co-authored the feasibility study for Congress in 1960 on setting up the Peace Corps, supervised the first group of volunteers in Pakistan, and then spent years training thousands of volunteers for service in various developing countries. Her lively autobiography recounts the story. Birky-Kreutzer, whose grandson is a diplomatic security officer in Shanghai, lives in Green Valley, Ariz. Her book is available from Jade Creek Books, 123 N. College Avenue, Ft. Collins CO 80521, or by calling (970) 484-3019.

**This Was Not Our War: Bosnian Women Reclaiming the Peace**

*Swanee Hunt, Duke University Press, 2004, \$29.95, hardcover, 304 pages.*

Here are the first-person accounts of 26 Bosnian women of different ages and strata, interviewed many times over the course of seven years, on their experiences in the war that ripped apart their country and in working to reconstruct their society. Hunt, the ambassador to Austria from 1993 to 1997, came to know these women through her diplomatic and humanitarian work in the Balkan

states. She provides a narrative framework for the women's stories that ties them together to make an instructive and inspirational whole.

**Fateful Decisions: Inside the National Security Council**

*Edited, with introductions, by Karl F. Inderfurth and Loch K. Johnson, Oxford University Press, 2004, \$29.95, paperback, 377 pages.*

Covering the period from 1947 to 2003, this book presents a selection of insightful articles, commentaries and documents drawn from a variety of sources that shed light on the creation, evolution and current practice of the National Security Council, the most important formal institution in the U.S. government for the making of foreign and security policy. Karl F. Inderfurth, professor of the practice of international affairs at The George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs, served as assistant secretary of State for South Asian affairs from 1997 to 2001, and U.S. representative for special political affairs to the U.N. during the Clinton administration. Loch K. Johnson is Regents Professor of Political Science at the University of Georgia.

**The United States and Coercive Diplomacy**

*Edited by Robert J. Art and Patrick M. Cronin, United States Institute of Peace Press, 2003, \$19.95, paperback, 442 pages.*

What, exactly, is coercive diplomacy? How does it operate, and how well does it work? The analyses here of eight important post-Cold War cases in which coercive diplomacy was attempted adds significantly to an understanding of the uses and limitations of this strategy. Patrick M. Cronin is assistant administrator at the U.S. Agency for International Development and former director of research and studies at the U.S. Institute for Peace. Robert J. Art is a professor of international relations at Brandeis University.

**OF RELATED INTEREST...**



**Building Diplomacy: the Architecture of American Embassies**

*Elizabeth Gill Lui, Cornell University Press in association with Four Stops Press, 2004, \$50.00, hardcover, 256 pages.*

This stunning coffee-table book is a comprehensive photographic documentary featuring the architecture of U.S. embassies that presents a vivid portrait of America's international diplomatic presence. Divided into geographic sections, with an introductory essay by Jane C. Loeffler, an architectural historian based in Washington, D.C., photography and commentary by Elizabeth Gill Lui, noted fine art photographer and educator, and cultural montages by Lui's daughter and collaborator, Keya Keita, this work constitutes an unprecedented archive of America's international diplomatic properties, from the first to the newest. *Building Diplomacy* is part of the ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy Book series.

**Common Sense on Weapons of Mass Destruction**

*Amb. Thomas Graham Jr., University of Washington Press, 2004, \$12.95, paperback, 206 pages.*

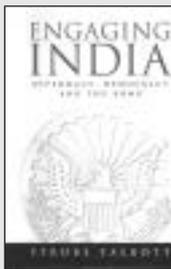
The choice is not between traditional nonproliferation and counterproliferation policies, as some believe, but between a strengthened and successful NPT regime and gradual descent into a world in which many states possess nuclear weapons and in which every conflict is a potential nuclear confrontation. This is the argument Ambassador Thomas Graham Jr. makes in this concise and lucid presentation of the complex and never-more-urgent issue of nuclear proliferation. A former general counsel and acting director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Graham was President Clinton's special ambassador for nuclear

disarmament issues.

**As the Twig Is Bent, or, Did I See the Best of America**

*Malcolm Wilkey, Xlibris, 2004, \$28.99, paperback, 647 pages.*

This autobiography portrays one life out of "The Greatest Generation" that is varied and eventful, spanning and intertwining the fields of law, war-fighting and diplomacy. The author recounts his progress from a depression years' boyhood to a scholarship to Harvard, critical experiences on the front lines of World War II, to service as a U.S. attorney and federal judge, and ambassador to Uruguay under the Reagan and Bush administrations. This is a well-written story, alive with experiences involving the average American. Ambassador Wilkey resides in Santiago, Chile.

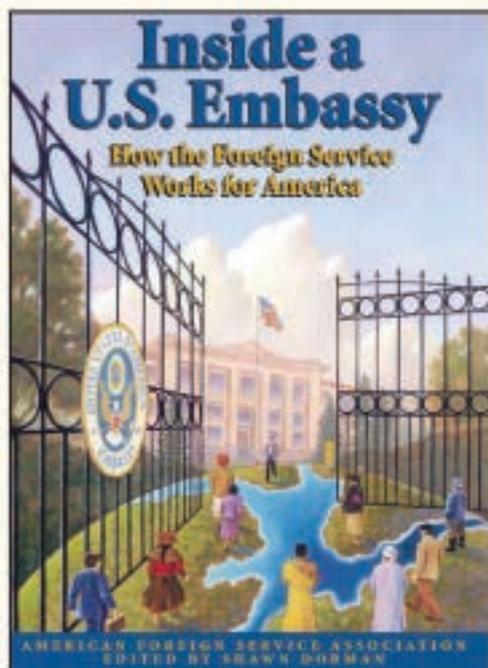


**Engaging India: Diplomacy, Democracy and the Bomb**

*Strobe Talbott, Brookings Institution Press, 2004, \$27.95, hardcover, 268 pages.*

Between June 1998 and September 2000, Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott and Indian Minister of External Affairs Jaswant Singh met 14 times in the most extensive engagement ever between the U.S. and India. It was a dialogue that led to the opening of a new chapter in relations between the two. More than an insider's perspective on a fascinating episode in diplomatic history, this story is vital background for understanding what happens next in a region that is home to nearly a quarter of humanity. Currently president of the Brookings Institution, Strobe Talbott served as deputy secretary of State from 1994 to 2001. *Engaging India* has been nominated for the American Academy of Diplomacy's 2004 Book Award.

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the U.S. Navy on a seagoing tug, the *USS Alsea*. The author reminisces about shipboard life and liberty in various ports, recalling his adventures as an 18-year-old novice when he first reported on board. The captain's war diary, the ship's log and the official report of a 1945 convoy that constituted the *Alsea's* first assignment, all available at the National Archives, helped jog the author's memory of these events some 60 years after the fact.

Allen C. Hansen retired from USIA in 1987 after serving as an FSO for 32 years in nine countries. An earlier volume, *The Hole in the Doughnut: Growing Up in Metuchen in a Time of Innocence* (2001), recounts the author's childhood. Hansen is the author of *USIA: Public Diplomacy in the Computer Age* (1989), and the autobiographical *Nine Lives: A Foreign Service Odyssey* (1999). He is also webmaster of an Internet site sponsored by the USIA Alumni Association and the Public Diplomacy Foundation, [www.publicdiplomacy.org](http://www.publicdiplomacy.org), and currently resides in McLean, Va. *Fleet Tug Sailor* is on sale at the U.S. Naval Memorial in Washington, D.C. ■

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# RESCUING THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL

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TURNING THE TIDE AT THE UNITED NATIONS MUST BEGIN WITH  
REJUVENATING THE EUROATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP.

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BY JAMES GOODBY AND KENNETH WEISBRODE

United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan's September declaration that the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq was "illegal" has rekindled still-powerful, and unpleasant, memories of last year's acrimonious Security Council debate. The conundrum the Council faced in early 2003 was that it was being pressured by President George W. Bush to enforce its own resolutions against a defiant Iraq — but through collective military action under American command, just as it did during the first Persian Gulf War. At the same time, the Council was being ordered by two key members of the Permanent Five — France and Russia — as well as its then-chair, Germany, to mobilize against armed intervention in Iraq until international inspectors had done more to clarify whether Baghdad possessed weapons of mass destruction. Adding to the dilemma, a majority of Security Council members supported the Europeans' view.

The Security Council thus found itself at an impasse. Nowhere in the U.N. Charter does there appear the right or duty of a single member or group of members to enforce Security Council resolutions against the collective will of the Council itself. And, as matters turned out, Iraq did not have a "reconstituted" nuclear weapons program and very few, if any, of the other programs listed on the indictment.

As a practical matter, another U.S. unilateral action of the

magnitude of Iraq does not appear to be on the horizon. But it is likely that another test case will arise somewhere, sometime. If the catastrophe of 2003 were repeated, "Realpolitikers" would certainly have abundant proof that political globalization, unlike economic globalization, has no rules to guide it except the rule that might makes right. Unilateralists would be encouraged in their quest to change the world through U.S. military power. This would be a deadly combination for the United States and for the Euroatlantic community.

We remain firmly convinced that the problem of internal conflicts requires an organization like the United Nations, that current divisive tendencies within the Euroatlantic community are preventing a unified response to international security problems, and that a renewed spirit of Atlanticism would also help save the Security Council. With that in mind, we offer the following analysis and recommendations to enable the Council to regain its central place in the 21st-century international order.

## The NATO Problem

There is a slogan often heard in Washington: "If America leads, others will follow." Yes, they will — if leadership is understood to mean acting as part of a community. That element has been lacking in the Bush administration's thinking, as becomes abundantly clear by examining the core international relationship of the contemporary world, the Atlantic Alliance.

Defensive alliances end when the threat they were created to thwart no longer exists. This rule of international life would explain why the Atlantic Alliance is in danger of being transformed into little more than a pool from which coalitions of the willing may be assembled by the dominant member, the United States. No longer the tightly bound, "one for all, all for one" alliance of the Cold War years, NATO lacks a common purpose. It is gaining new mem-

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*Retired Senior Foreign Service officer James Goodby, a former ambassador to Finland, is currently affiliated with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and The Brookings Institution. His most recent book is *The Gravest Danger: Nuclear Weapons*, co-authored with Sidney Drell (Hoover Institution, 2003)*

*Kenneth Weisbrode is a member of the Atlantic Council and the author of *Central Eurasia — Prize or Quicksand?* (Oxford University Press/IISS, 2001)*

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bers, but the enlarged alliance is not stronger because of it. It goes through the motions of security consultations and defense cooperation, but the reality is that NATO, as a unified community, has been hollowed out. Its political cohesion has vanished. Its military utility has been demonstrated in the Balkans and elsewhere, but in Washington that utility is seen in terms of a follow-up police force rather than as a full partner at the cutting edge of military actions. The disparity in defense spending is one reason for this, but not the only one. A preference for total control by the United States is another.

Americans who favor an American-imposed international order have little use for transatlantic unity. Former government officials, now commentators, Richard Perle and David Frum, have criticized Secretary of State Colin Powell and the first President Bush's national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft, for their "nostalgia for the alliances of the Cold War." Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld has talked about "the New Europe," those nations of Eastern Europe who are more ready to accept an American-imposed international order than are the old allies of Western Europe. He has also said that "the mission defines the coalition," thus turning his back on the solidarity that was NATO's priceless contribution to world order for half a century.

The paradox is that, while exalting the American commitment to spreading democratic values, these Americans scorn the rule of law — the bedrock of democracy — and ridicule the international organizations which enable nations to work together in the cause of peace and security. They disdain internationalists like Kofi Annan who remind us that "those who seek to bestow legitimacy must themselves embody it; and those who invoke international law must themselves submit to it." Perle

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*Addressing the  
problem of internal  
conflicts requires an  
organization like the  
United Nations.*

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and Frum have referred to international law, the United Nations, and even the normal method of discourse among nations — diplomacy — as "exploded illusions about the way the world should work."

The transatlantic rift will never be closed if these views prevail in the United States. Fortunately, the American people have historically favored alliances and the rule of law as their preferred way of interacting with other states. They still do. This basic predisposition is strengthened by the cultural affinity between the democratic nations of the West. To be sure, there are differences, but the similarities are dominant. They reinforce the idea of community.

**The European Problem**

NATO's confusion about its common goal is in danger of being replicated by the European Union. But the root cause there is different. The debate between widening and deepening the E.U. was resolved in favor of doing both — a balancing act that has proven much more difficult than expected. It is becoming clear that taking in more members requires a change in the governance of the organization — namely, more reliance on majority voting on certain types of issues. If the member-states cannot pass that test of their commitment to a united Europe, the outcome is likely to be a tightly integrated inner core

surrounded by a larger group of members whose interests in the Union are primarily economic. That will not allow Europe to make its full weight felt on the world stage, and differences within the Euroatlantic community will be harder to resolve.

Farther to the east, in Russia and the states that once were part of the Soviet empire, the revolution of the last years of the 20th century has not finished its work. It was never likely that Russia would become another “normal” European power. Russia has its own deep-seated cultural traditions which set it apart from Europe. Even before the tragic recent events in Beslan, there were ample grounds for fearing that Russia is turning back toward an authoritarianism that will deepen the divide within the Euroatlantic system of nations that many in Russia, and in the West, had hoped to erase. It would be an enormous defeat for the globe’s democratic forces were that to occur.

The Euroatlantic world — North America, Europe and Russia — is clearly not a geopolitical system that has arrived at a calm and stable plateau, with all problems solved. Nor is it likely to arrive there for decades to come, at least. Despite all the crises that call out for attention in other parts of the globe, the building of a true Euroatlantic community, which is so essential to global peace, remains unfinished business of the highest importance. But, as often happens, the urgent is driving out the important.

### **The Security Council’s Agenda**

The medievalism that al-Qaida represents haunts the world like a specter of the Dark Ages or a premonition of future chaos. Bin Ladenism will be a threat for a long time to come even if its leader is eliminated. The danger that members of a movement like this will acquire nuclear, biological or chemical weapons is very real.

Neither NATO, nor the European Union, nor any other regional organization can tackle this threat by itself. A global organization is needed to integrate their efforts, if only loosely, and that organization is still the United Nations, led by the Security Council.

Those who focus on the recent disarray and dissension within the Council forget that for most of the body’s history, consensus in even the smallest matter was nearly impossible. When the Cold War ended, the hope was that the Security Council, and the U.N. itself, would enjoy a long-overdue renaissance. Indeed, following the first Persian Gulf War in 1991, the U.N. seemed to have entered its Golden Age.

Today, that optimism has vanished and the Security Council’s obituaries have already appeared. That is not because its members disagree over the desirability of peace, or even how peace should be maintained, but

instead over the relative authority of certain powers — above all, the United States — in determining which international problems take priority and the preferred means to manage or solve them. The disagreements are political and case-specific; they have little to do with national-historical legacies, nor should they.

The political pendulum in the United States has already swung back in the direction of a more traditional American regard for the opinions and interests of others, but the U.N. Security Council — and its servant, the Secretariat — have a long way to go in order to restore their ability to serve the cause of international peace and security. The striking fact about conflicts for the last quarter of a century, at least, is how many of them were internal affairs, rather than classic state-on-state aggression. The founders of the U.N. did not have that model in mind because, customarily,

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internal problems were not considered to be the business of the international community. That has changed, as Kofi Annan has consistently pointed out. The way a government treats its citizens has become a concern of other nations, possibly justifying intervention. Acquisition of weapons of mass destruction has become a threat to international peace and security, also justifying intervention in some cases. These new reasons for the imposition of peacekeeping or peace-enforcing forces have joined the more familiar causes resulting from the breakdown of order within a country.

Who is to deal with these types of conflicts? The legitimacy provided by the formal approval of the international community, or some large and relevant portion of it, is one reason why the U.N., or a surrogate, will have to take charge. Another reason is the need to use some neutral or impartial force in order to avoid exacerbating international rivalries. And a third reason is that the big powers may not wish to get involved directly, lest the conflict distract them from other perceived threats. Darfur is a recent case in point.

The U.N.'s key role in internal conflicts is directly connected to a matter much discussed these days in relation to the reconstitution of the Iraqi state. This is the assistance that the U.N. can provide in building the infrastructure of civil society. And it concerns not only elections, but also, and equally importantly, the creation of democratic institutions, like an impartial judiciary system, a police force, and free and open media. Even the skeptical Bush administration has belatedly acknowledged that the U.N. has a special competence in these matters that needs to be brought into play.

These types of intrastate conflicts and reconstruction efforts, therefore, will be a key preoccupation of the U.N. Security Council in the future. The U.N. may still be busy with mon-

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***Current divisive  
tendencies within the  
Euroatlantic community  
are preventing a unified  
response to international  
security problems.***

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itoring cease-fires in conflicts between states, as in the past, but this may increasingly become the task of regional organizations, which also deserve a far more prominent role in the Security Council itself. It is easier to see NATO, for example, helping to maintain a settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict than the U.N. A NATO or E.U. seat on the Security Council might someday help to preempt the horse-trading that will otherwise accompany an inevitable revision of the post-World War II composition of the Permanent Five. So, too, would the participation of other regional security organizations alongside their member governments.

### **Connecting the Dots**

This is the context in which to consider the future of the Security Council and the rifts among its members. Have those rifts damaged beyond repair the strength of the Council? No, unity can be restored, but only upon a basis reflecting today's realities. Was the immediate advantage gained in Iraq worth the price that was paid in Europe? Not unless Americans and Europeans can work out some *modus vivendi* that will permit them to cooperate throughout the Middle East. In short, while Iraq was the proximate cause of transatlantic disarray, it can now be the common

cause that knits the alliance together again while restoring legitimacy to the United Nations.

What about terrorism? Europeans have suffered from terrorism for many years. But they have not endured the terrible catastrophe of having nearly 3,000 of their citizens killed at one blow in one of their largest cities in peacetime. America, so seemingly invulnerable, suffered a sudden shock that exceeded by far any one attack that a single European state suffered in the past generation. That is understood intellectually by Europeans but it has not been absorbed by them. It is only slowly becoming a basic factor in their understanding of what motivates Americans these days.

What about America's special vocation for spreading freedom and democracy around the world, a God-given mission proclaimed repeatedly by President Bush? Does it really divide Europeans from Americans? The Kantian idea of creating peace through spreading democratic values is what Europeans are accused of following, in contrast to the Americans' supposed deeper understanding that Hobbes was right when he wrote of "a war of all against all." Of course Europeans know that the anarchy of the nation-state system ends in a war of all against all; the reason that the Europeans created the Common Market, which evolved into the European Union we see today, is that they understood from bitter experience that wars result from unfettered national rivalry. They tried to overcome that systemic fault, and have succeeded to a considerable degree.

What the Bush administration claims to seek in the Middle East, through its "road map" and the Broader Middle East and North Africa Initiative, sounds very much like the democratic peace that Europeans have created in the western part of their continent. It is a wor-

thy aspiration, and the president could not have said it better: “our security is not merely found in spheres of influence, or some balance of power. The security of our world is found in the advancing rights of mankind.” The real issue lies in the gap between the goal and the resources to achieve it. Only a renewal of transatlantic unity can fill that gap. And only the help of the “defunct” United Nations will allow the pursuit of democracy to be seen as anything other than an American crusade to impose subject governments worldwide.

### The Atlantic Partnership

Turning the tide at the United Nations must begin with rejuvenating the Euroatlantic partnership. Yet the value of such solidarity seems to be forgotten in some quarters today, leaving national security to be understood only in the narrowest of terms. Perhaps this is willful amnesia, or just

a perverse reaction to the age of high globalization, in which nations are more interdependent than ever. Either way, it must give way to common sense. “Imperial overstretch” was a premature diagnosis — at least with regard to the United States — when historian Paul Kennedy popularized the phrase in the late 1980s. Now it has to be taken seriously. No state, not even the most powerful, can survive and prosper outside a framework of international cooperation. The 20th century proved that national sovereignty must coexist with international organizations, like the U.N., which institutionalize cooperative behavior across borders.

That is the essence of what was once known as Atlanticism, a movement that emerged in the fight against fascism and survived to unite the West against the Soviet threat while sowing the seeds of peaceful global integration. Tyrannies were defeated but Atlanticism survives tenuously as an

ideology in search of a role. That is a pity — and potentially a tragedy — yet one that can still be avoided if the leaders of the Security Council rediscover the utility of collective security in the 21st century. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive of a peaceful world in which its two most advanced and compatible regions, Europe and America, work at cross-purposes both internally and externally, and against the very institutions they designed 60 years ago to further their mutual interests.

While national ambitions will always collide, the notion of “multipolarity” for its own sake is just as dangerous as doctrinaire “unilateralism.” Both should be set aside in favor of the Atlanticism that served the world so well since the end of World War II. That spirit embodied the spirit of community or commonwealth. It is very different from ad hoc coalitions. And it must be made to work today — for there is no rational alternative. ■

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# HOW TO STEAL FROM AN INTERNATIONAL AGENCY

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IT IS A CLICHÉ THAT THE COST OF DOING BUSINESS IN MANY COUNTRIES INCLUDES CERTAIN “EXTRAS.” BUT SOME AID CONTRACTORS HAVE TAKEN THESE TECHNIQUES TO NEW HEIGHTS.

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By JAMES OLSEN

Not long ago, a foreign aid worker in Afghanistan was quoted as saying that to get humanitarian aid into the various regions of the country, the U.S. officer for the convoy of aid supplies to a given area must pay a 10-to-15-percent “commission” of the cargo’s value to the tribal chief to be allowed access. After all, the chief needs to pay his small army in kind or in cash.

Or walk through any market in the Third World and you will see heaps of UNICEF-provided bags of powdered milk for children, labeled “Not for Sale” — for sale. We all know the supplier who expects to pay a “commission” to his government bureaucrat client for the business he receives from him. Or the Third World cop who wants his bribe because he happens to see your car going down the street on his beat. The list is endless.

So we recognize that bribery is institutionalized in the Third World; it is an integral part of life and of doing business. But are our hands clean? No, if Iraq is any example. As billions of dollars pour into the country, the bribes, kickbacks and corruption have startled even some old-timers. According to a November 2003 *Newsweek* account, the situation is extraordinary. “I’ve never seen corruption like this by expatriate businessmen. It’s like a feeding frenzy,” says one company director for a British firm doing business in Baghdad.

According to the report, one Iraqi businessman was told by an unnamed American corporate executive to raise his bid

by \$750,000 to get a major contract. The additional money was for the contractor’s representative.

Behnam Polis, the Iraqi minister of transportation, told *Newsweek* that Stevedoring Services of America was charging \$12 a ton for unloading cargo, even as the ports in Dubai and Kuwait were providing the identical service for \$3 per ton.

Indeed the very way the deal with Halliburton was put together is extraordinary in the history of foreign aid. A few months after Vice President Dick Cheney received a multi-million dollar payout on his pension, the U.S. awarded a sole source, \$12-billion contract to his former company. I’m not suggesting that Cheney received a dime he wasn’t due, but when my wife and I worked as direct hires for the State Department, we were told that even the *appearance* of wrongdoing was cause for dismissal. And I would note that our Mexican friends implicitly assume that the way things work in their country is how they work in the United States, as well.

Now Halliburton has been charged with waste, fraud, overcharging and abuse. The allegations include price-gouging on fuel, meals for the troops, and transportation costs. What kind of example does that set for the Iraqi Governing Council? A U.S. company estimated it would take \$15 million to repair a cement plant in northern Iraq, when a local company bid just \$80,000. Another American company bid \$25 million to refurbish police stations in Basra when locals could have done the work for \$5 million. Then there was a project to renovate 10 homes for Iraqi officials for \$700,000, when local firms could have built 10 new homes for the same price.

Meanwhile, the people around Ahmad Chalabi on the Iraqi Governing Council are also getting a nice piece of the pie. A contract to run all mobile communications in the southern part of Iraq was awarded to a company called

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Djila, which just happens to be run by Mudhar Shawkat, a top aide to Chalabi. One source in the Iraqi National Congress asked about the contract put the matter succinctly when he said, “Why not?”

But we don’t have to go nearly so far away to see some Washington nonprofit and for-profit companies ripping off international aid agencies every day of the week. While their methods are (sometimes) more subtle than those cited above, they are just as pervasive and lucrative. Here are some examples.

### **Robbing Peter to Pay Paul**

When those “Requests for Proposals” from the feds come out and land in the hands of a company, they represent both an opportunity and a cost. The opportunity, of course, is to get new funding to do a project, pay salaries, cover the overhead and perhaps make a small profit. But first, the proposal has to be researched and written which, depending on the complexity of the proposed project, can require considerable time and expense. The research, budgeting, program design, possibly travel to the site, use of expert consultants in certain aspects of the work, and interaction with the proposed players such as government ministry officials in developing countries and local agency managers, all have to be carried out up front — with no guarantee of success.

Hiring the people needed to carry out these activities could easily cost many tens of thousands of dollars. What to do? The answer all too often is simply to use people currently on staff being paid for by another project already under contract. When a project manager drops an RFP on your desk and says, “We would like to know what you think of this,” it’s pretty hard to say you can’t help because you’re already working-full time on another project.

Naturally, everybody knows you are busy, so the manager assures you that a brief meeting or a short memo will do the trick. But it doesn’t, because considerable amounts of staff time are generally needed to write the new proposal that will compete against the other submissions. So various people already working on current projects are deflected from the job for which they are being paid by the outside agency, like a development bank or USAID, to work on the new, as-yet-unfunded project. Specialized talent may be brought in and paid for. But, fundamentally, you use the staff you have to get the proposals written.

Of course, we are talking about more than one simple

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proposal. As the RFPs flow from the international agencies, the company selects those projects it feels it can win. The inevitable consequence is that there are often more proposals than staff to write them. The result is a serious dilution of staff time, energy and effort, which is built into the overall process.

Often staff is really pressed for time to work on the funded project precisely because they are responding to the RFPs. An alternative is to bring in a consultant to do the work but pay him off the project already under contract.

Everyone is trapped. There is the employee who can’t say no. The majority of nonprofit organizations are not sufficiently capitalized to respond to RFPs, even on a selective basis. But if they don’t respond to the projected future project, what happens to their staff when the current one is completed? And even for-profit companies see their earnings diluted by all of their losing proposals, forcing them to continue scrambling for new contracts.

So companies continue to rob Peter to pay Paul to stay in business.

### **The Price Is Wrong**

One important factor in obtaining a project is price. If your bid can come in lower than your competition, you have a leg up in winning the contract. Some companies purposely lower their bid below their own projected costs. When they run out of money to continue the project, they throw up their hands and say, “What can we do? We have acted in good faith, but some unexpected expenses arose in the course of our work. Other costs have escalated beyond the initial estimate. If we are to finish the project, we are going to have to renegotiate the financial terms.”

These companies know that agencies are highly reluctant to change horses in midstream. Working with a new company which has to learn a complex project often requires more staff time and money from the funding agency. So what the international agency may save by changing suppliers is partly offset by their increased in-house costs. Furthermore, the new company obviously will not know the cast of characters with whom it will be dealing and may potentially make critical mistakes. All these interpersonal and financial inertial forces push the agency toward agreeing to renegotiate the contract; after all, it is much easier and safer to stick with the devil you know than to try the one you don’t.

While a supplier does not want to develop a reputation for “lowballing,” it is a useful device at certain times, espe-

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***Contractors know that  
government agencies are  
highly reluctant to  
change horses in  
midstream.***

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cially when the contract is large enough to bring in a lot more revenue. However, open-ended contracts, such as the cost-plus arrangements that Bechtel and Halliburton have negotiated in Iraq, do not lend themselves to this tactic. But companies seeking illegal profits still have several options involving price and reimbursement.

One is to buy a receipt from a supplier who either never provided any good or service whatsoever, or who did, but at a much lower price. Let's say you want a receipt for \$100,000 from someone who never did anything. In the Third World, the going rate is 10 to 15 percent of the amount of the projected invoice. The company pays a \$10,000 to \$15,000 fee to the supplier, the company get its invoice, and pockets the \$85,000 to \$90,000 difference. These deals are usually meticulously documented with contracts, receipts, invoices, work progress reports, meetings that did not occur or that did occur to structure the fraud, etc.

Why go to so much trouble? Accountants working for aid agencies focus on a paper trail, so the intelligent thief gives them what they want. You rarely see an accountant who really wants to go out to the hot, dirty, dangerous construction site and see the actual yards of poured concrete compared to what is on the invoice. If the accountants do decide to run a

field audit, normally they will simply send out a circular to the suppliers asking them to “confirm” the numbers. The suppliers happily provide written documentation of their phantom work and everyone is a winner — except the agency and the taxpayers, of course.

If you are a bit more daring, you may do the transaction in cash, but that’s liable to raise suspicions in case of an audit. Cash transactions are best done when some work is performed but the cost for that work is doubled or tripled and the supplier’s boss and the project manager share the illegal proceeds above the actual cost. In this scam, the check for payment is run through the supplier’s bank. The supplier receives 20 percent of the money. For instance, a job that cost \$50,000 is billed out at \$100,000 or \$150,000, with the supplier receiving \$20,000 to \$30,000 for his effort and the difference paid to the project manager in cash.

To deposit large amounts of illegal cash presents its own challenges in the post-9/11 crackdown on money laundering. But where there’s a will, there’s a way — or several, actually. Wire transfers under \$10,000 each to stateside accounts, are one method. Deposits into offshore accounts are another, and using shell companies is a third. Reversing the scam and having friends who have companies pay you for work you never did is yet another. Naturally, they receive a commission for their service. And physically carrying money from one country to another across borders is yet another. There are also plenty of financial institutions in foreign countries that will launder money for a small fee.

But suppose you are caught? You simply correct the “oversight” and promptly return the cash. This is what Halliburton has had to do. The multimillion dollar overcharges for gasoline, for example, were returned. They were just a mistake, an

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honest error. International agencies want stability, respectability and good public relations, so it's much better if something can be smoothed over rather than having dirty laundry aired in public. Fraud reflects badly on their judgment.

Why did they select such a company? How did this happen? Are there no safeguards? Are their procedures flawed? Isn't their staff professional and trained to catch these problems? Didn't they investigate the company beforehand? Obviously the corrupt manager and fraudulent suppliers want the matter cleared up promptly as well, so it's in everybody's interest to get on with it and continue with the same company. (Naturally, a few heads at the company's lower echelons may roll, but such is the price of doing business.)

After all, what is the agency going to do, sue? Prolong the agony by bringing criminal charges?

### **Three-Card Monte**

There is a street game called three-card monte. A hustler has a card-board box upon which he places three face-up playing cards. The "mark" (you) picks a card such as an eight or a jack and watches as the hustler puts the three cards face down and moves them around rapidly. Now he asks you to identify the card you chose; sure enough, when he turns your chosen card up, it is yours. You do this successfully a few times and then he asks you whether you'd like to bet some money? Of course, you would. You bet and you win — at first. But as the size of your bet increases, suddenly you begin to lose — unbeknownst to you, the hustler has palmed your selected card and replaced it with another. You never had a chance because his hand was quicker than your eye.

If you're stubborn enough, you may lose many times the amount you were (briefly) ahead before you give

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up. But the dealer is careful to keep the stakes low and not get greedy; after all, he doesn't want a disgruntled loser getting louder and louder, attracting a cop's attention. Instead, he wants a large number of small losers so that at the end of a few hours he can pocket his earnings and go home.

A multi-divisional transnational corporation, which can transfer income among divisions across international lines and into different currencies, always has the potential to play its own version of three-card monte. For example, if there is a buildup of profit in one division, it can be transferred to another subsidiary in another country as a temporary tax shelter. (Perhaps this is why corporations in the United States contribute just 12 percent of total public tax revenues.) The \$63 million petroleum overcharge in Iraq by Halliburton could well have been an honest, legitimate mistake, but it certainly fits this pattern. And after all, the very structure of a large, multi-billion-dollar company lends itself to many kinds of economic prestidigitation. Moreover, cash is fungible, affording the oppor-

tunity to change poured concrete, structural steel, or a consulting service or gasoline into a beach house or a new car.

There are other versions of the game, too. One rule of funding agencies is that the contractor must change dollars into the local currency at the official rate. The difference between the official rate and the black market rate (or the "parallel market" as the World Bank prefers to call it) can be considerable: up to 30 or even 40 percent. Knowing this, companies will sometimes use employees, consultants and even its executives traveling into the country where the work is being done to carry cash in dollars (under \$10,000 to meet the legal regulation) for currency exchange.

If the carrier is an executive, part or even most of his time is being paid for by the project. He can also use a portion of this time not only to visit the ongoing project but to scout other project possibilities as well. These potential opportunities may be local or in other neighboring countries, but they afford additional chances to rob Peter to pay Paul.

### **Fighting Back**

The two employees of the Halliburton subsidiary who stole a couple of million dollars from a USAID project in Iraq were, we are assured by the company spokesperson, promptly fired. But there has been no mention of criminal proceedings against them. If your biggest downside is to be fired and the upside is making a million bucks, lots of people will choose to take a chance. Clearly, the legal penalties for fraud need to be strengthened and rigorously enforced. The international aid agencies must demonstrate that despite the possibility of negative publicity, they are committed to putting white-collar criminals in jail.

Forensic accountants who have specialized in fraudulent accounting

methods should conduct field audits of international projects. A simple standard auditing procedure will not normally uncover some of the ways of stealing described here. These audits should be primarily focused on large projects and on aggregated expenditures that need to be disaggregated and traced to their actual source. Behind numbers stand a referent, something real and tangible — or not.

Above all, however, audits need to focus on the real issues, not the small potatoes. Once, several years after my wife and I had finished working on a multimillion-dollar project for USAID and were back at home in the States, we received a call from a General Accountability Office (formerly the General Accounting Office) auditor. He was reviewing the numbers on our former project and asked us some questions. After we described the project in great detail,

---

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he responded skeptically: “There is something here I really don’t understand: a \$200 expense for the purchase of some donkeys. We have not used donkeys since World War I. Why did you need them?”

We explained that we used them

for transportation into remote mountain communities unreachable by jeep. Heavy rains often cut them off from the outside world altogether.

“So what happened to the donkeys?” he asked. We told him we had given them to a local farmer in the area who boarded and fed them in exchange for access to the people still working on the project. “Okay,” he replied, “but I wonder how I am going to explain this to my bosses.”

“Just tell them not everyone in the world drives a car to work,” we answered before hanging up.

We estimated that the cost of our time, his time, and the international telephone call added up to almost as much as our donkeys had cost. More disturbingly, this sincere, competent GAO accountant clearly had no idea of the realities of living and operating in the Third World.

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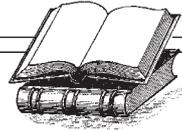
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# BOOKS

## Know Thy Enemy

### **Imperial Hubris: Why the West is Losing the War on Terror**

*Anonymous*

Brassey's, Inc., 2004, \$27.50, hardcover, 309 pages.

REVIEWED BY THOMAS FERGUSON

The author of this passionate, insightful book is a career intelligence official who has spent 17 years analyzing terrorism, militant Islam and the affairs of Afghanistan and Pakistan, and headed the CIA unit dedicated to tracking Osama bin Laden. Drawing on that expertise, he makes a disturbingly compelling case that for decades now, Washington policy-makers of both parties have operated under a misapprehension of the enemy that has hamstrung our response.

As bin Laden and others have consistently told us, al-Qaida's jihad against the U.S. has nothing to do with our freedoms, and everything to do with our policies and actions in the Muslim world. Specifically, their attacks are meant to advance clear foreign policy goals: the end of U.S. aid to Israel, and the ultimate elimination of that state; the removal of Western forces from Arabia, Iraq, Afghanistan and other Muslim lands; the withdrawal of U.S. support for repressive, apostate regimes throughout the Muslim world; and an end to its tolerance of the oppression of Muslims by Russia, China and India.

Al-Qaida does not expect to achieve these goals through random acts of terror, but through inspiring,

*Anonymous offers a damning indictment of missed opportunities, tactical and strategic blunders, and ignorance of the enemy.*



organizing and training fighters for a global Muslim insurgency against America. So the U.S. must recognize that it is not fighting a gang of aberrant terrorists, but is in a war for survival with an enemy of immense durability, manpower and resources — and must respond accordingly.

Thus, "Anonymous" fully supports the decision to go into Afghanistan after 9/11, but sharply criticizes the initial delay in sending troops, which allowed the bulk of Taliban and al-Qaida fighters to escape. Citing the inadequate resources dedicated to locating and destroying these forces since then, he discounts the viability of the Karzai government, and foresees a growing insurgency that will force a choice between a massive escalation of U.S. forces or withdrawal — the same quandary the Soviet Union faced.

In contrast, he calls the decision to invade Iraq "Osama bin Laden's gift from America," proving to Muslims around the world his central argument for a defensive jihad: America is engaged in a sustained attack on Islam

and Islamic lands. The occupation has also diverted U.S. resources and attention from the essential war in Afghanistan, and daily gives new impetus to al-Qaida's recruitment efforts.

*Imperial Hubris* offers a damning indictment of missed opportunities, tactical and strategic blunders, and ignorance of the enemy. But it is less persuasive when it comes to formulating realistic alternatives to current policy. The author's proposals constitute a tough-minded isolationism that breaks down into two broad categories. The first is straightforward enough: we must fight the military struggle more effectively and savagely, aiming to destroy, not arrest or weaken al-Qaida's forces, and accepting the likelihood of mass casualties on both sides in the process. This will entail shifting to an even more unilateralist approach, with less reliance on traditional allies and local forces.

At the same time, we must alter U.S. foreign policy to diminish the need to fight, by seeking energy self-sufficiency and ending our dependence on Mideast oil; drastically scaling back non-essential commitments abroad; and ceasing misguided efforts to impart U.S. values to unwilling recipients. Chief among the commitments he would re-examine is American support for Israel, Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

These are, to say the least, highly provocative suggestions that amount to the abandonment of the imperial posture the U.S. has gradually assumed since World War II. But at a minimum, they deserve serious con-

sideration if we are to have any option but generations of bloody combat. And even if the reader does not share the author's bleak outlook and forceful dissent to the foreign-policy status quo, this is an essential book to understand our enemies and the challenges ahead of us.

---

*Thomas Ferguson is a retired FSO whose last assignment was in the Office of Strategic, Proliferation and Military Affairs in the Intelligence and Research Bureau.*

## Politics and Languages Do Mix

---

**Languages in a Globalising World**  
*Jacques Maurais and Michael A. Morris, eds., Cambridge University Press, 2003, \$24.00, paperback, 362 pages.*

REVIEWED BY  
 THOMAS W. CRAWFORD

*Languages in a Globalising World* makes a compelling case for two propositions: political-power relationships determine the fate of languages; and languages can affect political and economic relations, both within and among countries. The book first appeared in French in 2001 as an issue of *Terminogramme*, the journal of Quebec's Office de la langue française, but its more recent publication in English by Cambridge University Press opens the door to a much broader readership.

Sandwiched between the introduction and conclusion are 19 chapters arranged in three sections: "Global Communication Challenges," "Major Areas," and "Languages of Wider Communication." The insightful essays cover a wide range of topics that

will be of interest to many in the foreign affairs community.

The highlight of the opening section for me is Jacques Maurais' examination of the extent to which languages were used on the Internet from 1999 to 2003. He offers useful, tabular data in considering trends in the utilization of some 30 languages to communicate in cyberspace.

As its title, "Major Areas," suggests, the middle part of the book is organized along geographic lines. An essay by Ferenc Fodor and Sandrine Peluan analyzes the increasing interest in English as a second language in six former Soviet satellites, and uses tables and graphs to illustrate the changing preferences for French, English, German and Russian in Hungary. In "Languages and Supernationality in Europe: The Linguistic Influence of the European Union," Claude Truchot covers everything from the E.U.'s internal rules to its role as an institution regulating language use and the limits of institutional multilingualism.

Birgit N. Schlyter examines in detail the aftermath of the Soviet Union's collapse, as Central Asian nations quickly abandoned the Russian tongue and the Cyrillic alphabet for their own, unique ones, even as they faced a host of other daunting challenges. The details of adopting unified and standard alphabets in such short order will, admittedly, be of primary interest to linguists of Central Asian languages. But Ms. Schlyter's insightful explanations of the cultural and political forces at play should appeal to a broader readership.

Those interested in relationships between the hundreds of African languages and the European languages imposed upon the African continent will find Roland Breton's chapter on sub-Saharan Africa informative. He delves into the historical involvement of European powers in Africa and cites

various factors to explain current linguistic policies of African governments and trends in use of different languages on that continent.

Interactions of language, politics and economics are revealed in the chapter, "Regional blocs as a barrier against English hegemony? The language policy of Mercosur in South America." Issues regarding the use of Spanish, Portuguese and English in Mercosur are examined in revealing detail by Ranier Enrique Hamel, a professor of linguistics at the Universidad Metropolitana Autónoma in Mexico City.

The third part of *Languages in a Globalising World* includes separate chapters explaining the roles of German, Arabic, Russian, French, English and Brazilian Portuguese in global communications. The theme of the worldwide ascendancy of English that pervades this entire collection of essays is particularly prominent here.

The very knowledgeable authors and editors of the book hail from many countries — Germany, Australia, France, Canada, the United States, Hungary, Mexico, Japan, Brazil, Russia and Sweden — and offer a diversity of viewpoints and backgrounds. As a result, readers will increase the breadth and depth of their insights about the political, economic and historical forces shaping the choices that individuals and governments must make to communicate in today's changing, but steadily globalizing, world. ■

---

*Thomas W. Crawford Jr. was a Foreign Service officer with USAID from 1987 to 1994. He is associate program director of the International Sorghum and Millet Collaborative Research Program at the University of Nebraska and is president of the Association for International Agriculture and Rural Development.*

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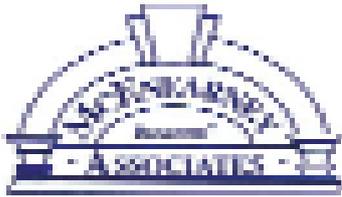


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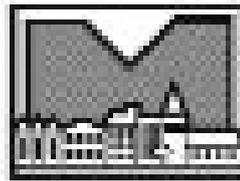
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State Department Federal  
Credit Union / 43

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Living / 27  
Columbia Plaza / 8  
Corporate Apartment  
Specialists, Inc. / 48  
Crystal Quarters / 15  
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Executive Lodging  
Alternatives / 40  
Georgetown Suites / 53  
Korman Communities / 57  
Marriott / 2  
Oakwood / Inside front cover  
Potomac Suites / 17  
Quality Hotel / 29  
Remington / 37  
River Inn / 41  
State Plaza / 32  
Staybridge / 40  
Suite America / 48  
Virginian Suites / 17

### INSURANCE

AFSPA / 6  
Clements International / 1  
Harry Jannette  
International / 33  
The Hirshorn Company /  
Outside back cover  
UNIRISC / 42

### MISCELLANEOUS

Carnegie Endowment / 31  
COLEAD / 14  
DACOR / 56  
Feed the Children / 4  
Foreign Service Youth  
Foundation / 36  
Foundation for Middle East  
Peace / 56  
Inside a U.S.  
Embassy / 47, 57  
Landmark Creations / 15  
Legacy / 34  
Marketplace / 12  
NPCA / 59  
U.S. Gov't Printing Office / 25  
USAID / 51  
WorldSpace / Inside back  
cover

### REAL ESTATE & PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

Executive Housing  
Consultants / 67  
Hagner Ridgeway and  
Jackson / 62  
Laughlin Management / 62  
Long & Foster –  
Simunek / 64  
McEneaney Associates / 63  
McGrath Real Estate  
Services / 64  
Meyerson Group / 67  
Peake Management, Inc. / 64  
Property Specialists / 63  
Prudential Carruthers /  
JoAnn Piekney / 65  
Prudential Carruthers / 67  
Stuart & Maury / 66  
WJD Management / 63  
Washington Management  
Services / 62

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# REFLECTIONS

## *A Tale of the Mundane Egg*

GAIL KENNA

On my first day back in the U.S., while examining a clean, white egg at the supermarket, I noticed other customers giving me strange looks. How were they to know the eggs I bought in Caracas were brown and covered in feathers (and guano)?

During my first few months in Venezuela I tried washing the eggs, but too many of them broke. That's when I learned how to crack one without getting feathers in the bowl. Cracking eggs, however, wasn't as perilous as buying them. Each Saturday, I shopped at an outdoor, informal market, situated under an overpass. Beneath the rumble of trucks, the egg man worked slowly — a long line forming in front of his table. While filling a flat of three dozen eggs, he sipped a *cafecito* and chatted, alternating those actions with winding string around each patron's eggs.

Then during our final year in Venezuela — thanks to government price controls and runaway inflation — eggs disappeared. Or so I thought, until a Venezuelan neighbor told me about eggs hidden for regular customers. "Go to your butcher," she said. So off I went to my local

supermarket. A man in his late 40s, he wore a blood-soaked apron and chain-smoked while cutting meat. Three of his fingers were missing.

"Tiene huevos?" I asked innocently. (Do you have eggs?) The three younger butchers howled with laughter. What a *gringa!* (In Spanish slang, I remembered too late, eggs refer to the male anatomy.) I quickly said, "Hay huevos?" (Are there eggs?) That day there weren't any. But from then on until I left Caracas in 1995, I could count on hearing one question from the fellow with the missing fingers, followed by laughter from his young assistants. "Quiere huevos hoy?" (Do you want eggs today?)

Eventually a young man at the local bakery took pity on me. Whenever I bought bread, he gave me four eggs in a plastic sack. On an embassy trip to Suriname, I bought a flat of eggs and after landing in Caracas, I had a photo taken of me, disembarking with them. The C-12 mechanic asked, "No live chickens?"

In reflecting on life overseas, I've realized that grocery shopping in foreign countries replicates my childhood, when the butcher wrapped meat in paper, or the baker added an extra bun to the bag, and the milkman placed bottles on the back porch. When people ask what I miss about life abroad, I say, "The delight of shopping for groceries." "Are you crazy?" a friend asked. "Missing fingers, feathered eggs, inefficiency?" All I could say was, "Yes," until I

moved to Lima in 2002, where I found E. Wong, a chain of Chinese-Peruvian supermarkets.

This supermarket chain incorporates those childhood memories, along with efficiency, fairness and quality. The bagboys will not accept tips, the butchers have all fingers present, and the fish fellow would be fired if he accepted a *propina* (little bonus) to dress a halibut. E. Wong customers receive stickers (remember green stamps?), with which I eventually purchased a set of crystal glasses. And each time I shop there, bonus points are added to my Wong card.

On Mother's Day a band plays, and should a customer shop on his or her birthday, the checkout girl will say "Happy Birthday" after seeing a message flash on her computer. All the clerks are dressed in crisp, red outfits, and every female employee's hair is in a bun with a decorative bow. On almost every aisle someone is passing out treats: cheese, crackers, wine, even pisco sours. You name it — E. Wong will have it (or order it). Best of all, by each checkout there are tiers of eggs (brown or white), packaged by the dozen or half-dozen, in a condition I would describe as shockingly pristine.

In more than one mythology, a bird is represented as laying the mundane egg on the primordial waters. In Peru's case, E. Wong hatched a golden egg in the desert by the sea. The best face of globalization, it seems to me. ■

---

*After postings with her State contractor husband to Kuala Lumpur, Caracas, Bogota and Lima, Gail Kenna now lives in Virginia. A university professor by trade, she is working on her fourth book. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."*

# AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • November 2004



## AFSA AWARDS FOR DISSENT AND PERFORMANCE

### Help AFSA Honor Risk-Takers

BY BARBARA BERGER,  
PROFESSIONAL ISSUES COORDINATOR

“Dissent carries more risk than reward for most federal employees, who in many cases face negative evaluations, banishment to unpleasant assignments, even court, for publicizing mistakes at their agencies. **There is one exception: at the State Department, dissenters can win awards.** Every year, the American Foreign Service Association honors Foreign Service officers who have ‘exhibited extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage and constructive dissent’ with \$2,500 awards.” So goes the first paragraph of a May 24, 2004, article by Frank Jossi in the *Federal Times* about dissent in government. AFSA gives constructive dissent awards in four categories: The Christian A. Herter Award for a senior officer, the William R. Rivkin Award for a mid-career officer, the W. Averell Harriman Award for a junior officer and the Tex Harris Award for a specialist.

Keith Mines received the 2004 Rivkin Award for his dissenting opinion on Iraq policy. The title of his dissent message to the department, sent in May 2003, got right to the point: “Let the U.N. Manage the Political Transition in Iraq.” Accepting the award, Mines remarked that Iraq’s future was “too important to allow ideology to trump experience or imagination to trump

Continued on page 3



### Inside This Issue:

STAFFING IRAQ.....	2
STATE: NO SEX! EVER! .....	3
FUTURE OF COMMERCIAL DIPLOMACY.....	4
CAMPAIGNS & THE FS.....	5
INSIDE THE FS COMMUNITY .....	6
CLASSWIDE REVIEW .....	8
LETTERS TO CANDIDATES .....	9
MEMO OF THE MONTH.....	9

## 2005-2007 AFSA GOVERNING BOARD

### Last Call for Nominations

Do you have a candidate in mind for an AFSA Governing Board position, but have not yet sent in your nomination? Have you been considering a run for an AFSA office, but not yet thrown your hat in the ring? If so, hurry to the nearest computer or fax machine and let us know now. The deadline for nominations is Nov. 16.

The AFSA election process will certainly not be as cut-throat as our national campaign has been, but we would like to see competition in the races. The more participation we have, the more powerful we can be as a professional association and as

your union. So we ask you to get involved, consider making a nomination or running yourself. We also ask you not to forget to vote when the ballot comes by mail in January. AFSA staff count each ballot by hand, and every vote counts.

The new AFSA Governing Board will take office on July 15, 2005, and will serve for two years. Officer positions to consider include President, Vice President for State, Vice President for USAID, Vice President for FCS, Vice President for FAS, Vice President for Retirees, Secretary and Treasurer. Constituency representative positions include eight State representatives, four retiree representatives and one representative each for USAID, FCS, FAS and IBB. The number of rep positions is based on membership totals for each constituency. For details on submitting a nomination, see the October issue of *AFSA News*, which can be found online at [www.afsa.org/news](http://www.afsa.org/news). □



### AFSA Weighs In

AFSA gives input to presidential candidates before election, with the goal of making sure the Foreign Service is on the agenda. See page 9.



## AFSA Posts Promotion and Tenure Lists

Due to popular demand from the field, AFSA has started posting promotion lists from member agencies on our Web site.

**USAID:** AFSA congratulates all those USAID officers who were tenured this fall. AFSA also commends USAID's Human Resources staff for getting out the tenure notice this year in record time. AFSA has added a link to the recent promotion lists on the AFSA USAID page under the Current Issues heading. Go to: [www.afsa.org/AIDVP/AID2004PromotionList.cfm](http://www.afsa.org/AIDVP/AID2004PromotionList.cfm)

**State:** As we go to press, the State promotion list is not yet out. AFSA will post it on the AFSA Web site as soon as it's available. Look for it at: [www.afsa.org/StateVP/State2004PromotionList.cfm](http://www.afsa.org/StateVP/State2004PromotionList.cfm)

## Staffing Iraq: How Much is Enough?

AFSA met with Under Secretary for Management Grant Green on Sept. 9. At the top of the agenda was the issue of the number of Foreign Service employees assigned to Iraq. Again AFSA made the point — well known to State management — that Iraq service is different: in Iraq we have long exceeded any “trip-wires” that elsewhere would have triggered a complete evacuation of the embassy. Public security is almost non-existent; public services barely function; and American civilians are, increasingly, deliberate targets of violence.

AFSA asked the under secretary to help ensure that the department, in consultation with the chief of mission in Baghdad, will rigorously scrutinize Foreign Service staffing assignments to Iraq so that no one is sent there unless his or her presence is absolutely necessary to the mission. Under Secretary Green assured us that this will be done. He agreed that staffing decisions should and will undergo frequent review.

AFSA remains extremely concerned about the safety and well-being of our men and women serving in Iraq. We pledge to keep this issue in front of State management.

## AFSA Welcomes New Grievance Attorney

AFSA grievance attorney Charlie Henderson has left to pursue law in private practice. Charlie was a great asset to AFSA and our clients. He will be missed.

We would like to welcome Joe Slotnick to the staff as a grievance attorney. While studying at George Washington University Law School, Joe worked as a law clerk with AFSA, so he knows what he's getting into! Joe moved to D.C. in 1999 after graduating from Vassar College. He is originally from Cohasset, Mass., a small suburb south of Boston.

Briefs • Continued on page 4

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## Governing Board:

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**FCS REPRESENTATIVE:** William Crawford  
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**IBB REPRESENTATIVE:** Laurie Kassman  
**FAS REPRESENTATIVE:** Michael Conlon

reality.” His views proved prescient and the basic strategy he put forward was later adopted.

Craig Hall won the Harriman Award in 2001 for his willingness to criticize the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees’ handling of the crisis in West Timor while serving as a junior officer in Jakarta. Hall, now posted to Canberra, is quoted as stating, “When the Department of State speaks, it speaks with one voice, by necessity. But it has been my experience that, in the formation of policies and positions, there is in the department a culture of vigorous debate and exchange of ideas ... a give-and-take where a range of perspectives is not only encouraged but solicited.”

AFSA is asking you to help us honor those willing to take a stand for what they believe is right. Please send us proof that this “culture of vigorous debate and exchange of ideas” still exists.

AFSA wants to recognize and honor members of the Foreign Service who have demonstrated courage and risk-taking by daring to challenge the system from within, by questioning the status quo, or by their willingness to take an unpopular stand for what they believe. Help us keep the tradition of intellectual honesty and vigorous debate alive by sending a nomination for the 2005 AFSA Constructive Dissent Awards.

For further information about AFSA’s Constructive Dissent and Exemplary Performance Awards, please go to our Web site, [www.afsa.org/awards](http://www.afsa.org/awards), or contact Barbara Berger, Coordinator of Professional Issues, at [berger@afsa.org](mailto:berger@afsa.org) or (202) 338-4045, ext. 521. The September 2004 issue of the *AFSA News* featured this year’s winners at the June awards ceremony. If you have not yet seen this issue, you can find it posted in full on the AFSA Web site at [www.afsa.org/news](http://www.afsa.org/news). Their courage and determination to do what they believe is the right thing cannot help but inspire you to do the right thing.

Look for the official call for nominations — including details on how to submit a nomination — in the December *AFSA News*. □

## NO SEX! ... EVER!\*

Now that the summer transfer season is over and everyone has settled in, work requirements are set in stone and the DCM has hosted all the welcome parties for newcomers, it’s time to share AFSA’s rules for being a successful supervisor. This is especially pertinent for new principal officers and DCMs, although any section chief could profit by studying these rules. And since you are all probably wanna-be DCMs and POs anyway, there’s no time like the present to learn of the pitfalls.

The department runs a course for outgoing DCMs and POs, an intensive three weeks where students are put through the FAM wringer. Issues covered include personnel, budget, ethics, management of entry-level employees and other supervisory issues. All these issues land on the DCM’s desk.

Last year, AFSA asked to speak to the fledgling class and a brown bag was scheduled. We didn’t use the FAM as the takeoff point for our tips for success: We used the AFSA case files. We had checked to see how DCMs and POs get into trouble, so we could teach the newbies how to avoid it. We didn’t do a brown bag this year, perhaps because of the unpopularity of our first rule.

**Our first rule: No sex! Ever!** DCMs should assume that everyone in the mission is in their chain of command. This is not restricted to American employees and includes everybody down to and including the contractors who cut the grass and guard the warehouse, as well as the char force. No sex with anybody in the chain of command, regardless of gender and even if they have achieved the age of majority and consent. It’s a simple rule, just two words. NO SEX!

**Our second rule: Never assume you are loved by everyone.** You are not. There is always someone whom you’ve offended or who has a gripe. If the dislike becomes intense, the employee may be watching to see if he/she can pick up the waste, fraud and abuse hotline to report you.

**Never willfully misuse a government vehicle.** The punishment for “willfully” misusing a U.S. government vehicle is an automatic 30-day suspension. This is not the department’s rule; it’s the law. Asking AFSA to help you argue mitigating circumstances won’t be very helpful. It’s hard to explain away having the official vehicle pick up the kids at school, take Junior to his karate class or a date to the ballet. So, how does the department learn of such misuse? See Rule Number Two above.

**Never cover up.** AFSA notices that sometimes officials believe they are helping someone by not reporting a breach of the rules. Whatever the merits of your motive, the responsibility for the coverup will be yours and you may very well be the person disciplined rather than the miscreant to whom you were being kind and charitable. If your kind gesture is interpreted as favoritism, see Rule Number Two above.

**Take care of your troops first!** Of course you want to see your son graduate, but be sure everyone else’s leave requests are accommodated before you take off for graduation. This is especially true at unaccompanied posts, of which there are now 15, and whose number will undoubtedly increase. This is the Foreign Service equivalent of the military rule that the lieutenant is the last to eat.

AFSA believes that if you follow these rules, you will be a successful leader of Foreign Service men and women. □

\* *Sage counsel and wise career advice from the AFSA case files*



## The Future of Commercial Diplomacy



November in a year of national elections marks an excellent time to look forward and assess the challenges and opportunities facing our profession. For those engaged in that part of diplomacy working to advance our commercial interests, I would put forward the belief that we are entering a time of profound change and need to take maximum advantage of the moment to help shape a new mission statement, with new programs that more effectively advance our interests in an increasingly integrated global economy.

AFSA is in the early stages of working with partner organizations to put together a symposium for early next year, with the notional title of “The Foreign Commercial Service at 25: Lessons Learned to Guide the Future of Our Commercial Diplomacy.” I encourage you to send in your thoughts on appropriate goals and content for this event.

Many of you responded to my September column that foreshadowed this one, asking whether FCS had met the goals that led to its creation in 1980. There was general agreement about two fundamental points: first, that it was hard to be generous about the overall management of the agency by Commerce; and second, that in this Internet age, we need a fundamental review of our core mission. We must consider our strategy and relevancy for meeting U.S. national interests in a world where these interests and those of global companies are not the same as they were 25 years ago.

In order to stimulate the discussion, I would point to an excellent new book by former FSO Harry Kopp, *Commercial Diplomacy and the National Interest*. Published by the Business Council for International Understanding and the American Academy of Diplomacy, the book advances the following thesis:

“The United States is the world’s leading exporter, the world’s leading importer, and the world’s primary source and destination of funds for foreign investment. Our position as the best place to do business . . . is the cause, not an effect, of American global leadership. Protecting and expanding the U.S. role as the world’s supplier and customer of choice for goods, services, ideas, capital and entrepreneurial energy should be a foreign policy objective second only to securing the homeland.”

Agreeing with this thesis that makes the case for why it is good policy to have public programs supporting private sector economic transactions, I believe that we need to evaluate current programs on their success in accomplishing this mission. Our rhetoric today about exports and export promotion is sadly out of date in a global economy wired by the Internet. Our goal should be to place commercial diplomacy in the broader discussion of enhancing U.S. competitiveness in this global economy, looking at both trade and investment. The ultimate metric should not be export expansion or increasing the number of exporters but contributing, along with other domestic economic programs, to enhanced U.S. competitiveness in the global marketplace.

If all stakeholders can come together to create a new mission statement and corresponding new programs and products for the range of federal agencies that lead our commercial diplomacy programs, questions of structure and turf will surface and need to be addressed. With reform of government already well advanced in the military, intelligence and homeland security areas, it only makes sense to undertake the same fundamental, zero-based view of government programs in the economic and international affairs area. I hope our idea for an AFSA event early next year will contribute to this process, and would very much welcome your thoughts. □

## AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

Continued from page 2

### CFC: Support American Diplomacy

AFSA would like to remind you that it is time to make selections for your Combined Federal Campaign contribution. AFSA urges members to consider donating to one of the two AFSA CFC funds.

#### AFSA SCHOLARSHIP FUND: CFC #2422

The AFSA Scholarship Fund provides over \$150,000 each year to Foreign Service children to help meet college expenses. Support Foreign Service families by donating to this fund.

#### AFSA FUND FOR AMERICAN DIPLOMACY: CFC #2460

AFSA strives to build a constituency for the Foreign Service through the activities of the Fund for American Diplomacy. Through nationwide education programs — including the Speakers’ Bureau, Elderhostel, the AFSA High School Essay Contest, the *Inside a U.S. Embassy* book, the award program and more — AFSA shows the American public how U.S. diplomacy promotes America’s interests abroad.

For more information on the programs supported by these funds, go to the Web site at [www.afsa.org/scholar/index.cfm](http://www.afsa.org/scholar/index.cfm) for scholarships, and [www.afsa.org/pubresources.cfm](http://www.afsa.org/pubresources.cfm) for FAD. Information is also available from AFSA CFC Coordinator Lori Dec, reachable by phone at (202) 944-5504, or by e-mail at [dec@afsa.org](mailto:dec@afsa.org).

AFSA thanks you in advance for your support.

## Diplomatic Passports and Retirees

In a letter to Under Secretary of State for Management Grant Green, and in a Sept. 9 meeting, AFSA President John Limbert let State management know that Foreign Service retirees are steaming over the decision to stop issuing diplomatic passports to retired chiefs of mission, except for those few holding the personal rank of career ambassador. AFSA has asked management to reconsider the decision.

As Limbert stated in his letter, “The depth of feeling on this issue, although it affects only a relatively small group of retirees, cannot be overstated. Other than their pension, the diplomatic passport was the only privilege or recognition extended to those who reached the Service’s highest rank. Its abrupt withdrawal is regarded by many as a slap in the face, a questioning of the value of 30 or 40 years of distinguished service.”

The under secretary explained that the courtesy diplomatic passport program had grown too large and included many people outside the Foreign Service. AFSA understands that some people have used their diplomatic passports for business trips, expressly prohibited. The program was narrowed significantly in December 2003 and now includes only former U.S. presidents, vice presidents, secretaries of State, career ambassadors (by rank) and their spouses/widow(er)s.

Briefs • Continued on page 7

## Foreign Affairs, Campaigns and Elections

By the time you read this, the election will be over. The campaign season gave us a great opportunity to reflect on the role Foreign Service retirees can and should play in national politics.

Any AFSA member will tell you that the U.S. role in the world should always loom large in national elections. Elections in other countries often turn on foreign policy issues. In contrast, they rarely do in the U.S. One major poll found in 1996 that 1 percent of Americans thought foreign policy was the key issue. The figure had risen to 3 percent in 2000. Another poll found that 5 percent were “basing their decisions” on foreign policy/security issues in 1996, and 12 percent in 2000. We all know — or least we’re

repeatedly told — that what really matters to U.S. voters is the economy. Things have been different this year. The same two polling groups found that 38 to 41 percent of Americans in 2004 think that international issues are the most important ones facing our country.

What is the appropriate way for members of the Foreign Service community to react when foreign policy issues that they’re involved in are debated publicly and politically? The Hatch Act sets clear limits for involvement by active-duty personnel in campaigns. Beyond that, professional ethics requires silence, or at least careful, non-partisan balance in any

open commentary. After all, the mission of the Foreign Service is to carry out the law and to implement the president’s agenda in foreign relations, not to argue with him.

In contrast, no such rules govern the many retired members of the Foreign Service community. Several groups of former senior career officers went public with strong dissents on current issues. One group of retired officers signed on to an appeal to abolish the death penalty in the U.S. Another group put out a statement highly critical of the administration’s perceived favoritism toward Israel in Middle East peace matters. Focusing on the election, a third group, including a number of retired generals and admirals as well as ambassadors, and calling itself Diplomats and Military Commanders for Change, issued a declaration in June sharply critical of the Bush administration.

Although retiree dissenters reflect widespread concerns, their views were not unanimous. One group of retired ambassadors and flag-rank military officers — Diplomats and Military Professionals for National Security — offered a rejoinder in support of the Bush administration’s foreign policies. Another enlisted former Republican Cabinet members to form a group called Diplomats for a Nonpartisan Foreign Service.

However retired members of the country’s Foreign Service come down on the issues, it’s hard to imagine any of them not welcoming the debate. There is no question about the need to brush up the U.S. image in the rest of the world. The fact that the country’s leaders felt the need to address foreign affairs in some depth in their campaigns has been a small first step in the right direction. □



# INSIDE THE FS COMMUNITY



## AFSA Award Winners Share the Wealth

In a fitting affirmation of their selection for AFSA's Avis Bohlen Award for a Foreign Service family member in 2004, Dawn McKeever and Helene DeJong have used their award money to fund a year of schooling for six children in Uganda, *AFSA News* has learned. DeJong and McKeever received the Bohlen Award for their volunteer activities supporting education in many areas of Uganda through the establishment of libraries and other activities.

The money has been given to Jeninah Nagaba to pay her children's school fees, following the death of her husband Ben in a car accident. Ben, an Anglican minister, and Jeninah were very active in community development projects. Jeninah works with the women of Banda Slum, and helped bring McKeever and DeJong to the project as well. DeJong also worked with a community group established by Ben that started a community library and a school for children whose parents cannot afford regular school. The couple has four kids of their own, and also support a niece and nephew orphaned by AIDS. (As this is a long-term need, anyone interested in contributing can contact Helene at [africahelene@yahoo.com](mailto:africahelene@yahoo.com).)

"We had been wondering how we could raise the money for the school fees when we got the word about the award. We both immediately thought of Jeninah. The award was a miracle to us, and really an answer to a prayer. ... It has given Jeninah some peace of mind while she tries to rebuild her family without Ben."

AFSA is honored to know that the award money is being used to continue their good works.

## FS Life Inspires Award-Winning Science Fiction



Jay Lake

The grown son of Ambassador Joe Lake, Jay Lake, has won the 2004 John W. Campbell Jr. Award for Best New Writer. The Campbell Award is science fiction's premier recognition for up-and-coming science fiction writers.

Jay Lake spent his childhood as a Foreign Service dependent, primarily in Taiwan and Nigeria. He attributes much of his literary success to the unusual perspectives and experiences afforded to him by the Foreign Service lifestyle. Lake

now lives in Portland with his family. His day job is in high-tech marketing and sales, involving a lot of writing.

In addition to the Campbell nomination, Lake and colleague

Deborah Layne have been nominated for the 2004 World Fantasy Award for their editing work on the Polyphony anthology series. Lake's story, "Into the Gardens of Sweet Night," was also nominated for the Hugo Award in the Best Novelette category. *Publisher's Weekly* had this to say about it: "Jay Lake's 'Into the Gardens of Sweet Night' is a quirky meditation on personal freedom and responsibility that follows a cosmos-trotting pug named Wiggles as it leads a young boy on a surreal journey to the supposedly mythical garden of the title; think William Burroughs meets 'Men in Black.'"

In a 2003 interview with *Strange Horizons*, Lake noted that: "My first memory of reading is a *Cat in the Hat* dictionary in French, in about 1967, when I was 3 and my Dad's job took us to Dahomey. My first publishing credit was some poetry in the English-language *China Post* in Taiwan around 1974, when I was 10. After that, there was this really long dry spell until I was 36." Now he's writing and being published at a rapid pace. Check out Jay Lake's Web site at [www.jlake.com](http://www.jlake.com). His fiction can be found on Amazon.com and at independent bookstores nationwide.

## Hometown Hero Norma Todd

Norma Todd, widow of the late retired FSO James Todd, has been honored with the Hometown Hero Award by the town of Red Bank, N.J., for her community service work. Now 83, she has been volunteering at Lunch Break, a soup kitchen, for over 20 years, since she and her husband retired back home to Red Bank. She is the director of the organization and can still be found hard at work there every day. She makes sure the kitchen is ready to feed up to 85 people a day, and also helps people prepare for job interviews.

Norma Todd spent 35 years traveling the world with her FSO husband, who was one of the first African-American U.S. diplomats. Among their Foreign Service postings were Israel, Ivory Coast, Germany, Indonesia, Pakistan and Nigeria. At each posting, Ms. Todd became involved in the local community. Her two daughters, Cynthia and Coralie, are currently finishing up a book about the family's overseas adventures, entitled *Watch Out for the Elephants*.

Profiled in both the *Asbury Park Press* and *The Monmouth Journal*, Ms. Todd clearly has many admirers in her hometown. She received the Hometown Hero Award at a celebration held on Sept. 18.

## Alumni Award for FSO

FSO Karen Williams received the 2004 Young Alumna Career Achievement Award from Drury University, where she graduated in 1985. Williams is a public diplomacy officer who has served in Paraguay, Kazakhstan and Bosnia-Herzegovina. □

# AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



Continued from page 5

## TELLING OUR STORY: JOIN ADST

AFSA members should consider joining one of our sister organizations, the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, on whose board the AFSA president serves ex-officio. ADST and AFSA have many interests in common, including the goal of promoting understanding of U.S. foreign policy and the role of the Foreign Service. In that regard, ADST has two programs of particular interest to AFSA members: two book-publishing series (the Diplomats and Diplomacy Series, conducted jointly with DACOR, and Memoirs and Occasional Papers) and the Foreign Affairs Oral History Program. The transcripts of some 1,400 oral histories of former foreign affairs personnel are available now on CD-ROM and will appear soon on the Web site of the Library of Congress ([www.loc.gov](http://www.loc.gov)). The program is ongoing, so it is hoped that even more Foreign Service retirees will add their oral histories to the collection.

Members of ADST not only benefit from discounts on its products and admission to its gala award dinners, but have the satisfaction of supporting its programs, which include enhancing training at FSI. To join, explore publishing options, sign up as an interviewee or volunteer in the oral history program, check out [www.adst.org](http://www.adst.org) or contact President Ken Brown at (703) 302-6992.

## Disability Insurance Temporarily Discontinued

Marsh Affinity Group Services has decided to discontinue offering the AFSA Group Disability Insurance coverage. Current policy-holders will continue to receive service, but Marsh will not accept new applications. AFSA is disappointed by this change and will search for a new carrier for this insurance product.

## Federal Health Plans' Costs Rising Again

Health insurance premiums for the eight million federal employees and retirees will increase by an average of 7.9 percent in 2005. This increase is lower than the double-digit increases of the last four years. Nevertheless, health care costs are running at more than five times the rate of inflation and the rate at which workers contribute to their premiums is rising. Moreover, if, as expected, this year's COLA remains low, 2005 will be the eighth year in a row that premium increases have exceeded the COLA.

Blue Cross standard-option coverage will increase by 6.75 percent and the Foreign Service Benefit Plan by 6.5 percent.

In 2005, FEHBP will offer 249 options. Twenty-one choices will be available to employees and retirees in the Washington, D.C., area. The options include health savings accounts, which are high-deductible catastrophic health plans.

The annual open season begins Nov. 8.

## Defending the Service

In keeping with our policy of "let no cheap shot go unanswered," AFSA President John Limbert sent a letter to the editor of the *Washington Times* about an article by defense and national security reporter Bill Gertz ("French Connection Armed Saddam," Sept. 7). In a gratuitous attack, Gertz wrote: "The problem with the Foreign Service is its culture. It trains diplomats to 'get along' with the foreign governments they are sent to work with. Not insignificantly, Paris is among the most coveted postings in the world."

In his response Limbert noted that, "Our men and women are not trained to 'get along.' They are trained to represent the people of the United States and to protect our nation's security in some very difficult and dangerous places ... The American people can be proud of the heroic work of our Foreign Service colleagues in Iraq and around the world." The complete text of the letter is at [www.washingtontimes.com/op-ed/20040910-090605-5083r.htm](http://www.washingtontimes.com/op-ed/20040910-090605-5083r.htm).

## Legislative Update

The 108th Congress came back to town in September after the August recess, before adjourning again in October for the election. Competing for floor time in the Senate have been intelligence community reorganization and the extension of three expiring middle-class tax cuts.

The State Department authorization bill, which contains many of AFSA's requested personnel provisions, continues to languish in the Senate despite the fact that the Foreign Relations Committee approved it by a 19-0 vote last March. Because of concerns that an authorization bill would not pass this year, the Senate has put some of its important provisions into the Commerce, Justice, State appropriations measure. These provisions include: raising the ceilings on post differentials and danger pay; easing the 5-percent low-ranking requirements; and, forcing the Office of Personnel Management to act on the PIT retirement buyback. Having these provisions in the Senate appropriations bills, however, does not mean the fight is over; we must keep pushing for our issues. For example, not in the bill — but extremely important — is prescriptive relief authority to the Grievance Boards. AFSA will continue to seek ways to get the provisions passed that matter to the Foreign Service.

# PERSONNEL MATTERS

## Classwide Review for Generalist Promotions in 2005

BY JAMES YORKE, LABOR MANAGEMENT SPECIALIST

State Cable 166110 promulgated to the field the decision to replace the multifunctional promotion boards with classwide boards for generalist promotions from FS-3 to FS-2, from FS-2 to FS-1, and from FS-1 to OC across the SFS threshold. All generalist officers will be reviewed twice for promotion at these levels, once on a classwide basis and once in their cone. However, AFSA pressed to ensure that they will only be reviewed for low-ranking once — by the conal board. State management agreed. As a result, the classwide board will not review officers for low-ranking. Note that FS-4 generalists already compete solely on a classwide basis for promotion to FS-3.

AFSA has heard from a few mid-level officers concerning this change. Their general worry is that by abandoning the multifunctional skill code in favor of classwide competition, the competition group will become much larger and they will be adversely affected. We believe that, in fact, the skills gained in their previous multifunctional positions will make them much more competitive in classwide competition.

### AFSA's Position

AFSA is supportive of the overall concept of broadening the skills and experience base of all generalist officers as they progress through the ranks. We have long been concerned that concentration on obtaining the multifunctional skill code, which depended on occupying a particular position for a designated period of time, did not necessarily broaden an officer's skills or experience.

In recent years, multifunctional promotion boards have commented that they could not fathom how an officer had gained the multifunctional skill code, as his or her EER did not provide evidence of any multifunctional experience or skills. Conversely, many officers who had filled so-called



“conal” positions had gained multifunctional skills but were not eligible to be considered multifunctionally. Over the years AFSA has advocated change, but it has become obvious that tinkering with the multifunctional skill-code system would not solve the problem, but would make it more complicated, less fair, and harder to administer.

Admittedly, switching from multifunctional competition to classwide competition will bring its own challenges, but AFSA believes that there will be fewer problems than if we had embarked on a lengthy and detail-heavy attempt to redesign the multifunctional system.

### Changes to the Promotion Precepts

**Core Precepts:** AFSA has reviewed the core precepts (available on the HR Intranet Web site in the HR/PE section), and we are confident that the qualities that make a broad-based officer competitive are reflected in the six core competencies: leadership skills, managerial skills, interpersonal skills, communication and foreign language skills, intellectual skills and substantive knowledge. The important exceptions are that the “leadership skills” section does not mention leading people, and “managerial skills” section places “management of resources” and “management of security” ahead of “performance management.” We will be taking this up in our consultations on the core precepts later this year.

**Procedural Precepts:** The implications

are much greater for changes to the procedural precepts. In August and September, AFSA negotiated with HR/PE to ensure that the procedural precepts for 2005 reflect the qualities that will ensure an officer is competitive on a classwide basis, while at the same time providing guidance for competition conally.

The State Department and AFSA have agreed that, first, the 2005 precepts will re-emphasize the need for expertise in an officer's primary career field. Promotion within cone will recognize competency in the primary field and the potential to fill positions at the higher rank in that field. As before, the six core competencies will form the yardstick against which an officer's proficiency will be judged by a conal promotion board. Officers recommended for promotion will have shown proficiency across all six core competencies in a range of positions in their cone.

Classwide competition, on the other hand, is designed to overcome the problems of multifunctionality without disregarding the skills and experience that officers have gained over their careers in cross-functional and cross-conal positions. Department management has explained that they need a more all-inclusive and flexible tool than the multifunctional skill code with which to recognize these skills and to expand the pool of officers ready to assume leadership positions both overseas and domestically. Classwide competition will expand on conal expertise by recognizing potential and competency across functional lines. The successful officer will also have demonstrated proficiency across the six core competencies in a range of positions.

In discussions with the State Department we have agreed on language to describe what the boards will also be looking for:

- Demonstrated competence in cross-

Continued on page 9

# AFSA Sends Letter to Presidential Candidates

In late September, AFSA sent a letter to the two main presidential candidates.

Excerpts from AFSA's letter to them:

"On behalf of the 13,000 members, active-duty and retired, of the American Foreign Service Association, I call your attention to the important work of the men and women of the Foreign Service. These professionals, who serve the president and represent the people of the United States, are on the front lines of our country's war against terrorism.

"To win that war, America's Foreign Service and its entire structure of international diplomacy must operate at peak efficiency and enjoy full support. They must operate in harmony with the structures of homeland security, foreign and domestic intelligence, and the military services. . . . Our diplomacy has been historically underfunded and neglected relative to the other national security operations. We must ensure that the men and women who represent our country in the Foreign Service will always have the tools and the support they need.

"Today an overseas assignment means the employee takes an automatic cut of about 15 percent in the base salary the employee received in Washington due to the forfeiture of locality pay. This gap is growing every year.

"Every ambassador going abroad must be knowledgeable and experienced in international affairs. Every chief of mission must be capable of serving as your personal representative from day one. . . . The practice of sending novices to represent this nation is no longer tenable, and, in an age of terrorism, ambassadorial on-the-job training is no longer acceptable. We must field America's first team to lead our diplomatic programs.

"The men and women of our Foreign Service have always served our country with skill, professionalism, loyalty and discipline. I can assure you that they will continue to do so.

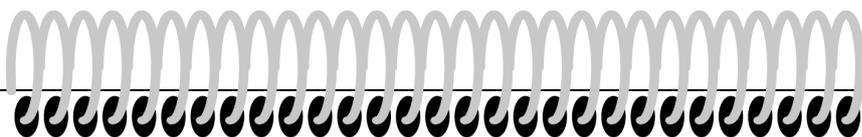
"Sincerely yours,  
John W. Limbert, AFSA President" □

**Personnel Matters • Continued from page 8**

functional work (e.g., resource management vs. policy);

- Demonstrated competence in assignments in positions in other than the primary functional cone;
- Demonstrated competence in advancing the achievement of the department's 12 strategic goals, including public outreach;
- Demonstrated competence in the conduct of transnational issues, as illustrated in eight of the department's 12 strategic goals, and/or defense-related issues;
- Demonstrated competence in working with multilateral organizations, Congress, NGOs, academia, interagency and/or the private sector, including through secondment/details/fellowships;
- Demonstrated competence in the management of people; and
- Active development of the skills of others.

The conduct of diplomacy has evolved in the past 10 years, and while the State Department still needs its officers to show a high level of proficiency in the five primary cones, it is also looking toward increased emphasis on the more diverse set of skills listed above. □



## MEMO OF THE MONTH: Just a Load of ...

**From:** Management  
**To:** All Mission Personnel, Embassy Kigali  
**Subject:** Residential Manure Deliveries

As has been done in previous years, the Embassy will assist all State and participating ICASS agencies in the annual requirement for manure in residential gardens.

USAID staff will continue to make these arrangements through their Executive Office.

Non-USAID personnel must send a standard work order to GSO requesting a half- or a full-load delivery. GSO will advise each requestor of the scheduled delivery date.

The breakdown of services is as follows:

Manure price	15,000	per dump truck load
Four GSO laborers	10,000	2,500 RwF each per trip*
Two GSO drivers	10,000	per trip

Total: RwF 35,000 for a full load

GSO will provide truck and fuel at no charge.

Customers pay RwF 15,000 in advance to the GSO workers for the manure supplier and another RwF 20,000 to the GSO workers and drivers upon delivery. For split loads, the customers must coordinate payment and the order of delivery to each residence.

Delivery will take approximately five hours per load. They can make two deliveries each on Saturdays and Sundays.

One load of manure is enough for large yards. One-half of a load should be enough for an average sized yard. Customers who need only half a load can equally split the total cost with someone else.

\* at about 564 RwF to the dollar, a load costs a little over \$60.

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