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J. KIRBY SIMON FOREIGN SERVICE TRUST

AN INVITATION TO PROPOSE PROJECTS FOR FUNDING BY THE J. KIRBY SIMON FOREIGN SERVICE TRUST IN 2005

The J. Kirby Simon Foreign Service Trust is a charitable fund established in the memory of Kirby Simon, a Foreign Service Officer who died in 1995 while serving in Taiwan. The Trust is committed to expanding the opportunities for community service and professional fulfillment of active Foreign Service Officers and Specialists and their families.

The principal activity of the Trust is to support projects that are initiated and carried out, not in an official capacity and not on official time, by Foreign Service personnel or members of their families, wherever located. The Trust, however, will also consider proposals from other U.S. Government employees or members of their families, regardless of nationality, who are located at American diplomatic posts abroad.

In 2004 the Trust made its eighth round of grant awards, 35 in all, ranging from \$500 to \$4500, for a total of \$78,520. These grants support the involvement of Foreign Service personnel in the projects briefly listed below (further described in a Trust announcement entitled *Grants Awarded in 2004* and available at www.kirbysimontrust.org). The grants defray a wide range of project expenses, including books, food, toys, furniture, computers, sanitary facilities, sports and kitchen equipment, medicines, medical instruments and testing, TV/DVD monitor, fitness equipment, job training machinery and staff costs, excursion costs, supplies for building renovation and for a security wall.

- **Educational Projects:** Bangladesh – school for street children; Belarus – school sports facilities; Caracas – public school for blind children; Ghana – small rural school; Guatemala – before-and-after-school library; Kosovo – multi-ethnic school; Kosovo – school for minority and displaced children; Mauritius – computer training center for poor youths; Mongolia – school for street children; Peru – village children’s library; South Africa – youth employment training school; Zambia – school for orphans.
- **Other Projects for Children:** Honduras – home for street children; Lithuania – cultural/recreational excursion for residents of a children’s home; Mexico – program to obtain birth certificates for poor rural children; Uruguay – child care center near a squatter’s village; Zimbabwe – income-generating program for AIDS orphans; and projects at orphanages in Colombia, El Salvador, Kyrgyzstan, South Africa and Turkey.
- **Health-related Projects:** Bolivia – program to obtain birth certificates for recovering substance abusers; Bosnia-Herzegovina – disease prevention for women; Guatemala – sexually-transmitted disease treatment for women; Madagascar – nutrition program for undernourished nursing mothers; Morocco – neonatal center; Zimbabwe – AIDS palliative care unit.

- **Facilities for the Homeless:** Armenia – refugee center; Democratic Republic of the Congo – group home for street children; Greece – refugee center.
- **Projects for Victims of Abuse:** Albania – handicraft program for trafficking victims; Lithuania – support center for trafficking victims.
- **Project for Animal Care:** Armenia – animal shelter.

The Trust now invites the submission of proposals for support in 2005. It is anticipated that most of the new grants will fall within the same funding range as the 2004 awards, and that projects assisted by the Trust will reflect a variety of interests and approaches, some of which are illustrated by the 2004 grants.

Grants provided by the Trust can be used to support several categories of project expenses; the third paragraph of this announcement provides examples. Grant funds from the Trust, however, cannot be used to pay salaries or other compensation to U.S. Government employees or their family members. Because of the limited resources available to the Trust, it is not in a position to support projects that have reasonable prospects of obtaining full funding from other sources. Nor does the Trust support projects that require more resources than the Trust and other funders can provide.

The Trustees wish to emphasize that the Trust will provide support for a project operated by a charitable or educational organization only where the Foreign Service-related applicant(s) play an active part in initiating and carrying out the project, apart from fundraising.

A proposal should include a description of the project, what it is intended to achieve, and the role to be played by the applicant(s); a preliminary plan for disseminating the results of the project; a budget; other available funding, if any; and a brief biography of the applicant(s). Proposals should be no longer than five double-spaced pages (exclusive of budget and biographical material). Applicants should follow the application format that is available at www.kirbysimontrust.org or that can be obtained by communicating with the Trust (see below).

Proposals for projects to be funded during calendar year 2005 must be received by the Trust no later than March 1, 2005.

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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Do You Know a Shin-Kicker?

BY JOHN LIMBERT

Last June, shortly after returning from my second TDY in Iraq, I presided over a very moving AFSA Awards Day ceremony where we honored four colleagues for their constructive dissent. It was a pleasure to present awards to Betsy Orlando (the Harris Award for specialists), Steven Weston (the Harriman Award for junior officers), Keith Mines (the Rivkin Award for mid-level officers), and Ron Schlicher (the Herter Award for senior officers). Each of these colleagues, in his or her own way, represented what is best in our Service: the readiness to stand up for what one believes is right, even if it involves career and personal costs.



What our dissenters do is not just a nice thing. It is vital for the health of the Foreign Service. We need them, even the obnoxious ones. They are our gadflies, our shin-kickers, who force us to look again at our beloved assumptions, to ask the awful question "why?" and to remind us that all human wisdom does not reside in the Foreign Affairs Manual, in guidance from Washington, or even in the Foreign Service Act. They remind us that the realities of our violent and unpredictable world rarely conform to the bureaucratic guidelines and compromises of competing bureaus and departments. Think of Vietnam

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

Since 1968 AFSA has recognized colleagues who show the integrity, initiative and intellectual courage to take a stand for what is right.

in 1975; Iran in 1979; Rwanda in 1994; and Iraq and Afghanistan in 2004. None of these places was orderly, and none of them conformed to any rulebook so far written.

Since 1968 AFSA has recognized colleagues who show the integrity, initiative and intellectual courage to take a stand for what is right. We are proud to present awards to those Foreign Service personnel who say "no," or ask "why?" and "why not?" AFSA is proud to present awards to those who, like Betsy Orlando, Craig Johnstone, Ed Peck, Sam Hart, David Long, Keith Mines and Tom Boyatt, have challenged conventional wisdom and taken a risky or unpopular stand.

For the sake of our Service and our profession, we must honor our dissenters. I urge all of you to recognize colleagues who have had the courage to speak out by nominating them for one of our AFSA awards for constructive dissent:

- The Tex Harris Award for a Foreign Service specialist;

- The Averell Harriman Award for a junior officer (FS-4 to FS-6);
- The William Rivkin Award for a mid-level officer (FS-1 to FS-3);
- The Christian A. Herter Award for a senior officer (FE/OC – FE/CA).

Recognizing dissenters is never easy. Doing so may mean swallowing our pride and admitting we were wrong — or could be wrong — about an issue. It may mean embracing an unpopular and contrary view on policy or operations, or it may mean identifying ourselves with an abrasive, difficult personality. None of the above will come easily in a Foreign Service that values collegiality and consensus.

Dissent is not only difficult; it can be ugly. In our close-knit Foreign Service community, which rewards discipline and loyalty, dissent can pit colleagues against each other. It can damage friendships and sometimes even family relationships. It can hurt careers and reputations.

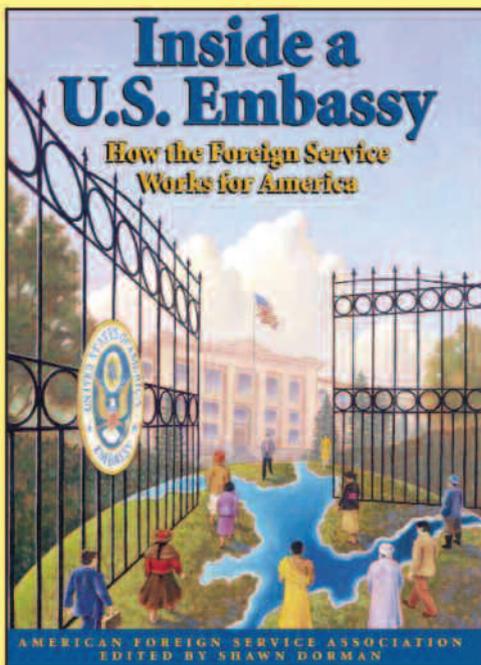
But the very difficulty of the process makes it all the more important. So I urge all of you: for the sake of our Service, go to www.afsa.org/awards, and take an hour to write a nomination for a colleague who has shown the courage to stand up for what he or she believes is right. Do not wait for that colleague's boss to write a nomination; he or she probably won't. And keep in mind that the person who deserves your nomination may well be working down the hall or in another section of a mission.

Our profession will be better for your efforts.

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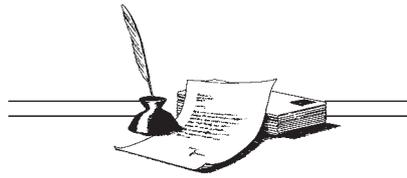
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LETTERS

Remembering Lyall Breckon

It was with great sadness that I read in the October *Foreign Service Journal* of the death this past June of Lyall Breckon. Without a doubt, he was one of the smartest and most talented FSOs I encountered in my career, and — more importantly — one of the finest people.

I worked for Lyall in the late 1980s when we both were on the U.S. conventional arms control delegation in Vienna. He was a brilliant writer, always able to find just the right phrase to explain concisely for Washington readers the current status of those complicated talks. He was also a gifted negotiator, working tirelessly to achieve cooperation among the 23 NATO and Warsaw Pact participating nations. This was not an easy task in the twilight of the Cold War, with Pact discipline breaking down.

By the time the Conventional Forces in Europe Negotiations began in March 1989, it had already taken almost two years for participants just to agree on the mandate for those talks. At the end, with a festive CFE launch by foreign ministers already scheduled, final agreement on the mandate was hung up over a disagreement between NATO members Greece and Turkey. Greece demanded that a particular port in southern Turkey (which had been used for the invasion of Cyprus) be within the CFE area of application; Turkey adamantly refused.

Lyall broke the stalemate by proposing that — rather than continuing to use specific town names to describe the line marking the area of application in Turkey, as the text did

up to that point — the disputed part of the line should simply be described “and thence to the sea.” This artful compromise by a master diplomat permitted each country its own interpretation. The mandate was signed and the new negotiations launched on time.

I could tell other such stories, as I’m sure other former colleagues could. But most of all, I will remember Lyall for his personal warmth and thoughtfulness, his modesty and his tremendous integrity.

*Janet Andres
FSO, retired
Longboat Key, Fla.*

International Visitors Enhance National Security

“The Brave New World of Visa Processing” (September) really struck a chord. Having recently made the transition to academia from the Foreign Service, I now appreciate even more the importance of having international students and researchers in the U.S.

During my long overseas service I consistently met two categories of individuals who were highly favorable toward our country: those who’d had close contact with Peace Corps Volunteers, and those who had studied in the U.S. These two groups have served as a natural, pro-American constituency in their own countries. Historically, we also attracted the very best scholars and researchers — many of whom ended up staying here and contributing tremendously in ensuring that our nation would remain the global leader in technology. I firmly believe that

both groups — those who studied and left, and those who stayed — have added considerably to our fundamental security.

Now, regrettably, the message many international students are getting is that the hassles of getting to and remaining in the U.S. (application fees, the visa process, arrival indignities, and Kafkaesque monitoring) are just not worth it, and that there are attractive alternatives. Meanwhile, Australia, Canada and the U.K. are all making major efforts to attract students who previously would have come to the U.S., and they are succeeding. In our own case at Texas Tech University, there has been a decline in most international categories, but an especially steep drop in Indian students (historically our largest group) as they opt more and more for Australia. Other categories have also declined, especially first-time students applying for visas. Higher education may be the United States’ fourth- or fifth-largest export product (something very few Americans even realize), yet we are voluntarily giving away market share to our global competitors — something we forcefully oppose for other U.S. “products.”

Of course, there is a need for vigilance in issuing visas and in monitoring international students — but from my experience on both sides of the visa window, I believe the current system represents such overkill that it may amount to a Maginot Line giving a false sense of security rather than a real defense against terrorism. (After all, how difficult would it be for a group of



terrorists with false identities simply to walk across the border somewhere between Brownsville, Texas and San Diego?) Meanwhile, we are attracting fewer and fewer of the world's "best and brightest" and, as a result, have smaller built-in pro-U.S. constituencies abroad as the influence of other global competitors grows. How unfortunate.

Tibor Nagy Jr.
FSO, retired
Lubbock, Texas

More Memories of Hume

Hume Horan and I were best personal and professional friends for 40 years. To the touching memorials in the September and October issues, I would like to add a vignette about Hume's parrot, Polynesia, who in her own way reflected Hume's unusual talents.

Poly, an African grey parrot, was the Horan family pet for 18 years, but Hume was Poly's first love. She rode on his shoulder, cooed in his ear and constantly called his name. Like Hume, Poly was extraordinary. Poly was much more than a mimic: she sang several lines of "The Star Spangled Banner;" carried on long phone conversations; conversed in French as well as English; and made comments appropriate to events going on around her. Poly was well known to Foreign Service folks who served with Hume in Africa and the Middle East.

Some years ago, when he could no longer care for her, Hume gave Poly to us. Like the Horan family, we enjoyed Poly's cheerful presence for a number of years. Two months after Hume's death of cancer, Poly, too, died of cancer. We picture her now perched on Hume's shoulder in the Great Beyond.

Robert P. Paganelli
FSO, retired
Fredonia, N.Y.

Good MOH Coverage

I received the October *Journal* today and, after seeing several letters reflecting on the MOH coverage in your June issue, I realized that I had neglected to commend you for unique and careful coverage of a very thorny issue. It's nice to see the issue "out of the closet," so to speak, although I see that one previous letter-writer felt it did not go far enough (that may be a fair observation, but I'm not in a position to comment).

I also think it was very timely of you to get articles for the October issue on perceptions of the U.S. election from various non-American correspondents, none of whose views surprised me in the least (although one or two of my FS pals would probably say the issue was slanted).

There is no question that the *FSJ* has gradually — maybe not too gradually, thank God! — moved forward in recent years. Unfortunately, our retired colleagues who are non-AFSA members do not benefit from that progress, and many resist believing that AFSA membership would be worthwhile just to receive the *Foreign Service Journal* each month. But we're working on it!

Gil Sheinbaum
FSO, retired
Vienna, Va.

Remembering Jack Sloan

When Jacob ("Jack") Sloan died on June 26, 2004, at the age of 86, a remarkable man left us to our potent memories of him.

I met Jack for the first time in India in 1966. He was in the cultural affairs section in Embassy New Delhi (part of his distinguished 21-year career at the U.S. Information Agency), while I was information officer in our Madras consulate. His intelligence and wit shone through from our very first meeting, and my wife and I had the pleasure of Jack and Ann's company

many times abroad and at home in the last four decades.

The "In Memory" notice of Jack's passing correctly referred to him as an accomplished editor of international publications who also wrote several volumes of poetry and a book about the Holocaust. I read many of Jack's works over the years, but one piece stands out most clearly as a testimony to the man, his ideals, his code of honor, his humanity.

It was an article he wrote for *Commentary* magazine in 1994. In the opening paragraph, he declared, "I have recently gotten into the habit of saying Kaddish, the Jewish memorial prayer, for Gentiles. This may be unusual, but I need no rationale to justify extending a traditional Jewish family rite to non-Jews. The persons for whom I say Kaddish were all members of my extended family-in-laws, so-to-speak, on my wife's side of whom I was fond."

Jack confesses, however, "Still, I am puzzled about this new-fangled practice of mine. For I still remember all too vividly a time in my life when saying Kaddish was a daily torment, a reminder of my hapless confusion and disorientation as an orphan boy in a world ruled by crabby old men passing their final gray years in ritual repetition of prayers they did not understand. And here am I now, myself an aged, too often angry man in a world with which I am not at ease, seizing every opportunity to recite the same Kaddish." He asks, "Is it because I secretly agree with the Midrashist that 'prayer is midway to atonement?'"

In the four pages of the article, as much poetry as they are prose, Jacob Sloan takes the reader through the upbringing and adulthood which spawned his love-hate relationship with the Jewish prayer. "And now," he writes, "I begin to wonder whether in looking for every opportunity to say

LETTERS



Kaddish I may not be defying the memory of the (admittedly self-inflicted) humiliation I assumed as a troubled child in an indifferent world of pathetic valetudinarians, that moribund world of rote and routine. Or perhaps it is that (as a stoical adult and not an angry child) I repeat the Kaddish time and again to confirm the hard truth: that 'God is high above all words of solace.'"

Jack concludes that, "Perhaps the first and simplest, the least rational and pretentious, is closest to the essence of my personality: I say Kaddish out of love of language, of the music of language, and of the language of faith." Jack's words, written 10 years ago, quoted a saying by Rabbi Nahman of Bratslav: "This entire world is a very narrow bridge. The thing is not to be afraid." Jack summed up in his closing sentence, "Saying Kaddish for those I loved will, I hope, help me to cross that narrow bridge without too much fear."

I treasured Jack's friendship, and feel in my heart that his final crossing was not only calm but fearless as well.

Eddie Deerfield

FSO, retired

Chairman Emeritus,

Foreign Service Retirees

Association of Florida

Palm Harbor, Fla.

Bring Back the Senior Seminar

Many thanks to the *Journal* for publishing "A Tribute to the Senior Seminar" by Bill Stedman in the July-August 2004 issue (Speaking Out). As someone who considers his year in the 11th Seminar (1968-1969) to be one of the most rewarding of my Foreign Service career, I second the commendation. Let me underline one particular dimension that was especially important for someone like me who had spent

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LETTERS



nearly 20 years working overseas or on foreign policy assignments: namely, the systematic re-introduction of Seminar participants to American society.

When I entered the 11th Seminar, I was only superficially aware of the social, economic and political upheaval underway at home. I interpreted State background papers and newspaper accounts in the context of my experiences during the Depression, World War II, the post-war boom and the Cold War. How surprised I was with the United States I encountered on Seminar visits to the Northeast, the Midwest, the new South, Texas and the Pacific Coast! Our meetings with political, business, labor, community and university leaders in Boston, New York,

Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Atlanta and Dallas introduced me to a country I didn't recognize at first. Night rides with the police in Chicago, Los Angeles and New York gave me insights into racial and social tensions that had been subordinated in my consciousness to my duties as a Foreign Service officer. We met amid the riots at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, the civil rights revolution fueled by the assassination of Bobby Kennedy and Martin Luther King, and the dissension spawn by the Vietnam War. In our posts overseas, these were issues that were somewhat academic: our immediate concerns related to foreign policy issues. As a result, I truly had no perspective on the historic crisis that was transforming the

country I sought to represent.

Every session of the Seminar gave us additional opportunities to understand not only the interrelation of domestic and international relations but also the impact of domestic interests on the conduct of foreign policy. My colleagues from all the other agencies of government made me aware of their differing insights in assessing domestic and foreign policy issues and led me to rethink many departmental policies and positions that I had previously accepted as not susceptible to challenge. Around the Seminar table, military members raised questions with their superiors about the strategy and tactics being employed in Vietnam. All of us probed senior government officials, academics and community leaders

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LETTERS



about the purpose and direction of domestic affairs, Cold War strategy and the role of government and the private sector.

The Senior Seminar was a mind-stretching experience for me and I believe every senior government official, whether in domestic or foreign affairs, needs to have such an interval in his or her career. I doubt that any other experience in government or academia provides a better opportunity. Our exposure to policy-makers, authorities and specialists went far beyond the usual university setting and was a learned lecture. The Senior Seminar had no restrictions on scope, content or questioning.

Ours is one of the most dynamic countries in the world, and it is ever-

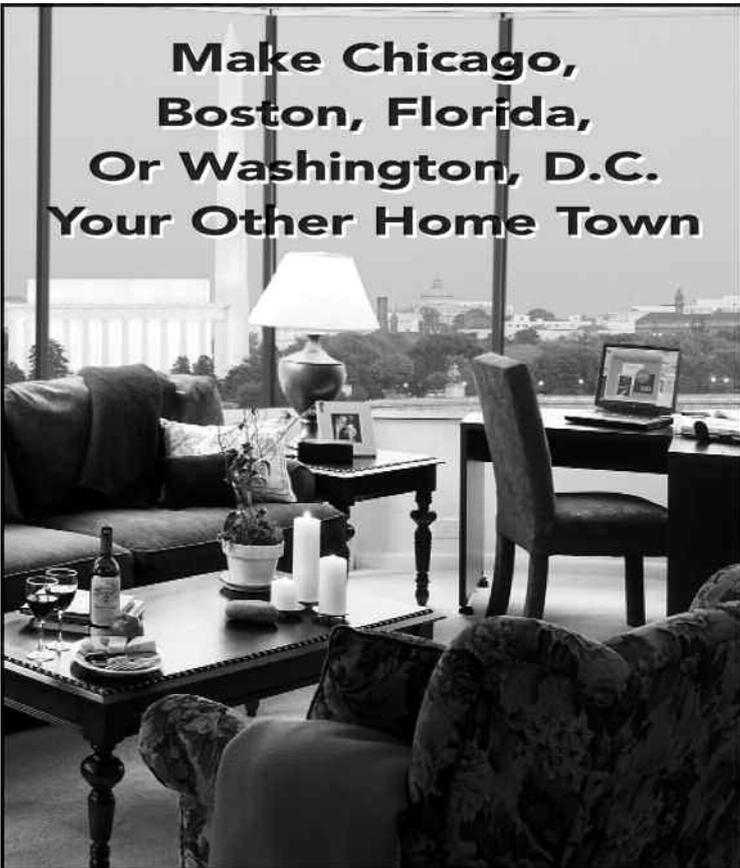
changing. To represent it appropriately and effectively in the international arena, we must understand our home turf as it is actually is, not as we believe it to be. The cancellation of the Seminar is therefore a serious loss for the Foreign Service. I am not aware of any similar program that allows Senior Foreign Service officers the opportunity to refresh themselves intellectually and become reacquainted with our country at a critical time in their career development.

I truly hope that the decision to discontinue the Senior Seminar will be reconsidered in the very near future.

Irving G. Tragen
FSO, retired
San Diego, Calif. ■

Correction

A line was inadvertently dropped from the article "Two Democracies, Shared Challenges," by Dini Djalal, in the October 2004 issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*. The first line on p. 32 should read: "A former student activist, Witoelar's concern is human rights advocacy: a sore point in U.S.-Indonesia relations."



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CYBERNOTES

RAND Surveys FS on Health and Foreign Policy

The RAND Center for Domestic and International Health (www.rand.org/health/healthsecurity) and the Nuffield Trust (www.nuffieldtrust.org.uk/index.html) are conducting a survey among Foreign Service officers to determine their views of the role that health issues play, or should play, as explicit components of U.S. foreign policy.

The survey, the results of which had not been released as of press time, is part of a broader effort to connect the scientific and diplomatic communities by conveying to the latter a sense of the importance and global nature of health issues.

The survey, the results of which had not been released as of press time, is part of a broader effort to connect the scientific and diplomatic communities by conveying to the latter a sense of the importance and global nature of health issues.

As this issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* underscores (see p. 20), health has become a central, albeit often overlooked, factor in U.S. foreign policy and security. This reflects a fundamental change in international relations — in an age of increasing interdependence, the line between domestic and foreign policies is increasingly blurred. Health crises may originate within one country's borders, but their effects are distinctly global.

The Global Threat of New and Reemerging Infectious Diseases (www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1602), a 2003 RAND report, is a comprehensive analysis of the security implications posed by infectious diseases, whether they occur naturally or as a result of terrorism. As the report notes: "Today, the United States and most of the world face little danger from direct military assault from an opposing state. This threat has been supplanted with con-

cerns about 'gray area' challenges that face the global community."

Among these "gray area" concerns are several global health crises, foremost among them the spread of infectious diseases and the pervasive threat of bioterrorism. The RAND Center for Domestic and International Health runs a variety of projects to address these problems. Along with the aforementioned survey and a series of studies, the center's programs include strengthening California's public health infrastructure, improving disease surveillance in the D.C. area, preparing for the psychological effects of a terrorist attack, and developing a research agenda for the Global Health Policy Research Network, an affiliation of experts in international public health.

The RAND Center has also participated in several trilateral conferences with health experts from Canada and the United Kingdom. In April 2003, representatives from each country met in Washington, D.C., to discuss how to bring health and security into the "foreign policy mainstream." Topics included: improving global health governance, developing a common research program to integrate health and foreign policy, and building multi-lateral partnerships for action.

— David Coddon, *Editorial Intern*

Medical Tourism: India Joins the Pack

Forget the Taj Mahal. "Bollywood?" Not a chance. For many, India's hospitals have become a prime tourist attraction; in New Delhi, hospitals are a hot new "outsourcing" money-spinner. Consulting firm McKinsey & Co.

We did not have anywhere near enough people in place with the right language skills or the right sensitivities to respond [to negative images of Americans shown on Arabic television].

— Edward P. Djerejian, asked by Colin Powell to investigate rising anti-Americanism in the Arab world, *www.nytimes.com*, Oct. 12.

says medical tourism could become a \$2-billion-a-year business in India alone by 2012.

With "Third World prices and First World care," India's hospitals are hard to resist. Nor is distance an obstacle. The *Washington Post* reported Oct. 21 that last year alone, 150,000 foreigners visited India for medical reasons. Among them was Howard Staab, who traveled 7,500 miles from his home in Durham, N.C., for a heart operation that would have cost \$200,000 at home. The total cost in India: \$10,000, including travel expenses.

Speaking of travel expenses, Indian hospitals are now offering complete packages — after your operation, you can relax in a luxury hotel and enjoy top-rate entertainment.

The Houston-trained chairman of India's Apollo Hospitals, Dr. Prathap C. Reddy, has offered to subcontract work from the British National Health Service, carrying out surgery — hip



CYBERNOTES

50 Years Ago...

On quick glance there would seem to be little connection between fine arts and foreign relations; yet there have been historical instances — often at a crucial time of adjustment following an upheaval such as war — when the two have been curiously intertwined.



— Car Charlik, in “Fine Arts of Foreign Policy,” *FSJ*, December 1954.

and knee replacements, coronary bypass operations, etc. — at a fraction of their cost in the U.K. This would dramatically reduce the long waiting lines as well as costs for the British National Health Service, and at the same time allow India to earn more than \$1 billion annually and create some 40 million new jobs.

India and, soon, the Philippines, are competing with already established Asian medical tourism sites like Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore. The medical tourism business — which combines health care services with a holiday in one attractive package — also counts Jordan, Israel, Lithuania, South Africa, Costa Rica and others among its active promoters. It is a new boom industry.

Actually, of course, medical tourism is thousands of years old, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation points out in an informative background feature (http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/healthcare/medical_tourism.html). In ancient Greece, pilgrims and patients came from all over to visit the home of the healing god, Asclepius, at Epidaurus. In Roman-era Britain, the waters at Bath were a destination for patients for

thousands of years. And beginning in the 18th century, wealthy Europeans traveled to spas from Germany to the Nile.

Today, relatively low-cost jet air travel and globalization have opened this business to a mass market.

— *David Coddon, Editorial Intern*

Click for Medical Information You Can Use

New discoveries in medicine occur every day. From new breakthroughs in heart disease and osteoporosis prevention to AIDS vaccine development and advancements in the search for a cure to cancer, the flurry of information on important health issues is sometimes difficult to keep up with. To match this flood of new knowledge is an equally substantial burst of new self-help medical Web sites.

While these Web sites should not be used as a substitute for consultation with a doctor or other health-care professional, they offer a good basis for investigating everything from basic family health concerns to the latest news on the cutting edge of medical technology. In addition to many of the Web sites highlighted in the May 2003 edition of *Cybernotes*, several sources

of information on health and medicine stand out.

The American Academy of Family Physicians provides basic information about everyday family medical concerns such as flu shots, asthma and hair loss at *Family Doctor* (www.familydoctor.org). Similarly, *Medicine-Net* (www.medicinenet.com) provides a valuable comprehensive guide for users to search for information not only about “Diseases and Conditions” but about “Symptoms and Signs” as well. *AllRefer Health* (www.health.allrefer.com) includes a section where readers can learn about what particular surgeries entail. It also offers a 4,000-term medical encyclopedia.

Of particular interest to senior citizens and those with questions about medications is *MedlinePlus* (www.medlineplus.gov), a service of the U.S. National Library of Medicine and National Institute of Health. Under “Drug Information” users can investigate the ingredients of and user guidelines for prescriptions and over-the-counter medications.

Med Help International (www.medhelp.org) is a nonprofit organization which began operating in 1994. The organization began providing a forum in 1997 for users to ask their specific questions of medical experts in a format which allowed others to learn from their concerns.

For a self-guided search of medical information, *HealthWeb* (www.healthweb.org) offers a good index of searchable topics that can help steer users to the Web sites of specialty organizations. *HealthWeb* is a collaborative project of more than 20 health

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Site of the Month: www.blonz.com

Health and nutrition needs have challenged our fitness and eating habits since the beginning of time. "Attention to health is life's greatest hindrance," grumbled Plato 2,400 years ago. However, in the Information Age all of that has the potential to change given a little knowledge about diets and exercise — and the right Internet link.

For health and nutrition questions, Dr. Ed Blonz serves as a useful traffic cop for directing visitors to government agencies, medical societies, research universities, food corporations and more. *The Blonz Guide* (www.blonz.com) offers hundreds of links to everything from nutrition hints and fitness tips to cooking guides and technical journals. Blonz, holder of a Ph.D. in nutrition from the University of California at Davis, is a syndicated nutrition columnist who offers health and nutrition advice.

The Blonz Guide provides links to government agencies such as the FDA, the CDC and the USDA as well as to top food science and nutrition research centers. It also offers useful links to industry representatives such as the American Egg Board and The Wine Institute, corporations such as Coca-Cola, Kellogg's and Frito Lay, and consumer resources like *Ask the Dietitian* and the Center for Science in the Public Interest's *Nutrition Action Healthletter*.

Perhaps the most valuable resource page on *The Blonz Guide* is the "Health and Medical Resources" section. Blonz provides links to groups with interests ranging from headache education and sun protection awareness to heart disease and diabetes.

The Blonz Guide also offers links to nutrition and health resources in the news, such as the CNN and *New York Times* health pages. Whether you are searching for the latest in cancer research or investigating the nutritional make-up of your favorite dinner, *The Blonz Guide* is the perfect first step toward making attention to your health life's simplest convenience, not its greatest hindrance.

— Kris Lofgren, Editorial Intern

science libraries, while *Trip Database Plus* (www.tripdatabase.com) is a straightforward search engine for scouring through articles on health and medicine. Another handy source for searching technical biomedical and life science articles is *PubMed Central* (www.pubmedcentral.nih.gov), managed by the U.S. National Library of Medicine.

For children's health issues, *Dr. Greene* (www.drgreene.com) offers a useful illustrated encyclopedia of hundreds of pediatric issues. Also of note is *eChildsHealth* (www.echildshealth.com), which focuses more generally on parenting issues but

highlights medical topics on the left column of the page.

The National Institute of Health produces a guide for determining the legitimacy and veracity of medical Web sites (<http://nccam.nci.nih.gov/health/webresources/index.htm>). Medical advice should be taken with caution, for as Mark Twain once cynically penned, "Be careful about reading health books. You may die of a misprint."

While all of these Web sites offer a wealth of medical knowledge, none can replace a face-to-face consultation with a health care professional. ■

— Kris Lofgren, Editorial Intern



SPEAKING OUT

The Lessons of Darfur

BY HARRY C. BLANEY III

The Darfur crisis continues on its grim course as these words are being written in early November, and likely will not be fully resolved by the time this appears in print. But some lessons for U.S. diplomacy and our future role in the world are already clear — and deeply troubling.

The six years of my Foreign Service career I spent as a policy planner inculcated in me the urgency for the State Department to get ahead of the headlines and push the international diplomatic community — as well as the U.S. bureaucracy — to react rapidly to situations like Darfur. So I commend Secretary of State Colin Powell, in particular, for his frequent and impassioned calls for action, including his midsummer visit to Sudan, and his insistence on calling the atrocity what it is: genocide.

But it quickly became apparent that President George W. Bush had no intention of using his “bully pulpit” to gain domestic support for intervening in Darfur if the international community failed to act — in sharp contrast to his approach to Iraq a year earlier. And that realization freed the Sudanese government to break every agreement it entered into and ignore every ultimatum the U.N. belatedly issued.

Let me be clear: The lion’s share of blame belongs to the regime in Khartoum for instigating this latest reign of terror against its own citizens, using the forces of the Jinjaweed (also known as the Janjaweed) to do their dirty work for them. But the

Sudanese government’s gamble that the world would not go beyond rhetoric has paid off handsomely.

Many of our allies have worked to thwart or at least delay any effective multilateral action, both at the United Nations and elsewhere. Their motives varied: some had commercial interests (e.g., Sudanese oil), while others asserted they could not intervene in another country’s internal affairs, no matter how badly it mistreated its own people. But the result was the same: a green light for the killings to proceed.

In particular, Russia, China and France — and, eventually, a majority of the U.N. Security Council — wasted no time in making clear that they would not support any effective sanctions against the Sudan government. (China went so far as to threaten a veto.) Sec. Powell had to labor mightily to get the Security Council to set a 90-day deadline for Khartoum to cease its support for the killers and to provide access to the region for the delivery of humanitarian assistance and African Union monitoring — but with no enforcement mechanism and next to no resources to implement the intervention.

When Khartoum ignored that demand, barely bothering to conceal its contempt, we then went to another 30-day ticking clock — all the while witnessing even more deliberate devastation of the Darfur people, with thousands dying by the week. Some progress finally seemed to be made this fall as more assistance was allowed to get in, but the aid

remained under Sudan’s control. In addition, the Khartoum government simply dressed the Jinjaweed in uniforms, assigning them duty as guards for the displaced persons camps — a classic case of letting the foxes guard the henhouse.

As I write in November, after yet another so-called deadline expired, reports of murder, rape, forced relocation and government carnage continue. Yet the international community, including the U.S., inexplicably continues to insist it needs the cooperation of the Khartoum government to intervene more aggressively.

Averting Our Eyes

Mindful of that background, one can make a case that even strong U.S. leadership might not have sufficed to energize the international community. But I would contend that the Bush administration’s failure to follow up decisively on Sec. Powell’s welcome declaration that the Darfur situation constitutes “genocide” doomed all efforts to intervene effectively from the start.

That is not to say the U.S. has done nothing to help; quite the contrary. Not only are we one of the very few governments to consistently advocate an end to the killings, but we have given concrete unilateral and multilateral assistance. As Sec. Powell testified to Congress in early September, U.S. government humanitarian assistance in response to the Darfur crisis in Sudan and Chad (where thousands of refugees have fled) already totaled \$211.3 million as of Sept. 2. This

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includes \$112.9 million in food assistance, \$50.2 million in non-food assistance, \$36.4 million for refugees in Chad, \$5 million for refugee programs in Darfur, and \$6.8 million for the African Union monitoring mission (which we initiated through base camp set-up and logistics support by a private U.S. contractor). An additional \$20.5 million in Fiscal Year 2004 funds is in the pipeline for initial support of this expanded mission. Yet all of this did not stop the killing and abuse.

It has been argued that the administration was legitimately concerned that direct action by the U.S. would unwind other interests — global, regional and (most of all) domestic. For example, State Department officials made it clear they did not want to lessen Sudan's cooperation on counterterrorism, unwind the tentative agreement between Khartoum and southern Sudanese rebels, stir up opposition within the Arab world, or upset our larger agenda at the U.N., particularly with the Russians and the Chinese. They argued that the Defense Department would oppose any additional troop commitments, even relatively small ones.

It is also true that Sudan is in a region of Africa that few Americans know about, and, it seems, fewer care very much about (even without factoring in "donor fatigue"). Nor did it help that the U.S. media — with a few honorable exceptions — have consistently played down the crisis and its humanitarian costs. Even at the height of the genocide, Darfur rarely made the headlines or the opening story on network news, and days often went by without any mention in mainstream media at all, even as thousands and thousands of women and children died. When the crisis was covered, especially on TV, it was presented episodically — almost like some unstoppable natural disaster — and with little real analysis.

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SPEAKING OUT



Instead, we were fed a pablum of reports about the Olympics, murder trials, the upcoming television season and so forth

Even in my own NGO community, which had the courage to send people into harm's way on the ground in Sudan, some have tended to wring their hands instead of demanding that Washington, and the world, act with force or effective sanctions. At a major conference about Darfur held at American University on Sept. 24, the despair of the NGO representatives was so deep that many speakers argued it was useless even to urge direct intervention by American troops. Their preferred alternative was action by the African Union, which has consistently said it would only act with the Sudanese government's approval. Reinforcing that message, Khartoum's ambassador in

Washington attended the conference and largely refused to acknowledge the government's own responsibility for the situation in his remarks to the conference. He also insisted that his government would never allow international peacekeepers to enter the country and protect civilians.

Eventually, Khartoum grudgingly agreed to allow some African Union observers and troops to enter Sudan, albeit with a limited mandate — but not nearly enough to be effective or even upset the government. As the *New York Times* reported on Oct. 26, the A.U. monitors are not permitted to intervene to protect civilians even as they are being killed or raped. Yet African Union leaders actually praised the Khartoum government for its cooperation during their mid-October meeting in Libya. Thus, the African Union mission appears more and

more a sham, and our support for it seems to be mostly a fig leaf in terms of stopping the killing.

In retrospect, it seems clear that our ongoing involvement in both Iraq and Afghanistan distracted Washington policy-makers from addressing yet another crisis. And the presidential and congressional elections made a decision to intervene with our own military forces even more inopportune and difficult. I was heartened that, in the first presidential debate on Sept. 30, Senator Kerry pushed a bit on the need for American support for intervention, if not clearly an on-the-ground role for American troops. But in response, Pres. Bush said America was already engaged, and ruled out any change in the U.S. script for dealing with Sudan.

And that "script" is the real problem. In the interest of pursuing the

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“war on terrorism,” the Bush administration has continued on a path of accommodation with a regime that can best be described as little more than thugs and killers. And it has done so knowing full well that only the application of force and effective sanctions, or at least a direct and unquestioned threat of it, along with a massive commitment of humanitarian resources, could prevent the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Darfur civilians, most women and children.

Lessons to be Learned

In a Sept. 20 editorial, the *Financial Times* observed: “The search for maximum consensus has clashed with the need to send a sufficiently robust message to Khartoum to make it crack down on government-linked militias.” The paper speculated that the United States was more focused on getting the crisis “contained” than on stopping the killings and punishing the perpetrators. Sadly, that interpretation seems borne out by the facts.

We are going through a period of debate about what role America should play in world affairs. Leaders and opinion-makers who have led us into Iraq for what they now call humanitarian and democracy-related reasons fall silent before the genocide in Sudan. Once again we stood aside at a critical juncture to prevent another genocide of horrendous dimensions. That was a real choice and says a lot about our nation and its leaders. It is a story that has been repeated from the days of the Holocaust to the killing fields of Cambodia and Uganda, to Bosnia, Kosovo, Rwanda and elsewhere — and now in Sudan. We keep repeating “never again,” but because we close our eyes, it comes back again and again, stronger than ever.

The ineffectiveness of U.S.

actions and policies were apparent even as late as the first week in November, when the Sudanese army and police surrounded several refugee camps in Darfur and denied access to humanitarian groups — making it clearer than ever that the African Union monitors are powerless to intervene. (The timing of the action — during the U.S. elections, which diverted American public attention — is surely no coincidence.) The U.S. and U.N. protested the action, but the security situation has deteriorated to the point that many relief organizations have had to withdraw their staff. And press reports of killings and other acts of barbarism taking place against black civilians and internally displaced people continue.

In short, even after two U.N. Security Council resolutions, threats of sanctions, an African Union summit in Libya, and American assistance to airlift a small group of A.U. troops, the Khartoum government still felt confident enough to send its troops into the Al-Jeer Sureaf camp housing 5,000 refugees and lay it to waste. The State Department spokesman could only say that the Bush administration “stands with the international community in holding the government of the Sudan responsible for the violations and requests immediate return of the camp residents.”

Not only did our diplomacy fail more than a million people in a far-off land. We failed in our contingency planning, our preventive and pre-crisis actions. We also failed to build an effective international structure that could act preventively. There is no reason we cannot give the United Nations the kind of in-house capacity and funding to intervene quickly with humanitarian support and blue helmets quickly in instances of genocide. There is also no substi-



tute for addressing crises early, doing high-level preventive diplomacy, and going all-out to support those efforts; both the U.S. and the European Union need to develop more effective methods of early crisis identification and monitoring. We also need to be prepared to form “coalitions of the willing,” perhaps working through NATO and other organizations, when the U.N. voting system blocks action — as we did in Kosovo. For their part, the media also need to make a greater commitment to covering conflicts like the one in Darfur and to do so early, prominently and in-depth, with some examination of their larger implications.

For American foreign policy and for America’s stature as the leader of the world, the implications of all this are staggering — yet they are not counted in any real way by either our

leaders or by much of our public.

Some observers have concluded that in the post-9/11 era, the American public is preoccupied with domestic terrorism. It is also supposedly disillusioned about conflicts that seem to have no end, particularly those (like Iraq) into which they feel they may have been improperly led. In the process, we seem to have grown inured to others’ suffering.

Yet a recent opinion poll conducted by the Chicago Council for Foreign Relations is instructive. While 76 percent of Americans oppose playing the role of “world policeman,” nearly the same proportion (75 percent) support the use of U.S. troops to stop a government from committing genocide against its own people, or in a purely humanitarian crisis (72 percent). Such findings at least suggest that the resistance to

foreign intervention so often cited as an excuse for looking the other way is a canard.

The next time there is a genocide — and each Darfur paves the way for the next — I hope and pray the next administration will not just say the right things, but follow up with action. Nothing less than the moral authority of the United States is at stake. ■

Harry Blaney, a retired FSO who served at the U.S. Missions to NATO and the European Community, and on the Policy Planning Staff and in the White House, among other assignments, is the president of the Coalition for American Leadership Abroad (COLEAD), an alliance of more than 50 nonprofit U.S. foreign affairs groups that includes the American Foreign Service Association. These views are his own.

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MEDICAL DIPLOMACY: EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

BY SUSAN MAITRA

Medical diplomacy is an idea whose time has come. Simply put, policy-makers have begun to realize that health is not just a domestic matter.

Broadly speaking, of course, medical diplomacy has been practiced for many years. The International Red Cross was founded in 1863 to provide relief to the wounded in war, and became a major force behind the development of international humanitarian law. The World Health Organization was established in 1948, and has since spearheaded many international initiatives. During the height of the Cold War, from 1956 through 1976, a remarkable and largely unknown collaboration took place between U.S. and Soviet virologists that provided the tools for the eventual eradication of smallpox and polio. Following the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1962, the Kennedy administration sent millions of dollars worth of medical supplies to Cuba as a means to negotiate prisoner releases.

In the post-Cold War world, "vaccine diplomacy," as Peter Hotez — a George Washington University professor and principal investigator of the Human Hookworm Vaccine Initiative — terms it, was an effective factor in the former republics of Yugoslavia: prior to the Dayton Accords, even after other channels had broken down, the health ministers of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia maintained a dialogue that cut across ethnic lines. And in sub-Saharan Africa during the 1990s, the U.N. and its partners succeeded in imposing ceasefires in war-torn areas — the "Days of Tranquility" — to carry out mass immunization of children for polio and other infectious diseases.

In 1997, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright commissioned the National Academies of Science to examine

the role of science, technology and health in U.S. foreign policy. Their conclusion that science, technology and health were indeed diplomatic imperatives was reaffirmed by Secretary of State Colin Powell four years later. Making health a key component of U.S. foreign policy is the top priority of the RAND Corporation's Center for Domestic and International Health Security, established in 2002. RAND researchers are currently completing a survey of Foreign Service members on the subject (see *Cybernotes*, p. 12), and have worked closely with the Nuffield Trust, a British think-tank, to bring international experts in health and foreign policy together.

While health has to some extent always been an issue in foreign policy, most believe it now requires prioritization, high-level conceptualization and coordination. No one doubts that medical diplomacy's potential is great. As John Wyn Owen, secretary of the Nuffield Trust and director of the U.K. Global Health Program, characterized it at a 2003 symposium: "If weapons were a currency of the Cold War, then health might be a currency of globalization and a bridge to peace."

A Broad New Horizon

This month's focus section, an introduction to this broad new horizon in foreign policy, was inspired by retired FSO John Harter. Harter's personal involvement with the subject is itself a pointer to medical diplomacy's many different facets. As AFSA Conference Affairs Officer in 1991, Harter organized a symposium sponsored by AFSA and the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association at the Department of State to explore the implications of globalization for the American pharmaceutical industry, which, it was apparent even then, would increasingly require the attention of American embassies. Then, in 1999, Harter's wife was diagnosed with a rare and dreadful disease,

Susan Maitra is the Journal's Senior Editor.

myelodysplasia, that ended her life a year later. Following her death, he embarked on a personal mission of medical diplomacy, establishing a memorial fund to help globalize pathbreaking research on the causes and cure for MDS.

Indeed, one of the most striking elements in the medical diplomacy equation is the existence of private philanthropy and powerful NGOs as a major force on the international health scene, with the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation only the largest and most prominent. The French organization, Médecins Sans Frontières/Doctors Without Borders, founded by a small group of French doctors in 1971, was the first NGO to both provide emergency medical assistance and publicly bear witness to the plight of the populations they served. Now MSF has affiliates in 18 countries, and is just one among many NGOs active around the world.

Public-private partnerships have become decisive in meeting the needs of developing countries in an environment of slashed government aid budgets. This is as true in the health field as anywhere else, where consortiums including governments, bodies such as the World Health Organization and the World Bank, NGOs, foundations and private corporations are active in everything from promoting hand-washing with soap in Central America to rolling back malaria around the world. The Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization, launched in 2000 to improve access to both existing and priority new vaccines in low-income countries, is a good example. GAVI partners include UNICEF, WHO, the World Bank, governments, foundations, vaccine manufacturers and public health and research institutions. Recently, the biotechnology industry joined forces with the Rockefeller Foundation and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation to create the nonprofit group BIO Ventures for Global Health to get new medical technologies to the world's poorest people.

At the same time, the expanding global commerce in health goods and services, the proliferation of multilateral and bilateral trade agreements, and the debate over how to balance the need to protect U.S. markets without endangering "global public goods" — encompassing such topics as drug pricing policies, intellectual property rights, expansion of the U.S. health insurance industry abroad, and the hot, new boom industry of "medical tourism" (see Cybernotes, p. 12), among others — are certain to command increasing attention.

The Theory and Practice of Medical Diplomacy

We do not pretend to a comprehensive presentation of medical diplomacy here. Our package begins with what for policy-makers is the key: the recognition that public health is a global security issue. The threat of bioterrorism, while especially alarming, is only one aspect of it. Diseases such as HIV/AIDS can devastate economies, thereby creating the kind of "failed states" that are breeding grounds for terrorism. Randy Cheek, a former FSI instructor and now a senior fellow and Africa analyst at the National Defense University, makes this case comprehensively in "Public Health as a Global Security Issue" (see p. 22).

In some respects, practice is already ahead of policy when it comes to medical diplomacy. Even the U.S. military has quietly extended its role beyond protecting the health of its personnel abroad to getting involved in rebuilding health systems. For example, the dialogue with American physicians to help revive modern medicine in post-Saddam Iraq was initiated by the U.S. Army Medical Brigade. Consultant and former medical society executive director Lousanne Lofgren tells the story in "Medicine As a Currency of Peace in Iraq" (see p. 30).

The Bush administration's five-year, \$15-billion emergency effort to fight AIDS abroad, launched in May 2003 as a priority program in 15 nations, was the largest single up-front emergency commitment in history for an international public health effort. But well before that initiative, USAID's health mission had expanded to programs addressing child and maternal health and combating infectious diseases, including HIV/AIDS. FSO Jeffrey Ashley gives us a first-hand look inside the agency's initiative in the high-risk HIV/AIDS corridor in Ethiopia & Djibouti in "An Excursion of Hope: Fighting HIV/AIDS" (see p. 37).

Finally, we present a case study in medical diplomacy from the 1950s, "Medical Diplomacy at Work in 1950s Nepal." The pioneering medical work of Dr. George Moore and his colleagues in Nepal, following the country's opening to outsiders after 100 years, was based on their ability to establish a relationship of trust with the Nepalese and attests to the value of medical diplomacy as a bridge between people from disparate cultures (see p. 41). ■

PUBLIC HEALTH AS A GLOBAL SECURITY ISSUE



Roy Scott

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THE OPTIMISTIC TALK OF AN END TO INFECTIOUS DISEASES HAS PROVED NAÏVE AND DANGEROUS. BUT THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY CAN RESPOND EFFECTIVELY TO THE CRISIS.

By RANDY CHEEK

one too soon, we are rediscovering the wisdom of our ancestors — public health is the basic tenet upon which all other forms of security rest. Without a healthy and prosperous citizenry, a state cannot grow its economy, improve the material and spiritual lives of its people, or adequately defend its borders and interests. Thus, a government that cannot secure the health of its people has failed its most fundamental responsibility, lacks legitimacy, and will ultimately find itself without popular support.

Infectious epidemics represent especially potent threats to public health and the stability of states. The high

mortality levels from such outbreaks shrink the work force, decimate the educated elites, and reduce the effectiveness of critical sectors (e.g., education, law enforcement, the military, and the civil service). This attrition of resources, both human and economic, in turn diminishes the ability of the state to provide for the fundamental needs of its people — food, housing, education and employment.

However, it is the indirect, long-term effects of epidemics that most seriously threaten state capacity and provide a breeding ground for instability and conflict. These effects include the evaporation of public confidence; the erosion of the cohesive family unit; the loss of accumulated knowledge and skills as tradesmen, laborers and farmers die early; and the emergence of a large orphan population that is undereducated, disaffected from society, and facing a vastly diminished life expectancy. All too often, the result is to turn what should be active cooperation into antagonistic confrontation as societies turn against their leaders, resulting in increasing incidents of civil and ethnic conflict. The resulting social upheavals can dwarf in magnitude the direct macroeconomic effects of population decimation.

These threats do not only affect remote Third World countries. In his book *The Health of Nations* (MIT Press, 2002), Andrew Price-Smith observes that: “[Such a] confluence of negative trends may compromise the ability of transitional states (e.g., Russia and South Africa) to consolidate democratic and effective systems of governance.”

Such lessons may seem obvious, and indeed, it is only recently that we have defined security so narrowly as to focus primarily on military power. Prior to the 1940s, security discussions routinely included economic capacity, population growth rates, education levels,

and public health. It was the emergence of the bipolar Cold War, with its threat of nuclear destruction, that narrowed the definition of security to military capability and projection of force. Lost in the discussion were human development and advancement — the very underpinnings of the social contract upon which the English philosopher Thomas Hobbes based his definition of government more than three centuries ago.

Now that the Cold War era is over, another development is forcing us to alter our perception of the issue, globalization: the pace and scope of interconnectivity between nations and peoples. Historically, health was viewed as a national public good, and efforts to address health problems were taken within sovereign states. However, this paradigm is useless, even dangerous, in an interconnected world in which capital, labor, production, and consumption move globally. Travel time between remote corners is measured in hours, not weeks, and information travels in fractions of a second, at a pace faster and a volume greater than we humans can process.

Consequently, the parochial concept of “national security” has become a quaint, dated legacy of our past. Security is a multi-dimensional, interconnected global fabric — made all too apparent to Americans by the tragedy of the 9/11 attacks. Since security must now be addressed globally, so must its basic foundations — including health. It is no longer enough to concern ourselves with national health, for threats to security in any region, however remote, can have serious implications for all regions. Global threats require global solutions, and the threat to public health is no exception to the rule.

Microbial Threats, Old and New

The list of infectious diseases threatening human survival changes over time, but never diminishes in number. Ancient scourges like malaria, cholera, typhus and plague (which ravaged parts of India as recently as 1994) persist, and global travel and environmental encroachment have released pathogens which provide new challenges to human survival. The migration of Lassa and Ebola hemorrhagic fevers from the Congo jungle to Europe and the United States is probably just a matter of time and opportunity. SARS traveled from remote China to Toronto in a matter of weeks in 2003, and while it has not taken as drastic a

Randy Cheek, a former FSI instructor, is a senior fellow and Africa analyst at the Institute for National Strategic Studies at the National Defense University. In addition to lecturing at the National War College and Industrial College of the Armed Forces at NDU, he teaches courses on health and security, and African security issues, at the Elliott School of International Studies at The George Washington University. Mr. Cheek has also published articles on HIV/AIDS and African issues in U.S. and African journals.

toll as originally feared, it is still a real threat in Asia.

Meanwhile, malaria is resurgent in areas where it had been eradicated for decades. Newly drug-resistant strains of tuberculosis and other diseases continue to confound modern science. The West Nile virus is now endemic in parts of North America, as is dengue fever. A newly mutated strain of influenza emerges every year, raising the specter of a return of the 1918 Spanish influenza virus that killed at least 20 million worldwide. (The recent news that much of the U.S. flu vaccine supply is contaminated and unusable has already led to calls for rationing, and harbors the potential to fuel genuine panic in the event of an epidemic.) Even such obscure pathogens as Mad Cow Disease (BSE) and avian influenza threaten our delicate food chain with disruption if not collapse. All of these diseases, once obscure and confined to remote, isolated corners of the world, are now either present in the United States or just a short plane ride away from our international airports.

But all these newly emerging microbial threats pale before the mother of all pandemics: HIV/AIDS. While malaria, cholera and tuberculosis all erode the ability of developing nations to provide for their people's needs, HIV represents a quantum leap in the nature of the threat, as it incorporates all the inherent dangers of an epidemic outbreak as well as those of a chronic attrition of populations.

Preying upon our most innate of drives — reproduction — HIV threatens to depopulate the globe the way the Black Death did Europe 650 years ago. Globally, 38 million people are infected with HIV, with 25 million living in sub-Saharan Africa. In 2003, nearly five million people were infected with HIV worldwide — three million in sub-Saharan Africa. This represents the highest yearly infection rate since the beginning of the HIV pandemic — sobering evidence that we have not yet begun to effectively control this plague. While sub-Saharan Africa remains the epicenter of HIV infection, with four southern African countries experiencing adult infection rates over 30 percent (Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland), evidence indicates that in the near future, the focus will

A government that cannot secure the health of its people has failed its most fundamental responsibility.

shift eastward toward the population behemoths of China and India, and northward into Eastern Europe and Russia. These regions are currently experiencing the highest increases in HIV infection rates globally, and represent the potential for startlingly large numbers of newly infected persons by 2010.

As dire as these statistics are, we have only begun to experience the turmoil and disruption associated with the HIV pandemic. With an incubation period of between seven and 10 years, we are well into the HIV infection phase of the pandemic, as current infection rates show. However, we have not yet begun to see these astronomical infection rates translate into deaths — a certainty in three to five years, as those infected in the late 1990s see their HIV infection evolve into AIDS. The Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) estimates that 68 million people will die globally from AIDS between 2000 and 2020. This represents a threefold increase in the rate of death from 1980-2000, the first 20 years of the pandemic. Failure to target rising infection rates with effective prevention programs will ensure that this rapid rise in mortality rates will increase past the UNAIDS target of 2020. The future of an unrestrained HIV pandemic is one of wildly escalating mortality and increasing social, political and economic instability.

HIV is an attrition epidemic (like malaria or TB) during its infection stage, when it lies within the body, building its numbers and weakening its victims. During this seven-to-nine-year period, victims suffer gradual weakening and diminished capacity to provide for family and contribute to society. In its final stages, when HIV evolves into AIDS, it manifests the attributes of an outbreak epidemic (like bubonic plague or influenza), imposing extreme and costly demands on the medical system and causing panic and social disruption.

This combination of outbreak and attrition effects makes HIV/AIDS unique among infectious diseases. As such, it constitutes an important case study of the implications of all infectious epidemics for global stability and security.

F O C U S

The Plague of the 21st Century

Vice President Al Gore, in a 2000 speech to the U.N. Security Council, clearly identified the link between HIV/AIDS and security: "For the nations of sub-Saharan Africa, AIDS is not just a humanitarian crisis. It is a security crisis — because it threatens not just individual citizens, but the very institutions that define and defend the character of a society." The plague of the 21st century, the HIV/AIDS pandemic has the potential to reverse the social, economic and political gains made during the past 300 years, not only in Africa but in many other parts of the world. As such, HIV/AIDS serves as a window to the impact of all global infectious diseases on fragile human networks.

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Economists suggest that HIV/AIDS will lower the growth rate of South Africa's GDP by 20 percent over the next decade. Other nations in the region will suffer equal, or greater, damage. Due primarily to a loss of skilled workers and increased costs due to training, many businesses and industries will fail or operate at a loss. Instead of growing and furthering their entry into the global economy, many HIV-afflicted states will struggle just to maintain their current status or fall further behind.

On a more personal scale, HIV is shaking the very concept of planning for the future for many in the developing world. Many southern African states have seen average life expectancies plummet from nearly 70 years to less than 40 in two decades. Callisto Madavo,

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The Irene T. Harter Memorial Fund makes it possible for outstanding physicians and scientists from Europe, Asia, and Africa to share in and help advance cutting-edge research at the University of Massachusetts aimed at improved treatment for victims of myelodysplastic syndromes (MDS).

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("Mickie" Harter, who was married to retired FSO John Harter for 45 years, died of MDS in 2002. She was well-known to colleagues in South Africa, Chile, Thailand, Geneva, and Washington from the 1950s into the 1980s.)

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a former vice president of the World Bank, provided a sobering testimonial on the disease's impact in Zimbabwe when he stated, "Further, if the worst projections come to pass, by about 2010 life expectancy will return virtually to where it stood the day I was born, in what was then Southern Rhodesia, half a century ago."

While the drop in life expectancy is dramatic in and of itself, these figures gain even more importance when their impact on decision-making and personal action is considered. Individuals and societies become more reluctant to commit to long-term education and training programs as life expectancies drop. Such investments in human capital, the people who make up a nation, not only demonstrate a faith and hope for the future, and pay dividends in the immediate gains of increased productivity, but also in the commitment to future progress and development. HIV makes such investment much more risky and less likely, further decreasing the ability of peoples and governments to

maximize their potential and improve their standard of living.

Perhaps the most malignant and corrosive impact of HIV is on the social fabric of a nation, tearing families and communities apart, and creating long-term problems that will long outlive the immediate results of HIV infections. The skyrocketing numbers of orphans resulting from HIV/AIDS deaths in sub-Saharan Africa is both a short and long-term burden for these fragile states. In the short term, governments must provide services for these children who have lost connections to family and community, often with resources that do not exist. In the long term, the situation is even more alarming, as millions of orphans are reaching adulthood without the benefit of social integration, lacking education or training, and without any concept of a future. J. Brian Atwood, former administrator of the United States Agency for International Development, summed up the potential catastrophe of AIDS orphans in a 1997 speech when he stated, "This outgrowth of the

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HIV/AIDS epidemic will create a lost generation — a sea of youth who are disadvantaged, vulnerable, undereducated and lacking both hope and opportunity. What we are seeing here are the seeds of crisis.” It is estimated that, by 2010, sub-Saharan Africa alone will have more than 10 million AIDS orphans.

**Undermining
National Stability**

As Atwood notes, HIV is much more than a social or developmental threat — it is a concrete threat to stability and security. Nelson Mandela, in a speech before the World Economic Forum in 1997, hinted of the potential for conflict and instability to emerge when a people realize that their government is unable to meet their needs when he noted that, “South Africans are beginning to understand the cost [of HIV/AIDS] ... observing with growing dismay its impact on the efforts of our new democracy to achieve the goals of reconstruction and development.”

In addition to eroding the link between people and their government, infectious epidemics have a more pernicious ability to pit people against each other within societies. As the resource base begins to shrink, competition among surviving groups for access to and control over the levers of power and influence increases. This competition often results in social and political fragmentation and ethnic, racial or socio-economic conflict. David Gordon of the United States National Intelligence Council, one of the first policy analysts to recognize the connection between health and security, noted in his ground-breaking 2000 “National Intelligence Estimate” the potential for intra-state conflict resulting from epidemic disease. Gordon noted that, “[t]he severe social and economic impact of infectious diseases ... and the infiltration of these diseases into ruling political and military elites and middle classes of developing countries are likely to intensify the struggle for political power to control scarce state resources.”

The global nature of the threat HIV/AIDS represents becomes immediately clear when we pause to remember how interconnected and mobile we all are.

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Richard Holbrooke, the former United States ambassador to the United Nations, warned members of the Security Council in 2000 that, “if it [HIV/AIDS] is not dealt with, it will clearly wreck the economies of Africa and the subcontinent. [AIDS] will spread; you can’t draw a wall around Africa and commit continental triage.”

Indeed, HIV is spreading daily — hourly — reaching epidemic levels of infection throughout the developing world. While currently concentrated primarily in sub-Saharan Africa, the disease is already emerging as a security threat in other countries, including some thought of as economically well-developed. Peter Piot, director of UNAIDS, has commented: “We have every reason to assume that the epidemic in Southeast Asia will soon be just as widespread as it is in Africa, and that East Africa’s experience — a slowdown of its economy — will be replicated in Eastern Europe and the developing countries of Asia and Latin America.” UNAIDS, the main advocate for global action on the epidemic, is tasked with preventing transmission of HIV, providing care and support, reducing the vulnerability of individuals and communities to HIV/AIDS, and alleviating the impact of the epidemic.

A recent study by the Center for Strategic and International Studies identified five nations as the “Next Wave,” ripe for an explosion of HIV infection rates rivaling those of sub-Saharan Africa: Nigeria and Ethiopia (together representing over a quarter of that already ravaged continent’s population), Russia, China and India. The last three nations, which collectively contain close to a third of the Earth’s population, are all nuclear-armed countries beset with ethnic and social strife and burdened by economic and political pressures that threaten to erupt into internal conflict. The addition of HIV/AIDS, with its demonstrated ability to disrupt society at all levels, will only increase the potential for regional conflict and instability.

The Will to Act

The world community, led in many respects by the United States and the United Nations, has made the beginnings of a response to this global health and secu-

rity crisis. UNAIDS, along with the World Health Organization and World Bank, have begun global programs to mitigate the impact of HIV/AIDS on affected societies. The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria — a wide-ranging independent effort to combat the three pervasive endemic diseases that sap the ability of developing nations to improve the lives of their people — has made outstanding progress in identifying programs to stem the spread of these diseases and treat those afflicted. The U.S. President's Emergency Program for AIDS Relief is another program designed to target critically affected nations and speed their response.

Such efforts can succeed. Smallpox has been eradicated (with the exception of those worrisome vials reserved for biological warfare research, hopefully well-secured) and poliomyelitis may be next, depending on the outcome of the current mass vaccination campaign centered in West Africa. Thailand and Brazil are recognized globally for addressing the HIV pandemic early and making remarkable progress in stemming the spread of the disease. In Africa, Uganda and Senegal are two examples of states that recognized the security implications of HIV at different stages — Senegal before the disease reached critical levels, and Uganda at the height of its epidemic — and marshaled national resources to protect their citizens and dramatically lower infection rates.

All of these nations, and the other examples of heroic response to the threat of infectious disease, represent the victory of political will translated into meaningful action. However, given the depth and breadth of the HIV pandemic, massive resource outlays are required merely to cope with the disease, let alone beat it back. U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan has estimated that it will take \$8 billion to \$10 billion per year over the next decade to adequately address the HIV pandemic in Africa. A combination of limited funds and donor fatigue may make it difficult to meet that target, especially when one considers the myriad other diseases that demand attention across the globe.

In addition, conceptual issues also undercut

***HIV is much more than
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and security.***

response programs. Key among these is the controversy over targeting of resources for prevention versus treatment programs. Given the limited funds available, a battle has emerged within the donor and recipient community pitting those who want to target aid for prevention, to stem the growth and spread of HIV and other diseases, versus those who prefer increased funding for treatment of those

already afflicted. Even among those insisting on a concentration on prevention, controversy over approaches has decreased the potential effectiveness of response programs.

The optimistic talk heard a generation ago predicting the imminent end of infectious diseases (much like the confident belief after our victory in the Cold War that we had reached the “end of history”) has proved naïve and dangerous. Such talk actually misrepresents the nature of our struggle to preserve human health and security. We are in combat with an adversary far older than we, and with a greater ability to evolve and adapt than we will ever possess. As Dennis Pirages commented in a 1996 report, “Microsecurity: Disease Organisms and Human Well-Being,” issued by the Woodrow Wilson Center's Environmental Change and Security Project: “Infectious diseases are potentially the largest threat to human security lurking in the post-Cold War world. ... Educating people to think about this struggle with microbes in an evolutionary way is the ultimate solution. ... [P]olicy-makers need to understand the potential seriousness of the problem and reallocate resources accordingly.”

Fortunately, there is reason for hope that policy-makers have indeed realized the importance of this struggle and are beginning to take action globally to combat the threat of infectious disease. Western governments have begun to direct their development programs toward increasing the capacity of developing nations to provide for the basic public health needs of their citizens. The Global Fund has seen dramatic increases in contributions from a variety of sources, including the European Union, the United States and the Gates Foundation. The Global Fund has also taken steps to diminish the gap between contributions

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and disbursements, increasing the pace of program starts. The U.S. contributed \$1 billion in 2004, while the E.U. has given approximately \$500 million. It is estimated that by 2006, total contributions to the Global Fund will exceed \$50 billion, and disbursements will top \$12 billion.

Additionally, as other initiatives, including the President's HIV/AIDS Emergency Program, begin to gather steam, coordination will be critical. There is evidence that this need for coordination is appreciated: E.U. member-states, along with the U.S. at many levels, have attempted to coordinate efforts through the rubric of the New Program for African Development (NEPAD), a pan-African organization attempting to ensure coherent and needs-based decision-making with respect to targeting

*Those who commit their
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for human security.*

of development aid. These resources are increasingly being committed without restrictions on their use in the recipient country, providing the flexibility necessary to adapt to changing demands and needs.

This commitment of global resources is the only answer to the challenge of infectious disease. The threat to human security is not restricted to individual nations or regions, so the response must be on a similar scale. And while policy-makers will decide the nature of the response, the actual implementation will lie in the hands of individuals who translate policy into action. Those who commit their lives to the betterment of the global family — including our diplomats and civil servants — are the front-line warriors in that battle. ■

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MEDICINE AS A CURRENCY OF PEACE IN IRAQ



Roy Scott

AMERICAN AND IRAQI PHYSICIANS HAVE OPENED A DIALOGUE TO HELP RETURN IRAQ TO THE MODERN MEDICAL AGE AND REBUILD THE NATION'S HEALTH CARE SYSTEM.

BY LOUSANNE LOFGREN

In late December 2003, Dr. Khodeir Abbas, the Iraqi minister of health, appeared on “The News Hour with Jim Lehrer.” Asked by Susan Dentzer what he intended to do in terms of reinvigorating the training and education of Iraqi physicians, nurses and others going forward, Dr. Abbas responded: “We are going to hold the first international conference in Iraq in mid-February in order to tell the international community that we are back, and we are standing on our feet...”

Indeed, optimism was high as more than 350 Iraqi medical specialists and 30 American and two British physicians

gathered on Feb. 14, 2004 — less than a year after U.S. troops landed in Iraq — for the first international medical conference in Iraq since Saddam Hussein became president in 1979. Iraqi doctors came from as far north as Kurdistan and as far south as Basra for the opportunity to update their knowledge, exchange ideas and chart their future at the Iraqi Medical Specialty Forum.

The forum was designed as an academic medical conference to help Iraqi physicians improve their health-care system to provide the best care for the people of their country. It was also intended to encourage Iraqi physicians to revitalize independent, nongovernmental medical specialty societies in their country and establish an overarching organization to represent their interests as a group. The interaction would help Iraqi doctors establish connections with their specialty counterparts in the West and jump-start a return of Iraq to the modern medical age.

The story of this unique initiative — its background, execution and follow-up — is a timely addition to the annals of medical diplomacy, and a reminder that medicine transcends national boundaries and is a valuable bridge to peace. Despite the ongoing violence and devastation, the medical profession is reaching out to colleagues in Iraq.

A Once-Modern Healthcare System

In the 1970s, Iraq's health-care system was considered the finest in the Middle East, with large hospitals and the latest equipment. The country's oil reserves were used for large projects that advanced the country, including sophisticated water treatment facilities and an extensive school and university system, as well as a strong military. But under Saddam Hussein's rule, from 1979 to 2003, neglect, mismanagement and corruption set in. If the Iran-Iraq War of 1980-1988 drained the country, the Persian Gulf War of 1991 and subsequent U.N.-imposed trade sanctions left the Iraqi economy and infrastructure in shambles. The U.N.'s "oil-for-food" program provided some aid for the Iraqi popula-

Louanne Lofgren, a certified association executive, is a free-lance consultant with more than 20 years of experience working with medical societies. Previously she was assistant executive director for health policy, practice and informatics for the American Society of Plastic Surgeons.

tion, but deterioration of the health-care system and water supplies greatly threatened the health and well-being of the Iraqi people.

In 1999 the International Committee of the Red Cross issued this bleak report: "Standards of care in hospitals and health centers have reached appalling levels, despite the doctors' dedication and high qualifications. Iraq's 130 hospitals, many of them built by foreign companies from the 1960s to the 1980s, have not received the necessary repairs or maintenance since the Gulf War, but above all since the imposition of sanctions. The buildings are in an advanced state of disrepair (cracked and leaking roofing, broken windows and doors, bulging floors), as are the hospital sewage works, the electricity and ventilation systems [and] the elevators. Expensive imported equipment, or even more basic items, are no longer being replaced."

The U.N. sanctions banned all trade with Iraq after its 1990 invasion of Kuwait. Further, the U.N. Security Council resolution did not grant an exemption for transmission of medical and scientific literature, effectively cutting Iraqi physicians off from the international medical community and creating an intellectual embargo. The U.S. enforced the embargo through licensing requirements for goods sent to Iraq, visa restrictions, postal regulations and a ban on travel by Americans to Iraq. The regime's own prohibitions on satellite and Internet communication, and travel restrictions imposed on Iraqi physicians who wanted to attend conferences outside of the country, compounded the problem. Those who spoke out against the regime were jailed, or worse. The future was grim, and many highly qualified Iraqis left their country or tried to do so.

When coalition forces reached Baghdad in April 2003, military medical officers and humanitarian organizations began to assess the civilian population's health-care needs, the state of facilities and the medical community. It was difficult, however, to identify the leaders among the physicians they met. While Iraq's medical education system, conducted in English and modeled after the six-year British curriculum, trains physicians in a range of specialties similar to the West, independent medical organizations did not function as the voice of the profession or specialty.

"Under Saddam Hussein, you had to be a member of the Ba'hist party to be elected, and when medical society elections were held you were told whom to elect,"

says orthopedic surgeon Tim Gibbons, M.D., an Iowa National Guard Reservist on active duty with the Medical Brigade in Iraq. "Intimidation by the ruling party was ever-present at all levels." Professional organizations had become pawns of Saddam Hussein's government. Medicine and resources were strictly controlled by the regime, which favored the party loyalists, and discussion of issues and sharing of knowledge did not exist.

The Medical Forum Initiative Is Born

As the "official" war ended last year, the idea for the "Iraqi Medical Specialty Forum" was born. The inspiration came from the U.S. military, the idea was endorsed by the Coalition Provisional Authority, and funding was secured. Dr. Shakir Al-Ainachi, a Baghdad orthopedic surgeon and president of the Iraqi Society of Physicians, stepped forth on the Iraqi side. The ISP's role under Dr. Shakir was to organize the Iraqi medical community into independent professional medical specialty societies. The ISP would co-host the forum in cooperation with the Iraqi Governing Council, the Coalition Provisional Authority, the Combined Joint Task Force 7 Medical Command and USAID. Announcements of the plans to hold an international medical forum were sent out by e-mail to medical societies in the U.S. and the U.K. (which had governed the country prior to its independence in 1932).

Col. Donald Gagliano, commander of the Medical Brigade in Iraq, assigned Major Gibbons as military liaison to Dr. Shakir, and Gibbons played a key role in managing the international component of the plan, fundraising, sponsorship, security and other logistical considerations. Dr. Michael Brennan, a retired military ophthalmologist then back in practice in North Carolina, was brought in to assist in connecting with doctors and encouraging participation in the conference. Brennan and Gibbons visited doctors in hospitals in Kurdistan, Mosul, Babylon, Al Hillah, and virtually every major hospital in Baghdad. Dr. Brennan later said that for the role he played, being independent of the government was an advantage: it was better that he did not belong to either the Army or the Coalition Provisional Authority.

Meanwhile, daily media reports on Iraq highlighted continued fighting, destroyed facilities, lack of essential services and general unrest — Baghdad seemed an unlikely venue for an international conference.

Moreover, a campaign by insurgents against Iraq's professional class — including doctors — had opened up. For security reasons the four-day event was shrouded in secrecy. At the last minute the forum was moved from Medical City, a teaching hospital affiliated with the University of Baghdad College of Medicine, to the more secure Baghdad Convention Center, located within the Green Zone (now known as the "International Zone" under the new Iraqi government).

An Optimistic Beginning

The American and British doctors, who took up the challenge of participating in the forum, flew into Jordan and then into Baghdad. Their expectations were heavily influenced by continuous media reports, but many were experienced in the advocacy role of U.S. medical societies, and all were willing to share their knowledge with their Iraqi counterparts. What they found was a country devastated by war but basking in newfound freedom. And, they were, by all accounts, overwhelmed by the resilience of their Iraqi colleagues.

A May 28 article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* reflects the collective observations of the 30 American physicians who participated in the Iraqi Medical Specialty Forum. It was authored by Drs. Bernard S. Alpert, Ira D. Sharlip, Thomas C. Cromwell and Assad A. Hassoun, four Bay-area physicians who participated in the Baghdad conference. The following is an excerpt:

"We found a nation of Rip Van Winkle-like physicians. Their governmentally-imposed developmental arrest prompted in them an exemplary resilience. Operations are performed competently by surgeons never having seen one, mimicking late-1970s Western texts. Masks are worn for weeks, and gloves are re-sterilized for successive use. Conditions in some hospitals are deplorable.

"Yet, with infrastructure decimation, educational repression, equipment and supply depletion and professional isolation, these proud and courageous healers care for the sick and injured of their nation with integrity, tenacity, hope and a smile. Our Iraqi colleagues displayed an optimism whose flame by now should have been extinguished from 25 years of energy-depleting assaults. One obstetrician declared: 'We are like a caged bird ... We now have been let out of the cage but don't know how to fly. We can either go back to the cage or get help learning how to fly.'"

F O C U S

The forum's agenda featured clinical presentations, panel discussions and organizational development sessions for Iraqi medical specialty societies, as well as keynote presentations by prominent Iraqi and international officials. Papers were presented by Iraqi doctors. International physicians gave clinical presentations on 16 specialty areas, ranging from anesthesia to emergency medicine to obstetrics, oncology, orthopedics, plastic surgery and psychiatry, and broader topics such as medical ethics, malpractice, and organizational governance.

The conference expenses were covered through a \$250,000 USAID-funded grant from Abt Associates, Inc., and included purchase and distribution of copies of the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, scholarships

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for registration and lodging costs for young physicians, displays for medical equipment, invitations for Iraqi and international guests, and printing and distribution of conference literature.

Both Drs. Brennan and Gibbons left Iraq before the forum convened, but Dr. Brennan returned to Iraq for the conference in February, and continues to volunteer his time on the project.

What Next?

The exchange in Iraq changed the American physicians who participated — their hearts and voices have a compelling passion now. They returned to their practices and sought out opportunities to share their experiences with colleagues, local civic organizations, and at regional and national medical meetings. These highly motivated physi-

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cians have inspired a range of initiatives and have petitioned their national medical specialty societies for funds to reach out to their Iraqi counterparts.

As a result, some U.S. medical organizations have developed scholarships for Iraqi physicians to attend educational meetings in the United States and programs for American doctors to go to Iraq. Some groups have extended honorary society memberships for a period of time, including Internet access to members-only online educational materials. Other societies have taken on projects such as collecting surgical instruments, textbooks and educational CDs, and soliciting equipment donations from medical suppliers. Still other organizations are making plans to hold conferences in more secure locations in the Middle

*E-mail messages from
Iraqi physicians tell of
bombings of their clinics
and cars, of fear of
kidnapping of
themselves and their
children for ransom.*

East region, and are developing databases of information on volunteer opportunities.

Some forum participants, such as Dr. Rick Wilkerson, have taken up the cause on a personal level. Wilkerson is collecting used external fixator devices from fellow orthopedic surgeons and shipping them from his Iowa practice to an Iraqi contact for distribution to trauma centers. C. James Holliman, M.D., an emergency physician from Penn State, is communicating with several Iraqi physicians who are interested in resi-

dency training in emergency medicine, a recognized specialty in the U.S. but not one that exists there. He hopes to work with them to start an emergency medicine training program in Iraq. In the meantime, plans are developing for interested Iraqi physicians to train in emergency

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medicine at other Middle Eastern medical centers.

For the Iraqi medical profession, the Medical Specialty Forum event marked the beginning of a process of rejuvenation. But more work needs to be done, and the obstacles to progress are many and grave. In the months since February, insurgent attacks in Iraq have increased, and civilian injuries and deaths have risen. Optimism is under siege among Iraqi doctors, as evidenced in e-mail messages from physicians telling of bombings of their clinics and cars, of fear of kidnapping of themselves and their children for ransom, and the frustration of learning, after a long day of difficult surgery, that their patient is a terrorist. The fear of being hit by an explosion on the road and being killed in the street as a traitor if you have anything to do with the Americans or the national guard is also very real. "The situation here is very difficult beyond any imagination," writes one surgeon, a feeling echoed in messages from other Iraqi physicians.

Though there is no official tally of professionals assassinated, Iraqi police put the number at "hundreds" in Baghdad alone. Physicians have been killed or threatened; some have closed their practices. "I was given one week," Abid Ali Mahdi, director of the Institute of Radiotherapy and Nuclear Medicine in Baghdad told the *New York Times* in February. "But I can't quit. If I step down, nobody would come and take my place."

Dr. Hamid Al-Mondhiry, a hematologist at Penn State, who participated in the Baghdad forum shares this concern. "The criminals are kidnapping doctors, scientists and business people for money," he says. "They want the most talented to leave Iraq." A native Iraqi, Dr. Al-Mondhiry left his home country more than 20 years ago and is most anxious to aid in the reconstruction of the health-care system there. "The escalating violence breaks my heart," he says.

Our Shared Profession Binds Us

Almost six months after their experience in Iraq, nearly all of the 30 American physicians who traveled to Baghdad for the Iraqi Medical Specialty Forum gathered once again — this time in the Washington, D.C., area. Their reunion took place on Sept. 25-26, but this time the meeting also included high-level officials from the Departments of State, Health & Human Services and Defense, along with representatives from Project

USAID's Health Mission in Iraq

Supporting essential health and education is one of USAID's four priority commitments in Iraq. The agency's goals include supporting a reformed Iraqi Ministry of Health, delivering essential health services, funding vaccines and high-protein biscuits for pregnant and nursing mothers and malnourished children, providing basic primary health care equipment and supplies, training and upgrading health staff, providing health education and information, and identifying the specific needs of the health sector and of vulnerable populations.

USAID works with Iraq's Ministry of Health, UNICEF and a variety of nongovernmental organizations and private-sector partners to meet these goals. These are some of the major accomplishments to date:

- Re-equipped more than half of the 600 primary health care centers in Iraq, each with approximately 60 items of basic medical equipment, office furniture, and laboratory equipment.
- Vaccinated over three million children under age 5 and 700,000 pregnant women in campaigns that included monthly immunization days.
- Provided supplementary doses of Vitamin A for more than 600,000 children under age 2 and 1.5 million lactating mothers.
- Provided iron folate supplements for over 1.6 million women of childbearing age.
- Screened more than 1.3 million children under age 5 for malnutrition.
- Distributed high-protein biscuits to more than 450,000 children and 200,000 pregnant and nursing mothers.
- Provided potable water for 400,000 persons each day in Basrah and 170,000 persons in Kirkuk and Mosul.
- Provided skills training for 2,500 primary health care providers and 700 physicians.
- Trained 2,000 health educators, teachers, religious leaders and youth to mobilize communities on hygiene, diarrhea, breastfeeding, nutrition and immunization issues.
- Provided vaccines and cold chain equipment to select health centers.
- Developed a national plan for the fortification of wheat flour with iron and folic acid.

— From the USAID Web site,

<http://www.usaid.gov/iraq/accomplishments/health.html>

F O C U S

Hope, the World Medical Association, the British Medical Association, the American Medical Association, the American College of Surgeons and various medical specialty societies.

The meeting participants shared updates on Iraq and assessed progress in bringing about the vision of organized medicine in Iraq and developing liaison relationships with specialty colleagues in this wartorn country. The new U.S. embassy in Baghdad and appointment of a health attaché will help facilitate contacts for medical outreach initiatives. Participants discussed “what works and what doesn’t,” with an emphasis on the importance of continuing the contact. There was a strong feeling among the physicians that they needed to let the Iraqi doctors know that they haven’t been forgotten.

Yank Coble, M.D., president-elect of the World Medical Association and past president of the American Medical Association, summed up the feelings of many: “The physicians in Iraq are making heroic efforts under

extraordinary circumstances. They are inspiring.”

Among future plans discussed are medical conferences at facilities being developed in Baghdad and in the Kurdish area in the north. Additionally, Project Hope is leading development of a children’s hospital in Iraq, which will be a significant, tangible sign of health-care progress. It will also be a venue for international medical volunteers to work directly with their Iraqi counterparts.

When asked whether the Iraqi Medical Specialty Forum is a good model for diplomacy that could be replicated in other countries, the response from Dr. Gibbons, a key forum organizer now back at his orthopedic surgery practice in Iowa, was unequivocal: “Absolutely.”

“Medicine is our bond,” says Bernard Alpert, M.D., a San Francisco plastic surgeon who traveled to Baghdad and participated in the forum. “Our shared profession binds us in a manner that transcends politics, religion and geography. Medicine is a currency of peace.” ■



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AN EXCURSION OF HOPE: FIGHTING HIV/AIDS



Roy Scott

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USAID'S HIGH-RISK CORRIDOR INITIATIVE PROGRAM OPERATES ALONG A 850-KILOMETER STRETCH OF HIGHWAY IN ETHIOPIA AND DJIBOUTI.

BY JEFFREY ASHLEY

The 850-kilometer stretch of road between Addis Ababa and the port of Djibouti, nestled among magnificent highlands and plains, is home to wonderful historical sites, especially the holy city of Harar and the ancient tree of Afar under which humanity was born. Camels saunter gracefully on either side of the dusty sweep of baked and seemingly endless graveled roads. This is a land filled with cultural richness, diversity and nuances and vast expanses of stunning vistas.

But the extensive sweep of corridor is also home to thousands of people who are affected by or already

infected with HIV/AIDS. The thousands of truckers and other transport workers who traverse the region, especially along the corridor, not only run the risk of becoming infected with HIV, but also of spreading it far beyond the two countries' borders.

Ethiopia already has a national prevalence rate of 6.6 percent in the adult population and an estimated 13.7 percent in the urban population. With such rates, it is likely that HIV/AIDS will continue to seriously damage and diminish the health, economy and development of the country. Although Djibouti's HIV epidemic appears to be less severe, with a prevalence rate estimated at 2.9 percent in the adult population, the majority of the truckers along the length of the corridor are Ethiopian. Hence, the potential for cross-border HIV transmission is substantial.

This past May, I traveled along this expanse of dust-swept road with 15 officials from the Ethiopia and Nairobi regional USAID missions and Save the Children's office in Addis Ababa. Our goal was to evaluate the work of the USAID-funded Save the Children/U.S. High-Risk Corridor Initiative program, a comprehensive HIV/AIDS-prevention, care and support activity providing assistance to thousands of people in Ethiopia and Djibouti.

For five days our delegation talked to resident citizens, officials and public health workers in both countries in order to learn about and see first-hand what types of HIV/AIDS projects are being implemented, identify areas for potential growth, and come up with recommendations for future directions.

Dr. Jeffrey Ashley is director of regional HIV/AIDS programs in East and Central Africa for USAID's Regional Economic Development Services Office in Nairobi. A public health scientist specializing in international health and epidemiology, he has been a USAID Foreign Service officer since 1995, serving in Tanzania, Cambodia and Angola. He has spent the majority of his professional career in wartorn areas of the world.

***The program's
25 HIV/AIDS
Information Centers
offer a truly
comprehensive, holistic
approach to the
epidemic.***

In the process of traveling the corridor, I could not help but absorb the austere beauty of the land, the profundity of its history, the splendor of its people, and the sheer devastation that the HIV/AIDS epidemic has inflicted in the region.

An Initiative Is Born

To address the cross-border epidemic in the region, the USAID mission in Ethiopia established the High-Risk Corridor Initiative program in 2001. Originally a three-year, \$3 million program, the HRCI now operates in 25 sites along the corridor (21 in Ethiopia, four in Djibouti) to publicize and implement HIV/AIDS prevention practices and thereby encourage the demand for them; increase the availability of services improving both availability and quality of care and support services for people living with the disease, as well as orphans and vulnerable children; and enhance the livelihood and security of people (particularly children) affected by HIV/AIDS.

Specifically, HRCI uses HIV/AIDS Information Centers to train peer educators; develop behavior change and communication materials that are sensitive to the local culture; conduct awareness-raising sessions with hotel and bar owners; improve access to, and the capacity of voluntary counseling and testing for HIV; provide access to screening and treatment for sexually transmitted infections; provide access to opportunistic infection treatment services; provide home-based care and psychosocial support to people living with AIDS; establish community-based child care centers; and provide material support to orphans and vulnerable children. As this list of services suggest, HRCI offers a truly comprehensive, holistic approach to the epidemic.

Since their establishment, the 25 HIV/AIDS information centers in Ethiopia and Djibouti, along with other prevention programs and services, are now providing approximately 100,000 at-risk youth, transport workers, sex workers, dock workers, orphans and vulnerable children with the necessary information and services to protect themselves against HIV/AIDS. In

***The potential for
cross-border HIV
transmission in Africa
and elsewhere is
substantial.***

Djibouti, for example, the centers operate in trucker rest stops, in residential and recruitment sites for dock workers and in the city center of Djiboutiville, where community counselors and several volunteers provide services. Further, HIV/AIDS education programs conducted and implemented by peers there are critical to prevention initiatives. The HRCI program has this year trained more than 90 dock workers, 60 truckers and 40 highly vulnerable women. Each of the trained peer educators reaches up to 15 or more of their peers each week, providing them with information on HIV/AIDS prevention and access to care and support.

Currently, there are 19 sites offering voluntary counseling and testing that have already tested approximately 10,000 people for HIV/AIDS and treated nearly 2,000 cases of sexually transmitted infections. Future plans are to consolidate programs, especially in Ethiopia, and to focus on expansion of services in 2005.

Last but certainly not least, HRCI's network of home-based care providers have provided support to 500 people living with HIV/AIDS and education support to over 600 orphans and vulnerable children.

Deep Into the Corridor

As in other countries in Africa, HIV too often is transmitted to vulnerable young girls and women whose low social status and poverty render them particularly susceptible to sexual exploitation. The truckers, transport workers and dock workers along the corridor who encounter them then run a higher risk of contracting the virus and transmitting it to their wives and sexual partners. It was this facet of the HIV/AIDS epidemic that we focused on during our trip.

My colleagues and I visited many diverse components of the HRCI program along the corridor. At the information centers in both Ethiopia and Djibouti, we spoke with numerous energetic, committed counselors and volunteers who are providing practical awareness and risk reduction information to their clients — both those who actually go to the

Information Centers and those in the wider community. I was repeatedly impressed by the staff's diligence and dedication to assisting people affected by or living with HIV/AIDS. One young woman counselor told me that her zeal was motivated in part by the fact that several members of her immediate family and friends had died of AIDS. She says working in

the field is her way of healing her sense of grief and loss, and "giving back" to those who are afflicted, to ameliorate their bleak prospects.

The HRCI program also provides counseling opportunities that create demand for prevention services; referral to voluntary counseling and testing centers; and outreach and peer support to people living with HIV/AIDS. Particularly noteworthy, the members of our delegation visited Dire Dawa, Ethiopia, where we met a group of about 25 home-based care providers who briefed us on their community activities. Armed with a basic care kit containing antiseptic solutions, gloves, gauze, plastic sheeting and other materials, these indefatigable individuals regularly visit private homes to provide care to hundreds of sick AIDS patients in the area.

The assistance these home-based care providers give is, in a word, extraordinary! Where outreach, treatment and care services are negligible or absent, these unfaltering caregivers fill a glaring void in the lives of sick or dying patients. Their skill and dedication are matched only by their compassion. Those I spoke to all shared a common vision and similar reasons for wanting to provide care for HIV/AIDS patients. Empathy for fellow Ethiopians and a deep desire to improve the quality of their lives provided the foundation for these providers' call to service.

What was for me the most profoundly moving experience of all during the trip was a visit to the HRCI community-based child-care center. In Dire Dawa, I visited a classroom of vibrant, joyful children, 4 to 6 years old, all of whom were either orphaned or essentially abandoned as a result of HIV. Prior to their enrollment in the center, the teachers working there told us, these children had been chronically malnourished, riddled with suppurating

skin infections and generally despondent and withdrawn. After enrolling in the USAID-sponsored program, these children are now receiving health care, basic childhood education and integrated learning and recreational activities. Children receive meals, uniforms, sanitation material and general health care from a nurse associated with the child care center.

Besides the dramatic improvement in their physical condition, I was struck by how happy and well-adjusted these children appeared to be, especially considering their dire straits and past mistreatment. We played with the kids, watched them interact with teachers and visitors alike, and commented to the teachers and one another on how healthy and happy they looked. After spending an hour with the children and teachers, I left feeling grateful to the HRCI program for providing these children with a chance to grow and learn in a safe, healthy environment.

Into the Setting Sun

The communities and towns we passed through along the high-risk corridor in heat-drenched Ethiopia are remarkably vibrant despite the obvious impact of HIV/AIDS. Both there and in the impoverished, garbage-strewn fetid shantytown of the port of Djibouti, where thousands of dock workers live, I saw first-hand that the HRCI program has an important impact on the health and livelihoods of thousands of vulnerable individuals, thanks in no small part to the teamwork between USAID's Regional Economic Development Services Office (REDSO) in Nairobi and the country missions in Addis Ababa and Djibouti. It takes exceptional teamwork to develop HIV/AIDS programs, especially those with cross-national and border complexities. With technical support and open communication between the three missions, the HRCI program can and will continue to thrive by providing critical HIV/AIDS interventions to highly vulnerable populations. USAID/Ethiopia has extended the HRCI up to the year 2008 for approximately \$4 million. USAID is also engaged in discussions on how to continue its investments along the Djibouti corridor in order to further expand

The importance of our work was evident in the healthy bodies and smiles of the children we encountered.

HIV/AIDS prevention, care and support initiatives and service delivery for the next several years.

The HRCI is a successful program targeting at-risk populations along this geographic transport corridor. The program has clearly demonstrated that it can deliver high-quality prevention, care and support services cross-nationally with unique and innovative inter-

vention strategies. USAID has similar projects in several other parts of Africa as well, and REDSO is supporting a northern transport corridor initiative in several countries in East and Central Africa. The Ethiopia-Djibouti transport corridor program, which began as an HIV prevention-only initiative, later demonstrated that prevention programs also required care and support components in order to be successful. As this program has evolved, so, too, have its scope and impact.

Our delegation's trip along the corridor drew to a close on a quiet, balmy evening as we finished our meetings and final consultations with the program's implementing organizations in the Djiboutian capitol. After watching the fiery sun set into the Red Sea, we spent the evening gazing out over the Gulf of Aden as we shared our cumulative impressions and feelings of the past several days. The importance and critical impact of our work is certainly evident in the healthy bodies and smiles of the children we saw; in the truckers' decisions to protect themselves against HIV/AIDS; in the enthusiastic, committed dock workers trained as peer educators in Djibouti; and in the people living with AIDS who receive the human touch, care and assistance from home-based care providers.

It is rewarding and uplifting to see USAID programs touching and favorably influencing the lives of so many vulnerable or potentially vulnerable individuals suffering from the desolation of AIDS. This is the joy of the work at USAID — to know that programs are affecting, inspiring, and improving the health and livelihoods of the beautiful Ethiopian and Djiboutian people. What a marvelous excursion of hope to mitigate the effects of HIV/AIDS on the people of this most historic and ancient land. ■

MEDICAL DIPLOMACY AT WORK IN 1950s NEPAL



Roy Scott

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HOW AN AMERICAN M.D. AND HIS TEAM BROUGHT
MODERN MEDICINE TO A REMOTE AND MYSTERIOUS LAND
FROM WHICH OUTSIDERS HAD BEEN BARRED FOR 100 YEARS.

BY *GEORGE MOORE, M.D., M.P.H., AND BERWYN MOORE*

When the World War II-vintage DC-3, piloted by a bearded Sikh, landed on a dirt airstrip atop a cliff near Kathmandu in October 1952, I began a medical mission as profoundly challenging as it was important. Nepal's existence as a closed, private domain of the maharajas had come to an end just two years earlier, and for the first time in over 100 years outsiders were being allowed in. When the new king asked the United Nations for assistance in developing a democracy, the United States responded affirmatively. The U.S. Public Health Service assigned me, with eight other American team members, to live and work in this remote, mysterious country. There was no

American embassy or consulate, nor a predecessor from whom to seek advice. My team and our families were a handful of people in a country without telephones or paved roads, without a place to live, and with limited knowledge of the language and culture.

As leader of the public health team, my assignment was to assess health problems and to implement programs to solve them. The challenge was to do this among a people whose exposure to the rest of the world for the last century was nonexistent. Supported by the resourcefulness of our team and the help of a cadre of pensioned, British-trained Gurkhas, we established a relationship of trust with the Nepalese that allowed us to bring modern medicine into their lives and to introduce treatments for diseases such as malaria, typhus and smallpox.

Our experience in Nepal exemplifies the value of medical diplomacy as a bridge between people from wildly disparate cultures.

An Unexpected Request

A career in medical diplomacy was not in my mind when I graduated from Temple University Medical School in 1948 and began my residency in dermatology. During the Korean War I became a commissioned officer in the United States Public Health Service. Then, a year into my first assignment, I received a call from USPHS headquarters asking me to head up a special mission to Nepal. Within days, I found myself in the hands of the Department of State and the Public Health Service in Washington. There, a new desk had been set up for Nepalese affairs but, unfortunately, the young man in charge knew little about the country.

Ironically, a little book titled *In Search of the Spiny Babbler: An Adventure in Nepal*, just published in 1952, turned out to be my best source of background information. In it, ornithologist Dillon Ripley recounts his travels

Dr. George Moore served in Nepal from 1952 to 1954 as a commissioned officer of the U.S. Public Health Service. Since retirement in 1971, he has taught courses in the epidemiology of chronic diseases, and conducted research studies and developed programs in international and community health at the University of Virginia Medical School and the Medical College of Virginia. His daughter Berwyn, born in India in 1953, is a writer of nonfiction and poetry, and an associate professor of English at Gannon University in Erie, Pa.

in Nepal searching for a rare bird, relating Nepal's history in the process. I learned that, after Jang Bahadur Rana deposed the king in the Kot Massacre of 1846, Nepal became a closed country under the tyrannical, hereditary rule of the Rana maharajas. There were no roads into the kingdom, only a few trails heavily guarded by soldiers. The Ranas forbade newspapers, radios, schools and public gatherings. They lived lavishly while the population remained impoverished and ignorant. Finally, in 1950, the maharaja was deposed and King Tribhuvan, a descendant of the murdered royal family, was restored as the ruler of Nepal. Tribhuvan led Nepal to democracy and recognition as a sovereign nation by the U.N.

My research into the medical problems I would find in Nepal suggested that all three types of malaria as well as typhus, smallpox and parasitic infestations were prevalent. Accordingly, I drew up hurried lists of the needed specialists and itemized the supplies required to build a medical laboratory. The lists were approved, and my wife Connie, a registered nurse, our 4-year-old daughter and I arrived in Kathmandu in mid-October 1952, joining the agricultural technicians, including entomologist Dr. George Brooks, who had arrived a few days earlier. We found ourselves in makeshift quarters that lacked electricity and running water. We were without diplomatic support; but at the same time, unfettered by protocol, we could interact informally with King Tribhuvan.

When I requested a liaison, the king responded by appointing a minister of health on the spot. The new minister was one of only nine physicians in Kathmandu. In the past, these men had served only the royal and military families, leaving nine million Nepalese to live and die without modern medical care. Medical data, nurses and health care workers were nonexistent. A tour of the community hospital, built some 20 years earlier by a maharajah, revealed vacant rooms littered with trash and occupied by pigeons. The situation seemed hopeless, but I resolved to persevere as I waited for staff and supplies to arrive from the States.

Soon, a shortwave radio message from Washington informed me that our mission was in danger and, due to a sudden change in the political situation, the promised personnel and supplies would not arrive. There had been no disturbances in our area, however, and our Nepalese friends also gave us no cause for alarm. I decided to ignore the message, and traveled to Calcutta, where I managed to assemble some laboratory equipment and

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supplies for a primitive but functional diagnostic laboratory that included a kerosene-operated incubator and refrigerator. I hired a secretary, a young Nepalese man who was the proud owner of an ancient typewriter, and set out to identify the health problems and prepare a five-year plan for the king to improve the health of his people.

Targetting Malaria in the Terai

One day, as if by a miracle, a young Gurkha officer, Shiva Bahadur Rai, appeared. Home on leave from what was then Britain's Federation of Malaya, Shiva was interested in our program. He had survived eight weeks in enemy territory after escaping from a POW camp in Italy during World War II. His story



Shiva Bahadur Rai was a Gurkha officer from the Himalayan foothills who served in the British army.

inspired me, and he accepted my invitation to join us as my administrative officer. While he had no formal medical training, his knowledge of the land, its people and customs proved invaluable. Also, as a Gurkha, he was respected by both the Nepalese and my staff.

Shiva organized safaris to venture to remote villages where I could begin to assess the people's needs. We found trustworthy porters to carry our equipment over miles of trails and retired but able-bodied Gurkha soldiers to assist us with operations. These initial safaris provided sufficient information to assemble a five-year health plan and present it to the king's council for approval. There was still no word from Washington, but the new king approved the plan and a first-year budget of

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\$60,000. Our objectives were: to identify the diseases and health of the people and to start an insect-borne disease control program. We were ready to begin.

Our first priority was to exterminate the vast and deadly population of malarial mosquitoes in the subtropical lowlands known as the Terai. We hauled barrels of DDT, the pesticide of choice at that time, and hundreds of compression sprayers from the Calcutta docks to our outpost in Kathmandu. We would venture — mostly on foot, sometimes by elephant — to villages throughout the jungles, the hills and the mountains of Nepal to destroy mosquitoes. We knew that a female mosquito sucked blood from a person with malaria at night, and then rested on the ceiling and walls of the dwelling to digest the blood: by spraying DDT on the inside ceilings and walls of all village houses at the same time, we would kill the infected mosquitoes and halt the transmission of malaria. I also planned to conduct physical examinations of the people and administer vaccines and any necessary treatments. I still wondered, though, how the people would react to a strange doctor spraying their homes with a poison, examining their bodies, and injecting them with painful needles.

My strategy was to visit the home of the village leader or cleric with Shiva the night before our teams arrived. Shiva would explain the nature of our mission in such a way that it was accepted and sanctioned enthusiastically. We then sprayed the leader's home with DDT. The next morning the family swept out dead mosquitoes, bedbugs and cockroaches with such joy that the other villagers were eager to do the same. Our teams exterminated pests in every home in the village. We used this strategy in every village we visited, calculating that malarial transmission would decrease by 70 percent in the first year.

Wherever possible, we arranged to use a Buddhist or Hindu temple as a clinic. The temple usually had no furniture, so we used a wooden box as an examining table and placed drugs and instruments on a sheet on the ground. Sterilization was limited to iodine and Zephiran solution. We gave injections in an adjoining room under a huge brass prayer wheel, which afforded at least some privacy. The villagers' first experience with modern medicine thus took place in the safety and familiarity of their temples. Whether they attributed their improved health to us or their gods was irrelevant in the short term. As our programs resulted in visible benefits, the Nepalese would be increasingly open, we knew, to implementing

long-lasting changes in health and medical practices and education.

Sitala, the Goddess of Smallpox

Blending our medical initiatives with Nepalese customs was especially crucial in our strategy for conducting smallpox immunizations. Of the many health problems in Nepal, smallpox epidemics were the most deadly. In some villages, smallpox had killed half the non-immune children and left the other half pockmarked. During an epidemic, the people worshipped a goddess named Sitala, translated literally as "she who makes cool." Sitala was typically pictured sitting on a lotus leaf, clad in red, with nimba leaves in her four hands. People made offerings to Sitala daily, and the dangerously ill were placed directly in front of her image for healing.

Bringing smallpox immunization to Nepal was not a simple task, on two counts. For one, the vaccine used in the States was a freeze-dried, lyophilized product that required refrigeration to maintain potency. The vaccine would arrive by air pouch, but we had no way to refrigerate it during the months it would take getting it to the villages. For another, even if we could manage to keep the vaccine potent, how would we convince the Nepalese to accept it?

I conferred with Shiva and my staff and we concluded that we might be able to work something out if we had a viable vaccine to start with. I ordered a box of vaccine from Washington, D.C., immediately. We met the plane at the Kathmandu airstrip and carried it to our kerosene-operated refrigerator. The next day, I inoculated some of our staff and was relieved to find out that some of the ampules were still good. I was then able to keep the vaccine virus alive by inoculating staff one after another using the pustules produced.

I conferred with Hindu and Buddhist priests about using Sitala, the goddess of smallpox, in our campaign to induce people to be vaccinated. They readily agreed, and we quickly produced large campaign posters showing Sitala in full regalia with her four hands holding syringes and other medical items. The inscriptions in Nepali exhorted the people to be immunized for her sake. Runners delivered the posters to the village priests and lamas who plastered them on their homes and temples for all to see. Most of the people were illiterate, but the religious leaders (always the first to be vaccinated) read the message to them and announced the arrival of the

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team. Villagers greeted us festively.

Because the vaccine would remain viable only by passing it from person to person through their sites of inoculation, or pustules, we recruited boys willing to be inoculated and become part of our team. A villager would pass through the line and bare his arm for a staff member to sterilize a spot. Another worker would take a ball of clean, white string and hold a length between his hands, touch the middle of the string to the pustule of the boy and then apply that piece of string to the villager's arm. A third worker would then prick the spot where the string touched to allow the inocula to penetrate the skin. We could successfully immunize several hundred people in a few hours, and we continued using this strategy in village after village. Our 1952-1953 effort was a significant start to the control of smallpox in Nepal.

Learning Experiences in Sherpaland

If in the southern lowlands of the Terai we faced dangers from heat, unclean water, bandits, leopards, tigers

and poisonous snakes, our treks into the hills presented other challenges. There, monsoon rains make for slippery crags and leech infestations. The latter, segmented worms about two inches long, could penetrate the eyelets of our shoes by lengthening their body to squeeze through. The Gurkhas used their kukri — the trademark 18-inch knife with a curved blade — to flick them off before we even noticed them. They also used the kukri to clear trails through dense bamboo and brush as we climbed the Himalayas to Sherpaland, villages at altitudes over 16,000 feet near the Tibetan border.

The Sherpa villagers had never seen Westerners, we were told, and had been visited by someone from Kathmandu only twice before, when the maharaja's soldiers appropriated women for his harem and again when zamindars, or landlords, attempted to collect taxes. As we neared the village, our coolies became increasingly apprehensive. Dogs began barking. We entered the village and a man appeared from behind a house, then another, until several men, all armed, confronted us.

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What a strange spectacle we must have been to them. I was too fair, and Brooks, an African-American, was too dark; and we were dressed as though from another world. We instructed our interpreter to utter a greeting. The men continued to grip their weapons, however, and their stony faces remained unchanged. Finally, a man spoke, and our interpreter turned to us and cried, "They speak Tibetan and do not understand me!" We encouraged the interpreter to keep trying and to gesture with his hands. As he did, one of the men in the back smiled and jabbered to his companions. Apparently, he had been to Kathmandu and knew enough Nepali to understand the gist of the interpreter's words. Soon, the men relaxed and smiled. Our interpreter went on to extol our goodwill mission with promises of medical cures.

Soon, women and children poured out of their houses laughing and shrieking their acceptance of us as guests. The Sherpas led us to the esteemed lama who begged us to join him for tea, a hot concoction made from rancid butter, barley flour and concentrated tannic acid. We

sipped it politely. The lama accorded us every hospitality during our stay. We found perfect workers for our team in the young women who had once been part of the maharaja's harem but were returned to their villages when he was deposed in 1950: they spoke Nepali and were eager to help us. The lama also offered us the Buddhist temple to use as a clinic.

The translation process, while effective, was cumbersome; the Tibetan dialect had to be translated to Nepali and then to English. We kept instructions as simple as possible, but occasionally the patients provided cause for worry. I would look up and see treated patients swapping pills. The colors of the tablets fascinated them and often one patient had a preference for the other's remedy. Sometimes, several patients in a row had similar symptoms as they overheard an earlier person's complaints. Every village, every patient provided a new learning experience that showed us how to be more judicious in assessing their conditions. We became more attuned to their needs with each succeeding visit.

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A problem not so easily solved came at the end of our visit to particular villages where the Sherpa girls wanted to become our wives. Polygamy is practiced in Sherpaland, and when the girls learned that both Brooks and I had only one wife apiece, they rallied the entire village to support their efforts to marry us. We fumbled about for diplomatic regulations, but this was a situation Washington had definitely not prepared us for. Finally, Shiva struck the right note — our prestige and high standing in America forbade us even to consider marrying girls from the small villages. The girls withdrew, quite satisfied that there was no chance for them.

Friendship as a Cure

The health programs we implemented in Nepal in the 1950s were successful, measured not only by the positive results we witnessed while there, but by their continuation in the form of new initiatives that followed. By 1977, for example, when Nepal had acquired roads and electricity, malaria was eradicated.

The intensive anti-malarial programs that the U.S. and the World Health Organization supported throughout the 1960s allowed Nepal's Terai area to be repopulated and to become the bread basket for the country, eventually exporting 15 percent of its grain crops to India. (Sadly, like most other parts of the developing world, Nepal has seen the return of malaria in recent years due to drug resistances and persistent poverty.)

Medical school had trained me as a physician, but did not prepare me for the challenges of treating people with a sharply different culture, belief system, education and worldview. It was direct experiences with the Nepalese that taught me medical diplomacy. Instead of disregarding their culture, which would have had disastrous results, I respected it and integrated it into my medical practice. They accepted what I did because they trusted me, and they trusted me because I respected them.

Perhaps medical diplomacy can best be summed up by Buddha's dictum that "friendship is the only cure for hatred, the only guarantee of peace." ■

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AFTER ABU GHRAIB: THE U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS AGENDA

THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT THE PRISONER ABUSE SCANDAL HURT AMERICA'S REPUTATION. BUT THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION HAS PUSHED FORWARD WITH EFFORTS TO EXPAND THE U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS AGENDA, AND ENJOYED SOME SUCCESSES.

BY GEORGE GEDDA

Persuading foreign countries to embrace American concepts of human rights is always hard work. But the task becomes even more challenging whenever America's own record comes under fire — as it did this past spring following the revelations of widespread mistreatment of Iraqi detainees by U.S. soldiers at the Abu Ghraib prison in Baghdad in 2003 and 2004.

While shocking, the abuses at Abu Ghraib (and, reportedly, at U.S. detention centers in Afghanistan and Cuba) actually paled in comparison with previous examples of American wrongdoing in wartime. For example, U.S. soldiers killed as many as 500 unarmed civilians in the village of My Lai in March 1968 during the Vietnam War.

Abu Ghraib differed from all other incidents because the misdeeds were there for all to see — pictures of mostly young U.S. troops engaging in what President Bush has called “disgraceful” behavior. Into the world's remotest corners the vulgar images were flashed via TV screens, the Internet and other media.

The scandal made it more difficult for the administration to garner support for its Iraq policy. And it hardly fit with the American self-image as the peerless leader in the promotion of human rights worldwide. Complicating matters for the administration was the revelation that Bush had signed a declaration in 2002 asserting that the U.S. had the authority to ignore international rules for treatment of captives. In response, Bush insisted he has issued no directives authorizing the torture or mistreatment of Iraqi prisoners.

George Gedda, a frequent contributor to the Journal, is the State Department reporter for the Associated Press.

Damage Control

Abu Ghraib posed a special challenge for Lorne Craner, who headed the State Department's human rights bureau from early 2001 until this past August. In the immediate aftermath of the scandal, Craner privately wondered whether his bureau would survive its impact. “I have been particularly appalled,” he told a July hearing of a House International Relations subcommittee, summing up his personal reaction to the revelations.

One of Craner's top aides concurred, saying it was a “dark day” for the bureau when the scandal first came to light. “We were as disconsolate as you can imagine.” People asked: “How hard is this going to make what we're trying to do?”

Secretary of State Colin Powell, Craner and other officials consistently maintained that the best way for the U.S. to regain the moral high ground would be to bring to justice those responsible for the abuses, just as Washington regularly demands that other governments hold their officials accountable for misconduct. Several soldiers have already been convicted and sentenced, with more scheduled for trial. But just how high up the military chain of command blame would rise was still in doubt as of November.

The principal product of Craner's former bureau, officially known as the Bureau for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, is an annual report on rights conditions worldwide. The report runs almost a million words and covers more than 190 countries and territories. Such a project could only be undertaken by a country with vast information-gathering resources and a high degree of confidence about the virtue of its own human rights practices.

There is no better source for comprehensive information about torture of prisoners than this report. For instance, the section on China in this year's edition contains 37 separate references to torture in that country. The

Bush administration has refused to use that term to describe the events at Abu Ghraib, but the International Committee for the Red Cross has said that the actions of American soldiers there were “tantamount to torture,” citing prisoner humiliation, threats of imminent execution and forced use of hoods. One can conclude with some degree of confidence that Chinese officials enjoyed seeing America figuratively knocked off its human rights pedestal after long years of nagging China for its rights abuses, including prisoner torture.

The world learned of the Abu Ghraib wrongdoing on April 28, two months after the 2004 edition of the rights report was released — and a week before the scheduled release of a State Department report outlining American efforts to ease rights conditions in 101 countries. With the blot on America’s reputation peaking as the release date approached, the administration decided that delay was the best option. On May 17, 12 days late, the State Department released the study, titled “Supporting Human Rights and Democracy: The U.S. Record 2003-2004.”

“The Abu Ghraib scandal was a cloud that was obscuring what we try to do,” Craner said in unveiling the report. “And we want to punch through the cloud and to say we’re not going to give up on democracy and human rights promotion.” He asked: “Who would be better off if we self-consciously turned inward and ignored human rights abuses elsewhere — in places like Burma and Zimbabwe and Belarus?”

The May report highlights the length and breadth of U.S. human rights efforts around the world. Some examples are the establishment of a school in East Africa to enhance the leadership skills of politically active women, and the founding of the first independent printing press in Kyrgyzstan. U.S. funding, according to the study, also has created halfway houses for former child soldiers in Colombia so that they can have normal lives.

Diplomatic Fallout

Not surprisingly, critics saw the Abu Ghraib scandal as an opportunity to score points at America’s expense. A reporter from the Qatar-based Al-Jazeera television network implausibly suggested during an interview with Pres. Bush that Abu Ghraib showed that, in terms of human rights, there was no difference between an Iraq governed by Saddam Hussein and one run by the United States.

When an envoy from one large dictatorship suggested

during a meeting with Craner that Abu Ghraib was an image-staining event for the United States, Craner responded by saying, “We’re trying to shut it down. In your country, leaders have sanctioned it [prisoner abuse] for decades.”

And when the United States inveighed against Sudan’s election earlier this year to a seat on the U.N. Commission for Human Rights, a Sudanese diplomat, Omar Bashir Manis, said it was ironic for Washington to raise objections in light of the “atrocities” committed by American forces at Abu Ghraib. Election to a seat for Sudan “is not at all different” from the United States itself winning a seat, said Manis, whose government is blamed for the uprooting of 1.2 million Sudanese in the Darfur region.

Most serious observers would dismiss Manis’ suggestions of moral equivalency between the United States and Sudan on human rights. But the allegations are still damaging, giving foreign governments a handy riposte when confronted by U.S. allegations of rights abuses. Officials admit that it is impossible to say whether Abu Ghraib made countries feel they could safely brush aside U.S. pressures to stop torturing prisoners, arresting dissidents or curbing independent media outlets.

Still, as Craner sees it, the public reaction overseas was far more muted than expected. “I really thought it (Abu Ghraib) was going to do us in, [so] I was kind of surprised,” he said

in an interview after leaving the State Department in August.

Craner acknowledged that he was concerned about possible post-Abu Ghraib fallout when the administration decided in July to suspend aid funds to Uzbekistan, partly because of prisoner torture. In light of the scandal, the sanction against the terror war ally may have looked hypocritical, Craner said. But in the end, he was unaware of anyone even raising the issue.

Craner believes that foreign audiences were impressed that there was no attempt in Washington to sweep Abu Ghraib under the rug. He mentioned, in particular, the sight of Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld being hauled before a congressional committee for hours of grilling.

Broadening the Human Rights Agenda

President Bush has surprised many with his ambitious human rights agenda. At times, he has evoked memories of President John F. Kennedy. “The advance of freedom is the calling of our time; it is the calling of our country,” Bush said in a November 2003 speech announcing “a for-

Abu Ghraib posed a special challenge for Lorne Craner, who headed State’s human rights bureau from 2001 until this past August.



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ward strategy of freedom in the Middle East.”

To be sure, that initiative has been received coolly in the region, where authoritarian rulers no doubt calculate that any loosening of their grip could mean curtains for their regimes. And it seems that whatever grass-roots good will Bush may have generated with the initiative has been more than offset by the hostility of Arabs and non-Arab Muslims to American policy in Iraq and in the Middle East in general.

Powell disputes the notion of many Arabs that the initiative is yet another unwelcome example of an overbearing America pushing its agenda on others. He frequently makes clear that the United States has no intention of imposing democracy on Arab countries. The comment suggests that the original idealism of the proposal has been replaced by a dose of realism. Still, Bush's concept represents a marked change from the long U.S. history of unquestioned American acceptance of the undemocratic status quo in the region.

It's not often that any administration can claim a rights breakthrough as clear as the one that occurred a year ago in the former Soviet republic of Georgia. While maintaining good relations with then-Georgian

President Eduard Shevardnadze, the United States quietly cultivated pro-democracy groups and individuals in the country, most notably Mikhail Saakashvili, who studied law in the United States under a government-sponsored program. In the wake of fraudulent parliamentary elections in November 2003, mass protests in which Saakashvili played a key leadership role were held and Shevardnadze was forced from office within weeks. Georgians then moved quickly to hold presidential elections. Saakashvili won by a landslide, and Powell attended his inaugural on Jan. 25.

Powell later sent a memo to all State Department employees on the positive pro-democracy role the United States can play, citing Georgia as an example. "Through good diplomacy and good assistance programs," Powell wrote, "the United States has not just made friends with a new government, but we have a friendship with the Georgian people that will last for generations. This is a model worth replicating."

The U.S. human rights umbrella has been expanding lately. Non-governmental organizations from the religious right to the feminist left are embracing the administration's efforts to combat trafficking in persons or, as Ambassador-at-Large John R. Miller calls it, "modern-day slavery." In its most gruesome manifestation, women and children are kidnapped, forcibly taken to another country and sexually exploited. The White House imposed sanctions against Venezuela in September for failing to take steps to combat the problem.

The administration is also keeping closer watch on religious freedom these days. In an unusual censure of a key ally in the war on terrorism, the administration in September accused Saudi Arabia of "particularly severe violations" of religious freedom. A 1999 law gives the administration

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the authority to impose sanctions against religiously intolerant countries; any such action against the kingdom is considered unlikely.

For much of 2004, Powell has made the situation in Sudan a high priority. He has worked hard to assist more than one million people in the Darfur region who have been uprooted in an ethnic cleansing campaign he has classified as genocide. With the possible exception of U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan, no one is more identified with efforts to ease the suffering in that area than Powell.

A Mixed Record

During his three years at State, Craner attached importance both to democratic reforms and efforts to secure the release of individual prisoners of conscience. He said China pleased and surprised the administration in 2002 by freeing 10 political prisoners, an unusually large number. But, he acknowledged, at that rate it would take six centuries for China to release all prisoners of conscience — assuming there were no arrests in the interim. So he spent considerable time during his years as rights chief trying to chip away at Chinese authoritarianism, using the country's experiment in village elections as a starting point.

This fall, human rights groups voiced strong objections to initial administration support for an intelligence reform bill that would have allowed the deportation of foreigners to countries with a well-documented history of torture. Advocates of the measure see it as an important anti-terrorism tool, while opponents note the potential for abuse. In 2002, the Justice Department deported a Syrian-born Canadian citizen, Maher Arar, to Syria, a country with a long record of human rights abuses. Arar alleges that he was tortured during his 375-day prison stay. To many, it was a clear case of American complicity in torture.

The U.S. human rights umbrella has been expanding lately.

Ultimately, that provision was stripped from the latest version of the bill, but in its stead, the director of homeland security would have authority to detain such individuals indefinitely. However, as of mid-November, it was unclear that the bill would pass in any form.

Among the harsher critics of current U.S. human rights policies is William Schulz, executive director of Amnesty International USA. He used the occasion of the February release of the State Department's annual human rights report to say: "The content of this report has little correspondence with the administration's foreign policy; indeed, the U.S. is increasingly guilty of a 'sincerity gap,' overlooking abuses by allies and justifying action against foes by post-facto references to human rights. In response, many foreign governments will choose to blunt criticism of their abuses by increasing cooperation with the U.S. war on terror rather than by improving human rights."

Schulz also said Amnesty International's research confirms that public beheadings continue in Saudi Arabia; mass public executions are ordered in China; and people are "disappeared" in Chechnya and Colombia.

"As with Iraq before the war, where such violations were overlooked for decades by the U.S., these countries will feel little pressure to end such abuses. After today's release of this report, U.S. military aid and training, political and economic sup-

port, high-level visits and diplomatic sweet-talking will reassure abusive nations that few penalties accompany the criticism."

A Consensus Forms

Human rights have been a key element of American foreign policy since the early days of the Carter administration, when — at the president's urging — Congress created the human rights bureau at the State Department. (Originally a stand-alone office, it is now part of the Democracy, Human Rights and Labor Bureau.)

To say the least, President Carter's policies were highly contentious. Human rights abuses by military dictatorships in Argentina and Chile were a particular concern in the late 1970s, and Carter loosened U.S. ties with those countries and the many others in the region run by generals. But he was more tolerant of the abuses of strategically important countries, including South Korea, the Philippines and Saudi Arabia. This left Carter open to the criticism that he was directing sanctions solely at strategically unimportant countries. It is the kind of criticism that all subsequent administrations have faced. Among Carter's stronger critics was Jeane Kirkpatrick, who would become President Reagan's ambassador to the United Nations. She argued that it was unwise to treat communist and anti-communist authoritarians alike. Her basic premise was that the former don't evolve: the latter do.

After the defeat of its first nominee to head the human rights bureau, the Reagan administration seriously considered calling for its abolition; Secretary of State Alexander Haig said the existence of that office implied that other bureaus in the department were working *against* human rights. But Reagan eventually nominated Elliott Abrams, then the head of the State Department's

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*Human rights have
been a key element of
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International Organizations Bureau. He stressed the importance of democratic reform as the key to improved human rights performance, a tool that has been a mainstay of U.S. policy ever since.

Mark Schneider, a vice president of the International Crisis Group, which monitors global trouble spots, was the No. 2 official in the State Department's human rights office during the Carter administration. He says that the Democrat-vs.-Republican combat over human rights of that period has diminished considerably, with some exceptions, including whether social issues should be included in the rights agenda. "There is greater acceptance of the legitimacy of pressing human rights concerns as a fundamental part of U.S. foreign policy," Schneider says. "We have learned that over the long term you don't advance other interests by staying in bed with a repressive regime."

U.S. security concerns have often been at odds with human rights goals. During the Cold War, the United States supported a slew of dictators in Latin America, Africa and elsewhere because they were politically useful. Perhaps the most disreputable dictator with U.S. backing was none other than Saddam Hussein. During the Iran-Iraq War of the 1980s, Saddam

was regarded as less of an international menace than the fundamentalist mullahs in Tehran. He won U.S. support during that period even though his military slaughtered countless Iraqi Kurds; 5,000 were killed by poison gas at Halabja on March 16, 1988. Not wishing to offend an ally, the Reagan administration paid little heed to the massacre. It was not until after Saddam's 1990 invasion of Kuwait that American officials began citing the slaughter as an example of Saddam's malevolence. It has been used repeatedly by the Bush administration as a justification for Saddam's removal from power. And each March 16, the State Department issues an anniversary statement denouncing the atrocities.

Change Ahead?

With the Bush electoral victory, we can expect little change in the human rights agenda. Interestingly, a Kerry victory may not have produced a

U.S. security concerns have often been at odds with human rights goals.

marked change either. Sen. John Kerry, D-Mass., said relatively little about human rights or democracy promotion during his unsuccessful campaign for the White House. But he sent a signal last May that he does not embrace mainstream Democratic Party thinking on human rights. He told the *Washington Post* that pursuit of non-proliferation goals in Russia and Pakistan is more important than protection of human rights. And in China, he said, the primary U.S. objective should not be improving human rights but integrating that

country into the world economy.

Kerry may have been influenced by his father, Richard Kerry, who spent some 15 years in the Foreign Service, mostly working on European issues. In his 1990 book, *The Star-Spangled Mirror: America's Image of Itself and the World*, the senior Kerry wrote: "The struggle to put policy in touch with reality was difficult enough before the siren song of promoting human rights."

Still, the senator said he supported some U.S. actions with a strong human rights dimension, for instance, in Kosovo and Bosnia. He also called for decisive U.S. steps to end the abuses in Darfur.

In the final analysis, the balancing act that has characterized the past four years — wherein human rights are an important aspect of America's relations with the rest of the world, but seldom the deciding factor — will continue. ■

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DOES THE U.S. NEED A NATION-BUILDING AGENCY?

POST-CONFLICT NATION-BUILDING HAS BEEN AN INSTRUMENT OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY SINCE THE TURN OF THE 20TH CENTURY. EFFORTS ARE UNDER WAY TO MAKE IT A MORE EFFECTIVE DIPLOMATIC TOOL IN THE 21ST.

DENNIS A. RONDINELLI AND JOHN D. MONTGOMERY

In March 2004, Senators Richard Lugar, R-Ind., and Joseph Biden, D-Del., introduced the Stabilization and Reconstruction Civilian Management Act. The bill (S. 2127) would create a “Stabilization and Reconstruction Coordinating Committee” charged with establishing the administrative structure, personnel and resources to deal more effectively with nation-building in the future. This interagency committee would be chaired by the president’s national security adviser.

The legislation would also establish a rapid-readiness office within the State Department to coordinate nation-building efforts. It would authorize the Secretary of State to create a “Response Readiness Corps” composed of both “active-duty” and “reserve components” of the Foreign Service, as well as personnel from non-foreign affairs agencies, to mobilize resources quickly when international crises arise.

It would also establish programs within the Foreign Service Institute, the Army War College and the National Defense University to train civilian and military personnel in post-conflict stabilization and reconstruction, to ensure that the United States has a cadre of professionals who understand the complexity and scope of efforts needed to put failed or destroyed states back on the road to economic, political and social development.

Dennis A. Rondinelli is the Glaxo Distinguished International Professor of Management at the Kenan-Flagler Business School, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. John D. Montgomery is Ford Foundation Professor of International Studies Emeritus at Harvard University. They are co-editors of Beyond Reconstruction in Afghanistan: Lessons from Development Experience (Palgrave-Macmillan, 2004).

Noting that American incursions in Iraq, Afghanistan and other countries have been followed by “cobbled together” post-conflict nation-building, Lugar, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, argues that because “international crises are inevitable, and in most cases, U.S. national security interests will be threatened by sustained instability ... the United States must have the right structures, personnel and resources in place when an emergency occurs.” Sen. Biden, the committee’s ranking minority member, observes that: “As a nation, we have accepted the stabilization and reconstruction missions in the Balkans, Afghanistan and Iraq, but we need to go a step further and create structures that can plan and execute strategies to deal with future emergencies” by establishing an office within the State Department to coordinate civilian implementation of nation-building policies.

Although the Lugar-Biden bill was reported to the Senate on March 18, Congress has taken no action on it. In August 2004, however, Secretary of State Colin Powell created an Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (S/CRS) within the State Department that fell short of the government-wide functions called for in S. 2127, but nonetheless moved in the direction urged by Sens. Lugar and Biden. That office is charged — when crises arise and when directed by the Secretary of State — with ensuring a “unified interagency civilian response to implement programs for transitional security and law enforcement, justice reform, good governance, promoting civil society, economic reconstruction, humanitarian response, community building and social sector reform.”

The S/CRS coordinator, however, has no budgetary authority to control intergovernmental agency reconstruction and stabilization activities, and little or no political or administrative authority outside of the Department of

State to carry out reconstruction training or to create the Response Readiness Corps or Reserve Corps as called for by the Lugar-Biden bill.

Nation-Building as an Instrument of U.S. Foreign Policy

Does the United States really need another bureaucracy to carry out nation-building? After all, regime change and post-conflict nation-building have been instruments of U.S. foreign policy since the turn of the 20th century. The U.S. military occupation to stabilize post-World War II Japan and Germany and to restore more democratic political systems and U.S. financial and technical assistance for postwar Western European economic reconstruction through the Marshall Plan marked the beginning of the modern era of nation-building. In the subsequent wave of nation-building, the United States led in the practice of military intervention in Latin America (Panama, Guatemala and Grenada) and Southeast Asia (Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam) and Central Asia and the Middle East (Lebanon, Afghanistan and Iraq) to overthrow unfriendly regimes and rebuild war-torn countries as democratic market economies.

It is important to recall, however, that nation-building was pursued after the Second World War not only by the United States but by Western European governments and by international organizations, such as the World Bank and the United Nations. Non-governmental organizations also became important channels of foreign assistance. During the Cold War, Washington often attempted to wrap its preference for military incursions in the cloak of U.N. peacekeeping operations, allied coalitions, or the work of international development organizations.

The post-9/11 military invasions and reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq continue a long history of actions by the U.S. to forcibly replace threatening regimes in other countries. Yet many diplomats, most notably George F. Kennan, clearly saw the use of military power alone as insufficient, and indeed deleterious, for creating political regimes more favorable to American ideals. In his book *American Diplomacy 1900-1950*, Kennan both foresaw the need to follow any military intervention with nation-building assistance and forewarned of the difficulties. "We can remember that war — a matter of destruction, brutalization and sacrifice, of separation, domestic disintegration, and the weakening of the deeper fabrics of society — is a

process which of itself can achieve no positive aim," Kennan wrote. "Even military victory is only the prerequisite for some further and more positive achievement which it makes possible but by no means assures."

Certainly the U.S. track record suggests that past, ad-hoc responses have not been very effective in securing peace and rebuilding societies ravaged by war. Despite nearly 60 years of nation-building by the U.S. government in countries around the world, the American public may be unaware of how infrequently such interventions have succeeded. For example, the World Bank found in 2003 that countries emerging from war had a 50-percent chance of relapsing into conflict within five years. A study by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in 2003 reviewed 16 major U.S.-led nation-building efforts since the beginning of the 20th century and found that in only four countries —

West Germany, Japan, Grenada and Panama — did democratic governance continue for more than 10 years after unfriendly regimes were displaced. In Cuba, Haiti, Nicaragua, Cambodia, and South Vietnam dictatorships emerged quickly after U.S. forces left the country.

Nor have international organizations done much better. After a decade under United Nations supervision, democracy in Cambodia is still only a hope; elections are riddled with corruption, violence and fraud. U.N. peacekeeping and nation-building operations in Somalia, Rwanda and Sierra Leone failed to achieve either

goal, and in other countries they encountered complex constraints that made even humanitarian relief difficult.

Lessons of Experience

Although experience with nation-building yields few hard-and-fast rules for doing it well, it does offer guidelines for more successful policies that will be useful if the new civilian coordinating office is created. First and foremost, the office must work closely with the military and the State Department, at least in the early stages, to create a secure environment for reconstruction.

Experience in Iraq, Afghanistan, Kosovo and Bosnia should teach nation-builders that unless they can quickly ensure security and a peaceful settlement of conflict, little progress can be made toward establishing a strong national government, repairing infrastructure and creating the foundation for economic growth. In the aftermath of the American invasions of Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003, continuing guerilla warfare, terrorism, lawlessness and eth-

***In August 2004,
Secretary of State Colin
Powell created an Office
of the Coordinator for
Reconstruction and
Stabilization (S/CRS).***

nic conflict slowed plans for nation-building and undermined the legitimacy of the interim occupation organizations and of the fledgling transition authorities.

The difficulties of establishing security were not unique to those countries or to the Bush administration, of course. The issues were just as complex in the Balkans and East Timor during the previous administration. The United Nations mission in Kosovo had continuing struggles in establishing public order, rebuilding the judicial system, and demilitarizing competing political and ethnic groups.

How can a new reconstruction and stabilization coordinating office in the State Department and an interagency coordinating committee help make U.S. policy on nation-building more transparent? Experience suggests that nation-builders are more likely to achieve desired social and political

purposes if their long-term goals are acknowledged openly and officially rather than carried out in secrecy. While it is true that donors risk giving offense by appearing to interfere with basic decisions in independent, sovereign nations, the accusation that they are doing so secretly will be even more damaging — and without achieving the desired ends. At the same time, as experience in Iraq, Afghanistan, Cambodia and Bosnia shows, transparent objectives are not enough without strong coordinating mechanisms to carry them out.

Nation-building depends on recreating a strong state quickly. Postwar interventions in the former Yugoslavia, Central America and Afghanistan all testify to the need for a coordinated program to help a new governing authority find ways of reconciling ethnic or religious conflicts, protecting human rights, generating economic opportunities, extending

basic services, controlling corruption, responding effectively to emergencies, and combating poverty and inequality — all at the same time.

A coordinated U.S. program could better establish the conditions for turning power over to the people of the countries undergoing reconstruction. Experience in Afghanistan underlines the importance of sharing major decisions regarding future development with a local governing authority and the people. Where ethnic, religious or other conflicts resulted in regime change, deliberately or inadvertently ignoring any important segment of society undermines nation-building.

Although there may be no standard sequence of development among the various elements in the nation-builder's model, comparative studies of newly-developed countries reaffirms two preconditions to a viable state: a competitive economy

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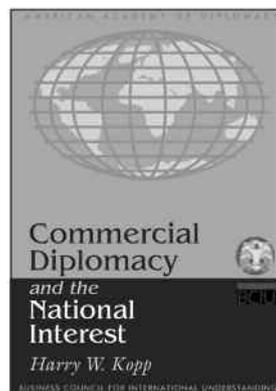
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and a competent government. Consider the following case studies:

- Strong economic growth in El Salvador in the post-conflict period contributed significantly to the government's ability to implement the peace accords during the 1990s. Inflows of foreign aid and private capital, along with some international debt forgiveness and exchange rate reforms, helped to stabilize the Salvadoran economy and mobilize resources for rapid reconstruction. Similar policies in Central America, focused on comprehensive macroeconomic adjustment and structural reforms, reduced hyperinflation in Nicaragua in the late 1980s and early 1990s and helped lower inflation in other countries in the region, as well.

- The international community's work in Afghanistan underlines the importance of coordinated assistance in dealing with all aspects of the economy, including such dysfunctional ele-

ments as the warlord economy, the black market, smuggling, drugs and the subsistence sector. General economic progress is retarded by the proclivity for violence and vulnerability to plunder and looting in closed systems that can inhibit production and destabilize livelihoods and entrepreneurial opportunities. Export and other foreign trade opportunities and tariff reform are often more important than other forms of assistance to the private sector.

- A U.S. coordinating office could also focus American economic assistance on programs that encourage local entrepreneurship, and that include women. Both approaches are more likely to avoid charges of colonialism than those dominated by foreign public or private organizations.

Rethinking Foreign Policy Structure and Resources

Although past experience builds a

strong case for the necessity of nation-building policies, they are unlikely to be sufficient without adequate organizational service structures and resources. Explicit, coherent and transparent policies effectively coordinated within the U.S. government by the State Department and an interagency committee chaired by the president's national security adviser, as called for in the Lugar-Biden bill, could more effectively draw on lessons from the past, help establish priorities, and guide the coordination and integration of activities during times of chaos and confusion. The policies must, of course, be applied with due regard for the unique circumstances shaped by different cultural, political and economic conditions in each country that requires reconstruction.

A strong need still exists for a Response Readiness Corps and Reserve, as outlined in the Lugar-

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Biden bill, staffed with experienced Foreign Service personnel who recognize that conventional relationships are often awkward during nation-building processes. Because host governments themselves are often incompletely integrated into their own societies and, in any case, are imperfectly structured to carry out their new functions, they are as likely to resent as they are to welcome offers of assistance. Indeed, both sides in these relationships suffer from the embarrassment of wartime defeat or from symptoms of underdevelopment; the tender nerves of sovereignty are especially delicate during these times.

The experience of dealing with new, or failed, or reconstructed states is therefore likely to be particularly challenging to both sides, and to call for unusual degrees of innovation and improvisation. These uncertainties have led the field offices of nation-builders to concentrate on static, fail-safe, all-purpose organizational remedies and physical infrastructure and to avoid dealing with difficult social or political factors.

A recurring issue in such interventions — Iraq being a prime case in point — is how best to navigate between the gentility of diplomatic relations and the brutality of military coercion. That balancing act requires an unusual degree of sensitivity to internal political, ethnic and regional conditions, yet there is little guidance in the handbooks of either the State Department or the Pentagon. Thus, both the United States government and international organizations need a cadre of military and civilian professionals who devote their careers to peacekeeping and post-conflict reconstruction and who can apply the lessons of nation-building flexibly, creatively and with sensitivity to local conditions.

The conventions of diplomacy do

not encourage the kinds of institutional innovation that nation-building requires. The standard embassy, even if supplemented by a standard aid mission, rarely provides current local information in times of crisis and reconstruction. Whatever entity serves as the “host government” cannot completely open its agencies and ministries to foreign eyes, and so it has to work at a protective arm’s length through overburdened foreign offices or planning units. Because local bureaucracies are untrustworthy or depleted, donors often have to supplement local administrative funding in order to maintain adequate levels of service. In order to avoid reinforcing a displaced ideology, the very composition of local bureaucracies may have to change. Unacceptable elements are purged, and new ones added to incorporate elements of the society that had been neglected or excluded from public service by the previous government.

Explicit policies and specialized post-conflict reconstruction agencies that draw on both military and civil administrative expertise are essential because peacekeeping and nation-building are inextricably interdependent, long-term activities. Regime-changing military incursions, no matter how strong their moral justifications, can no longer be seen as ends in themselves. George Kennan clearly understood this. At the dawn of a new era of American intervention to contain communism and shape world politics in American interests in the 1950s, he said: “Even the most glorious military victory would give us no right to face the future in any spirit other than one of sorrow and humbleness for what has happened and of the realization that the road ahead is long and hard — longer and harder, in fact, than it would have been had it been possible to avoid a military cataclysm altogether.” ■



APPRECIATION

A True Foreign Service Hero **Archer Kent Blood** **1923 – 2004**

BY DOUGLAS KERR

On Sept. 3, Archer Blood, who served as U.S. consul general in Dhaka in 1971 during Bangladesh's Liberation War, passed away. Bangladeshis have always regarded Blood as a much-loved friend, and he is seen as a heroic, even tragic figure, not only for his conduct during those dark months in 1971, but also because of the way the State Department treated him thereafter. In 1996 he was invited to return to Bangladesh to participate in ceremonies marking the 25th anniversary of independence. For both Blood and his Bangladeshi friends, that 1996 trip was a joyful reunion.

Archer Blood will be remembered for his personal integrity and moral courage in a time of crisis, and as senior signatory to a dissent cable written during the brutal military crackdown by the Pakistan government on its Bangladeshi eastern wing. For Foreign Service officers, Blood's 1971 conduct stands as a stark object lesson in the use of the Dissent Channel. The American Foreign Service Association honored him in 1971 with its prestigious Christian A. Herter Award for "extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage and constructive dissent by a Senior Foreign Service officer."

Three decades later, Blood recounted his experience in his book *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh: Memoirs of an American Diplomat* (University Press, Ltd., 2002), a combination of personal biography and professional memoir. Perhaps the greatest value of the book lies in Blood's reproduction and analysis of the declassified cables from 1971. Against a backdrop of vicious cruelty and "selective genocide," a term he coined as the subject line of one of his reports, Blood and his team sought to inform their superiors

in Washington of Pakistani General Yahya Khan's military crackdown, and urged them to try to stop it.

Pakistan's Military Crackdown

In March 1971, following the failure to reach a negotiated settlement to the political dispute arising from the recent election, the government of Pakistan had pre-emptively removed the foreign press from Dhaka and then commenced a vicious military crackdown in Bangladesh. Awami League leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was arrested and the Pakistan army set about murdering his supporters. The focus of their savagery was Dhaka University's campus, seen as a hotbed of radical and Hindu-inspired opposition. Blood himself reported directly to the State Department and Henry Kissinger's National Security Council one episode in which the army laid siege to the women's dormitory on campus, set fire to it, and mowed down the occupants with machine guns as they fled the flames. A generation of senior Hindu academics was rounded up one by one, taken out to the countryside and shot. In rural areas, the Pakistani murderers would order men they suspected of being Hindus to lift their lunghis; uncircumcised men were shot on the spot.

"Rape, murder, dismemberment and the state murder of children were employed as deliberate methods of repression and intimidation. At least ten thousand civilians were butchered in the first three days," reports Christopher Hitchens in his book, *The Trial of Henry Kissinger* (Verso Books, 2001). "The eventual civilian death toll has never been placed at less than half a million, and has been put as high as three million."

At the height of the atrocities, in March-April 1971, Dhaka was almost completely cut off from the rest of the world. But Blood had ingeniously secured permission from

the Pakistani authorities to maintain a communications wireless, and it was by way of this tenuous thread that he sent his communications to Washington. According to a dark joke made at the time, all that one heard from Bangladesh was "blood, butcher and kill." In addition to Consul General Blood, Scott Butcher was the political officer in Dhaka; Andy Killgore had recently left Bangladesh to serve at the bureau in Washington.

As the political crisis darkened and deepened, Blood struggled to have his voice heard above the din of obfuscation and temporization arising from Embassy Islamabad and the White House. He experienced mounting frustration as he sought to nudge his superiors into action. It must have felt like trying to push a piece of string. The Washington press corps in that heady era of Woodward and Bernstein caught wind of the general drift of the com-

munications emanating from Dhaka, and sought to pry free answers to embarrassing questions from a recalcitrant Nixon White House and a secrecy-obsessed Kissinger NSC.

The Blood Telegram

The most well-known of Archer Blood's cables has come to be labeled the "Blood Telegram" (pun fully intended). It is worth excerpting here for those who may not have seen it, but also because it is of particularly pointed relevance given contemporary Dhaka events. (The frequent unresolved murders of journalists, and the recent unsolved deaths in suspicious circumstances raise serious questions.) The Blood Telegram stated:

"Our government has failed to denounce the suppression of democracy. Our government has failed to denounce atrocities. Our government has failed to take forceful measures to protect its citizens while at the same

time bending over backwards to placate the West Pak[istan]-dominated government and to lessen any deservedly negative international public relations impact against them. Our government has evidenced what many will consider moral bankruptcy ...

"But we have chosen not to intervene, even morally, on the grounds that the Awami conflict, in which, unfortunately, the overworked term genocide is applicable, is purely an internal matter of a sovereign state. Private Americans have expressed disgust. We, as professional civil servants, express our dissent with current policy and fervently hope that our true and lasting interests here can be defined and our policies redirected."

This cable was signed by 20 members of the U.S. consulate in Dhaka, and by a further nine officers in the Near Eastern Affairs Bureau in Washington.



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Archer Kent Blood, 81, died of arterial sclerosis on Sept. 3 at the Poudre Valley Hospital in Fort Collins, Colo.

Born in Chicago, Ill., he was the eldest of four children. He was valedictorian of his high school class in Lynchburg, Va., and graduated Phi Beta Kappa from the University of Virginia in 1943. He earned a master's degree in international relations from The George Washington University in 1963. Mr. Blood served with the U.S. Navy in the North Pacific from 1944 to 1946 before joining the Foreign Service in 1947.

His 35-year Foreign Service career began with a posting as vice consul to Thessaloniki in 1947, followed by a posting to Munich in 1949. In 1950 he was sent to Athens and, following a short tour as vice consul in Algiers, he was assigned to Bonn in 1953. In 1960, he was posted to Dhaka, in what was then East Pakistan, as deputy principal officer. In 1965 he was posted to Kabul as the deputy chief of mission, and from 1968 to 1970 served as political

counselor in Athens.

In 1970 he was posted as consul general to Dhaka, but was recalled in June 1971 following the "Blood Telegram" on the lack of U.S. reaction to the Pakistan military's 1971 massacre in East Pakistan, and assigned to the State Department's personnel office. In 1974, he was posted as diplomatic adviser to the commandant at the U.S. Army War College in Carlisle, Pa., where he became the first civilian to be named deputy commandant for international affairs.

In 1977, under the Carter administration, Mr. Blood was appointed DCM in New Delhi, and for the last several months of his four-year tour there served as chargé d'affairs.

Mr. Blood left the Foreign Service in May 1982 to become diplomat in residence at Allegheny College in Meadville, Pa., retiring in 1990. He was guest lecturer at a number of universities, and published articles and a book, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh: Memoirs of an American Diplomat* (University Press, Ltd., 2002),

recounting the story of Bangladeshi aspirations for autonomy under Pakistan and the emergence of the state of Bangladesh.

Besides the Herter Award from AFSA, Mr. Blood received the John Jacob Rodgers Award and the Meritorious Honor Award from the State Department, and the Distinguished Civilian Service Award from the Department of the Army.

In 1993, Mr. Blood and his wife settled in Fort Collins, where they enjoyed both "the best climate in the world" and full-time involvement as grandparents. Mr. Blood's hobbies included gardening, travel and hiking.

Survivors include his wife of 56 years, Margaret (Millward) formerly of Tenafly, N.J., who traveled to Greece for their wedding in 1948; daughters Shireen Updegraff of Fort Collins and Barbara Rankin of Denver, Colo.; sons Peter R. Blood of Alexandria, Va., and Archer L. Blood of Shaker Heights, Ohio; three sisters; and eight grandchildren. Memorial contributions may be made to The Nature Conservancy.

Blood's book is engaging in large part because of his even-handed review of the events of that time. He was a man who "called it like he saw it," with considerable integrity. In discussing the telegram in his book, 31 years later, Blood is self-critical on two points. Firstly, he regrets not according it a higher level of classification. Secondly, he wishes he had toned down the claim that "our government has failed to take forceful measures to protect its own citizens."

"Damage Control"

The reaction to the cable was, in Blood's words, "a masterful demonstration of damage control." Ambassa-

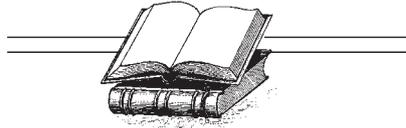
dor Joseph Farland in Islamabad immediately ordered all copies destroyed. In Washington, Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern Affairs Joe Sisco called Henry Kissinger and commented, "My people seem to be leaving the reservation."

In a disturbing echo of this racist slur, supportive comments made by U.S. Ambassador to New Delhi Kenneth Keating were written off by President Nixon, who described Keating as having been "taken over by the Indians."

Archer Blood was curtailed from Dhaka in June 1971, and sent to molder in the Personnel Bureau for the next several years. "I paid a price for my dissent," he said in a 1982

interview. "But I had no choice. The line between right and wrong was just too clear-cut. ■"

Douglas Kerr and his wife, Michelle Jones, assistant public affairs officer in Dhaka, have lived in the U.K., Canada, Estonia and the U.S. Since joining the Foreign Service, they have lived in Warsaw, and are currently midway through a tour in Bangladesh. He is working both as a custom cabinet-maker and as writer editor for an NGO umbrella organization. He is also the author of "The Plight of the Pantoflarz: Trailing Husbands in the Foreign Service," in Realities of Foreign Service Life (AAFSW, 2002).



BOOKS

Leveraging the Global Marketplace

Commercial Diplomacy and the National Interest

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

REVIEWED BY E. ANTHONY WAYNE

Both national-interest-divining diplomats and profit-seeking business operators will take away important lessons from former FSO Harry Kopp's new book, *Commercial Diplomacy and the National Interest*, which includes a survey of best practices for this important area of American diplomacy.

First, he makes a strong case that the U.S. national interest is well served by working to leverage our diplomatic assets to help secure markets for American companies. Second, and equally important, the new release furnishes practitioners with a sensible "how-to manual" for constructive private-public sector partnering along these lines. The interview-based cases that Kopp presents firmly ground this book in the practical challenges our embassies and companies face in an increasingly interconnected world.

This publication is a cooperative endeavor of the Business Council for International Understanding and the American Academy of Diplomacy. In the first chapter, aptly titled "the basics," Kopp describes growing

American reliance on the global economy as a "fact of life," supporting his argument with both economic data and vivid examples. At the macro level he notes, for example, that U.S. imports and exports of goods and services and earnings on foreign investment now register around 30 percent of the \$11-trillion U.S. economy. In this highly competitive global marketplace, Kopp advocates U.S. government activism overseas on commercial issues as a win-win proposition to help increase U.S. exports, bolster America's employment base, and to broaden and deepen links between the United States and other countries.

The author focuses on identifying successful strategies based on firsthand accounts collected from former ambassadors, experienced diplomatic hands, and savvy business representatives. As Kopp puts it, this art of commercial diplomacy is "practiced at two levels. One — call it the macro level — involves the negotiation of principles and rules that guide global trade and investment without reference to specific companies, deals or projects. Another — call it the micro or transactional level — involves the contest for sales and contracts and for enforcement in particular cases of prior agreements." Kopp's book cogently addresses both levels.

In addition to presenting both deal-specific and longer-range market strategy case-studies, various chapters review broader market access issues, investment disputes, protection of intellectual property rights and the impact of foreign government corruption. Cases have been selected to

highlight successes and challenges. Many are highly topical, such as the discussion of intellectual property difficulties in China or references to Boeing-Airbus competition in third-country markets. What Kopp makes clear is that developing diplomatic strategies to get at and ultimately resolve perennial systemic issues is critical to realizing potential economic benefits — not just for individual U.S. companies, but also for our economy as a whole. The treatment of these systemic business-climate issues serves primarily to underscore their significance and is not intended to be comprehensive.

Kopp's book does not attempt an in-depth presentation of how government is organized to take on the commercial diplomacy task. Instead, he highlights basic reference points such as the Foreign Service Act of 1980, the statutory authority for U.S. government export-promotion efforts. The 1980 Act vests the Department of Commerce as the lead federal trade promotion agency, and specifies that "each chief of mission to a foreign country shall have as a principal duty the promotion of U.S. goods and services for export." Because Commerce's Foreign Commercial Service operates principally in large markets, U.S. missions in many less prominent destinations rely on dual- or sometimes multi-hatted State Department "economic-commercial" officers to advance commercial interests. Now, more than 20 years after the Act's ratification, Kopp's book offers ample food for thought for adopting effective techniques and strategies to help us meet this legisla-



tive mandate.

The case-based studies in the book are useful and thought-provoking for those of us grappling with today's need to support U.S. companies. Just as promising is the book's potential to enhance readers' understanding of how effective commercial diplomacy can boost American prosperity. In so doing, Mr. Kopp's book bolsters the case for adequate resources and attention to commercial diplomacy.

E. Anthony Wayne is Assistant Secretary for Economic and Business Affairs in the State Department.

Balancing the Private and Public Sectors

In an Uncertain World: Tough Choices from Wall Street to Washington

Robert E. Rubin with Jacob Weisberg, Random House, 2003, \$16.95, paperback, 402 pages.

REVIEWED BY LADD CONNELL

As the first director of the National Economic Council from 1993-1995, and as Secretary of the Treasury from 1995 to 1999, Robert Rubin had a prominent role not only in guiding America's economy but in forging responses to international financial crises that threatened to upset the global economy throughout the late 1990s. While reflecting his low-key style, *In an Uncertain World: Tough Choices from Wall Street to Washington* makes clear that the (mostly) successful resolution of these crises was by no means a sure thing.

Rubin came to Washington from

New York, where he was co-CEO of Goldman Sachs, the investment bank. Though not a politician in any sense of the term, he was a quick learner. His independence, and a knack for appropriately weighing risk and reward, enabled him to be an honest broker and lent credibility to his substantive input. His time inside the White House also gave him personal links to President Clinton and Clinton's other core staff that enabled him to be an effective Treasury Secretary from day one. And with Mexico on the verge of financial meltdown just as he took office in January 1995, he needed to be.

The Mexican "bailout" was criticized by some as welfare for wealthy investors. Rubin concedes that the support provided the Mexican government created a moral hazard of rewarding bondholders who should have weighed the risks when they bought the bonds.

But he makes a good case that the consequences of allowing a Mexican default — a collapse in its currency and economy — would have been far more serious. Instead, the financing package put together by the U.S. and the International Monetary Fund allowed Mexico to restructure its debt from short-term to long-term while committing it to economic reforms and pledging oil export earnings to ensure repayment.

Rubin notes common elements in the origins of the financial crisis in Mexico and those that followed, beginning in July 1997, in Thailand, South Korea, Indonesia, Russia and Brazil: fixed exchange rates, some protectionism, too-close relationships between banks and corporate borrowers, a lack of financial transparency and, in some cases, more serious self-dealing and corruption. In recounting responses to these crises, Rubin draws four key lessons:

First, increased international interdependence means that one country's success can enrich others, but its mistakes can put them at risk.

Second, effective governance is a key complement to a market economy. Only government can create an adequate legal and regulatory framework, law enforcement, social safety nets, universal education and the like. Moreover, many multinational issues — terrorism, major environmental problems and contagious diseases among them — can only be effectively dealt with by governments.

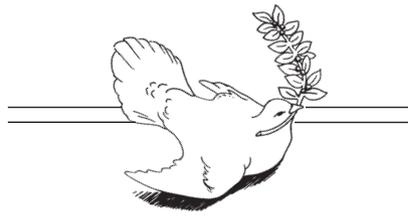
Third, when a crisis of confidence develops and capital starts to flee, neither money nor policy reforms alone can turn the situation around. Both are required.

Fourth, while the IMF and other international financial institutions responded well in these cases of financial market turmoil, the "architecture" of the international system lags behind the markets and itself needs reform to become more nimble.

While geared primarily for economists, Rubin's explanation of how he applied private-sector principles to government decision-making, utilizing a theory called "probabilistic decision-making," is worth even the lay reader's attention. This approach requires assigning positive or negative values to each of the possible outcomes for alternative courses of action and weighting the outcomes according to their probability. The discussion is occasionally dry, and a bit repetitive, but reflects a practical perspective and wisdom that are far too rare in today's public policy debates.

For anyone to whom these issues matter — and Rubin makes clear how important they are to every American — this memoir is a valuable contribution. ■

Ladd Connell, an FSO, is in universi-



IN MEMORY

IRAQ CLAIMS FIRST FOREIGN SERVICE CASUALTY

Edward J. Seitz, 41, assistant regional security officer at Embassy Baghdad, was killed Oct. 24 in a rocket attack at Camp Victory, the American base adjacent to Baghdad International Airport. A 16-year veteran of the Foreign Service, Diplomatic Security Special Agent Seitz is the first American diplomatic employee killed in Iraq.

"The Department of State and I mourn the loss of one of our own today in Baghdad," said Secretary of State Colin Powell from Beijing. "Ed's death is a tragic loss for me personally, and for all of his colleagues at the Department of State. Our thoughts and prayers are with Ed's family. We grieve with them in their loss, and will stand with them as they deal with this tragedy. Ed Seitz died in the service of his country and for the cause of liberty and freedom for others. There is no more noble a sacrifice."

Ed Seitz joined the Bureau of Diplomatic Security in 1988, and has served in Washington, Chicago, Detroit, Shenyang and Sanaa. He had been posted in Baghdad for three months. Prior to the Iraq assignment, Seitz spent four years in Detroit as an investigator with the FBI's joint terrorism task force. In 1999, the State Department honored him for his response to the bombing of Embassy Nairobi. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, Seitz was a police officer in Cleveland, Ohio.

"Ed was a career law enforcement officer, and epitomized the best of our bureau," Assistant Secretary of State for Diplomatic Security Francis X. Taylor and Director of Diplomatic Security Joe Morton said in a joint statement. "He will be remembered as a man of enormous generosity — one who was always thinking of others first. It is this very characteristic that led him to accept this dangerous assignment in Camp Victory, outside of the Green Zone."

Patrick Quigley, a former FSO and A-100 classmate who trained with Ed Seitz in South Georgia when they both started in Diplomatic Security, described him as a dedicated agent who loved what he did, took his job seriously and had "a heart of gold." Quigley reflected, "He's one of the few people I could say lacked malice toward others."

"We are deeply saddened by the death of State Department Special Agent Edward Seitz, who was killed in a rocket attack Oct. 24 in Iraq," John W. Limbert, president of the American Foreign Service Association, said. "On behalf of all his colleagues, I extend my heartfelt condolences and prayers to Mr. Seitz's family."

Mr. Seitz leaves behind his wife Joyce of St. Claire Shores, Mich.; his parents, Elroy and Alba; and his brother, Bill. The Seitz family has requested that in lieu of flowers, donations be made to the Edward J. Seitz Memorial Fund, c/o Charter One Bank, 8471 Chippewa Road, Brecksville OH 44141. The fund will provide academic scholarships to children of law enforcement officers and assist families of officers killed in the line of duty.

Alton George Adams, 86, retired FSO, died Sept. 17 in St. Petersburg, Fla.

Born in 1918 in Golden City, Mo., he graduated from Webb City High School in 1936. In September 1941 he enlisted in the Naval Reserve and began active duty in the Navy, where he was assigned to the Office of Special Services, in January 1942. He was honorably discharged in 1945, with citations for performance of "exceptional and valuable service beyond the call of duty" and "conspicuously meritorious and outstanding performance of military duties."

Mr. Adams attended the University of Southern California, Los Angeles, before graduating from The George Washington University in 1951 with a degree in government and foreign affairs. He subsequently completed specialized training in African affairs at Oxford University in England.

In 1946, Mr. Adams began his Foreign Service career. During his years with the Department of State and the Agency for International Development, he and his family lived in Ethiopia, Paraguay, Sudan, Liberia, Somalia, Ecuador, Sierra Leone and Kenya, and traveled extensively in Europe. After his retirement, Mr. Adams continued to work with USAID as an international contractor/negotiator in Africa, Panama and the Philippines.

He is survived by four daughters from his first marriage (to Laurel Adams in 1941): Elizabeth Judd, Margaret Adams, Cynthia Lewis and Paula Consaul; five grandchild-

IN MEMORY



dren, Jennie Chaloupkas, Kathryn Lewis, James Lewis, and Emily and Rose Consaul; and five great-grandchildren, Garrett, Brent and Samantha Chaloupkas, and Hadyn and Harrison Lewis.

From his second marriage, to Rita E. Fanuco of Panama, he is survived by three stepsons, Enrique, Rafael and Carlos Vargas; five step-grandchildren, Ivan Enrique, Andrea, Diego Enrique, Rafael Ernesto and Gabriel Elias Vargas; and two nephews, Michael and Patrick Sullivan.



Robert Albert Bauer, 93, retired FSO, anti-Nazi radio broadcaster, author and lecturer, died Sept. 27 of a stroke at Sibley Memorial Hospital in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Bauer was born in Austria. He earned an M.A. in economics and an LL.D. from Austrian universities in the early 1930s, and an M.A. in Arab studies from the American University in Cairo in 1967. Mr. Bauer practiced law in Austria in the mid-1930s, but after the 1938 Anschluss, he fled his Nazi-occupied homeland and joined the Free Austria movement in Prague. After Czechoslovakia came under Nazi rule, he became editor-in-chief of the Austria Freedom radio station that began broadcasting from Normandy in 1940.

After France fell in 1940, Mr. Bauer immigrated to the U.S. and worked as a broadcaster for WLWO (Overseas) radio, the overseas twin of WLW-AM radio operated by the Crosley Corporation in Cincinnati. At the time, WLWO had the most powerful shortwave transmitter in the Americas, and it is there that the format of entertainment, news and informational programming that was to become the hallmark of American

overseas broadcasting at the Voice of America was developed. In February 1942, Bauer and the rest of the European staff of WLWO moved to New York and helped form what would become the VOA.

It was Robert Bauer who announced to the German people, on June 6, 1944, that D-Day had begun. "The storm from the west has begun ..." he announced in German from the American Broadcasting Station in Europe, based in London, where he was chief of the German radio section. Bauer continued broadcasting after the war, eventually becoming acting chief of VOA's European division.

In 1953 he joined USIA as a radio program manager. He was assigned to Tehran as a binational center director in 1958, and transferred to Paris two years later as a radio-television officer. In 1961 he returned to Washington. In 1963 he was posted to Cairo as a cultural affairs officer, and was promoted to counselor for public affairs in 1966. He returned to USIA in 1967. He was posted to New Delhi in 1971, and retired a year later.

During the 1970s, Mr. Bauer was director of the public affairs program at Kenyon College in Gambier, Ohio, and taught political science there. He then settled in Washington, where he lectured on international relations at American University and on assignment abroad for the State Department, and was a consultant at the Brookings Institution. He wrote or edited a number of books, including *The Austrian Solution* (1982), *The Threat of International Terrorism* (1993) and *The U.S. and World Affairs* (1998). He also wrote for the *West-Ost Journal*.

Mr. Bauer was a project director for Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired and a member of the American Foreign Service

Association, the National Press Club and the board of trustees of the Foundation Documentary Archive of the Austrian Resistance.

Survivors include his wife of 63 years, Maria Kahler Bauer of Washington; two children, Virginia Rose Ceaser and Robert F. Bauer, both of Chevy Chase, Md.; seven grandchildren; and a great-granddaughter. Memorial contributions may be made to the DACOR Bacon House Foundation, with a view to awarding a Robert A. Bauer memorial scholarship.



Jamroon Bucher, 68, wife of retired FSO Larry Bucher, died in Spearfish, S.D., on Sept. 2, after a two-year struggle with ovarian cancer.

From 1977 through 1995, Mrs. Bucher accompanied her husband on assignments in Islamabad, Tegucigalpa, Lahore, Vientiane, Asmara and Washington, D.C. She is survived by her husband of Spearfish, six children and 12 grandchildren.



Myrtle J. Eckblom, 83, retired FSO, died July 30 in Bellevue, Wash., following a long illness.

Ms. Eckblom was born in Harper, Wash., to Josephine and Otto Eckblom. She graduated from West Seattle High School and business schools in Seattle and Oakland, Calif., before beginning a 20-year career in the Foreign Service.

As a personnel officer, Ms. Eckblom completed tours of duty in Copenhagen, Frankfurt, Saigon, Santiago, Accra and Mexico City. Following retirement in 1974 she returned to Washington, D.C., at the request of the State Department, to

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serve an additional year. She retired to Palm Desert, Calif., where she lived for many years before returning to the Pacific Northwest.

Ms. Eckblom is survived by sisters Emma Keyes of Edmonds, Wash., and Lilly Geddie of Durham, N.C.; an aunt, Pearl Nelson of Seattle, Wash.; nieces Karen Rasmussen of Grand Junction, Colo., Joann Harris of Greeley, Colo., Janet Scott of Durham, N.C. and Donna Pallo-Perez of Olympia, Wash.; and nephew David Keyes Jr. of Bellevue, Wash., as well as several great-nieces and -nephews.



Mary Michelson Haselton, 84, retired FSO, accomplished artist and wife of the late FSO George Haselton, died Aug. 27 at her home in Hanover, N.H.

Mrs. Haselton was born in Kansas City, Mo., on May 15, 1920, the daughter of Michael and Jeannette (MacFarlane) Michelson. She grew up in Topeka, Kan., and graduated from high school there. In 1941, she began a career in Washington, D.C., with the War Department. From 1953 to 1960, she was a legislative assistant to Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, D-Texas. After her appointment to the Foreign Service in 1960, she served as vice consul in Zurich and Munich until 1964, when her marriage to George Haselton, also a Foreign Service officer, required her to retire. She rejoined the Foreign Service in 1974 and served in several State Department positions, notably as deputy principal officer and chargé d'affaires in Fiji. She retired in 1978.

After studying at Washburn University, the University of Texas in Austin, and American University in Washington, D.C., she earned her

ALB degree cum laude from Harvard University's Extension School at the age of 81. Mr. and Mrs. Haselton also taught international relations at Simon's Rock College in Great Barrington, Mass., and American studies at St. Antony's College, Oxford University, England.

Painting was Mrs. Haselton's avocation and her award-winning works of art were shown in numerous exhibitions, including an exhibition of Texas artists in New York City. She was a finalist in the 1950 Metropolitan Museum of Art national competition, "American Painting Today."

Mrs. Haselton's husband died in 1995. She is survived by one brother, Calvin Michelson, of San Antonio, Texas; two sisters, Mrs. Rosalie Brooks and Mrs. Rosella Hupp, both of Topeka, Kan.; and a stepdaughter, Roxanne Summers, of Mattoon, Ill.



William Helmer Holm, 85, retired FSO, died peacefully at his home in Sharon, Conn., on Sept. 3.

Mr. Holm was born in New York City on Aug. 4, 1919, the son of Emilia (Johanson) and Helmer Holm. He attended DeWitt Clinton High School and Upsala College. During World War II, he served in the U.S. Navy in the Pacific theater as a diver of the 119th Seabees, Company D. Mr. Holm retired from the State Department after serving in the consular service at posts in Greece, Ethiopia, Mexico, Somalia, Wales, Norway, France, Libya, Iran and Tunisia. "I was a free spirit," he said. "I loved the world and I saw a lot of it."

Mr. Holm was a Sharon resident for 23 years.

In addition to his wife of 55 years, Joelle (Le Marchand), survivors include four children; Melinda and William of New York City, Ingrid Story of Portland, Ore., and Stephanie of London, England; seven grandchildren; and a sister, Claire Kunkel, of Chapel Hill, N.C.



R. (Rayford) Glynn Mays Jr., 83, retired FSO, died of pneumonia Aug. 26 at Montgomery General Hospital in Olney, Md.

Mr. Mays was born in Birmingham, Ala., and graduated from Drew University in 1942. During World War II, he served stateside as a staff sergeant in the U.S. Army. In 1944, he married Matilda Frances Leonardo, who died in 2001. After the war, he attended Yale University, where he was a history instructor while he worked on his doctoral dissertation. Upon receiving his doctorate in European history in 1951, Mr. Mays joined the State Department and moved to Silver Spring, Md.

During his 43-year career at State, Mr. Mays held numerous positions both in Washington and abroad. He served first as an intelligence research analyst and chief of the Eastern European Branch, Biographic Information. His team correctly predicted Nikita Khrushchev's rise to power in the Soviet Union in 1953 after the death of Joseph Stalin.

Mr. Mays served with the Foreign Service in Europe from 1957 to 1964. He served as a political officer at the U.S. Mission in Berlin, and as regional director for the department's refugee program in Geneva. He also served in Salzburg and Frankfurt.

In his later years, he worked in Washington as director of the Mon-

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itoring Overseas Direct Employment Staff in the Office of the Under Secretary of State for Management. Upon retirement in 1994, he received the John Jacob Rogers Distinguished Service Medal.

Carolyn Lowengart, a longtime professional colleague of Mr. Mays, praised his “unwavering integrity and professionalism,” and said he “inspired countless subordinates to produce far more and better than they ever thought possible.” Another colleague wrote of him: “He was one of those very special people who made the department work and influenced the lives of many.” A former ambassador and assistant secretary of State will

“remember him fondly as a fount of knowledge and wisdom, and also for his sense of humor.”

For over 50 years, Mr. Mays was an active member of the Silver Spring Presbyterian Church and served as an elder five times. In the 1980s, he served as executive director of Montgomery County Habitat for Humanity, and remained involved in the organization until weeks before his death. During his two decades of volunteer service, he oversaw nearly two dozen construction and renovation projects. In 1991, President George H.W. Bush awarded him a “Thousand Points of Light” award for his Habitat service.

William J. McGovern, 82, diplomatic courier, consular officer and one of the few — perhaps only — FSOs to become a consular agent, died in Adelaide, South Australia, on Aug. 8.

Born in 1922 in Taunton, Mass., Bill McGovern served on a U.S. Navy aircraft carrier during World War II, earning three battle stars to his Pacific ribbon. In 1946, he entered Mount St. Mary’s College, Emmitsburg, Md., receiving a B.S. degree in 1950. In that same year, Mr. McGovern joined the Diplomatic Courier Service, which sent him to the Far East, Europe, South America, North Africa and Australia. Following his traveling courier years,

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IN MEMORY



he served in Frankfurt, Bucharest, Moscow, Saigon, Honolulu and Perth, Western Australia. He was consul in Perth from 1963 to 1967, and then was assigned to the department until 1972, when he retired.

While in Perth, Mr. McGovern married Trenna Leske, an Australian nurse. On retirement they and their son C.J. returned to her birthplace, Adelaide, to live. He served as the U.S. consular agent in Adelaide for 12 years until his retirement from those duties in the late 1980s. For many in South Australia, Bill McGovern was the U.S. government, helping widows with their Social Security, taking passport applications and guiding U.S. ambassadors, Melbourne consuls general and other U.S. official visitors through their visits to South Australia.

Son C.J. died tragically in 1992 at 23 from the consequences of Goodpasture's Syndrome. After that time, Mr. McGovern put aside much of his active civic life, and he and Trenna traveled widely. He was a Knight Commander of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem and an active member of the South Australia Kidney Foundation. He is survived by his wife, Trenna, of Burnside, South, Australia.



James K. Penfield, 96, retired FSO and former ambassador, died in the hospital in Seattle, Wash., on Sept. 11.

Ambassador Penfield was born in New York City in 1908. He studied history at Stanford University, graduating in 1929. He entered the Foreign Service that year, and was posted to Mexico. Following training in Mandarin at the Foreign Service Language School he spent almost a decade in China, posted

successively to Canton, Mukden, Peiping, Yananfu and Chung King.

In 1941, Amb. Penfield was sent to establish the first consulate in Gothab, Greenland. He was next posted to Guam as political adviser to Admiral Nimitz. In 1948 he was posted to Prague, and two years later to London. In 1954 he was assigned to Vienna. Following a tour in Athens in 1956, Amb. Penfield returned to Washington to take up the post of deputy assistant secretary of State for African Affairs. He attained the rank of career minister in 1958. After serving as ambassador to Iceland from 1961 to 1966, he returned to Washington. In 1970 he retired to Longbranch, Wash.

Amb. Penfield's experiences under six presidents from Hoover to Nixon in the many countries to which he was posted were characterized by variety, glamour and danger. He was fluent in French and Mandarin Chinese. His walk through Manchuria to Tibet produced many stories. A high point of his career was the negotiation and signing of the treaty returning Austria to its citizens after its post-war management by Russia, France, Britain and the U.S. The timing of his postings to Prague and London enabled him to witness extraordinary events such as Czechoslovakia's turn to communism and the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II.

An active retiree, Amb. Penfield served the local communities around Longbranch as energetically as he had served his government. He was head of the Park Recreation Board and of the Fire Department. His active role in land-use zoning and the establishment of a local medical clinic are among his many activities that are still appreciated by community members.

Amb. Penfield is survived by one

daughter, Kedzie Penfield of Scotland, from his first marriage to the late Anne Boardman; his second wife, Georgia; and two granddaughters.



John Holly Scanlon, 79, retired FSO, died on Sept. 27 at Medlink Hospital in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Scanlon was born on July 20, 1925, in Kansas City, Mo., to the late Henry Patrick and Margaret (nee Casey) Scanlon.

He was a United States Navy veteran, and joined the Foreign Service in 1954. During a 28-year career he was posted with USIA in Phnom Penh, Naples, Palermo, Trieste, Mogadishu, Algiers, Oran, Saigon, Rome and Washington, D.C.

Mr. Scanlon is predeceased by one brother, Bob Scanlon. He is survived by four children, Holly Klassen, John Scanlon, Sarah Murdock and Matthew Scanlon; two brothers, Timothy and Joseph Scanlon; 13 grandchildren; and five great-grandchildren. ■



Send your "In Memory" submission to:

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No photos, please.*

STILL HAVEN'T FOUND WHAT WE ARE LOOKING FOR...

DOES AN INTERNATIONAL HIGH SCHOOL EXPERIENCE MAKE YOU WHO YOU ARE?
THE AUTHOR SURVEYS ADULTS WHO HAVE "BEEN THERE, DONE THAT"
TO FIND SOME ANSWERS.

By MIKKELA THOMPSON

If my international life as a Foreign Service teenager had a theme song, it would be a tossup between U2's "Where the streets have no name" and "I still haven't found what I'm looking for." I attended Copenhagen International School, which I've likened to a brotherhood, a place where everyone became your "family." Last summer, I was in Copenhagen once again, sitting at the vegetarian Mediterranean buffet with my high school friends. As I tried despondently to pretend that my falafel was a frikedelle, my friend asked me, "So, in 15 years, what have we accomplished?" That prompted me to ask another question, as I looked at my friends and tallied up our different jobs and destinies: did high school make us who we are?

So I decided to ask around. I visited my old high school and talked with my teachers. I discussed this question with my old schoolmates. And when I returned to the States, I continued the discussion with my new friends, including those in the Global Nomad community. (Global Nomads is a term and an organization for people who have lived in more than one country as a child as a result of their parents' professions. See "A Village to Call Home — Global Nomads International," *FSJ*, June 2004, p. 69.)

I sent out an e-mail questionnaire, and received responses from the adult children of Foreign Service, military, U.N., corporate and educator parents. The respondents were of many nationalities, but most had lived in at least four countries. These people have been around — Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Brazil, Cambodia, Central Republic of Congo, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Egypt, England, Ethiopia, Finland, Fiji, France, Germany, Greece, Holland, India, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, South Korea,

Marshall Islands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria, Tanzania, Thailand, Tunisia, Venezuela, Uganda, UAE, the U.S. and Yemen. Yet their experiences have much in common.

CIS: A Trip Down Memory Lane

Copenhagen is infamous for its rain, and on an August day in 2004 the rain clouds huddled and banked on the other side of the train track as I got out in Hellerup (considered a yuppie area just north of Copenhagen, like McLean, Va.). I walked to the school, which now occupies Hellerupvej 22-26. How times have changed.

I spent 9th grade in Fairfax, Va., but that year pales in comparison with the following three years at Copenhagen International School in Denmark. My school in Virginia was a sprawling building full of thousands of students, where I had to watch out for the hallways that were "bad neighborhoods." The next year, 1986, I moved to Denmark and, after a short interview with the principal, Mr. Keson, was admitted to CIS. The school was a yellow building located on Gammel Kongevej (Old King's Way), on the edge of the red light district. Our neighbors were a bodega, a strip club and a kiosk. Across the street was one of the lakes that made up the moat fortifications of old Copenhagen. The school was near the main train station. Back then we didn't have a gym, just the dirt courtyard in front of the building. Only later did the school acquire a gym and a fence. And, still later, a new location.

Our school had 100 students spread out over grades 10 through 13. One could take the American high school diploma or participate in the International Baccalaureate program, which required an extra year of study. I made lifelong friends there while also participating in a drama trip to Brussels, a basketball trip to Berlin, a "Model United Nations" trip to the Hague, a ski trip to France and a cultural

Continued on page 74

Mikkela Thompson is the Journal's Business Manager.



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Recipients of the Foreign Service Youth Foundation awards for Community Service with Under Secretary of State Richard Armitage, July 2004

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Foreign Service Youth Foundation

Counterintuitive as it seems to most parents, returning to the United States is often the most difficult move for our children. Though the years in the Washington area may be the strangest years in a lifetime of exotic locations, FS children can still benefit from the efforts made on their behalf. In this cyber age, the Foreign Service Youth Foundation sponsors a perpetual virtual club house — and a tangible place for kids who are in the DC area. The FSYF is a 501 (C)(3) nonprofit organization established in 1989 to inform and assist Foreign Service youth and their families with their internationally mobile lifestyle. FSYF's youth development programs include a myriad of educational and social activities. Through the FSYF programs children discuss pertinent issues such as returning to the U.S., coping with the first week of school, making new friends, preparing for a move, saying goodbye and staying in touch.

For 5-to-8-year-old FS children, "Diplokids" provides a fun place to meet other kids who have lived around the world. The pre-teen group, "Globe Trotters," meets for social activities and hosts transition, leadership training and re-entry workshops. The oldest group, "AWAL (Around the World in a Lifetime)," for FS teens, includes the elements of the other programs and a community service project (funded by a grant from the Una Chapman Cox Foundation). This year's community service project is dedicated to introducing refugee children to American life.

FSYF sponsors many other activities including the FSYF community service awards, annual welcome-back potluck picnic, parenting programs and the Kid Video Contest (in conjunction with FSI's Transition Center). FSYF membership is \$30 for three years per FS family. **For more information on FSYF's activities, go to its Web site, www.fsyf.org, or e-mail fsyf@fsyf.org.**

LISTENING TO GIRLS

Each summer thousands of people come to the Berkshires to listen. They come to hear these old hills echoing with the world's most glorious music. To be still and to listen—that is a powerful thing. The Berkshires, after all, are quiet, conducive to the pleasures of listening. Elsewhere, to turn off the din and truly listen—well, that is more of a challenge.

The voices of girls are especially hard to hear, particularly through the cacophony of what our culture is saying to them. Here's what to wear, here's how to look, here's how you should think. Don't ask too many questions. Don't talk back. Your appearance is more important than your programming skills and your writing. Choose your college based on your boyfriend.

What do girls themselves have to say? Younger girls, before they reach adolescence, typically have a lot to say. They know what they want. Their voices are clear. But as girls enter their teens, we hear them less clearly. Often their voices grow smaller as they try to make sense of the world and discover the true girl inside. Sometimes their voices change—and we no longer recognize them.

But when we create some quiet, girls' voices grow stronger. In a girls' school, girls become adventurous. They take up rock climbing and Tae

Kwon Do. They write short stories, conduct complex scientific experiments, build software programs, and plan study-abroad trips. They look forward to college as a place to learn and gain new levels of competence. In the quiet, girls acquire confidence and strength. They begin to dream big dreams.

Listen to what girls in girls' schools say. Listen to the ideas they have for history projects. Listen to their opinions on computer game violence, or censorship, or biotechnology. Listen to how they discuss art and music and politics. It is amazing what girls can do when we respect their opinions. They will organize community service projects and learn new languages. They will publish magazines and start businesses. Look at the machines they build. Look at the presentations they put together. Listen to the music they compose. They will, in the quiet, learn to excel.

We listen to girls at Miss Hall's School

We turn down the noise and listen. In this space apart, we give girls the opportunity to be heard, to be leaders, to develop their own voices, their own ideas, their own visions of who they want to be. And suddenly it's not so quiet anymore but filled with the joyful music of young women becoming themselves



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trip to Italy. All the while, Copenhagen was a safe haven, with efficient public transportation and bicycle paths, giving me the freedom to explore the city.

The teachers were a vital part of the CIS experience. I worshipped some of them. And they cared about the students. In 1994, when one of the former CIS students died of medicinal complications at the age of 26, three former teachers attended her funeral. Dr. Engelberg, IB examiner and English teacher, said that it is the students and the atmosphere that have kept him at CIS for 17 years. "The students at CIS are unique and difficult to leave behind." He said that CIS has "a spirit of care and respect and sober academic aspirations," and that CIS prepares students for university and adult life by trying to "make them competent in everything they do, including the choices they have to make."

*I spent 9th grade in
Fairfax, Va., but that year
pales in comparison with
the following three years
at Copenhagen
International School
in Denmark.*

Dr. Engelberg added that as a teacher, he aims to help his students realize their potential and become competent managers of their own lives. As for students wanting to become English teachers, he said wryly, "Although it's intended as a

compliment, it also suggests that my attempts to make those students capable, independent human beings have, as yet, not met with any success."

**Here, There and
Everywhere: School
Experiences**

For most students, the school's location and related activities were a positive experience. "Seeing Roman ruins when studying about Romans, visiting Istanbul when learning about the Islamic world," is the way one respondent put it. This was especially true for those who attended high school in Italy: history class taught on location in Rome, taught by people who "are very steeped in it and made it completely alive." One cited the special effect of studying the history of the Middle East told from both sides with children from both sides in the classroom. Others recalled the

Continued on page 76

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field trips (like to Paris and Florence), and the closely walled villa; the prom on a boat in Venice; the amphitheater in the dell; the shepherds who walked through playing their pipes when they herded their flock; and, of course, making close friends. According to one student, "I would say that the friendship bond was at its highest during those later years in high school."

Although many international students were in overseas schools due to the politics of their parents' countries, usually all politics was left outside the school gates. I remember a phenomenal friendship between two boys, whose parents' countries were enemies. One of them had a bodyguard and was driven to school in a different car every day. Maybe they weren't really different. Yes, they had different religions, languages and destinies, but both were from well-off, cosmopolitan families. Many

schools also had children of royalty, or from deposed regimes, from rich families, from industry, from government, jet-setters, movie-star kids and fun-seekers. As one former student who attended high school in the 1970s in Rome said, "Our mates were kidnapped, and their homes in the Middle East were attacked." One student who attended school in Manila said she doesn't remember anything about politics: "Even though there were tanks in the city, we were just happy to have a few days off school!" Although politics was important to us, another said, "we did not factionalize."

If the good experiences were varied and often exotic, so were the bad ones. The worst parts of these schools, reported one respondent, included drinking gin at a dance and feeling sick; listening to Doron and Ali say goodbye at graduation with a

"see you at the front;" and the Getty boy getting kidnapped and having his ear cut off. For some, the one disadvantage to attending an international high school was logistics — the two hours it took to get there by bus or, as in Hong Kong, needing parents to drive one places.

Anna, a Swedish diplomatic national who used to wander the streets of Kabul and Delhi by herself, echoed the kind of freedom and independence I experienced in Copenhagen. "Since my parents lived in Kabul and I in New Delhi during high school, I spent all the long weekends and holidays going back to Kabul to be with them. Hence, I was in Kabul during the days between Christmas and New Year in 1980 when the Soviet army invaded," she said. "But what I remember was my independence and gumption. Each time I

Continued on page 79

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“Most Foreign Service families I speak with have made good use of the Family Liaison Office at State, which offers information, support, networking and referrals to a variety of agencies including schools, hospitals, outpatient services and testing facilities. Other families use area educational consultants.”

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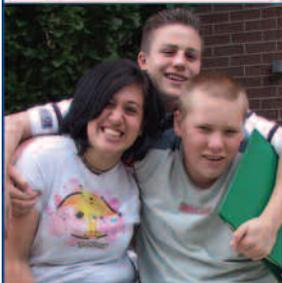


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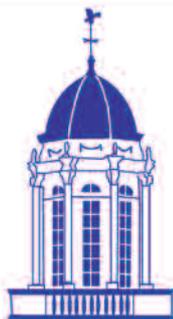
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Continued from page 76

was to fly back to Kabul (even though I lived with an American family that hosted me), I would take a cab to the Air India office and buy my ticket myself. Then I would take a cab to the battered multi-story visa office at the edge of Old Delhi to get my exit and entry visas for Afghanistan. I had to do this on every trip. I got to be such a pro, I knew exactly which officials to visit to get my multiple forms duly stamped and signed in record time. I always bypassed the long lines of clueless tourists and 'WTs' (world travelers of the opium/hashish generation). And I managed to visit the correct clerks and get my visa — all without bribing a single person. I also used to get myself to the airport. Thank God for the cheap cabs in India; as a kid you could go anywhere!"

According to another student, who went to high school in the

It is hard for children who have been raised overseas to return to high school in America.

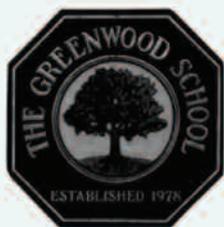
Marshall Islands, the best thing about school was "running for a dip at the beach between classes and wearing flip-flops."

For many, the best part of international schools was their relatively small size and cultural diversity. "People were in similar shoes," said one. "It was a small, radical, experimental school and the teachers and even the principal knew who you

were. The teachers were enthusiastic and loving." Another advantage to a small school is that one can be involved in everything. "We not only had people from Italy and the U.S., but many kids whose parents were working more far afield. The teachers were dedicated to where they were and what they were doing," recalled another. "Perhaps because of this the school body — teachers and students — were very open to people from all walks of life. We had and were friends with druggies, punks, preppies, hippies, you name it." For many the best experience was "the feeling of total acceptance as the premise."

Others explained that the experience taught them to read people and understand multicultural body language. According to one FS child, what she liked best about going to school overseas was the mix of people

Continued on page 81



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Continued from page 79

from all over the world. "I always felt more at home in that type of society than in American society. When I was a child, when we returned from Africa, every time I would see an African or African-American, I would get so excited to see someone from home," she said. "After a while I realized that African-Americans were not Africans, but that was confusing at first. I still, to this day, feel very drawn to Africans and African-Americans."

Coming "Home"

I have talked to several "kids" whose parents moved them "back" to their home country. For some, it was the first time they had lived in their native country, and the culture shock was extreme. Some chose to not socialize with the other kids. According to one woman, "When I had to return to North Carolina for my senior year, I cried every day for the

Most of the international kids I talk to, now in their 20s, 30s and 40s, still don't know what they want to do when they "grow up."

first half of the school year because I missed [the high school in New Delhi] so much. It made a huge impact on me, and I'll never forget the time in New Delhi. I think it was the happiest I've ever been."

Ingrid, an FS child, who lived in Singapore, South Africa, New Zealand, Thailand, Venezuela, Sweden

and the U.S., understands her parents' decision to move her back to the States for high school in Newport, R.I. The worst part of her experience was that at the public school in Newport, "people thought I was weird because I'd just come from a small international school in Thailand. The other students were always asking me questions like, 'Do you speak Chinese?'"

As Ingrid explained: "I guess my parents thought it was important for me to come back so I felt I could fit in here as well as abroad. At that point, I was almost 14 and had spent only about four years in the U.S. I think they also felt most of the schools in the U.S. would do a better job preparing me for college than some of the international schools would. I wasn't really angry with them. I think, even then, I understood their reasons for wanting me to go to high school here. Mostly,

Continued on page 89

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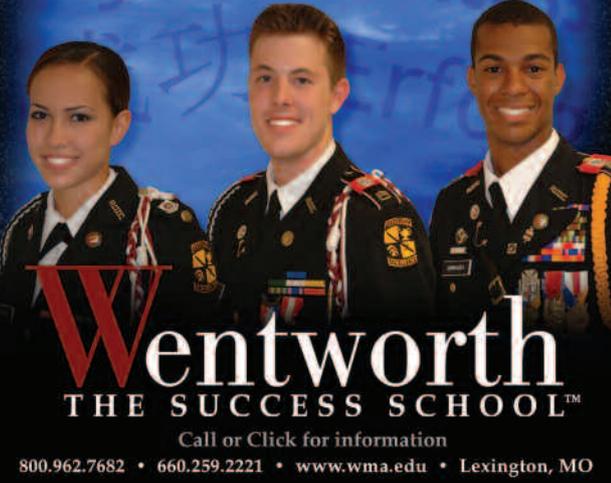
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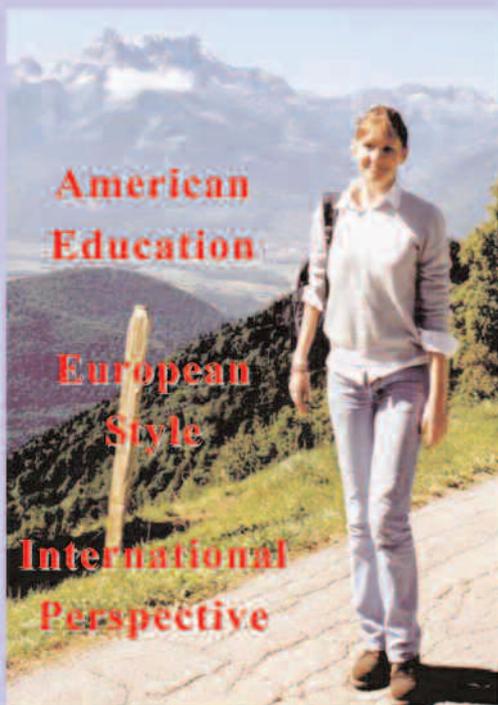


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Schools at a Glance

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School Name	Advertisement Page No.	Enrollment	Gender Distribution, M/F	Percent Boarding	Percent International	Levels Offered	Common Application	Accepts/Offers ADD and LD	Miles to Int'l Airport	Int'l Students Orientation	Dorms w/E-mail, phones	Holiday Break Coverage	Annual Tuition, Room & Board (USD)
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ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Alexandria Country Day School	92	250	47/53	NA	NA	K-8	N	N	20	NA	NA	NA	15,600
British International School	89	300	50/50	NA	50	PK-12	N	N	10	Y	NA	NA	14,500
Sheridan School	97	215	50/50	NA	3	K-8	N	N	10	N	N	N	18,689
Washington International School	77	825	49/51	NA	37	PK-12	N	Limited	8	Y	NA	NA	18,500

JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

Indian Mountain School	89	260	60/40	27	12	PK-9	N	Y	75	N	Y	N	29,450
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JUNIOR SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

Dana Hall School	88	454	All girls	50	11	6-12	Y	Limited	12	Y	Y	N	34,425
Grier School	80	196	All girls	100	37	7-12, PG	Y	Y	120	N	Y	Y	30,900
Oldfields School	91	185	All girls	80	16	8-12, PG	Y	Limited	35	N	N	Y	33,700
Perkiomen School	78	265	60/40	60	20	5-12, PG	Y	Y	50	Y	Y	N	31,200
Stone Ridge School of the Sacred Heart	95	782	All girls	NA	2	JK-12	N	N	15	N	N	N	17,480
Webb School, The	87	280	55/45	33	12	7-12, PG	Y	Y/N	45	Y	Y	Y	27,250

SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

Berkshire School	80	385	57/43	86	16	9-12, PG	Y	N	50	Y	Y	N	33,450
Dublin School	82	124	60/40	78	23	9-12, PG	Y	Y	43	Y	Y	Y	35,400
Emma Willard School	85	312	All girls	60	16	9-12, PG	Y	NA	7	Y	Y	Y	32,750
Fountain Valley School	87	225	47/53	62	20	9-12	Y	N	70	Y	Y	Y	29,600
Foxcroft School	90	185	All girls	75	13	9-12	Y	N	30	Y	Y	Y	34,000
George School	95	543	50/50	60	15	9-12	Y	Y	40	Y	Y	N	30,370
Idyllwild Arts Academy	74	262	40/60	85	27	9-12, PG	Y	N	120	Y	Y	N	35,800
Kents Hill School	75	215	60/40	70	20	9-12, PG	Y	Y	50	Y	Y	Limited	33,900
La Lumiere School	92	106	60/40	40	16	9-12, PG	Y	Limited	70	N	Y	Y	20,550
Langley School	90	466	50/50	NA	0	PK- 8	NA	N	15	NA	NA	NA	20,500
Learning Community of Northern Virginia, The	90	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Madeira School	92	302	All girls	55	13	9-12	Y	Y	15	Y	Y	Limited	34,780
Mercersburg Academy	94	444	56/44	83	11	9 -12, PG	Y	Y/N	90	Y	Y	N	30,900
Miss Hall's School	73	175	All girls	75	18	9-12	Y	NA	40	Y	Y	N	33,800
Northfield Mount Hermon School	92	860	51/49	80	25	9-12, PG	N	Limited	70	Y	Y	N	33,000

Notes: NA - Not Applicable. ADD - Attention Deficit Disorder. LD - Learning Disability.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 86

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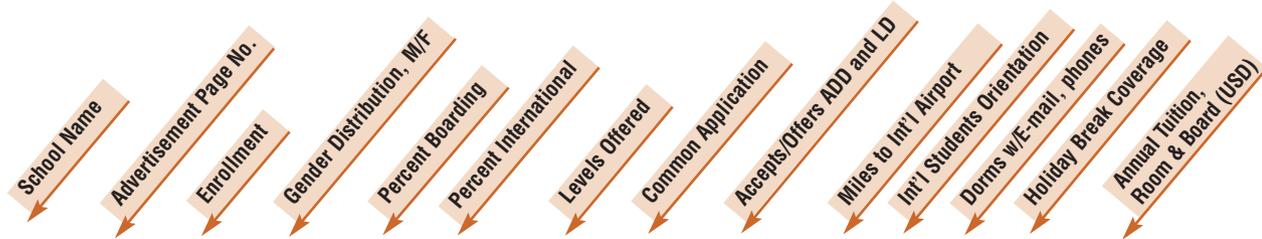
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SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL (CONTINUED)

Oregon Episcopal School	77	265	50/50	25	25	9-12	Y	Limited	20	Y	Y	Y	31,550
Purnell School	76	100	All girls	85	10	9-12	Y	Y	35	Y	Y	N	33,975
Wentworth Military Academy	82	200	80/20	100	4	9-12, PG	N	Y	50	Y	Y	N	21,995
Tilton School	78	214	69/31	75	15	9-12, PG	Y	Y	40	Y	Y	Y	33,125

DISTANCE LEARNING/HOMESCHOOLING

University of Missouri (at Columbia)	80	Independent study: 3-12, PG, accredited HS diploma. Go to: www.cdis.missouri.edu/go/fsd3.asp										21,000
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MILITARY SCHOOLS

Admiral Farragut Academy	82	452	75/25	50	20	6-12	N	N	20	Y	Y	Y	26,000
Valley Forge Military Academy	75	700	All boys	100	12	7-12, PG	Y	N	15	Y	Y	N	26,450

SPECIAL NEEDS SCHOOLS

Vanguard School	96	136	41/59	90	26	5-12, PG	N	Y	50	Y	Y	N	34,750
Forman School	85	170	60/40	90	7	9-12	N	Y	45	Y	Y	N	43,000
Gow School	78	143	All boys	100	20	7-12, PG	N	All LD	20	Y	Y	N	39,500
Greenwood School	79	40	All boys	100	10	9-15 yrs. old	N	Y	75	N	Y	N	45,135
Riverview School	83	182	50/50	100	Limited	7-12, PG	N	Y	75	Y	N	N	55,643

OVERSEAS SCHOOLS

John F. Kennedy International School in Switzerland	78	65	50/50	50	70	K-8	N	Limited	90	Y	Y/N	N	37,000
Leysin American School in Switzerland	83	330	55/44	100	65	9-12, PG	Y	Limited	75	Y	Y	N	31,000
St. Michael's University School	83	880	50/50	40	26	8-12	N	N	15	Y	Y	Y	21,900
St. Stephens School	94	208	43/57	15	59	9-12, PG	N	N	12	NA	Y	N	31,734
TASIS, The American School in England	81	659	51/49	25	35	Nursery-13	Y	Limited	8	Y	Y	N	33,000
TASIS, The American School in Switzerland	81	325	50/50	84	55	7-PG	Y	N	5	Y	Y	N	33,000

OTHER

Foreign Service Youth Foundation	72	Assists Foreign Service youth by coordinating development programs. Go to www.fsyf.org									
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Notes: NA - Not Applicable. ADD - Attention Deficit Disorder. LD - Learning Disability.

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FROM THE JUNE 2000 SCHOOL SUPPLEMENT

Ani Stoyanova,
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"All three institutions combine intensive training in the arts with college-preparatory academic curricula and boast a high percentage of international students. Graduates of all three schools have gone on to the Juilliard School, the Peabody Conservatory of Music and Oberlin Conservatory of Music. Others have attended Yale, Columbia, Cornell and New York University.

"For more information, contact the International Network of Performing and Visual Arts Schools (www.artsschoolsnetwork.org)."

"Back in 1989, if you had asked me whether homeschooling might be a good option for my children, I would have answered with an emphatic 'No!' A Foreign Service spouse with three young boys, I was sure that homeschool was an option chosen only by missionaries and a few counter-culture types.

"Times have changed. Homeschooling is now a popular and culturally acceptable choice. Many resources exist to support homeschools and state education laws have been written to respond to the rise in homeschooled children." Here are some of them:

WWW.HOME-ED-MAGAZINE.COM

Library, resources, online newsletter, monthly publication. Look for their online Pocket Field Guide to Homeschooling. Click on "Resources – State Laws and Regulations."

WWW.NHEN.ORG

The National Home Education Network.

WWW.UNSCHOOLING.COM

Creating non-school learning environments.

WWW.CALVERTSCHOOL.ORG

The Calvert School has offered homeschooling courses for almost 100 years.

WWW.STATE.GOV/WWW.FLO/EDUCATION.HTML

Family Liaison Office, Education. See Direct Communication Project Paper No. 30, "The Home Study Option," available online.

Continued from page 81

I was just sad because it was hard for me to adjust to going to high school in the U.S. I was also playing catch-up my freshman year since even the public school was a lot more challenging than the international school I'd attended in Chiang Mai, Thailand."

Jonathan, an American Foreign Service child, lived in Uganda, Ethiopia, Brazil and Israel as a youngster. He attended the American International School in Tel Aviv and Walt Whitman High School in Bethesda, Md. (with 171 students and 2000 students, respectively). He loved AIS because of its size, and hated Whitman for the same reason. "I really disliked Whitman for the usual clichés associated with high school: cliques, fakeness, nobody really seemed interested in anything 'different.' High school taught me to be tolerant of stupid and intolerant people," he added.

Not all students enjoy their international experiences. One was angry at her parents for moving her. She says that she did not make friends easily and was often depressed. Both she and her sister went through counseling. "We are extremely insecure. I feel like I have no base, no home. Relationship-wise we have both been very clingy and intense in the past, although we now have successful relationships. A lot of soul-searching was involved (but maybe that happens with everyone?)," she reported. "I am sure I would have been a more balanced person if we didn't move so much — although, of course, we saw a lot of cultures and different countries, and it's quite useful on my CV as it makes people interested to know more." Of the international lifestyle, she said she "would only do that to my children if they were very young."

Sage Advice: What Experts and Parents Say

Helen Rudinsky, who lived in Slovakia as a teen, is a licensed clinical marriage and family therapist and a licensed professional counselor, with extensive experience in international consulting, expatriate support and cross-cultural counseling. From her own personal and professional experience, she says that it is hard for children who have been raised overseas to return to high school in America. Often they don't feel American, and many do not want to participate in the anonymity and consumerism of American high school, which is almost a different culture unto itself. Kids who are brought back for high school often spend years "playing catch-up," says Ms. Rudinsky, where they have to learn the culture of high school and being a teen in America. It is easier to

Continued on page 91

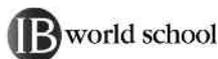


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Continued from page 91

be a “big fish in a small pond than a small fish in a big pond.”

Ms. Rudinsky recommends that parents think about their child’s high school career, as early as when the child is 8 or 9. Also, parents should be aware that in exposing their children to an overseas life, they are creating world citizens who will find it hard to fit in, find their niche, or partner, etc. Also, it is best for the family as a whole to decide about school and to let the children take an active part in the decision-making so that they feel some “ownership” over their lives.

A child who sought counseling had this view: “I would say that maybe if you are quite young, an international life wouldn’t be too bad. However, I couldn’t make long-lasting friendships, and it made me feel quite insecure. On my old school reports I am always described as shy and quiet, and I always remember one line: ‘she

*Returning to the
U.S. is a difficult
transition for children
raised overseas.*

chooses her friends wisely.’ It was also said that I enjoy my own company. I thought: ‘What is the point in making friends when I never know how long I’ll be here?’ I don’t think it is fair to the child once they get older (maybe middle-school age).”

For some, taking a year off before university allowed for maturity. One of the Foreign Service dependents

deferred her admission to Brown and went to Venezuela with her parents for a year. “What was cool about that was that it was my decision to go there, so, unlike in the past, I didn’t feel like I was being dragged around,” she reported.

Returning to the U.S. is a difficult transition for children raised overseas. After hearing many international kids’ stories, it seems that if one doesn’t return to the U.S. as a preteen, then perhaps college is the right time to make that change. At that stage, the culture shock is more bearable, and the teen is a young adult. In high school most teenagers are vulnerable to a double whammy of change. For many, college is close enough to a “foreign country” — something they definitely know how to deal with.

Parents can make all the difference in how their child sees their interna-

Continued on page 93



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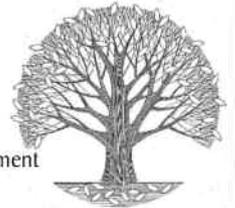
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Continued from page 91

tional experience. For Guled, who attended high school in Jamaica and India, it was important that he was allowed to finish the school year at the same institution (some kids were yanked out in mid-year). And his father facilitated the acclimatization process by introducing him to his co-workers' children before school started. Most respondents' parents had the usual parental advice on careers, while some steered their children toward or away from certain careers, perhaps depending on how they saw their own experiences.

Certain careers are more transferable than others, but for some parents it was mainly about job security, knowing that in an ever-changing world, one's job can be an anchor. One child was steered toward careers where one could more readily find work—banking, finance, international organizations—and away from the things she loved:

English literature, writing, anthropology, sociology and philosophy. This resulted in her feeling a dichotomy between her interests and her skills. Now she feels like “a split personality with no real expertise.” Others received simpler advice: “My dad warned me against working at Japanese companies and my mom warned me against being a homemaker.”

Wanderlust

Most of the international kids I talk to, now in their 20s, 30s and 40s, still don't know what they want to do when they “grow up.” I wonder if this, like my own furniture-moving mania, is part of the wanderlust that was planted in us as children. Most of them do have successful jobs of the type you would expect internationally raised people to have: World Bank analysts, IMF officials, international development program managers, IT

specialists, teachers of English as a foreign language, lawyers and immigration lawyers, and writers. One FS child, now a journalism student, says that she has noticed that many Foreign Service kids become writers. My personal theory for this (and also for why so many FS folks write books), is that an international/global life forces one to analyze, assimilate, accept, understand, and work and communicate with foreign concepts, people and ways. These are valuable skills and make for attractive employees — just don't expect them to stay put for 30 years.

Ironically, a Foreign Service career can pose a particular obstacle for the internationally raised kid. These young people have often lived less than half their lives in their passport country. I have a friend who spent years studying about the U.S. so that

Continued on page 95

FROM THE DECEMBER 2001 SCHOOL SUPPLEMENT Pia Schou Nielsen, “Looking for a Good School Abroad?”

“According to the State Department's Family Liaison Office, there are approximately 10,000 children in Foreign Service families, of whom about 7,200 are school-age. Around 93 percent of those children attend local schools in the city of assignment. Five percent enroll in boarding schools, and the other 2 percent are homeschooled by their parents.

“Foreign Service life offers these children many rewards: excitement, diversity, intellectual stimulation and a sense of self-sufficiency. But it also poses many challenges, a major one being the identification of schools that nurture educational and social development rather than disrupting it. Even in developed nations, finding schools with high educational standards that also give American students the opportunity to interact with the local culture can be difficult. And the selection process must be repeated every few years, often in very different settings. Fortunately, help is available!”

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FROM THE JUNE 2002 SCHOOL SUPPLEMENT

Tanja Trezn,

“An Internship Can Open Many Doors”

“Are you a high school or college student who has always dreamed of working at a TV station in the U.S., advertising in China, or designing cars in Germany? One of the best ways to prepare for your dream career is to apply for an internship. And it’s never too early to start.

“Another excellent resource for internships in the U.S. is the home page of Rising Star Internships (www.rsinternships.com), which provides information on jobs divided by fields and subjects.

“The following Web sites not only describe available internships but provide helpful information about the country and culture, including any special circumstances you should be aware of:

www.intern.studyabroad.com
www.internabroad.com”

Web sites with links dedicated to internships:

www.monster.com

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Continued from page 93

he could pass the Foreign Service exam. For others, their very nationality is a question. One Swede feels that she could much better represent the U.S. as she has lived in the U.S. far more than her two years as a toddler in her native Sweden.

Some have had many degrees and many careers as they search for stability and excitement. As one Thai national put it, "I'd like to get married and start a new life here in the U.S. I have grown up overseas, moving from place to place. I haven't any solid roots. I can't commit to a solid career choice because I feel that if I do, I will be stuck. Yet, I yearn to settle down and start laying roots of my own because I am done with traveling for now. In my opinion, from traveling to Third World countries all my life, America is the best country, whether you agree with the politics or not. Therefore I have chosen the U.S. for this."

Often, it may sound like these internationally raised children are complaining about their fabulous lives. But actually most of them are aware of the privileges they have had. As one child acknowledged, I "lived too many lives, saw so much, was exposed to so many things. I think it can serve to confuse as well as enrich." She may "change paths in five years' time," she admitted, due to what she terms the "been-there; done-that" attitude typical of internationally raised individuals.

Ultimately, the common thread amongst the internationally raised is wanderlust. For some the internal clock is set at six months, and for others it is four years. They may never settle down into a career for more than a decade. The stories are the same: "I think I moved around too much, maybe, when we were growing up. Although I had great experiences

of other countries and I learnt a lot about other cultures, it has made me crave change all the time. I hate staying in one place, as I feel like I am stagnating."

Or, as another candidly put it: "I must stress that I have a great husband, a very well-paying job and a great house, and I am healthy. I should be happy all the time just to live my life, which of course I do most of the time. I feel like I am missing something, though. I am almost bored because there is no major change in my life. I know that if I went to live in another country, it would be great, but only until the novelty wore off. I don't know what I am looking for."

At the Fork in the Road

When asked, "Did your high school experience determine your path in adult life?", one respondent

Continued on page 97

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Provides information, advocacy and activities for internationally mobile youth.

www.state.gov/www/flo/fsyf.html

TCK WORLD

Web site for the support and understanding of Third Culture Kids (TCKs).

www.tckworld.com

FROM THE JUNE 2004 SCHOOL SUPPLEMENT

Mikkela Thompson

“A Village to Call Home -- Global Nomads International”

“Long before Marshall McLuhan coined the phrase ‘Global Village’ in 1967, the world was an actual village for the Foreign Service. But as in all villages, you are not always part of the club. You can do drama, play sports, be a scout and play in the orchestra but no matter how well-adjusted you are -- despite your country-hopping and language dexterity -- sometimes it’s nice to find others who are just like you. Last fall I was impressed to find my “tribe” -- and their temporary village -- at the Global Nomads conference at George Mason University (Oct. 24–26, 2003).

“According to the organization’s founder, Norma McCaig, a Global Nomad is ‘anyone who has ever lived abroad before adulthood because of a parent’s occupational choice (with for, example, the diplomatic corps, religious or non-governmental missions, international business) or whose parents were/are abroad independently for career purposes.’ This includes military brats, diplomatic brats, banking brats, missionary brats, teaching brats, expats, etc. etc. There are many other terms for those who have had an internationally mobile childhood. TCK or third culture kid has been used since the 1960s, and there were representatives from that field of research at the conference too.

“Attending a conference like the GNI conference is a great way to make friends, but also a way for you to realize that you are not alone in your “specialness” -- most of the people at the conference speak three or more languages, claim five or more countries as part of their identity, and many have several passports. It’s wonderful to be part of a club where every introduction is a laundry list of countries of residence.

“As a result of the conference, I joined the local chapter of Global Nomads International, Global Nomads Washington Area. They function primarily as a social group and meet about once a month for brunches, movie nights, etc., including the cherry blossom parade and an annual holiday party.

“To join the list, send a blank message to gnwa@yahoo.com.”

Continued from page 95

replied, "I think so. It helped to cement my desire to live overseas, to be in a community of people who had that same experience."

At CIS, one of the English exams included memorizing Robert Frost's "The Road Not Taken." My English teacher, Mr. Pierce, told us that it would save our life someday — the day we got stuck in an elevator. Years later, I did get stuck in an elevator, at the Kennedy Center. Although I did think about my high school English class, I was more concerned with trying to calm the claustrophobic lady counting her business cards. I don't know if she would have appreciated my reciting, "Two roads diverged in a yellow wood ..."

But Copenhagen International School did make a difference. It was much like a secret society. Once a CISer, always a CISer. I can go anywhere in the world and call up a for-

*There are so many
lessons learned when
the world has been
your playground.*

mer CISer, and I will have a place to stay. Even if the kid that I didn't like back then called me up now, I would have dinner with him or her. There are those for whom memories of CIS are a time-warp where they were king. But for most of us, it was a great gathering of our lifelong friends. As a Foreign Service child, I'm rather proud and happy that many of my closest friends are from my high

school years. Not a mean feat in a place where some people pass through for six months and then leave (yes, even *they* count as part of the brotherhood).

Though high school had a formative place in many international children's lives, as it did in mine, it probably didn't affect us as much as the sheer internationalism of our lives. There are so many lessons learned when the world has been your playground. So, although these children still may not know what they are looking for, they have an internal global positioning system that is distinct and offers its own inestimable rewards.

In the words of one: "I appreciate my worldly upbringing. I feel that the perspective I got in experiencing completely different cultures and languages allowed me to see more of what is underneath culture and language and is universal in all people." ■

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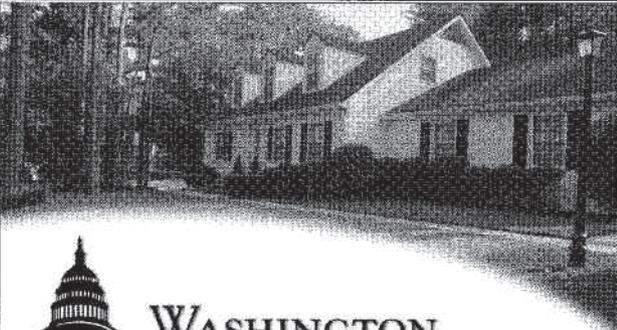
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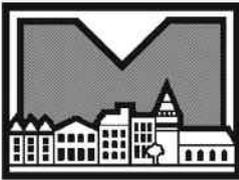
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REFLECTIONS

On the Road to Gaza

BY WILLIAM ROEBUCK

No real temples came tumbling down,
and darkness didn't really cover the earth.
It was like any of dozens of other trips to Gaza
to see the Gaza City businessman,
or the Fatah official, or
the contact who knew the Hamas guys.

Poloff was late, as usual, coffee in hand,
Joking as we left Tel Aviv,
seeing how hard
he could make the PD cultural affairs guy laugh,
as the driver and the young DS agent
cast glances backward, and seemed to ask themselves,
"Are these guys real diplomats or what?"
The DynCorp guys were in the other Suburban,
real soldiers, on a mission, like so many missions before.
A third car, with more security guys, met us at the border.
It seemed kind of silly, all that hardware, speaking into
sleeve mikes,
armored cars, accelerating to ride side by side,
blocking "the principals" from an obviously dangerous
donkey cart or Palestinian kid on a bike.

We stood around in the blinding sun at Erez crossing, on
the border with Gaza,
the burly one laughing and telling me of plans to head to
Iraq to guard Bremer;
then a brief mention of shifting the order of the cars,
"you guys go first,"
to facilitate a training mission for new agents.
They radioed it in to the Marines back at the embassy:
"Eleven men entering Disneyland" to signal our entry
into Gaza.

The surly Israeli teenager and his older, shaggier
Palestinian counterpart down the road,
waving us through; nothing different,
like so many trips before, some completed and reported on,
with this or that minister or snaggle-toothed PA security
officer;
Many others aborted over, obviously idle security concerns.

This one proceeded two miles into sunny Gaza,
until we in the lead car were suddenly showered with
dark dust
and strange debris and heard the explosion.
The DS guy in our car frantically calling out on the radio,

"Cheez, Cheez," the moniker for the burly guy in car
number two Radio silence.
A hasty discussion of limited escape routes, a long U-turn,
and then horror:
An armored two-ton Suburban, lying in a crater
across the median,
Upside-down, and mangled
like a toy car stomped on by an angry or uncaring god.
A sudden wave of super-normality, a second of time slowed
and every breath, every syllable became audible.
A gathering crowd, amid the smoke and carnage,
A sighting, a man down.
Nothing. Time stood still.
A suggestion that we keep moving colliding with
A frantic radio call for the third car to check out the scene
and look for survivors.

The temple had come down.

Some of us would walk out;
Others would be caught in the rubble and debris.
The man down eventually got up, and out.
The burly guy and two others had told their last joke,
and carried out their last mission.

A temple of sorts had come tumbling down,
crashing on our assumptions of safety and normality and
our sense of importance, and crushing with blinding force
our illusions that we were among friends, that we were
spreading good will
and processing peace, or that we were all destined to
be heroes.

The questions about "why" came later,
as did the realization that those of us
in the first car walked away in a bubble
of grace that had blown our way back at Erez crossing,
five minutes before the bombing.

No real temples came tumbling down,
And darkness didn't really cover the earth,
But as some of us staggered back to Tel Aviv that day,
I realized that no one had radioed the Marines at the
embassy
with the routine call that we had left Gaza,
and no one ever would. ■

William Roebuck joined the Service in 1992 and has served in Kingston, Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. He is currently assigned to Damascus.

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • December 2004

CALL FOR 2005 AFSA AWARD NOMINATIONS

AFSA Seeking a Few Good Risk-Takers ... And the People to Nominate Them

BY BARBARA BERGER, PROFESSIONAL ISSUES COORDINATOR

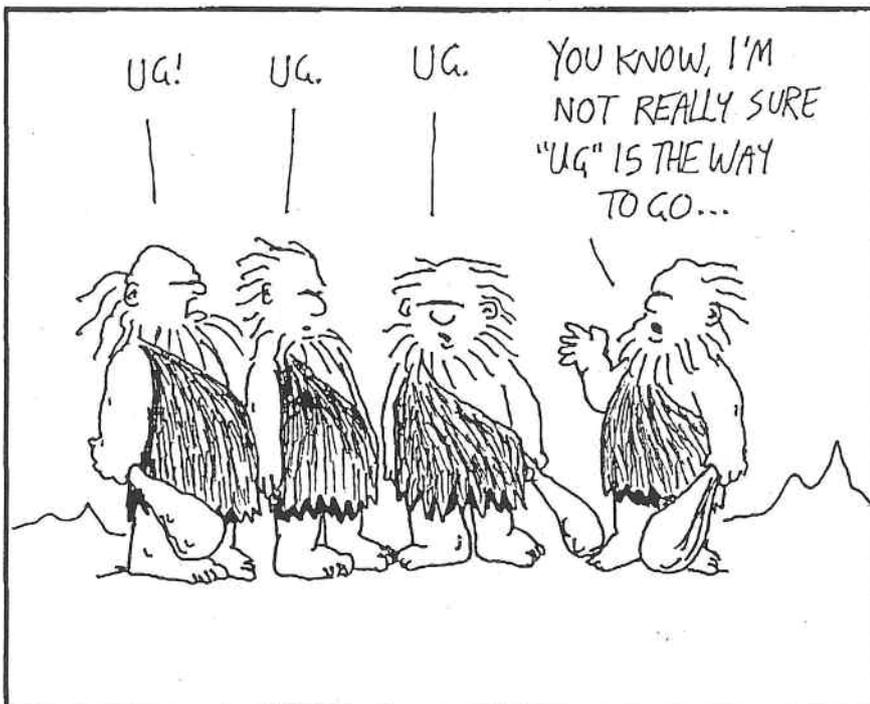
The coming year will mark the 37th anniversary of the establishment of the AFSA Constructive Dissent Awards. The first three dissent awards were created in 1968, a time of great emotional turmoil and disagreement among Americans over our government's policies in Southeast Asia. Unfortunately, our country appears to be experiencing a similar time of divisiveness and uncertainty today over our foreign policy in Iraq and the war on terror.

AFSA is extremely proud of our dissent

awards. "There is no equivalent award that we're aware of, in any other federal agency," says AFSA Communications Director Tom Switzer.

In 1969, the second year that the awards ceremony was held, Under Secretary Elliot Richardson presented the three AFSA dissent awards to a senior, mid-level and junior officer. "Constructive dissent cannot take place unless it is coupled with imagination, creativity, intellectual resourcefulness and, above all,

Continued on page 5



The First Constructive Dissent

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AFSA PRESSES DEPARTMENT ON IRAQ SECURITY

First Foreign Service Member Killed in Iraq

AFSA and the entire Foreign Service community mourn the loss of an outstanding diplomatic security officer, Ed Seitz, killed in Baghdad on Oct. 24. Seitz was the first Foreign Service member to be killed in Iraq. (See In Memory, p. 66.) At the time of his death, Seitz was at Camp Victory, a military base outside the Green Zone near the Baghdad International Airport.

AFSA has shared with State management on numerous occasions our members' concerns about security for Foreign Service personnel in Iraq. AFSA understands that the department is working hard to create a secure environment in an extremely insecure area, but we have urged the department to re-evaluate staffing levels continually and to expedite all possible security enhancements for Foreign Service personnel serving in Iraq. The department has assured us it is doing both.

Following is the text of AFSA's press

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AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



AFSA Welcomes New Board Member

Todd A. Kushner has joined the AFSA Governing Board as a State Department representative, replacing Pamela Bates. Kushner is currently serving as director for counterterrorism finance designations in the Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism. He is an economic officer, and has served in The Hague, Kuala Lumpur, Belgrade, Lagos and Washington.

AFSA Gives Money for College

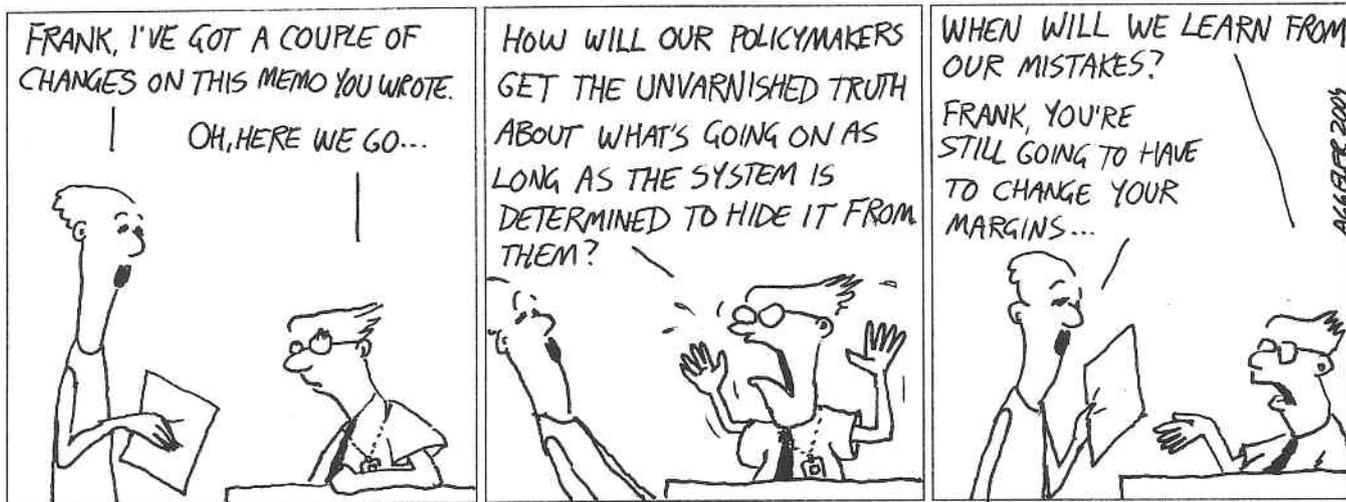
High school seniors and college undergraduates of Foreign Service employees are eligible to apply for one-time-only Academic Merit Awards, Art Merit Awards, and/or renewable, need-based Financial Aid Scholarships, all sponsored by AFSA. Awards range from \$1,000 to \$3,000. The submission deadline for applications is Feb. 6, 2005. Visit AFSA's scholarship Web page at www.afsa.org/scholar/index.cfm for complete details, or contact Lori Dec at dec@afsa.org or 1 (800) 704-2372, ext. 504.



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Life in the Foreign Service

BY BRIAN AGGELER, FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER



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Iraq Security: Far Beyond the Tripwires

Because AFSA President John Limbert was in Iraq on a special assignment last May, I stood in for him at the annual ceremony honoring members of the Foreign Service who have died in the line of duty. This ceremony takes place in front of the AFSA Memorial Plaques in the diplomatic lobby of the State Department. On the plaques are engraved the names of 215 Foreign Service members who have died serving their country overseas.

The first name is that of William Palfrey, who died in 1797 en route to his post in Paris. At the 2004 ceremony, Secretary Powell laid the wreath by the plaques. In my remarks introducing the Secretary, I noted that while there were no new names carved into the marble this year, this was only because others had sacrificed their lives saving ours. There were the three DynCorp guards, whose car was blown up crossing into the Gaza Strip. They were escorting Foreign Service employees to a meeting with Palestinian academics when a powerful bomb under their lead vehicle was remotely triggered. There was the brave Salvadoran soldier who died outside Najaf. His battalion was attacked by Iraqi insurgents. A Foreign Service member who was assigned to the Coalition Provisional Authority's Najaf outpost testified to the brave action of the Salvadoran soldiers in repelling the insurgents' attempt to overrun his position. ("Foreign Service Firefight," *FSJ*, June 2004)

At the time, I said I could not help but feel that it is only a matter of time before there are fresh names to chisel in the marble. By October, there was already one name to add — that of Ed Seitz, a dedicated, 16-year member of the Foreign Service. Given our security situation in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan today, I fear there will be other names to add before the next wreath-laying in May. As I write this, the wire services report a bomb exploding at the Marriott Hotel in Islamabad, Pakistan, at a moment when 11 members of the embassy staff happened to be dining there.

AFSA has repeatedly raised with all levels of department management the matter of security for Foreign

Service employees assigned to these dangerous countries. Over and over again, we have made the point that in Iraq, were it any other country, so many tripwires would have already been crossed that the mission would have been shuttered. Not drawn

down, leaving only essential staff in place, but closed down. The head of the Bureau of Diplomatic Security has publicly made the same statement. While acknowledging that having a large mission in Iraq is a policy decision, we have urged the department to look at Baghdad's staffing level. We've emphasized that residential security is inadequate.

The tragic death of Ed Seitz proves AFSA is right to be concerned. We know that the department is as concerned as we are. The Bureau of Diplomatic Security has researched the options for improving residential security so staff may sleep without fearing their trailers will crumple if hit by a mortar round, which are now aimed at the Green Zone with increasing frequency. Pending upgrades, staff may sleep in their offices, but this is not a feasible solution for the long run. AFSA will urge the department to adopt the option which provides housing that will protect staff against mortar rounds.

With such a large Foreign Service "footprint" in Baghdad, with such vulnerable housing and with increasing attacks on foreigners — whether with the military, international agencies or the U.S. government — security is a continuing problem. The same goes for Kabul and Islamabad, Karachi and Lahore. AFSA applauds the work of the committed staff in the Bureau of Diplomatic Security and urges the department to give them the resources they need to improve security for our members. Hang the cost!

I hope against hope that Ed Seitz will be the only new name added to the AFSA Memorial Plaques in the coming year. □



The tragic death of Ed Seitz
proves AFSA is right
to be concerned.

The Importance of Being Honest



No poetry here, just some stark prose prompted by several recent situations that make it clear to us that we need to reiterate a few fundamental lessons having to do with financial management and ethics. It is also an almost-purely selfish effort to lighten our own future workload. So, consider this your refresher course on some of the knowledge you were meant to ingest during your earliest days as a fresh-faced New Entry Professional or International Development Intern.

We here at USAID carry added responsibilities in comparison with some of our counterparts at other foreign affairs agencies in that most of us manage substantial resources, of both the financial and material kind. Scrupulous adherence to the stewardship of and fiduciary responsibilities for these resources is more than just important; it is absolutely

necessary. This means taking personal responsibility, not delegating it to others, such as a Foreign Service National or a contractor. Ultimately, it will be your signature on any document that you submit. For instance, if you need to sign a voucher for project expenditures or personal travel, you must make sure that the amounts and all supporting information

are correct. Time pressures and shoddy past practices are not valid excuses for mistakes. Any lapses in proper procedure and good judgment may lead to a letter of reprimand or — even worse — to separation.

Whenever a potential conflict of interest arises, or even the appearance of a conflict of interest, the safe and wise thing to do is to recuse yourself. In some cases, especially involving the possible employment of a family member, you may be tempted to overstep proper bounds and exert pressure or influence over the outcome. In these cases, an arm's length is rarely far enough. Whenever you bump up against a sensitive case like this, please err on the side of caution.

Similarly, on the security front, vigilance is more important than ever, as we all know. The safety of our colleagues and families may be at stake. Despite briefings by the regional security officer upon arrival at post, we at AFSA have seen too many instances of officers not heeding security advice and guidance. As a consequence, these officers — almost without fail — face serious problems, often leading to curtailment, reprimand and separation. Any kind of security lapse — including inappropriate contacts and mishandling of or carelessness with classified documents — can lead to the revocation of one's security clearance.

Finally, I would be remiss, as the holiday season approaches, if I did not mention one further issue that often seems to confuse people: the ethics of receiving gifts. Please be aware of the limitations on the value of gifts that federal employees may accept. The general rule is that employees may not accept food, refreshments, entertainment or any other thing of value from a prohibited source or from a person or entity offering the gift because of the employee's position. A "prohibited source" includes any person or entity seeking or doing business with the USAID. Sorry if this column makes me sound like a grinch, but, after all, it is Christmas. I wish you all well in this season of the yuletide bell. Happy holidays from all of us here at AFSA/AID! □

Iraq Security • Continued from page 1

release following the death of Ed Seitz:

"We are deeply saddened by the death of State Department Special Agent Edward Seitz, who was killed in a rocket attack Oct. 24 in Iraq. This brutal terrorist attack underlines the mortal dangers faced by the men and women of the U.S. Foreign Service who are working to establish opportunity and freedom for the people of Iraq, and advance our nation's vital interests

This brutal terrorist attack underlines the mortal dangers faced by the men and women of the U.S. Foreign Service who are working to establish opportunity and freedom for the people of Iraq, and advance our nation's vital interests around the globe.

around the globe. On behalf of all his colleagues, I extend my heartfelt condolences and prayers to Mr. Seitz's family," states John W. Limbert, president of the American Foreign Service Association.

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

"We strongly encourage the government to review the security arrangements protecting our dedicated colleagues, and to provide them the fullest measure of protection possible."

The AFSA statement was quoted by numerous media sources, including AP, CNN, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Times*. □

courage,” Richardson stressed in his remarks.

“All of us, I think, believe that the Foreign Service as a whole represents the best in public service,” then-AFSA President Perry Shankle noted in the October 1988 *Foreign Service Journal*. “Those who originally established and endowed these awards certainly believed that. To put it in the vernacular, the awards are meant to recognize those who were prepared to stick their necks out in a way that involves some risk. The awards recognize the kind of demonstrated service and a capacity for creative dissent that marks an exceptionally able and productive public servant.”

AFSA believes that these qualities not only still exist in our men and women who serve today, but deserve to be recognized and honored by their colleagues. We believe that the members of today’s Foreign Service are brave, dedicated and proud to serve their country during these extremely dangerous and turbulent times. And we believe that they continue to demonstrate the courage of their convictions by going against conventional wisdom, taking a stand, or questioning the status quo.

A PROUD TRADITION

Help us continue to carry on the proud tradition of dissent.

Here’s how: nominate someone for a constructive dissent award.

Constructive dissent awards are offered in the following categories:

- **THE TEX HARRIS AWARD** for a Foreign Service Specialist
- **THE W. AVERELL HARRIMAN AWARD** for a Junior Officer (FS-4, 5 or 6)
- **THE WILLIAM R. RIVKIN AWARD** for a Mid-level Officer (FS-1, 2 or 3)
- **THE CHRISTIAN A. HERTER AWARD** for a Senior Officer (FE-CA to OC).

These prestigious awards serve to recognize and reward those individuals who have promoted critical and constructive solutions to foreign policy problems, management issues, consular policies or any other area which affects the work of

the Foreign Service.

Any Foreign Service employee who has exhibited extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity and intellectual courage contributing to constructive dissent can be nominated.

AFSA Constructive Dissent Awards are unique for the following reasons:

- They are not based on superior performance of assigned duties, but on the willingness to stand up for what you believe is right.
- No other government agency presents similar awards. These awards are not for whistle-blowers or for those who have resigned from the Foreign Service in protest, but for those who are committed to creatively and positively working for change within the system.

OUTSTANDING PERFORMANCE AWARDS

AFSA also offers three awards recognizing exemplary performance of assigned duties or voluntary activities at an overseas post, performance that demonstrates extraordinary contributions to effectiveness, professionalism and morale.

- **THE NELSON B. DELAVAN AWARD** for an office management specialist. This award recognizes the work of an OMS who has made a significant contribution to post or office effectiveness and morale, beyond the framework of her/his job responsibilities.
- **THE M. JUANITA GUESS AWARD** for a community liaison officer. This award recognizes a CLO who has demonstrated outstanding leadership, dedication, initiative and imagination in assisting the families of Americans serving at an overseas post.
- **THE AVIS BOHLEN AWARD** for a Foreign Service family member. This award recognizes the accomplishments of a family member whose relations with the American and foreign communities have done the most to advance the interests of the United States.

NOMINATION PROCESS

The nomination must include the following elements:

PART I: Name of the award for which the person is being nominated; the nominee’s name, grade, agency and position (or for the Bohlen Award, the family relationship).

PART II: Nominator’s name, grade, agency and position and description of association with the nominee.

PART III: Justification for the nomination. The narrative should discuss the actions and qualities that qualify the nominee for the award, with specific examples of accomplishments that fulfill the criteria above. Part III should not exceed 700 words.

The Constructive Dissent Awards are not for performance of assigned duties, however exceptional. Rather, they offer an opportunity to publicly recognize and honor the courageous and thoughtful actions of our colleagues, over and above their responsibilities. Submissions that do not meet the dissent criteria, as determined by our judges, will not be considered.

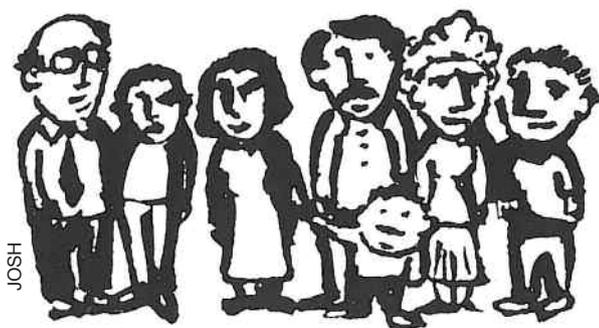
All winners receive a monetary prize of \$2,500 and a framed certificate, and are honored at a reception in late June in the Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room at the State Department. Secretary of State Colin Powell participated in the 2002 and 2003 ceremonies.

Further details on nomination procedures, additional guidelines and a nomination form can be found on the AFSA Web site at www.afsa.org/awards.cfm. From there, you can also link to articles about the AFSA awards and the AFSA 2004 award winners, as well as find a listing of past award winners. The deadline for nominations is Feb. 25, 2005.

Questions should be directed to Professional Issues Coordinator Barbara Berger, by telephone: (202) 338-4045, ext. 521, or e-mail: berger@afsa.org. You may also contact AFSA President John Limbert by telephone: (202) 338-4045, ext. 502, or e-mail: limbert@afsa.org; or Awards Committee Chairman Bruce Laingen by telephone: (202) 331-3722, or e-mail: aad@aol.com. They are happy to respond to your questions, suggestions or concerns. □

Ten Things You Shouldn't Say to Newcomers

Maybe you've been at post long enough to know the good, the bad and the ugly, but sometimes it's best to keep your opinions to yourself. Newcomers have just been through the wringer of packing, moving and traveling, and they're trying to be enthusiastic. So, in the name of diplomacy, I suggest avoiding some of these (unfortunately common) real-life pitfalls and try not to make any of the following remarks:



1. "You'd better have a hobby or you'll die of boredom here."

So said a management officer speaking at a newcomers' orientation, shaking his head as though completely worn down by the lack of excitement in a South American post. The smiles dropped from the newcomers' faces. But what they didn't know was that the speaker didn't have any hobbies that meshed with the culture. The country, while not the most exciting place on earth, was a garden spot for beaches, horses, music and dancing.

2. "Professional spouses don't do well here."

Telling anyone upon arrival at a post that he or she won't do well there can burst any bubble of excitement. Who knows? Maybe one professional can turn things around for others. Better to say, "While there are no positions in your field right now, we're eager to have your input in this area."

3. "Don't bother learning the language. It's too hard."

One of the best ways to adapt to the host country is to learn even a little of the local language. Being able to say, "Hello, how are you?" "How much is that?" "Please," "Thank you," or even, "I don't speak Do you speak English?" is at least comforting, and at best empowering. Often, language classes give a foundering newcomer a reason to go out.

4. "You won't make any friends here."

Isn't that a sad comment? Being told this made me feel like a kindergartner having a rough first day. Americans are so diverse, it's impossible to say who will make friends. While you

can't change a whole country's mind about Americans, it's probable that you'll find a small niche of host-country friends through special interests.

5. "The school is terrible. Your child will fall behind his U.S. peers and probably won't graduate on time."

Never mind being told that I won't find a job, learn the language or have friends. But my kids will fail, too? Most schools overseas don't offer everything good stateside schools do, but their deficiencies are made up for by the cultural experiences provided, including early foreign language classes. Plus, it's often possible to supplement any gaps with local sports clubs or an educational allowance to enhance the academic program. Nothing is hopeless.

6. "Oh, you're a specialist."

Outside of the Foreign Service, a specialist is a highly experienced, respected professional (i.e., a medical practi-

tioner). When the air conditioning or computer is on the blink, aren't you glad you have a highly educated and experienced engineer or IT professional around to fix it?

7. "No one joins that club."

My friend checked out the International Women's Club in a European country, even after hearing, "Oh, it's just a bunch of old ladies having tea." Happily, she found that many of the club members were young and adventurous. And she learned a lot about the host country by participating in the group's cultural tours.

8. "The X officer is a real jerk."

Maybe the newcomer and the X officer are cut from the same cloth; then you'll have two enemies. If there's a real warning to be given, say, "The X officer is very particular about ...". This gives the newcomer an opportunity to judge for himself or herself.

9. "The person you're replacing was so fantastic. I don't know how we'll get along without him/her."

We do miss our friends who leave post before us, but this statement will surely make the newcomer feel like an intruder who will never measure up.

10. "The local pharmacies sell anti-depressants over the counter because so many Americans need them to survive this tour."

Normally this phrase would be preceded by one of the other statements listed above.

After you've avoided all of the above non-welcoming statements, how about trying this: "Like everywhere else in the world, this place has its good and bad points. Find the good here, and make that your focal point." □

Marlene Monfiletto Nice is a Foreign Service spouse and a three-time newcomer. She is currently serving in Zagreb.

2004 Sinclair Language Award Winners Announced

Proficiency in foreign languages is one of the key assets of the Foreign Service corps. AFSA has an awards program that helps acknowledge achievement in the study of difficult languages. We are pleased to announce the winners of the 2004 Matilda W. Sinclair Language Awards. The winners are:

Joanne Gilles – Japanese
Sarah E. Gordon – Dari
Kimberly D. Harrington – Tagalog
Jason P. Hyland – Azerbaijani
Matthew C. Meadows – Tagalog
David H. Rank – Greek

Sinclair winners are honored for outstanding accomplishments in the study of a “hard” language. Candidates for the award are nominated by the language-training supervisors at the FSI



School of Language, and selected by a committee composed of AFSA staff and Governing Board members. Each of the winners receives a check for \$1,000 from the Matilda W. Sinclair Endowment and a certificate of recognition signed by the AFSA president and the chair of the AFSA awards committee.

The Sinclair endowment was established in 1982 with a \$175,000 bequest from Matilda Sinclair to AFSA. A former Foreign Service officer who spent the last years of her life in Italy, Sinclair sought to promote and reward superior achievement by career officers of the Foreign Service while studying one of the “hard” languages under the auspices of the Foreign Service Institute. The guidelines were amended and updated in October 2001 to expand eligibility for the awards to any career and career conditional member from any of the foreign affairs agencies: Department of State, USAID, FCS, FAS and IBB.

For 2004, two of the six winners have been recognized for the study of Tagalog and are serving in Manila. Another current Embassy Manila employee, Anne Coleman, was a recipient of the Sinclair Award in 2003. The embassy recognized all three individuals at their awards ceremony on Nov. 18 in Manila.

AFSA congratulates all the winners of this year’s Sinclair Language Awards. □

DREYFUS SCHOLARSHIPS

DACOR Offers Financial Support for Students

DACOR Bacon House Foundation has several scholarships and fellowships for children and grandchildren of U.S. Foreign Service officers, active or retired, for Academic Year 2005-2006. The purpose is to encourage the study of international relations, and consists of financial support for study at The Hotchkiss School in Lakeville, Conn., and Yale University. Awards are made possible by and limited to the income from a generous bequest of the late Ambassador Louis G. Dreyfus Jr.

Hotchkiss will seek to select one qualified enrolled student for a \$5,000 scholarship. Applicants should contact the Director of Financial Aid, The Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, CT 06039-0800, providing evidence of a parent or grandparent’s Foreign Service status.

Awards to Yale students, based on merit, will be made by the DACOR Bacon House Foundation in consultation with Yale University. Awards for undergraduates may be up to \$5,000 and up to \$10,000 for graduate students. Fellowship awards to graduate and professional students may be up to \$10,000, and any second-year award will be at half stipend. There is no restriction as



to field of study but, if there are many applicants, preference will be given to students in a field related to foreign affairs and for study toward a master’s degree.

At Yale, the awards are coordinated by the Yale Center for International and Area Studies, Henry R. Luce Hall, 34 Hillhouse Ave., New Haven, CT 06520. Aspirants may apply for the Dreyfus Awards at the time of their application for admission to Yale University. Application materials should be sent to DACOR Bacon House Foundation, Attn: William C. Hamilton, 1801 F Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20006, by March 15, 2005. Include the following: a copy of the most recent appointment or promotion document of the applicant’s FS parent or grandparent; a brief letter of interest with full contact information including full name, current and permanent addresses, phone (and fax) numbers, and e-mail address; the applicant’s resumé; a copy of the applicant’s most recent transcript; and a one-page statement of academic goals, work experience, awards and non-academic achievements. Applicants for graduate fellowships should add a second page outlining career goals as presently perceived.

For further information on either award, contact Sherry Barndollar Rock at DACOR by phone: (202) 682-0500, ext. 17, or 1 (800) 344-9127; fax: (202) 842-3295; or e-mail: prog.coord@dacorbacon.org. □

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



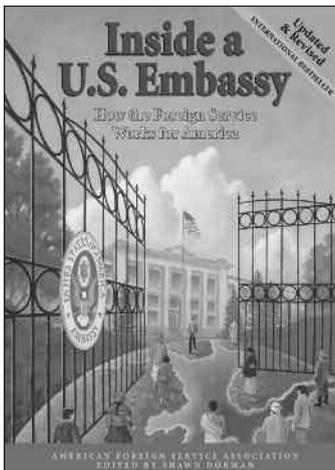
USAA: The Never-ending Story

After numerous failed attempts — through high-level letters and phone calls — to convince USAA to return to the past policy of allowing members of USAID, FAS and FCS to join USAA, AFSA is trying another strategy. AFSA Governing Board and USAA member Ted Wilkinson volunteered to represent the Foreign Service community at the November USAA annual meeting in Chicago in order to raise the issue of Foreign Service membership there. He will make known the AFSA view that all Foreign Service employees should be treated equally and fairly. AFSA put out a call for members to designate Ted as their proxy for the meeting. As of late October, we had collected about 250 proxies. Thank you for helping AFSA push this issue. We'll let you know what happens at the meeting.

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Look Out for Your AFSA Ballot

AFSA Governing Board election materials and ballots will be mailed to all AFSA members in early January. If you do not receive your ballot by Feb. 4, 2005, please let us know by sending an e-mail to member@afsa.org or calling (202) 338-4045, ext. 525. We will send you a replacement ballot.

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Q&A



Retiree Issues

BY BONNIE BROWN,
RETIREE ACTIVITIES
COORDINATOR

Long-Term Care Insurance

Q: What is long-term care?

A: Long-term care is for people with ongoing physical illnesses, disabilities and/or cognitive impairments. It includes assistance with activities of daily living, home health or adult day care, as well as care in a nursing home or assisted-living facility.

Q: Will I need LTC?

A: It is hard to predict, but studies indicate that about half of all women and a third of men over the age of 65 will spend some of their final years in a nursing or retirement home.

Q: What do LTC policies cost?

A: LTC insurance can be costly. The cost depends on a number of factors, including age, state of health, amount of daily benefits, the maximum benefit period, and inflation protection. In purchasing coverage, consider not only your current financial situation, but also your future income in retirement and projected increases in the cost of premiums. When choosing benefit amounts, find out how much nursing and assisted living facilities, as well as home health care agencies, charge for services in the area where you think you will retire.

Q: How do people pay for LTC?

A: They pay for LTC by using personal or family resources, purchasing LTC insurance, or, if at the poverty level, with Medicaid assistance. Medicare does not pay for most LTC needs.

Q: Should I buy LTC insurance?

A: You should not buy LTC insurance if you cannot afford the premiums, have limited assets or have difficulty paying for basic living expenses. You should consider buying it if you have significant assets, some of which you want to protect, and you want to pay for your own care and maintain some level of independence. As a rule of thumb, premiums should not exceed 10 percent of your annual income.

Q: What kinds of LTC policies are available?

A: LTC insurance can be purchased from private insurance companies, through an employer or association, or through the federal LTC program. Most policies are sold to individuals. Group policies, generally sold through employers and associations, may offer certain advantages; they may not have qualifying medical requirements, and retirees, spouses and parents may also qualify. Additionally, federal law gives tax advantages to people who buy certain long-term care insurance policies under the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1966.

Q: What should I look for in an LTC policy?

A: Since plans offer different combinations of health benefits, it is important to shop among policies, companies and agents to get coverage that best fits your needs. LTC policies differ in which services they cover and how they cover these services. For example, one plan may pay for home care from licensed facilities only, while others will pay for other licensed health-care providers, such as practical nurses. Some

plans may pay for care in any state-licensed facility; others may limit the kinds of facilities covered. Look carefully at any exclusions or limitations and the “triggers” used by plans to determine whether benefits should be paid. These triggers generally include the inability to perform a certain number of activities of daily living (bathing, continence, dressing, eating, toileting and transferring) and cognitive impairment or mental incapacity, such as Alzheimer’s disease. Finally, compare the benefit amounts and length of coverage, and look at when benefits start and whether there is inflation protection.

Q: Does AFSA have a long-term care insurance program?

A: Yes, AFSA is now offering group rates brokered by the Hirshorn Company for nine insurance carriers. The long-term care offerings feature excellent coverage with more competitive premiums than the federal plan. The Hirshorn Company offers personalized service in choosing a company and plan that fits members’ needs. Contact Hirshorn representative Carl Shaifer at 1 (800) 242-8221 or cshaifer@hirshorn.com. On the AFSA Web site go to the LTC Coverage Page to learn about coverage choices, including the federal plan, and the AFSA LTC Quote Request Form.

Q: How can I find out about the federal long-term care program?

A: The Federal Long Term Care Insurance Program is administered by Long Term Care Partners, LLC, a joint venture company between John Hancock Life Insurance Company and MetLife, the country’s largest carriers of group long-term care insurance. The OPM Web site contains information about LTC insurance at www.opm.gov/insure/ltc/faq/apply.asp#2

Certified LTC insurance consultants are available to answer questions at the toll-free number: 1 (800) LTC-FEDS (800-582-3337) weekdays from 8 a.m. to 7 p.m. Information is also available at www.ltcfeds.com. □

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