

REMEMBERING SEPT. 11 ■ PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY ■ KUTUBDIA WIRED

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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 2002

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 professional fulfillment and community service 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 2001 the Trust made its fifth round of grants — 29 in number, ranging in amount from \$250 to \$3504, for a total of \$51,793. These grants supported the involvement of Foreign Service personnel in the following projects (further described in a Trust announcement entitled "Grants Awarded in 2001," available on the Web at www.kirbysimontrust.org):

- **Facilities and Services for the Ill and Disabled:** Equipment for an HIV/AIDS clinic in Burkina Faso; a refrigerator for a children's hospice in the Netherlands Antilles; a piano for a center for blind Palestinian women in Israel; recording equipment for a library serving blind persons in Guyana; sign language materials for a Bangladeshi school for the deaf; training costs for a therapeutic horse riding program serving disabled Mozambican children; a historical-recreational holiday for Romanian children with HIV/AIDS.

- **Other Facilities for Children:** For orphanages — clothes washing equipment (Bolivia), a playground (Malaysia), furnishings for a new model orphanage (Burma) and a kitchen for a handicapped orphans' home in Thailand.

- **Facilities for the Homeless:** Heating oil, a vegetable garden and play areas for a Greek camp for Kurdish refugees from Iraq; a visual arts program at a shelter for homeless Zambian children.

- **Skills Training Projects:** Instruction that prepares Mexican women to become midwives and health promoters; sewing machines and other costs of income-generating activity for pregnant women and single mothers in Fiji, for women in a Niger squatter settlement and for poor elderly Zambians; computer equipment for a program in Senegal teaching employable skills to refugees from Sierra Leone; income-generating skill training (and other assistance) for a Burmese orphanage.

- **Educational Projects:** Computer equipment for an after-school program for Roma children in Slovakia; publication and distribution of a comic book explaining democracy to Albanian children; a library for slum children in India; computer and projection equipment for the Youth

Parliament in Paraguay; educational materials and supplies (and oranges) for young earthquake refugees in El Salvador; media and leaflet information about HIV/AIDS prevention for children in Guyana; supplies for a program pairing expatriate school children in Sri Lanka with street children attending a local school; English-as-a-Second-Language materials for instruction offered by a Foreign Service Officer at an American prison.

- **Program for Foreign Service Children:** Lesson plan workbooks used in orientation and readjustment programs for Foreign Service teenagers around the world.

The Trust now invites the submission of proposals for support in 2002. It is anticipated that most of the new grants will fall within the same funding range as the 2001 awards and that projects assisted by the Trust will reflect a variety of interests and approaches, some of which are illustrated by the 2001 grants.

Grants provided by the Trust can be used to defray a wide range of project expenses, such as acquisition of equipment, books and supplies, travel and data collection costs, and dissemination of materials. 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 all the funds they need from other sources, or that propose to conduct activities closely similar to those undertaken by other public or private programs, or that cannot be carried out effectively with Trust-size grants.

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 fund-raising.

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 not be longer than five double-spaced pages (exclusive of budget and biographical material).

Proposals for projects to be funded during calendar year 2002 must be received by the Trust no later than February 28, 2002.

Proposals should be sent to the J. Kirby Simon Foreign Service Trust, by mail to 82 Edgehill Road, New Haven, CT 06511, by fax to 203-432-0063 or by e-mail to john.simon@yale.edu.

Inquiries should be directed to one of the above addresses or by phone to 203-432-2698.

Further information can be found on the Web at www.kirbysimontrust.org.



PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Diplomacy Against Terrorism

By JOHN K. NALAND

Never has skilled U.S. diplomacy been more needed than in the global crisis that began on Sept. 11. Destroying the network of international terrorists will require the combined efforts of many nations. The task of forming and maintaining that international coalition against terrorism now rests on the shoulders of U.S. diplomacy.



While President Bush and Secretary of State Colin Powell are clearly our chief diplomats in this effort, our career diplomats stationed around the globe are performing the detailed work. As Secretary Powell said in an "all-hands" message sent to all U.S. diplomatic and consular posts shortly after the initial terrorist attacks, "The men and women of American diplomacy will be at the forefront of this unprecedented effort — to break the back of international terrorism."

U.S. diplomats are now rallying key governments to apply political pressure on those countries that harbor terrorists. They are seeking to enlist foreign police forces and intelligence services in the search for the attackers. They are negotiating for the military overflight and basing rights that will be needed if we must, as the president put it, "bring justice to our enemies."

Yet U.S. diplomacy can only suc-

The current crisis underscores the urgent need for adequate resources for diplomacy.

ceed if it receives the resources it needs to do its work. Ironically, at the instant that the tragic events of Sept. 11 began to unfold, an AFSA delegation composed of 39 retired Foreign Service members, 14 AFSA staff members and five AFSA Governing Board officers was on Capitol Hill urging full funding of the administration's Fiscal Year 2002 budget request for international affairs.

Our delegation learned of the World Trade Center attacks while meeting in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing room. The Pentagon was hit just as many of us were on our way to scheduled meetings with five members of Congress and senior staffers for 18 other senators and representatives. We managed to begin seven of our 23 scheduled appointments before Capitol Hill was evacuated.

One would think that the terrorist attacks would have convinced lawmakers of the need to strengthen diplomatic readiness. However, even as they voted in mid-September to augment the budgets of our military and intelligence agencies, the Senate passed an international affairs appropriations bill

that fell short of the administration's request. The deleted funding was to have addressed two of the State Department's most pressing deficiencies: inadequate staffing and dilapidated overseas infrastructure. By the time you read this, AFSA hopes to have helped convince the House and Senate conference committee to restore that funding. Regardless of that outcome, we will need to redouble our efforts in the coming year to assure that the foreign affairs agencies receive the sustained infusion of resources that they need.

Diplomacy, including cooperation with other nations to eliminate terrorism, cannot be seen as a short-term affair. Determination and perseverance are required. We will not be successful without adequate resources for encouraging peace, dealing with refugees, attacking the causes of poverty, preventing regional conflicts and turning global public opinion to support effective policies to promote democracy, deter terrorism and promote tolerance.

The current crisis underscores the urgent need for adequate resources for diplomacy, which Secretary Powell has aptly termed "America's first line of offense." At this critical juncture, it is vital that the Congress provide the tools that our diplomats need to succeed. We must seize this window of opportunity to modernize our diplomatic establishment and to equip it to tackle the tasks being given it in the struggle against international terrorism. ■

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

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Declaration of War

If it is not doing so already, the department should be studying the formal extension of a declaration of war beyond an instrument directed at nation-states to one that may be directed against terrorist organizations. Gaining endorsement of such an instrument by a majority of nations could have many advantages. Some are already being worked out in practice, including the option to consider a state which supports or harbors terrorist organizations as a co-belligerent.

Two other advantages might be less obvious. First, any member of a terrorist organization would, like a soldier in wartime, be an immediate target of action on our part. Thus, they would not have to be caught in the act. Nor would they be beneficiaries of the entire wide range of civil rights accorded to citizens and aliens in the U.S. Those apprehended could be imprisoned for the duration of the war.

Second, not every terrorist group (Hamas and Hezbollah, for example) would have to be regarded as an enemy by every nation. Each nation would choose whom to make war

against. In some cases, choosing to be neutral need not bear opprobrium. Such an option might make it politic for those terrorists who regard themselves as resistance or liberation fighters to consider such policies as limiting their targets to military targets, or limiting the nations against whom they consider themselves at war. Those terrorists (or liberation fighters, depending on one's point of view) would be accorded rights under a new extension of international law, which does pertain to them the same way it would to soldiers in conventional armies. However, I would not construe this in any way as restricting our right to expect all our friends, allies, and other nations to join the war against al-Qaida.

Alan Hardy
FSO, retired
Dripping Springs, Texas

Seeking Reassurance

The letter in the September *Journal* captioned "Aiding the

Taliban?" caught my immediate attention. In view of the horrific events of Sept. 11, I would like some reassurance that our government will no longer offer aid to Afghanistan.

I served in Islamabad from 1990 to 1994 in the refugee affairs section, which was primarily concerned with Afghan refugees. I grew to respect the Afghan people and wish them no harm, but I am vehemently against the Taliban and all they stand for. I fear for the future of Afghanistan and its people but I hope our government will do all it can to eliminate the Taliban, a government that offers safe haven for criminals such as Osama bin Laden. I pray for the sake of the Afghan people that the Taliban will hand over bin Laden, for if they don't the price will be high indeed.

Dal Asher
Office Management
Specialist
Embassy Bridgetown

Two Corrections

In "Friends Apart: Europe And America" by Harry Blaney in the October issue, the final line of the article on page 55 was inadvertently omitted. The sentence should read: "Fortunately, a more responsible America can provide leadership to reassure and encourage Europe to assume an active, constructive world role."

In "Can Labor Catch Up with Globalization?" by Robert Sencer in the July-August issue, on page 49, the text reads: "Unions now also represent worker interests in institutions such as the World Trade Organization and International Monetary Fund." It should read: "Unions are now negotiating to represent worker interests in institutions such as the World Trade Organization and International Monetary Fund."

The Foreign Service Journal welcomes your signed letters to the editor. Please send letters via e-mail to journal@fsa.org, fax to (202) 338-8244; or mail to the Journal, 2101 E St., NW, Washington, D.C., 20037. Letters, which are subject to editing, should include full name, title and post, address and daytime telephone number.



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Fair Treatment?

I was extremely disappointed with the "Speaking Out" column in the September issue. I'm not sure just how these two columns were supposed to represent a fair treatment of a controversial issue when one author was allowed to read the other's column prior to writing his. I suppose every debate, contest or battle could be easily won by knowing one's opponent's strategy ahead of time. It is easy to see with which author AFSA sides, and to see how AFSA made sure he would be the more prepared for publication.

*Geoffrey J. Martineau
American Citizen Services
Embassy Guatemala City*

Advocates for All Families

I found the September "Speaking Out" by Brook Hefright, "The Foreign Service and Gay Rights: A Gay FSO Responds," enlightening and thought-provoking. It should be obvious to all officers that the policy on "members of household" is a significant step forward in dealing with the realities of new family structures that result from modern life. It will enable many of us to better handle the responsibilities of caring for aging parents, helping our adult children and our grandchildren cope with the hardships of separation and divorce, and address the many other complex reasons that we find our families not fitting into the old traditional molds. These are issues that all Americans face daily, but Foreign Service officers must handle them under especially difficult conditions.

Dale Slaght's citation of his religious convictions in his "Speaking Out" troubles me deeply. Slaght is distorting the message of the Bible to a less than noble purpose — justification for continuing discrimination. It is fortunate that he is in an ever-shrinking minority. Most people with strong

religious foundations no longer find it acceptable for this sacred book to be used, as it has been used all too frequently in the past, to justify repugnant concepts such as slavery, racial segregation and discrimination, misogyny, religious persecution and anti-Semitism. One day I hope we can add homophobia to this list.

I encourage AFSA to continue to be a strong advocate for all FSOs and their families.

*Norval E. Francis, Jr.
Minister Counselor for
Agricultural Affairs
Embassy Ottawa*

AFSA's Efforts

I am heterosexual, happily married and a proud father. Nevertheless, I strongly support AFSA efforts to improve the quality of life in the Foreign Service of my gay and lesbian colleagues. I hope AFSA continues these reasoned and reasonable efforts to gain greater tolerance and equal benefits for the gay members of the Foreign Service.

*Randy Carlino
FSO, Consular Affairs
Bureau
Washington, D.C.*

Affront to American Traditions

I write to challenge Dale Slaght's appeal to Secretary Powell to overturn the partner accommodation measures embodied in the "Member of Household" guidance. The case he makes is an indefensible affront to our American traditions of religious freedom and social fairness. The new guidance is sound employment policy, consistent with the non-discrimination guidelines. The GLIFAA and AFSA boards deserve admiration for their roles.

Many of us were blessed to be reared within religious associations that view homosexuality as morally neutral. To us, Slaght's personal faith-

LETTERS

based arguments for keeping a class of people out of "the tent" appear as an arrogant assault on the spiritual journeys of everyone else.

His language in framing gay and lesbian Americans' petitions for fairness as a "cultural war" being waged to undermine heterosexual marriage, with many references to "battlefields" and "drawing lines," is hostile and divisive. These battle lines are imaginary. American homosexuals enjoy little consensus and have no "agenda" to harm others. Their common ground lies merely in the shared experience of institutionalized heterosexism and how the ignorance of others diminishes the quality of their lives. All Americans, including homosexual Americans, share an interest in the secure future of all our nation's families. The only thing new is that this minority now actively seeks equity in family security that others take for granted.

Were we, in 1692, to have subordinated our social progress to an inflexible theocracy, as Slaght suggests we do now, we would still be hunting witches. Copernicus' discovery that the Earth was not at the center of the universe, in its time, was viewed as such a social threat that those empowered to dictate values concealed it, thereby slowing human progress. Similar "moral" outcries have impeded every American advance towards a more level playing field. Quite predictably, the moral fiber of our nation has only been strengthened as fairness triumphed. Thus, it is reasonable to be filled with optimism and hope that even those who present "religious" arguments against fair accommodation for same-sex partners may yet see the light.

The gay and lesbian movement for equity in America, and indeed globally, is advancing with the current of history. We are gathered at the discussion table of the American community. It should be our source of confidence

that the majority of those involved in this discussion recognize that a deep commitment to fairness is the preeminent value that binds us and that makes us uniquely American, despite our great diversity. We should expect nothing less of the Foreign Service than to keep step as the American ideal of fairness, over time, brings about fully equitable legal treatment, without regard to sexual orientation.

Edgar Fulton
FSO, Department of
Commerce
Adviser, New England
Regional Export
Assistance Center
Boston, Mass.

Under-appreciated Function

As a retired labor officer, I found Ed McWilliams' excellent article, "There's Still A Place For Labor Diplomacy" (*FSJ*, July-August), of special interest.

That there should be a need to write such an article is regrettable. But it is hardly a surprise. As an institution, the Foreign Service, even at the height of the Cold War, never really accepted the legitimacy of the labor function. It was perceived, at best, as a temporary expedient, a necessary response to the priority that communism assigned to the exploitation of labor issues and unions in its war on capitalism and "bourgeois democracy."

With the disappearance of the communist threat, the Foreign Service was only too happy to downgrade the function. However, the core issues that had been exploited by the communists did not disappear with the USSR. They are with us still, manifestly less threatening, somewhat altered in form, and with new champions.

The "free-marketeer" ideology is not widely accepted beyond our borders. The growing opposition to glob-

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alization, and the fact that the E.U. and Japan will probably never trade in their systems for the American model, will pose increasing problems for U.S. foreign policy in the years ahead. In time, those problems will grow to include the need to defend our practices here at home.

Unionism, we are repeatedly told by the "free-marketeers," is passé, and has been repudiated by the workers themselves. Americans, it would seem, are content to be treated as human resources, as commodities.

The truth, as always, is a little more complicated. Everyone familiar with our industrial relations system knows that U.S. labor law offers no meaningful protection to workers from determined anti-union employers. Such employers are legion, in part because it is easy and profitable to get away with it. Many American workers dare not join a union, and all is not peaceful on the plantation.

As the U.S. government continues to be involved with workers' rights abroad, especially in the matter of sweatshops, we should not be too surprised when others start turning a critical eye to our own domestic arrangements. When that time comes, hopefully the department will still have people around knowledgeable enough to give advance warning and to identify the inevitable flaws in the critics' charges. However, it will take far more than a revitalized labor function to effectively respond to legitimate attacks on the way parts of our economy function and why some of our laws don't.

The pursuit of social justice, like history, is nowhere near its end, least of all here.

*John A. Warnock
FSO, retired
Chevy Chase, Md.*

East Germans Are Different

While reading the September FSJ articles focusing on Germany, espe-

cially Christoph Bertram's "The E.U. Serves Germany: Will It Serve the E.U.?" I was again struck by the lack of attention East Germans and their unique problems receive these days. Time and again, scholars and practitioners overlook the difficult issues that East Germans face in their new country, which only compounds their problems.

I am amazed by how easily East Germans are portrayed as having a common German identity. As an East German myself — born in East Germany and having spent most of my life there — I have to disagree. My view of a unique and distinct East German identity was confirmed by most of the research and interviews I conducted for my master's thesis from 1998 to 2000. Even today, East Germans are different from West Germans in their way of using the language, in their way of communicating, in how they see family and work, and in which values they find most important. These differences were formed by 40 years of opposite political, social and economic influences. Two different cultures were shaped, as well as two different identities.

Bertram claims that there is no identity crisis in Germany. While some East Germans indeed have more confidence in Germany as their nation, most are discouraged and disappointed at being treated as second-class citizens. As long as the distinct East German identity is ignored, East Germans will long for days past, only becoming stronger in their differences. But an honest exploration by both sides of what divides Germans will open the path for true reunification.

*Sybillie Reinke de Buitrago
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D-DELA., CHAIRMAN OF
THE SENATE FOREIGN
RELATIONS COMMITTEE,
ADDRESSING THE
NATIONAL PRESS CLUB,
SEPT. 10, 2001

RESPONSE TO TERROR: RISE IN STATE APPS

After a decade of decline, the Foreign Service is now a "hot" career, according to Secretary of State Colin Powell. In Sept. 10 remarks to Foreign Service members and retirees who filled the Dean Acheson Auditorium for the annual Foreign Affairs Day, Powell noted that more than 23,500 people had registered for the Sept. 29 Foreign Service written exam — nearly twice the number who registered in 2000. More than 35 percent of all registrants were minorities, including more than 3,000 African Americans (triple the previous number) and more than 2,000 Hispanic Americans (double the number the previous year). For FY 2002, the department is seeking to fill 1,433 Foreign Service and Civil Service career positions.

One day after Powell's remarks, of course, came the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. That tragedy, ironically, could well burnish the image of government work, according to a Sept. 14 article on GovExec.com, the online service of *Government Executive* magazine. "The events of [Sept. 11] have drawn attention, especially among young people, to the important roles that government plays in their lives — from mayors to police to the rescuers to the agencies to the president," Patricia McGinnis, president of the Council for Excellence in Government, told GovExec.com.

"The response to the tragedy has been visible in terms of people contacting the State Department to pursue diplomatic careers," Russell Taylor, a State recruiter, told the *Foreign Service Journal*, "especially among people indicating expertise in foreign cultural issues — particularly the Middle East.

My inquiries have doubled in the week since the attack."

The closing date for the Sept. 29 exam was Aug. 29; Taylor said that the department's current plans were to offer a second exam in April. He added that if the department had reopened the Sept. 29 exam after the terrorist attacks, "we'd have had 50,000 [more] people register."

MAKING SENSE OF UNSTABLE ECONOMIES

The ability to assess conflicting or incomplete information and act appropriately on it is one of the most important skills an FSO can possess. This is particularly true in dealing with countries in transition, where the infrastructure may be in shambles, the economy may be on life support and corruption may be the only factor that keeps goods and services functioning.

Fortunately, diplomats can now draw on a special SENSE — the Strategic Economic Needs and Security Simulations Exercise, a new program developed by the Institute for Defense Analyses. This simulation software offers the opportunity to deal with problems that a country in transition might experience and to determine ways that a stable, market-based economy might eventually be created.

"SENSE is the most effective training tool for managing post-conflict transition that I've ever seen," George Ward, director of the training program at the U.S. Institute of Peace, said in the August issue of *PeaceWatch*, the institute's monthly publication. He and institute program officer Ray Caldwell recently staged a training exercise with SENSE in Alexandria, Va., for about 55 country directors and other personnel from the U.S. Agency for International



CLIPPINGS

Development. Leaders from Eastern European and Eurasian nations transitioning to a market economy, including Bosnia-Herzegovina, Georgia and Montenegro, have also participated in the exercises.

"Participants learn micro-skills such as negotiation, apply them in a very realistic setting, and get immediate feedback about the impact of their decision," Ward went on. "None of the results are preprogrammed. The participants can try whatever they want — test their policies and ideas for governance and economic growth and see if they work."

The participants assume various roles in the simulation, including representatives of a mythical country's government, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, nongovernmental organizations and the European Union or the United States. Each person receives a "playbook" describing the country's current status (unemployment rate, resource depletion rate, etc.) and the available resources. With that baseline, the players begin negotiating policies, loans, contracts and other related matters. Every three minutes (equivalent to one month in real time) the software processes their input and shows how their decisions are affecting the country, and the participants then have to contend with the situation they have created.

Franklin Moore, acting director of USAID's environmental center, told *PeaceWatch* that the exercise showed "how difficult it is for donors to figure out how they can contribute to the overall well-being of a country." And it took into account some factors that were particularly relevant to his area of expertise. In his exercise, Moore said, excessive forest-cutting led to degradation of the water supply, which in turn caused decreased life

expectancy and increased child mortality.

According to USAID officials, participants in these exercises learn to build an ethic of collaboration and to develop a framework of analysis that fosters stability, growth and democratic governance. So while SENSE may not provide all the answers, it's another tool to assure that U.S. workers overseas are using their good sense to the best of their abilities.

AT WORK AND AT PLAY IN EMBASSY KL

The U.S. embassy in Kuala Lumpur doesn't just look out for U.S. interests; it also takes care of Malaysian children in welfare homes, according to an Aug. 14 report in Malaysia's *New Straits Times*. The embassy community raised about \$3,500 to build a new playground for the 83 children of the Desa Amal Jireh home, who range in age from 1 to 19. The embassy chose to donate the equipment to a nearby home for the elderly so that the residents could enjoy watching the children.

The playground was opened by U.S. Ambassador B. Lynn Pascoe and his wife, Diane, along with the Rev. K.K. Sinnadurai and his wife, Kamala, the home's founders. About half of the money came from the embassy's Community Service Network, a volunteer charity committee whose fundraising activities included a pancake breakfast and a donation box in the embassy's cafeteria. The rest of the money was provided by a grant from the J. Kirby Simon Foreign Service Trust, which funds projects initiated and carried out by members of the Foreign Service and other U.S. Government families and employees. The trust honors a Foreign Service officer who died on government service in Taiwan in 1995.

50 YEARS AGO

"It is not an expression of national selfishness to say that our first duty, as a nation, is to ourselves. It is an expression of self-respect. A nation which is meeting its own problems, and meeting them honestly and creditably, is not apt to be a problem to its neighbors. And, strangely enough, having figured out what it wants to do about itself, it will find that it has suddenly and mysteriously acquired criteria, which it did not have before, for knowing what to do about its relations with others."

— GEORGE F. KENNAN,

"THE NATIONAL
INTEREST OF THE
UNITED STATES," FSJ,
NOVEMBER 1951

*"Own only
what you can
always carry
with you:
know
languages,
know countries,
know people.
Let your
memory be your
travel bag."*

— ALEXANDER
SOLZHENITSYN

Mrs. Sinnadurai told the newspaper that the home had wanted to install a playground earlier but had been quoted a price of 25,000 ringgits (about \$6,600) by a contractor. "With the help of the Community Service Network, the deal was clinched at 13,000 ringgits [about \$3,500]. Now the children have a place to play, and our elderly residents will also be able to take cheer from watching the children having fun at play," she said.

SECRETS FROM THE COLD WAR

It may have still technically been the Cold War, but Embassy Moscow offered refuge to a Russian leader in August 1991, when communist hardliners attempted a coup to prevent the collapse of the Soviet Union.

While Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev

was on vacation, the hardliners announced the creation of a State Emergency Committee and surrounded the parliament building, the White House, with tanks and troops. Boris Yeltsin, the newly elected president of the Russian Federation and the country's most popular politician, denounced the hardliners and holed up in his White House office.

As the troops began to fire on the White House, Marcus Warren wrote in the Aug. 18 *London Daily Telegraph*, a half-asleep Yeltsin was whisked to the basement and bundled into a limousine, which was to drive him to the U.S. embassy a few hundred yards away.

The plan, agreed in advance with U.S. diplomats, was to continue resisting the coup from inside the embassy. When Yeltsin discovered where he was being taken, he overruled his security staff and returned to his office, where he oversaw the coup's defeat only hours later. ■

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SPEAKING OUT

Public Affairs: Out of the Information Business

By JOHN MATEL

It is hard to recall a time before we could read today's American newspapers anywhere in the world online, or watch coverage of breaking events on CNN or a host of other TV and Internet news channels. Yet until recently, it was enough for information officers to provide — well, information. Sometimes we provided the latest news, or at least news that local media had not yet seen. Press attachés frequently thought of themselves as a species of journalist, faithfully furnishing unbiased, or at least evenhanded, information and official statements to host-country media. Overseas opinion-makers were often regular readers of our products and the local media treated them as supplementary news services.

What a change! Media organizations and the State Department's own Internet sites now give our former clients 24-hour access to timely and accurate information. They bypass local public affairs officers, who cannot compete with Washington and should not try. Yet if public affairs sections can no longer be "honest information brokers," they can be effective policy advocates by using the Internet as a public diplomacy tool. Or to put it another way: The Internet will not replace public affairs, but it will revolutionize its practice.

John Matel, an FSO since 1984, has served in Porto Alegre, Oslo, Krakow and Washington. He is currently information officer in Warsaw.

*If State can't explain
and advocate
American interests
abroad in a timely
and effective way,
the task will either
pass to others or not
get properly done.*



Strategic vs. Tactical

Despite its ubiquitous quality, the Internet has not lived up to its potential as a public affairs tool. A key reason is confusion over strategic versus tactical use of the new methods. Washington Web sites and most mission sites are almost entirely strategic in that they provide content to support general goals and messages, are directed to a wide, self-selected audience, and are independent of specific public affairs campaigns. They are excellent information sources that compare favorably with those of large private enterprises.

A breakdown results when strategic Web efforts are inappropriately applied to tactical situations. An effective tactical Internet campaign must be forward-looking, support specific programs, be interactively targeted to particular audiences and time-sensitive. It also requires active, sustained

support by other public affairs activities; in other words, it is a fully integrated part of a larger public affairs campaign that no longer just informs but advocates a point of view. In many respects, Internet, e-mail and user-friendly electronic databases fulfill the promise of the old USIS Distribution Records System: identifying and reaching the relatively small number of key opinion leaders and transmitters who shape the larger society's attitudes. This is a necessary but not sufficient aspect of public affairs. To be effective, information must also stick with the consumer.

Making Information Stick

The biggest problem with information delivered via the Internet is that it is not "sticky." Recipients either cannot recall the message or fail to integrate it into their outlook or behavior. The solution is not limited to making our information more exciting or relevant; what usually makes the real difference are the context of the message and the perceived character and credibility of the messenger. In other words, recipients must trust the source and know what to do with the information they receive.

Beaming data to Palm Pilots works for stock prices and sports scores because recipients are waiting for the information and know how to use it. They have context. The kind of information we disseminate as diplomats is more complicated than factual reporting, however, for we seek to influence, not merely inform. Public affairs events, personal meetings and media

SPEAKING OUT



relations provide the glue, the context that renders message content relevant and makes it stick in the consciousness of opinion-makers. Without human and programmatic context, electronic resources are like encyclopedias. Without electronic resources, conversely, most programming falls seriously short of providing content. They need to be used together. Consider the following:

In a traditional scenario, we meet a contact at an event, promise to provide more information and maybe even remember to send it. By the time it arrives, however, the contact may have lost interest. We created an opening, but were unable to follow up with content. By contrast, the Internet can provide complete and timely information, but not required context. Thus, a contact browsing a

State Department Web page might carefully read a piece of information and make a mental note of it, but quickly lose the "mental notepad" because he or she also read 50 other pages the same day.

Now imagine a combined strategy. The public affairs section organizes an event, with its own Web page offering links to information. Key contacts get e-mail invitations with links to the event page. They can browse the page and get a comprehensive idea of what they want to learn. As a result, we meet a fully primed contact at the event, and can concentrate on specific parts of the presentation. We can then follow up with more information provided by our Area Information Resource Center in an e-mail with Web page links later that day. Now the information sticks with the con-

tact because of the additional context of the event and the personal attention. In fact, he or she may well share it with colleagues and friends, and perhaps refer them to the Web page or forward an e-mail. That is success.

Reaching the Right People

Obviously, the combined strategy is best. Beyond that, skillful use of databases and e-mail will maintain relations as long as the contact remains important. With these tools, we can fine-tune our efforts and maintain meaningful contact with a greater number of truly engaged people (opinion leaders) across a wider spectrum of issues, instead of dispersing our resources on a mass audience, most of whom are indifferent to the message or unable to act on it.

Without technology (or several

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personal assistants), an average person can maintain regular personal contact with 150 to 200 people during any particular period. This maximum is set by the limits in the number of hours in a day and human memory capacity. Working harder or longer will not significantly increase this number, but technology can, by creating the possibility of mass personalization. Targeted e-mail with Internet links can be very precise in creating contact opportunities, since databases are memory enhancers. Thus, using technologically enhanced methods, one officer can maintain meaningful targeted contact with thousands of individuals. Notice that I am not advocating that this contact work be completely automated, however. In the high-tech world, personal attention is actually even *more* important.

Toward A New Paradigm

Those who think that technology will make overseas officers irrelevant are as misguided as those who believe they can ignore technology. Information technology will never replace public affairs officers. On the contrary, technology increases the value of human interaction while providing tools that liberate public affairs both from the tedium of being a mere conduit for information and the exciting, but uncreative, experience of having journalists clamoring for the latest breaking news. Because the Internet has made information a free commodity, we no longer score points for providing it. We add value only by customizing information and making it recipient-specific.

Ironically, "hard" technology puts a premium on "soft" skills by devaluing rote, programmed procedures and making the product itself (raw information) less important than the channel of delivery (relationships) and customization (personalization). Also, by eliminating the external dis-



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SPEAKING OUT



cipline of the urgent, the new technology necessitates more creative and self-motivated behavior. Making it all work together successfully requires a new paradigm for public affairs, one that blends our traditional communication and people skills with new communication and people skills.

Technology changes the terms of engagement, but our relationships are with people, just as they always have been, not with their computers or fax machines. Effective communication with people is still the only real business we are in.

Why have we applied these methods only sporadically to our public affairs? One reason is simple newness. Only recently has such communication become possible with a significant number of recipients. Everyone must get used to using the new sys-

tem. But a more pernicious impediment to effective synergy of electronic communications with public affairs has been the structure of the State Department. New technologies mean different ways of doing business and challenge us to be flexible in everything from job descriptions to traditional perks. They cannot just be strapped on old management structures. The department's hierarchical, sequential culture, where one step must be cleared up the chain before the next one can begin, is not well-suited to a new world where several problems must be solved simultaneously and hierarchy sometimes ignored. (Who should sing tenor in the choir? The ones who can, not necessarily the senior members.) Bosses are uncomfortable when they lack the requisite knowledge to clear the work

of their expert subordinates and are therefore reluctant to trust decisions they make in response to uncertain circumstances. The commitment of State's new management team to addressing this problem is encouraging, but convincing those who prospered under the old system is a tough challenge.

Nevertheless, it is a challenge that must be met. If an integrated approach is not applied, the department's public affairs efforts will soon be ignored and irrelevant. If the State Department can't explain and advocate American interests abroad in a timely and effective way, the task will pass to those better suited for the job or not get properly done at all. These are unacceptable alternatives. To succeed we must release the talent and energy we already have. Let's do it. ■

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THE CHALLENGE FOR U. S. FOREIGN POLICY

BY ROBERT OAKLEY

The horrible events of Sept. 11 set off a cataclysmic change in the U.S. that will in time echo around the world, much as a major earthquake ripples out from the epicenter and is followed by aftershocks. The al-Qaida assault did not just kill nearly 7,000 people from some 60 countries. It did serious damage to key attributes we have come to esteem as foundations of our global dominance and leadership: our financial sector, our superior information technology and our unmatched military machine. It also called into question the blithe Western assumption that "globalization" was beyond serious challenge.

The United States has responded to this rude awakening from complacency about its "indispensable" place in the world with a surge of patriotism and unity unseen since World War II (when our population was smaller and less diverse). Restraint and good sense have marked public and congressional attitudes towards retaliation, showing a willingness to wait and get it right rather than demand instant military action.

Looking abroad, there has been a similar sea change in America's foreign policy. Multilateralism is in, unilateralism is out. This was best demonstrated not by the assembling of a broad international coalition against al-Qaida (crucial as that is), but by a startling vote on Sept. 24: The House of Representatives appropriated almost \$600 million for years of unpaid dues to the United Nations. Suddenly, even those hard-core holdouts who had disdainfully dismissed the U.N. as useless or worse realized that the U.S. needed

international support and that the coalition could be strengthened by a Security Council endorsement of the campaign. The administration followed a similar course, exemplified with a new, quiet assertiveness on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and closer cooperation with Russia rather than confrontation over abrogating the ABM treaty. Coming the other way, Europe has displayed a strong sense of commonality rather than attacking the U.S. over bananas or the Kyoto Treaty.

This attitudinal sea change has greatly strengthened the hand of diplomacy and of Secretary of State Powell, who — just two days after the attacks — was the first member of the administration to begin rallying the broadest possible support for the "long, tough campaign" against terrorism that lies ahead. As Powell noted, and President Bush quickly underscored in an excellent speech to the nation, our first target is Osama bin Laden's network, al-Qaida — but it is not our last one. Both men focused on the necessity to use a variety of means to conduct the campaign: diplomatic, financial and economic, law enforcement and intelligence as well as military; and to enlist a broad but enduring coalition (or series of coalitions) that will vary in active membership and specific missions over time as the campaign moves beyond al-Qaida.

Together with the ongoing attack upon terrorist organizations, the United States needs to take advantage of new opportunities created as a result of Sept. 11 and the reaction to it by tackling long-festering but seemingly impossible problems, in order to "drain the swamp," as Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld has put it. Some that immediately come to mind are Afghanistan and Kashmir, Somalia and the Sudan, together with continuing efforts to consolidate peace in the Balkans. This is a daunting diplomatic task, but the unparalleled opportunity needs to be seized before it slips away, restarting the slide down into more terrorism and violence. The revitalized State Department, under new leadership with greater resources, is in a position to meet the challenge successfully. ■

Robert Oakley retired in 1991 as ambassador to Pakistan. His 34 years in the Foreign Service included tours as ambassador to Somalia and Zaire, coordinator for counterterrorism and (twice) the National Security Council's senior director for the Near East and South Asia. He is currently a distinguished fellow at the National Defense University in Washington, D.C.

FSOs AND FSNs RECALL SEPT. 11

OVERSEAS AFSA MEMBERS SHARE THEIR EXPERIENCES
OF THE EVENTS OF SEPT. 11 AND THEIR AFTERMATH.

Editor's Note: A few days after the horrific events of Sept. 11, we sent an e-mail to AFSA post representatives asking them to canvass their colleagues and share local experiences and reactions. As a loose framework for their responses, we posed the following questions:

- What were you (individually or institutionally) doing when you got the news?
- What steps did your post take to assist and reassure fearful American citizens? To tighten security?
- What was local reaction (i.e., were there expressions of solidarity with the U.S., support for the terrorists, or both)? How would you characterize local media coverage of the attacks? Were there mass demonstrations of support for America or for the terrorists around U.S. facilities, either diplomatic or private sector? Do they continue or have they largely petered out?

Our thanks to all Foreign Service officers and Foreign Service National employees who took the time in the midst of their grief, fear and heightened workloads to share their experiences. In fact, we received so many thoughtful, moving responses that we will run more next month.

—Steven Alan Honley, Editor



Phones Ring in the Embassy

Images blaze on CNN.
A movie, a horrible movie.
Friends gather,
Stare in silence.
Not real, fiction, a mistake.
Not happening.
No.
No?
Please no.

Around me phones ring.

Questions, questions, questions.
Hopeful pleading for something,
a telephone number that won't work;
any glimmer of hope.
A reason to believe.
In anything.

Eyes blur, heads bow, shoulders slouch.
Trivial answers for the constant ringing.
Absorb as much grief as you can,
give as much energy as you have.
Talk to them all.
Hear their questions, both said and unsaid,
echo next to yours.
Why, why, oh, please tell me why. How?
The phones keep ringing and
hearts keep reaching out to answer them.
All of them.

Outside, flowers line the cold stone.
Their smell hangs in the air,
sweet as the blooms wither slowly in the cool evening.
Candles burn, clustered together against the coming
night,
silently swaying back and forth,
fighting to exist in the fading breeze.

Feet and faces shuffle by in reflective silence.
Photographers and would-be photographers dart in and
out to record the moment, capture the passing of history.
Flags here.
Flags there.
Some flutter, some stand at attention, solemnly guard-
ing entrances and exits;
Others lay buried under flowers.
Consumed in grief.

F O C U S

Airports grind to a halt.
Lines everywhere.
Lines of people, lines for help, lines by airline representatives.

Lines.
Quiet acceptance, angry resignation, measured strength.

I will not modify my behavior.
More lines from the airlines.
The numbers grow.

When? When? When?
Why? Why? Why?
It is a refrain, echoed in mumbles, challenges and stares.
Our chorus answers back.
We don't know. Just don't know. May never know.
No harmony today.

Time blurs.
Ceases to have relevance.
Phones still ring and lines still form.
Unchanging questions.
Unchanging answers.

Felt markers scrawl on whiteboards.
Hands tape paper here and there.
Our armor of information to deflect the anger and pain.
But markers and Post-It notes will never answer why,
never absorb a human voice, or heart.
Never. Never. Never.

I am small,
insignificant under the roar of broad-sided buildings
and the cacophony of CNN.

My world spins under fluorescent lights.
Why? Why? Why?

I am but one person with one heart fighting against
that questioning chorus,
reaching out to strangers dialing a number;
Powerless to make it stop,
to answer with my own refrain.

I look right,
left,
in front,
behind.
I am surrounded.

Friends, some old, some new, sit side by side.
Together.

The phone rings.
Eric Fichte
Embassy London



Early Wednesday evening, it became apparent that several hundred Americans were at Heathrow Airport and did not intend to find lodging for the night. Two consular officers were quickly dispatched with instructions to figure out what was going on and do what they could to settle these people for the night and make sure accurate information was being disseminated.

"The only television they have in this place is in the bar," he said, slowly, deliberately.

"I'm sorry about that, sir. I'm happy to tell you as much as the embassy knows."

"Yeah, yeah. I want to know one positive thing you guys have done. One positive thing," he said issuing the challenge — confident that the odds were in his favor.

"We've managed to convince an airline to change its policy and put stranded Americans in hotels, negotiated with hotels to offer reduced rates for American citizens, helped place countless stranded travelers with private citizens offering their homes, and filled prescriptions for stranded Americans with health conditions."

"Oh," he said and headed back to the bar.

The terminal was a zoo. Over two hundred people were piled into a lounge, bodies crammed into corners or bent at odd angles to create the semblance of a flat surface. Faces peered out from behind piles of luggage. Airport representatives, exasperated that the airlines had not done so all day, fed the masses. Hands reached into food boxes stacked precariously on hand trolleys. Small bags of potato chips and bottles of mineral water sailed through the air. Dinner was finally served.

Misinformation was king. Uncertainty and doubt ruled. Airline representatives sent some passengers directly to hotels; others told people to check back every 15 minutes. Meanwhile, some airlines were checking baggage and issuing boarding passes for phantom flights. And into this mess flew a constant stream of incoming flights; all delivering more bodies, more statistical robustness, to the equation.

Our task was straightforward: inform as many people as possible about what we knew, what we expected and assist as much as possible with what to do in the meantime. While we didn't have much hard information, close consultation with embassy FAA representatives allowed us to provide a realistic assessment of the next 48 hours. A resumption of flights was highly unlikely. We had to make that clear.

Passing the word turned out to be much easier than initially feared. Instead of anger we saw gratitude when we told the passengers that they likely would not fly for at least a couple of days. People didn't care about hearing bad news, just so long as they received an honest assessment of what they faced. Perhaps some airlines set the stage by building expectation to unreasonable levels. Or perhaps most everyone traveling understood that while they had been inconvenienced, the true tragedy was in the United States.

As we worked our way through the terminal, talking to as many Americans as we could find, another amazing event unfolded before us. Private American citizens, having heard about the stranded passengers, descended on the airport to open their homes and their hearts. Amidst the confusion, we now had a terrific tonic — compassion.

For the next two days, we repeated our message. Tempers shortened slightly and emotions surfaced quicker for all involved, but the peace held and we were still able to make a difference. We filled prescriptions for stranded Americans with health concerns, negotiated reduced rates at area hotels for Americans, helped organize and coordinate our private citizens' efforts, pointed people in the right direction, and — above everything else — spoke in a frank and straightforward manner. It was the least that we could do.

*Consular Section
Embassy London*



On Sept. 11, 2001, I awoke to my alarm clock at 6:30 as I do each morning. I don't usually listen to the news before coming to work; however, that day, for some reason, I chose to listen. Upon hearing about the crash into the World Trade Center, my husband leaped out of bed and ran downstairs to view the television. I simply

***I was in such a state of
depression and sadness
that I didn't eat
breakfast or lunch.***

proceeded to get ready for work not knowing the extent of the situation. All of a sudden my husband called me urgently downstairs and said "Watch this!" At the time they were replaying on TV the two attacks on the World Trade Center and moments later they showed the crash into the Pentagon. At

that moment I remember feeling my heart racing. I suddenly had a very sickening feeling in my stomach and I simply sank onto the couch and viewed the TV in total disbelief and shock. My husband proceeded to say "You are not going to work today." I then called my supervisor at her home and informed her of the news and she proceeded to notify our chief NIV officer. I then received a phone call back stating that the consulate was closed for the day.

I spent the rest of the day glued to the TV, watching CNN, and I was in such a state of depression and sadness that I didn't eat breakfast or lunch that day. We were closed the following day as well.

I have been working as an FSN at the U.S. Consulate in Vancouver for over 15 years. I feel very close to my fellow American officers and I was very deeply affected by this tragedy.

Since that time our entrance area has become an absolute "shrine." It is absolutely overwhelming the response from the local residents. Minute by minute they have been dropping off beautiful flower arrangements, cards, candles, etc. The messages on the cards are truly heartwarming and simply bring me to tears each time I stop by and read them.

Our security has since been tightened. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police has a more visible presence in our waiting room and around the lobby of our building. Everyone is just that much more alert around them.

In closing I would like to say that I am proud to work for the U.S. consulate and I am deeply saddened by these senseless deaths that have been caused by these attacks.

GOD BLESS AMERICA!!!!!!

*Monika Sayers
Consular Investigation Assistant
U.S. Consulate General
Vancouver, British Columbia*

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Manila is 12 hours ahead so my wife and I had retired for the evening. Our daughter is a police officer at home in Tennessee and was called into work. She had her husband call us with the news and he told us it was on CNN. We sat up the rest of the night watching the news.

Post management responded immediately. Streets in front of the embassy were heavily monitored by local law enforcement, post security and the Philippine Armed Forces. The access road in front of the Seafront Compound was blocked off by military and police and entrance to both facilities was strongly secured. I never felt threatened but admit to an extreme urge for revenge. Contrary to most observations, I believe the militant Muslims are all terrorist and as a group should be eliminated. I know this won't happen and that is probably for the best, but that was my first thought. Even now, they have declared holy war on us and we should react accordingly with a strong force.

A couple of the Philippine politicians (former terrorists

themselves) were cautious in expressing support for America. But every local citizen I met was extremely sorrowful and wished America well. It seemed to me that America serves as a very honored icon to almost all the locals. Taxi drivers, doctors, lawyers, maids, tennis and golf associates to a person were solidly behind America. Even with all the grief it made you proud to be an American. Several memorials were held and the ones I attended were full to overflowing with locals lining the streets.

It appears our leaders are taking the right approach: not randomly striking out but determining the guilty and exacting extreme revenge. We don't need to jeopardize a lot of troops. Use our technology, use satellites to locate the positions of defense and send in missiles to blow them up. Once guilt is established, enemy cities should resemble the destroyed towers. I am nearing retirement from government services and would volunteer to serve as a volunteer air marshal on flights or as an assistant to a marshal in charge on the flight.

Bobby Huff

Embassy Manila

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I was having lunch in a charming new downtown restaurant, located just two blocks from the ocean. I was with three interesting Ghanaian women, one of whom I was meeting for the first time: a TV presenter, a lawyer and a factory owner. We had just started into our fufu and soup when the TV presenter and I got calls on our cell phones, simultaneously, from colleagues who were watching CNN and listening to the BBC. I didn't finish my lunch, and although I want to pick up with those women again, I don't know whether I can go back to that restaurant any time soon.

The embassy immediately called an emergency action committee meeting, after which the DCM, RSO and CON chief prepared a message for the embassy community and the warden network. The PAO spoke to most local media houses that day and the next to reassure everyone that the U.S. embassy was open for business as usual. The local police service augmented its protection at all our facilities, and we added more guards from the private company hired by the embassy.

The outpourings of sympathy, condolence and support were immediate and widespread. The president issued a strong letter and declared a day of mourning during which all flags in the country were flown at half-mast. Countless government officials and Ghanaians from all walks of life phoned, faxed, and mailed in messages of sympathy. The American Chamber of Commerce organized a memorial service at which two local youth groups — a choir and an orchestra — performed. Although there have been no demonstrations, editorial comment has been universally sympathetic, while urging the United States to temper any tendency to react emotionally, to act multilaterally rather than unilaterally, and to avoid actions that could inflame Christian-Muslim tension. Much concern has been expressed about the impact on developing nations' access to credit and development assistance.

*Brooks A. Robinson
Public Affairs Officer
Embassy Accra*



That Tuesday afternoon (our time), our local guard said there had been a terrible accident, that a plane

had hit the World Trade Center. I went to look at CNN, but of course with the scale of the building, and the pictures, I just figured some poor private pilot was horribly off course. As an afterthought, I called our information officer just to let her know, in case she got calls. She thanked me, having not yet heard the news. That was the end of it. For about 20 minutes. By Thursday, it seemed as if I had called her a few years ago.

Here in Prague, there were spontaneous and orchestrated gatherings everywhere, although with everyone cautious, some would-be gatherers were asked not to gather by their own government, and who could fault that decision? The local news coverage however, had more disturbing pictures: Afghan refugees in camps here, cheering the news.

I was born the night before JFK was shot, and I have lived my life knowing I would never experience a national mourning like that of 1963, as described by everyone cognizant on that day. How wrong I was.

I took a phone call from an American desperate to return to her children, safe at home in Utah. We went round and round for several minutes, me patiently explaining that no planes were flying, and her reiterating that she NEEDED to get home. Finally she paused and I thought, "At last, I'm getting through." "Well," she said, "couldn't you just call the State Department? There can't be many people in my situation."

*Heather Guimond
Vice Consul
Embassy Prague*



Embassy Georgetown was hard at work in its normal routine on Tuesday, Sept. 11. We're on the same time as Washington right now, so it was around 8:45 a.m. that the RSO came in to report to me as DCM that SOUTHCOM, on the phone with our Military Liaison Officer, had reported World Trade Center Tower One was hit by a plane. I immediately informed the ambassador. We then heard Tower Two was hit and decided our Emergency Action Committee would meet at 10 a.m. I then went in search of a working television, finding the only one in the motor pool. The mood was somber.

The RSO immediately advised our chancery and

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residential security contractor to be on highest alert and made contact with the commissioner of police, who promised beefed-up security. Guyana's president phoned the ambassador early on to express his shock and sympathy and to offer any assistance we required.

What amazed me most about the impact locally was to learn how many Guyanese had family who worked at the World Trade Center. So far, we know of 22 victims in New York and one at the Pentagon, a high number for such a small country, but reflective of the high rate of migration to the U.S. Even more amazing were the numerous stories of escape or people reporting late to work, and so on. Fate was with them!

Of course, we received many calls and letters in

*I was born the night before
JFK was shot, and I have
lived my life knowing
I would never experience
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that of 1963.*

How wrong I was.

sympathy and invitations to participate in a number of memorial events. Guyana is 15 percent Muslim, so it was especially reassuring that the Muslim community expressed solidarity with us. Memorial services typically included representatives of the Hindu, Muslim, Christian and Ba'hai faiths. One notable expression of sympathy was the candlelight vigil outside our gate by the crew of North American Airlines, when they

were temporarily grounded here in Georgetown. Likewise, a simple but moving memorial service attended by about 200 local American citizens at the ambassador's residence brought us closer together in our sorrow for the events of that tragic day.

Kimberly A. Hoffstrom

Embassy Georgetown ■

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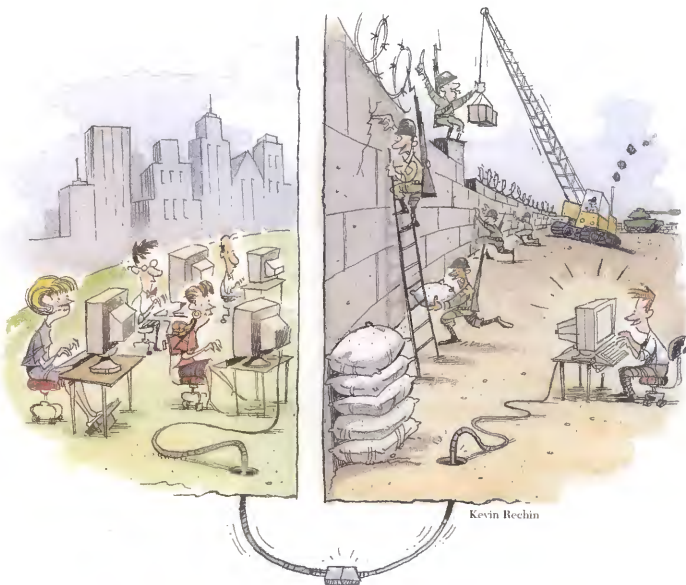
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WILL STATES BE OVERTHROWN IN THE DIGITAL REVOLUTION?



THE DIGITAL REVOLUTION WILL COMPROMISE THE ABILITY OF A STATE TO EXERT ITS DOMESTIC AUTHORITY THROUGH JURISDICTION OVER ITS GEOGRAPHIC TERRITORY.

By STEPHEN J. KOBRIN

A radiologist at a Philadelphia hospital now spends his on-call nights at home. He works as a "virtual radiologist," using a fast broad-band connection and some very sophisticated software to review Cat scans on his desktop computer. While distance may be irrelevant in this case, geography is not: Even though the Internet would allow the doctor to interpret Cat scan data in Pensacola or Prague, he is only licensed to practice medicine in Pennsylvania.

We live in a world that is profoundly geographic. The Peace of Westphalia (1648), which marked the transition from the medieval to the modern state system, meant the territorialization of politics: states and a nation-state system based on meaningful borders and mutually exclusive jurisdiction. Sovereignty is a geographic construct

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premised on the idea that national governments are the ultimate domestic law-making and law-enforcing authorities and that recognition as a state is largely a function of control over territory.

Most of our legislation and regulation is territorially based. It assumes that the objects of law and regulation can be located unambiguously in two-dimensional geographic space, that the "where" questions can be answered: Where is the scene of the crime? Where is the medical or legal or accounting practice located? Where did the transaction take place? Where are the company's operations?

With the advent of the Internet, these "where" questions can be much more difficult to answer. If a Wharton student on her way to London logs on to her university's server in Philadelphia using her laptop while sitting at the gate at New York's Kennedy Airport, and downloads music from a French company whose server is located in Ireland, and she pays for that music with electronic cash drawn on a Cayman Islands bank, it is virtually impossible to determine where this transaction takes place.

The Information Age and the State

To what extent do the digital age and the Internet compromise geographically rooted political and economic organization? I do not believe that the digital revolution heralds the end of the nation-state. It will however, compromise the ability of a state to exert its domestic authority through jurisdiction over its geographic territory. It will also change the state's role in the international political economic system: Technology will empower civil society advocacy groups to become significant actors in international politics.

A caveat is important here: The digital age is brand-new. We are witnesses to its birth and understand very little about what is happening, much less what will hap-

Internet-based transactions raise questions about regulation and control that is based on territorial jurisdiction.

pen in the future. At this point prediction is difficult, if not impossible. What we can do is to imagine possible futures and think systematically about how they might affect us.

Internet-based transactions raise questions about regulation and control that are based on territorial jurisdiction. State licensing of radiologists made sense when doctors' practices were limited to the range of their buggies or auto-

mobiles, but it may be counterproductive in an age when much of the world is but a mouse-click away. The Net is paradoxical in that it is inherently international and yet penetrates deeply into national systems of regulation, culture and economic organization. I can take advantage of the Internet to get medical advice anyplace in the world; crossing a border is as simple as crossing the street. That being said, I want assurance that the person giving me advice over the Internet is competent to practice medicine, which raises the question of whose standards should apply. Which country's beliefs about the length and type of medical training should decide who is qualified to be a doctor?

The Internet has been a major factor in the emergence of internationally linked advocacy groups that deal with issues such as the environment, human rights, labor rights and poverty, and their presence has complicated international politics considerably. States now share power, to a greater or lesser extent, with these civil society groups (NGOs) as well as with the private sector, which has been a powerful international actor for some time. A sign held by anti-globalization protesters at the 2001 World Economic Forum meeting in Davos summed it up: "Our resistance is as global as your oppression."

The fact that the Internet empowers advocacy groups raises questions about the impact of the digital revolution on democracy. While the Internet can readily keep the public informed on international economic and political issues and involve a wide audience in international decision-making, there is a tendency to confuse ease of access to the Net with a "town meeting" style of participative democracy, a sense that chat rooms and mail lists allow everyone to express an opin-

Stephen J. Kobrin is the William H. Wurster Professor of Multinational Management at the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania

ion and then arrive at a "sense of the meeting" about a given issue.

While it is true that many individuals or small groups can, with limited resources, participate in a chat room or even set up a Web site, the effective manipulation of information in the virtual world requires the same expertise (writers and public affairs specialists), organization and resources (an attractive Web site is very expensive to create and maintain) as it does in the physical world. The Internet can be a vehicle for misinformation and demagoguery of all sorts by well-funded and organized groups who bring attention to their positions on any given issue.

Everything Is Illegal Somewhere

Yahoo, the Internet portal, hosts electronic auctions on its American Web site, some of which have dealt in Nazi memorabilia. The sale of these items is protected in the U.S. by the First Amendment but is illegal under France's anti-racism laws. In the fall of 2000, Yahoo had no Nazi items for sale in France or on its French-language Web site. Nonetheless, a French court held that Yahoo must prevent French Internet users from accessing its American auction site or face a fine of 100,000 francs per day. In reaching this verdict, the court relied on expert testimony that argued it was possible technically for Yahoo to trace, identify and block French Internet users from accessing its American site. While at the time of this writing the case is still being appealed in the U.S., Yahoo voluntarily removed auctions of items that "promote or glorify violence or hatred" from its site early in 2001.

As this case demonstrates, geography maps only very imperfectly in cyberspace, and it is becoming increasingly difficult for countries to regulate — as well as to tax — electronic commerce. In the physical world, the geographic location of buyers and sellers is known and the vast majority of transactions take place in a single location; therefore, applying a single jurisdiction's tax law or regulation to them is often straightforward. International, or even cross-jurisdictional, transactions are limited.

Because physical distance is not a barrier to transactions in cyberspace, we will see a marked increase in the number of cross-jurisdictional transactions and thus the number of jurisdictional conflicts in areas such as consumer protection. Furthermore, an

increasing number of transactions on the Net will no longer involve physical goods but rather will be information transfers (digital movies, music, books, and medical information), which are difficult to track. Technology is also available that would allow any of us to transfer funds anywhere in the world with a keystroke, anonymously and securely. If a French Internet user purchased an electronic version of *Mein Kampf* and paid for it with anonymous and secure electronic cash, nothing tangible would flow in either direction. How would the French government even know the transaction had taken place, much less the location of the buyer or seller? Is this the sale of a product or a service? As digital transactions become the norm, enforcement of regulation and taxation will become increasingly problematic.

More important, it is far from clear conceptually where this purchase of *Mein Kampf* took place. Is it where Yahoo's Web site is located in the U.S. or where the buyer resides in France? Whose law applies or should apply to this transaction? Is a virtual presence a basis for a claim of jurisdiction? In the case of Yahoo selling Nazi memorabilia, the French government thought so.

Internet addresses reflect network organization and may not bear any relationship to the physical location of the user. Some have argued that cyberspace is a domain existing apart from the physical world and that law and regulation grounded in territorial jurisdiction could not, and should not, apply to the virtual world. If tracing technology (which is designed to allow Web sites to identify the geographic location of the majority of those logging in) proves effective, we now may face the opposite problem: Every Web site could be subject to the laws of all 200-plus national jurisdictions. Should everyone's law apply to every Web site? It would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to do business under those circumstances.

Perhaps more problematic than the question of whose regulation should apply to each Web site is the conflict the Internet creates between very different cultures and beliefs. The Net rubs cultural and societal differences raw. At its heart, the Yahoo case is a conflict about whether you privilege free speech over the impact of racial hate and the glorification of violence.

The debate between the U.S. and the European Union over data privacy is one example of how the

Internet brings different culture and belief systems into conflict. Because of American beliefs about individualism, American faith in the market, and American concern over how big a role government should play in society, there is very limited privacy protection in the U.S. and very limited regulation of personal information or name-linked data. On the other hand, Europe tends to envision privacy as a human right that should be protected and has therefore passed statutory regulation of personal information, culminating in the European Union's Data Directive of 1998.

Both the integrated global economy and the non-geographic nature of the Internet make it very difficult to have dramatically different privacy regimes in America and Europe. If an American uses an ATM card to withdraw money from a German bank machine, for example, there will be an international transfer of name-linked data when the German bank's computer verifies the balance in the U.S. account. Should American or European privacy law apply to this transaction? The E.U. Data Directive would prohibit that sort of a transfer of personal information from Europe to countries whose privacy regimes were not deemed adequate. The same would hold for a company's transfer of credit or personnel data from one country to the other. These problems are more acute on the Net. A European could access any Web site in the U.S. and it wouldn't be clear whether E.U. or American privacy law applied to such activity.

Despite the obvious need to do so, it has proven very difficult to find a middle ground between the E.U.'s Data Directive and American beliefs in limited self-regulation of privacy that is acceptable to both sides. While a "safe harbor" solution — which provides the opportunity for American companies to agree to a self-regulatory regime backed up by government enforcement — has been agreed to, it is disliked by both Americans and Europeans and its effectiveness remains to be seen.

Such cooperation between states, however, will become increasingly necessary in the digital age. Internet transactions will continue to gain economic importance, and organizing regulation based on territorial jurisdiction will become increasingly problematic.

***A French court held that
Yahoo must prevent
French Internet users from
accessing its American
auction site.***

Already, conflicts between consumer protection regulation (should the buyer's or seller's law apply?) and tax regimes have become apparent. Effective non-geographic, cooperative international regulation will need to evolve — and in fact, states are already beginning to cooperate on such matters. For example, during the Federal Trade Commission's

"Surf Days," agencies from a number of governments joined together in a massive anti-fraud sweep. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development has attempted to work with governments and the private sector to develop rules for the taxation of digital transactions on the Internet.

The Information Age and the State System

The Net has gone a long way towards eliminating geography and distance as barriers to international activity. It has markedly lowered the cost of organizing internationally, and it allows individuals and groups in diverse geographic areas to share information, pool resources, mobilize opposition, "inform" the public and lobby local and national governments. As a result, international politics has become considerably more complex. A world of multiple authorities and multiple loyalties is emerging and the international system now includes NGOs, other civil society groups and the private sector, as well as nation-states. Discussions and perhaps decisions in international organizations such as the WTO and the World Bank now routinely include NGOs and multinational corporations as well as national governments.

While NGOs such as Greenpeace and Amnesty International certainly existed before the widespread adoption of the Internet, access to cyberspace has allowed them to emerge as significant players in international politics. To a large extent, responsibility for human rights has shifted from national governments and international organizations to NGOs that monitor, advocate, publicize and bring significant pressure to bear on the relevant authorities.

In 1997-1998, a non-state actor, Ralph Nader's organization Public Citizen, mobilized widespread and

effective opposition to negotiations on a Multilateral Agreement on Investment at OECD whose objective was to provide international rules of the road for investment analogous to those provided for trade by the WTO.

Public Citizen obtained a draft of the treaty and posted it on its Web site. Within months, about 600 different "organizations" in 70 countries had become part of a global, electronically networked movement opposed to MAI. This considerable and very vocal opposition, generated almost entirely in cyberspace, played an important role in the negotiations' ultimate demise in 1998, though substantial disagreements among the negotiating parties and questions about the appropriateness of OECD as a venue also were critical factors.

As the failure of MAI demonstrates, it is no longer reasonable to define international politics in terms of a system comprised only of states. While sovereignty may still be defined in terms of mutually exclusive territoriality, access to international politics is not.

Democracy in the Digital Age

Is the Internet a democratizing force given the issues of economic and political governance discussed in this paper? I suspect the answer is that the Internet simultaneously provides the potential for both democracy and demagoguery, and it is too early to make a call about its impact.

On the one hand, the Internet can serve as a vehicle to involve large numbers of groups and individuals with issues such as international economics, the environment, human rights, poverty and inequality. On the other hand, subjects like international economics are complex and often arcane and every major decision cannot be subject to an international electronic referendum. Town meetings have their limits and for more complex issues, the democratic process requires intermediaries, elected and appointed representatives. International economic governance is no different.

Furthermore, the Net is largely an editor-free environment containing a huge amount of data with few checks on its validity and accuracy. There is great potential for misinformation and disinformation. This is especially true when it comes to international economic institutions such as the World Trade

Organization, the World Bank and the IMF, which are not well understood and have only limited legitimacy among national publics.

It is easy for news groups and chat rooms to pass along "facts" — for example, a rumor noted that the MAI would make it impossible for Newton, Mass. to prevent foreign companies from building a 40-story building in the town center — which become established quickly, and their audience multiplies exponentially. Internet surfers drown in information and the more successful groups are those with the resources and knowledge to organize and communicate. There is a very real danger of American interest group politics being replicated internationally — of civil society groups with strong and coherent interests and abundant resources having a disproportionate influence on both public opinion and the decision processes of international economic organizations.

There is no question that the digital age limits a state's ability to exert control through geography and facilitates the entry of non-territorial entities into international politics. Yet each state's citizens still require an authority that will ensure the safety and efficacy of medical care and pharmaceuticals, provide adequate disclosure and safeguards in equity markets, protect consumers against misrepresentation and fraud, and generate public revenues. When territorial jurisdiction no longer provides an effective base for such regulation and taxation, some form of non-geographic, cooperative international action will become necessary.

Such cooperation will be difficult to achieve since it goes to the heart of very different societal beliefs about the role of the state, the market and other cultural values. Furthermore, I do not believe that simply deciding whose law applies — the buyer's or seller's, for example — will solve the problem. It may not be possible to locate either the buyer or the seller in physical space, and it may not be reasonable to expect sellers to deal with a vast number of jurisdictions.

Harmonization of national regulation and enforcement may be a necessary first step. That, however, may not be sufficient and in some areas such as consumer protection and taxation, international organizations with regulatory authority may be called for. I will venture that non-geographic, international cooperative regulatory institutions will emerge, although

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their form is impossible to foresee, but this process will be difficult and it will take a regulatory or fiscal crisis for national governments to relinquish any significant sovereign regulatory and tax authority. While it is well beyond the scope of this paper, I can envision an eventuality where a World Tax Organization may be necessary to track digital transactions and even actually collect and distribute taxes. We are obviously a very long way from that point.

Where does that leave us? While I do not believe that nation-states will fade away, territorial sovereignty is not a historically privileged mode of political organization. There have been times in the past — medieval Europe, for example — when politics was organized in terms of multiple overlapping and interwoven authorities, when the distinction between the

***While sovereignty
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domestic and international had little meaning, and when borders were diffuse and permeable. There may well be more in the future.

That being said, nation-states are still the primary unit of political organization, identification and democratic governance. It is unlikely that will change dramatically in the foreseeable future. National political and economic power is not going to disappear in an electronic haze. How that power is exerted, however, may well change. I suspect that international negotiations and representation will be more rather than less important in the future, as governance of the Internet and the world economy becomes increasingly global. If that is the case, extending the scope of participatory democratic processes beyond the borders of the territorial state will be critical. ■

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TECH'S EFFECTS: CULTURAL CONVERGENCE



Kevin Rechin

T AMERICA PLAYS THE ROLE OF A GLOBAL CULTURAL CLEARING HOUSE AS CULTURES MERGE IN TODAY'S HIGH-TECH WORLD.

By NEAL M. ROSENDORF

okyo students dressed as Gangsta rappers eat burgers at the local McDonald's. Children in Los Angeles wear Pokemon T-shirts while expertly wielding chopsticks on sushi purchased at the local Ralph's supermarket. These quotidian tableaux are emblematic of the myriad ways, great and small, that cultures are being recombined in many disparate locales throughout the world today. We are in the midst of the latest chapter in the millenia-old story of cultural globalization: the process by which elements of culture from different societies, such as religion, ideas and ideology, the high arts, fashion, entertainment, and cuisine, make their way around the world to engage great swaths of humanity. The world of the early 21st century is one with a far greater degree of mutual cultural awareness and cultural convergence than ever before in human history. It is a world in which

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American Foreign Service Association • November 2001

10 Names Added to AFSA Memorial Plaque



MARK BURNS

FOREIGN AFFAIRS DAY

AFSA Welcomes Alumni Back

AFSA was glad to see so many Foreign Service alumni back "on campus" for Foreign Affairs Day. AFSA participation in Foreign Affairs Day included: an AFSA Memorial Plaque ceremony, during which 10 new names of members of the Foreign Service who died serving their country were added to the plaque; a presentation by AFSA President John Naland, including an update of current AFSA efforts; a ceremony to award a certificate of appreciation to Claire and

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POWELL'S "ALL-HANDS" MESSAGE

A Call to Action

President Bush and Secretary Powell have turned to our diplomats stationed across the globe to lay the groundwork for creating an international coalition against terrorism. AFSA supports the secretary's Sept. 13 call, in which he stated:

"In the coming days, weeks and months, the State Department will be called upon to help forge a worldwide coalition to combat the evil of terrorism... The men and women of American diplomacy will be at the forefront of this unprecedented effort... The president and I and the American people are counting on each of you to do your duty, and we are confident that, in the finest tradition of service to our nation, you will rise to the challenge."

AFSA'S 2002 DISSENT AWARD NOMINATIONS

AFSA Recognition for Those Who Challenge the System

For over 30 years, AFSA has sponsored a program to recognize and encourage constructive dissent and risk-taking in the Foreign Service. Winners also receive a monetary reward of \$2,500. The AFSA dissent awards are unique, both because they are not based on performance, and because no other organization or agency in the U.S. government has a similar program.

At Secretary Powell's request, the State Department is planning a conference this fall to promote and encourage open discussion of policies and managerial issues. The Dissent Channel at State, first proposed by AFSA, is 30 years old this fall and constitutes one of the formal

mechanisms for expressing disagreement/dissent with State's established policies. AFSA's dissent awards recognize those who have the courage to speak out, on any and all subjects.

Past recipients of these awards include:

- An ambassador and DCM who refused to implement the department's decision to construct a new chancery in a location they viewed as being highly vulnerable to terrorist attack.

- A counselor at an embassy who challenged long-time U. S. policy on security assistance to the host country and urged that it be related to human rights concerns.

Continued on page 3

AFSANEWSBRIEFS



One Billion for State

Following the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, the administration allocated nearly \$1 billion dollars to the State Department out of the \$40 billion emergency appropriation. The money will go toward physical security upgrades at the Truman Building, hiring of new diplomatic security personnel, and other items related specifically to countering terrorism.

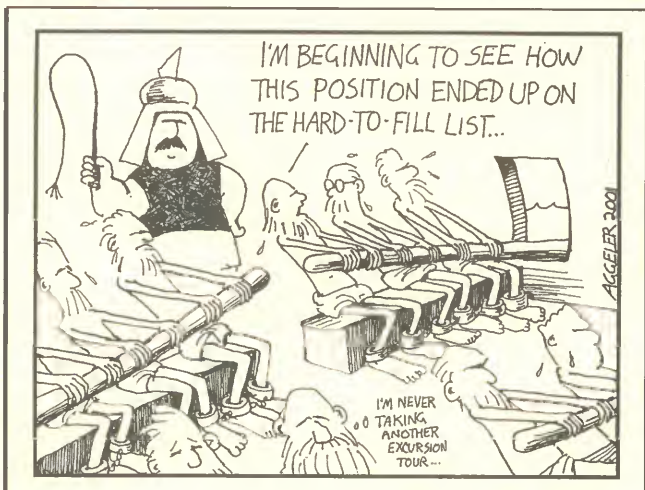
AFSA's Reform Initiative

Last month we told you about AFSA's new Professional Issues Committee, which is looking at ways to reform the Foreign Service personnel system. AFSA is encouraged that Under Secretary for Management Grant Green and Director General Ruth Davis agreed that management and AFSA would compare ideas for Foreign Service reform and try to find an agreed platform. Please respond to AFSANET messages requesting your input on ideas for reform proposals.

Support AFSA Legislative Action

The events of Sept. 11 make it clear that AFSA advocacy on Capitol Hill is more vital than ever before. The Legislative Action Fund permits AFSA to be highly effective in influencing legislation that directly impacts the lives of Foreign Service personnel and retirees. Please mail your contribution to: AFSA Legislative Action Fund, P.O. Box 98026, Washington, D.C., 20090-8026, or visit the AFSA Web site <http://www.afsa.org/lafform.html>. Please support the AFSA Legislative Action Fund by giving generously.

Life in the Foreign Service ■ BY BRIAN AGGELER, FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER & CARTOONIST



Post Differential Review

The Allowances Office (AOPR/ALS) is conducting a major survey of the post differential system. The review will include an assessment of post differential levels and a look at whether new elements should be added or existing ones have become irrelevant. In the cable 01 State 147352, management asked Foreign Service employees for input.

AFSA is sending in suggestions on behalf of the bargaining unit, but hopes that you sent in your views as well.

Did You Know?

The number of people who signed up for this month's Foreign Service written exam was 23,500, double what it was last year. This reversal of a decade-long decline in applications can be at least partly attributed to Secretary Powell's star quality and State's new recruiting campaign, featuring an ad with a photo of the secretary and the caption "This man wants to talk to you about a very important job."

AFSA News Briefs continues on page 8

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• A group of mid-level officers who displayed integrity and constructive dissent in developing and advocating alternative policy views to the established U. S. policy toward the Balkans and carried their challenge as far as the secretary of State's office.

A Foreign Service dedicated to individual excellence, independent thinking and the intellectual courage to challenge conventional wisdom is especially needed

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now, as the nation faces challenges far greater than any in recent history. Foreign Service employees at all grades and in all agencies put their lives and the lives of their families at risk to advance America's interests. AFSA dissent awards offer an opportunity to recognize the critical contributions made by our colleagues over and above their assigned responsibilities.

Please give some thought now to whom among your colleagues has had the courage to challenge the system — on any subject. Success is not a requirement. The willingness to ask the tough questions and pursue the answers is what counts.

The official call for dissent award nominations will be in the December AFSA News. The four awards are: Herter (senior officers), Rivkin (mid-level officers), Harriman (junior officers), and Harris (specialists). □

V.P. VOICE: STATE ■ BY LOUISE CRANE

Dying for the Public

For some years now, America's civil servants have been bashed by the public. Regrettably, some elected representatives joined the hue and cry. "Incompetent," "lazy," "greedy swillers at the public trough," were some of the insults hurled at government employees as legislatures slashed budgets, reduced the number of government employees and claimed the private sector would do it better and more cheaply.



This attitude has perplexed me for years, because I know it isn't the private sector that guards the country against foot-and-mouth and mad cow disease. It is the government employees at the CDC who track down epidemics and mutant bacteria to protect our health, not the HMOs. It is the Foreign Service consular officer who intervenes with the Taliban on behalf of the American aid workers currently on trial in Kabul, not Ford Motor Company staff. I do not notice the private sector preserving and administering America's natural beauty and historic sites like its Revolutionary War and Civil War battlefields. The last time

I know it isn't the private sector that guards the country.

I checked, it was the work of the National Park Service and a myriad of state and local parks authorities. I have not noticed the securities industry adopting measures to ferret out and punish those who commit securities fraud and other economic crimes. Indeed, when Congress relaxed the rules and the supervision, it brought us the savings and loan crisis.

Anyone, and I mean anyone, who doubts the value of government service has only to read the names of those who died in New York on Tuesday, Sept. 11. Count the names of those employees of the New York Port Authority, the fire department, the police department and other public agencies, who stayed at their posts and did their duty, and died. Their numbers are proof of the indispensable service public employees provide our citizens. So too are the names of the Foreign Service casualties engraved on marble tablets at the State Department. These are also people who were only doing their duty when they died.

The Foreign Service will be called upon to do its duty in the coming months and years and it won't always be pleasant. Our families will suffer and endure hardship as we carry out our government's policies and deliver its messages. I am hopeful that there will now be a greater public appreciation for that hardship than there has been in the past. Although there are State offices near the World Trade Center — the Passport Agency, Diplomatic Security, inter alia — thankfully, no employee was a casualty this time.

Since the terror attacks, I have heard only praise for those public servants who gave their lives while trying to save others. Paul Krugman's column "Paying the Price" is noteworthy, detailing the weakening of the nation's public infrastructure because "public agencies have been starved of resources by politicians busily posturing against 'big government.'" Krugman concludes with a grim warning: "If we continue to nickel-and-dime crucial public services we may find ... we have nickel-and-dimed ourselves to death."

Secretary Powell likes to call diplomacy the best "offense." AFSA urges Congress to fund his diplomatic readiness initiative so the department will have the personnel and resources it needs to protect us from the evil lurking out there. □

AFSA Participation in Foreign Affairs Day

Continued from page 1



MARK BURNS

John Simon for creating the J. Kirby Simon Foreign Service Trust (see page 5 story); a box lunch and open house at AFSA headquarters; and a reception and dinner for participants in AFSA's Day on the Hill program (see accompanying note).

In making his presentation on the state of AFSA, Naland said to the retirees in the audience: "The Foreign Service that you helped to build faces big challenges in the coming years. We have entered a period of both danger and opportunity. The next few years will tell whether or not we obtain the resources and achieve the reforms required to assure that the Foreign Service continues and improves its proud service to our nation. As Secretary Powell has said, you can play a vital role in creating public support for effective diplomacy. For my part as AFSA president, I need your continuing advice on how to keep the Foreign Service responsive to America's needs while maintaining the highest professional standards."

Some retirees told AFSA they missed the opportunity to be briefed on regional issues of special interest, always part of past Foreign Service Day programs. AFSA hopes to see the return of the substantive briefings by high-level department officials in future years. In addition, AFSA plans to encourage State management to return to the traditional May scheduling for future Foreign Affairs Day programs. Retirees travel to Washington for Foreign Affairs Day from many congressional districts, and AFSA would like to see this annual visit



MARK BURNS

The Sept. 10 Plaque Ceremony come at a time of year that can best serve the Foreign Service cause on Capitol Hill.

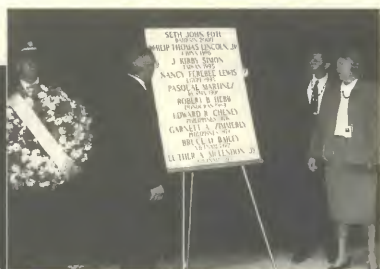
ADDING NAMES TO THE PLAQUE

Honoring 10 Colleagues

AFSA honored 10 members of the Foreign Service who died in the line of duty by adding their names to the AFSA Memorial Plaque. Secretary Powell took part in the ceremony during the opening of Foreign Affairs Day. He read a message from President Bush, in which the president expressed gratitude to the individuals who devoted their lives to serving America.

The 10 additions to the plaque were made following AFSA's review and expansion of the plaque criteria earlier this year. AFSA remembers with heartfelt gratitude the following colleagues who lost their lives in the line of duty while serving overseas:

Seth John Foti, Bahrain, 2000
Philip Thomas Lincoln, Jr., China, 1996
J. Kirby Simon, Taiwan, 1995



MARK BURNS

Nancy Ferebee Lewis, Egypt, 1993
Pasqual Martinez, Russia, 1991
Robert B. Hebb, Honduras, 1989
Edward R. Cheney, Philippines, 1976
Garnett A. Zimmerly, Philippines, 1976
Bruce O. Bailey, Vietnam, 1972
Luther A. McLendon, Jr., Vietnam, 1972

Following an introduction by Naland, who recognized the family and friends of the colleagues being honored, a presentation of the colors was done by the United States Armed Forces Color Guard. Secretary Powell and USAID Deputy Administrator Janet Ballantyne unveiled the plaque names.

AFSA TAKES RETIREES TO CAPITOL HILL

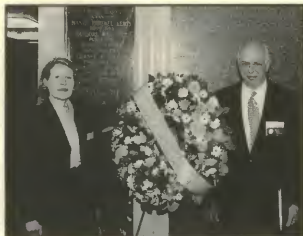
Day on the Hill Cut Short

At the moment the tragic events of Sept. 11 began to unfold, an AFSA delegation of 39 retired Foreign Service members, 14 AFSA staff members, and five AFSA governing board officers was on Capitol Hill urging full funding of the administration's Fiscal Year 2002 budget request for international affairs. The delegation learned of the World Trade Center attacks while meeting in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing room. The Pentagon was hit as members of the AFSA delegation were on their way to scheduled meetings with five members of Congress and senior staffers of 18 other Senators and Representatives. Seven of the 23 scheduled meetings were under way when Capitol Hill was evacuated.

Continued on page 9

Honoring Kirby Simon

Claire and John Simon, parents of FSO J. Kirby Simon, were presented with a certificate of appreciation and recognition by AFSA President John Naland during the main Foreign Affairs Day program. The Simons were recog-



Claire and John Simon

nized for their establishment of the J. Kirby Simon Foreign Service Trust as a way to honor the memory of their son, who died in the line of duty while stationed in Taiwan. Kirby was a junior officer serving his first tour in the Foreign Service when he died in April 1995 due to carbon monoxide poisoning from a faulty heater in his post-leased apartment in Taipei.

Kirby Simon was, by all accounts, an extraordinary person and officer. He was known for his style, wit and flair, and for his passionate commitment to causes in which he believed. As one A-100 classmate put it, Kirby "brought constant joy to other people and made no apologies for standing up for what he believed was right." One of his colleagues in Taiwan said that Kirby "was the first one invited to every party, and the last one to complain about a lousy day." His life, cut short at 33 years, was marked by unusual achievements and acts of volunteerism. His death was a tremendous loss for the Foreign Service.

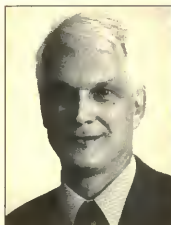
The trust is supported by donors from across the Foreign Service community. The Simons told *AFSA News* that they accepted the certificate not for themselves, "but for all the scores of contributors to

Continued on page 6

AFSA is Worth the Price

In August, I sent my first monthly FAS AFSA newsletter to all FAS AFSA members. Please let me know if you did not receive it.

In the newsletter, and again in this column, I encourage every FAS Foreign Service officer to become a dues-paying member of AFSA. I understand that many of you simply have not thought to pay your dues, and others have let their memberships lapse for no reason. But I also recognize that many officers oppose the concept of unions in government. I, too, had similar reservations and remember wrestling with an invitation to a briefing organized by Bill Westman, a former AFSA vice president, during an annual FAS attaché conference several years ago. I did attend. As a result, I sit here today writing this column as your current VP. Why? There are several reasons, but two stand out.



With an informed understanding of AFSA came the realization that I should pay my fair share.

While I still had doubts about "government unions," I did not wish to remain a free rider without a voice.

First, whether I agreed with the concept of union representation in government or not, during that AFSA briefing, I realized that our AFSA-negotiated contract with management regulates every facet of our employment, from workplace environment to promotions. I concluded that I could either put up or shut up—and the latter is impossible for me (at times, much to my regret). I had a choice: I could either become involved and contribute, or watch from the sidelines as others represented what they perceived to be my interests.

Second, I came to realize that AFSA is not a labor union in the traditional sense. Rather, it is a professional association with labor management as only one of its many functions. For example, through various outreach activities such as the Speakers Bureau and Elderhostel, AFSA strives to educate American citizens about U.S. foreign policy and the Foreign Service. AFSA helps recruit top candidates to our ranks, thus ensuring the future professionalism of the Foreign Service. AFSA supports education, awarding over \$150,000 in financial aid and scholarships each year to children of AFSA members. AFSA provides assistance to FS retirees, especially important given our up-or-out system. And AFSA works with Congress to improve member benefits, such as locality pay for our colleagues and their families serving overseas.

With an informed understanding of AFSA came the realization that I should pay my fair share. While I still had doubts about "government unions," I did not wish to remain a free rider without a voice. Approximately 63 percent of active FAS Foreign Service officers are currently dues-paying AFSA members. This is the lowest percentage among Foreign Service agencies with 100 or more officers. I believe this must change, especially since we in FAS pride ourselves on being a close-knit Foreign Service family. So, as your vice president, one of my goals is to convince every FAS officer that AFSA membership is worth the price. Please prove me right. □

AfSA is proud to bring you the first Family Member Matters column, a new feature that will run periodically in AfSA News as a forum for Foreign Service family member opinion on issues relating to life in the Foreign Service. Send your 400- to 500-word essay to AfSA News Editor Shawn Dorman at Dorman@afsa.org. All submissions will be seriously considered.

FS VOICE: FAMILY MEMBER MATTERS ■ BY JOANNE GRADY HUSKEY

The Unofficial Diplomat

Three years ago, on Aug. 7, 1998, amid the normal working bustle of our embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, I was thrown jarringly to the floor in darkness as the walls tumbled into rubble around me. Breathing cement dust, I screamed for my children, Caroline, 5, and Christopher, 8, who were in that room too, somewhere. It took us a few moments to realize that the embassy had been bombed. We whom the U.S. State Department calls "dependents" of my husband, U.S. diplomat James Huskey, had been bombed. We were targets of terrorism.

I watched in horror on Sept. 11 as the United States went through an unbelievable macro version of our horror. The sights of what happened in New York and Washington force me back to smell the cement, feel the fear, hear the cries, see the blood, and reel in the chaos. The heavy sadness I feel is unbearable.

What is happening to this world has huge implications for all of us as Americans. I can only look at them from the perspective of a victim of the hatred. The people who tried to kill me and my children, and who killed thousands on Sept. 11, don't know me and don't know the people on the plane that hit the Pentagon. They don't know the mothers, fathers, children, grandmothers, businessmen and women who died in New York. The perpetrators of this terror are trying to kill an image.

Most of the world has only distant and distorted images of America from movies, television and the Internet. Among the things they learn from these media is that we are violent, immoral, irreverent, spoiled, rich and arrogant. Perhaps the majority of people who hate America have never even met a real American. That is where we come in, we the diplomats and their families. We are the real people they meet on the ground in any country. We who work in development agencies, go to houses of worship, attend schools, run community groups, and shop in the markets, do so in a manner contrary to what they may have seen on television. Americans generally live in accordance with values of directness, environmental consciousness, race and gen-

der equality, and human rights. Just by living out in the world, we can effect change.

Today the nation is full of hurt and talk of revenge. The military is looked to for the answers. But it is we, the diplomats and their families, who must be quick to act. We must engage the enemy in dialogue, both official and unofficial. We must sit down and do the work of diplomacy. We must not strike back at our enemies with tactics that are like theirs. If we do, then they truly will win. We must not be afraid to meet those who hate us straight on. We must try to build bridges of communication and understanding. The alternative is too awful to contemplate.

In this world where terrorism is the new threat, we face great risks, yet we still go — and it is more important than ever that we do. The State Department is cautious about sending families to areas that seem to have security threats. More and more single diplomats and those without children are filling posts that have security concerns. But families of diplomats are the "ground forces" of diplomacy.

If we are truly moving toward a global village, then we need global citizens. We need those who understand other cultures and who recognize differences. We desperately need those who can translate what people are thinking and feeling in Kabul, Baghdad, Jerusalem, or Islamabad. We need men, women and children who understand the world, not just see it on television. We need to be actively working to save our planet from more destruction. It is critical that we Americans work to improve understanding. If we don't our global village will be in danger.

In this hour of sadness and anger, what can we do? We cannot be afraid. It is so important that we don't run away from the world. Let the diplomatic families join forces with others in the world to solve our present dilemma and truly show the world that we stand for freedom, equality, and global peace. □

Joanne Grady Huskey is a cross-cultural trainer who has accompanied her husband on tours to Beijing, Chennai and Nairobi.

Simon Trust • Continued from page 5

the trust, for our eight hard-working co-trustees and, most of all, for the Foreign Service people all over the world whose voluntary community service efforts, in the spirit of Kirby's own activities in Taipei, are the heart of the enterprise." The purpose of the trust is to encourage volunteerism within the Foreign Service

community by awarding small grants for humanitarian projects. It supports projects initiated, developed, and implemented by Foreign Service employees or their families, in an unofficial capacity on their own time. Since its inception in 1995, the trust has funded nearly 100 projects in over 60 countries. These projects include: programs for orphanages,

the homeless and the disabled; ecological projects; literacy training; programs for victims of rape and domestic violence; and children's educational and cultural programs. (See ad in *FSJ* page 4.)

For more information about the trust, how to donate, and instructions on how to apply for a grant, go to the Web site at www.kirbysimontrust.org. □

Take Care When Using the Internet at Work

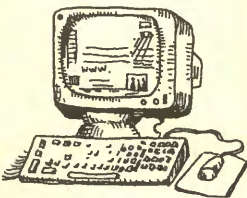
■ BY ZLATANA BADRICH, AFSA LABOR MANAGEMENT ATTORNEY

In recent months, AFSA has seen an increase in diplomatic security investigations into employee use of computers in general and e-mail and Internet usage in particular. This includes questions regarding activities such as the excessive use of e-mail for personal correspondence and the sending of chain letters, jokes, cartoons and pictures that are of questionable taste.

A listing of prohibited activities in using the Internet system on government computers is contained

in 5 FAM 516.3-3. In addition to those Internet prohibitions, the department also specifically prohibits accessing, distributing, or generating pornography using department resources. This includes any and all "adult" Web sites, chat rooms, and e-mail subscriptions. Do not use government equipment or official time or give out your "state.gov" e-mail address for any such purpose. We have had several cases resulting in disciplinary action, including a proposal for dismissal, for failure to adhere to this policy. Please remember that, in general, there is no expectation of privacy when using a government computer and that the potential administrative penalties can be severe. Accessing an Internet site, even once, identifies you as a user of that site.

Employees with specific questions or concerns regarding the foregoing should contact AFSA attorneys Sharon Papp or Zlatana Badrich by e-mail: papps@state.gov or badrichz@state.gov; by phone: (202) 647-8160; or by fax: (202) 647-0265. □



V.P. VOICE: USAID ■ BY JOE PASTIC

Right Time for a Mission Statement

At this time in USAID history, the call made by USAID Administrator Natsios for a review of the Woods Report, "Development and the National Interest," is wise. The administrator voices a need for the agency to "more clearly articulate our vision and purpose to the Hill, our partners, the foreign affairs community and the public." As an AFSA representative, I have heard from members of the above groups of the difficulty they have understanding what USAID is about. AFSA members and agency management should come together on this issue. We can all help the agency survive and prosper as the lead organization in international development.



After reading my article on workforce planning in the September *AFSA News*, concerned officers in Human Resources pointed out that the agency is now doing workforce planning. This suggested to me that I should learn more details about the present workforce planning process so that I might better report on it. I got a cordial and positive response at an initial meeting with the HR workforce planning unit.

The immediate use of the workforce plan is to guide the agency recruitment plan. In spite of shortcomings, HR has brought on board 151 officers under the NEP program since its inception in September 1999. HR has indicated its willingness to interact with those wanting to learn about the process and to solicit suggestions. Indeed, HR will be invited to an upcoming USAID-AFSA brown bag session. I am confident that many worthwhile suggestions for improvement will emerge from these transparent interactions. But all this will yield only limited results. The agency needs a clear purpose, organization statement, and vision from which to act, in order for HR to extend its planning horizons beyond the short term. The agency also needs these statements to guide effective career development.

Did someone say "career development" yet again? Career planning by employees is nothing but the flip side of the workforce planning "coin." Agency management is concerned with monitoring and guiding the overall size, type, skills inventory and location of its total workforce. Individual officers are concerned with their own careers and need to know how their plans and skills are keeping up with the needs of the agency. Workforce planning by the agency and career planning by the individual merge into an effective career development activity. What forges together these two sides of the coin is a clear vision and function statement to which both sides can relate. That statement needs to contain factors of vital concern to both agency and individual officers.

All of us have a vital stake in defining the agency vision and functions. AFSA has offered to participate in the process. Our offer has been graciously accepted. But AFSA is not one person — it is all of its members. I call on fellow AFSA members to keep abreast of this most important agency self-examination. Ponder how the statement should help the agency plan through the eyes of its individual officers. Speak out with your suggestions and concerns. The products of this review will profoundly affect all of us — and each of us! □

What forges together these two sides of the coin is a clear vision and function statement to which both sides can relate.

both sides can relate.

Enhancing the Government-Industry Relationship

■ BY TEMA RAZAVI AND VIRGINIA SOPYLA

International Associates (IA) is an AFSA-sponsored organization of American corporations that facilitates communication between business executives and senior State Department and other administration officials concerned with economic, trade and business issues. Members are invited to attend policy seminars and networking events. In addition to the August summer social, IA programs this year have included a June luncheon featuring Maria Cino, director general of the Foreign Commercial Service and assistant secretary of Commerce. In July, IA members attended presentations on U.S.-Japan trade policy by Brian Mohler, director of State's Office of Japanese Affairs; Jean Grier, senior counsel for trade agreements (Commerce) and Nobuo Tanaka, vice president of the Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry.

On Aug. 29, IA held its first annual summer social with the Department of State. The highlight of the evening was Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs Tony Wayne's toast. He said that "Both AFSA and the State Department have, over the years, recognized that partnership with business is essential for achieving our shared goal of improving America's competitiveness in the world economy." He

spoke of the mutually beneficial government-industry relationship and encouraged businesses to utilize State's open door policy and advocacy services to their advantage. He also invited the corporate world to provide input on issues of importance to both the private and the public sectors such as intellectual property rights, energy development, information technology and biotechnology.

Tema Razavi, AFSA's director for corporate relations, thanked the department's Office of Commercial and Business Affairs for its cooperation in making the event such a success. IA member Gary Krach of Verizon expressed his appreciation for all of State's efforts to promote and support U.S. business overseas, and thanked AFSA for facilitating the government-industry partnership.

International Associates dues support the Fund for American Diplomacy, founded in



BERT ESCALANTE

International Associates Aug. 29 Summer Social. From left: David Nobles, economic officer, State Department; Nancy Smith-Nissley, sr. advisor for business outreach, State; Jason Leuck, director, International Affairs, TIA; John Naland, AFSA president; Hans Klemm, director, Office of Agriculture and Textile Trade Affairs, State; and Tony Wayne, assistant secretary for economic and business affairs, State (speaking). Other IA members in attendance: Karen Corbett Sanders and Gary Krach of Verizon; Tema Razavi, AFSA/Nihon Information Company; Melanie Carter-Maguire, Nortel Networks; George Pickart, CMS Energy; Linda Sadler, Rockwell Collins; and Ed Verona, Texaco.

1956. The fund's core mission is to provide professional development to members of the Foreign Service, public education on the role the Foreign Service plays in U.S. foreign policy, and recognition of the unique contributions of the Foreign Service to the public good. The fund also supports the AFSA Speaker's Bureau, the annual National High School Essay Contest, the Coalition for American Leadership Abroad and the Minority Intern Program.

If you know of a company that might be interested in becoming an IA member, please contact Tema Razavi in the Corporate Relations office at (202) 944-5514, or pass along her number. □

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

Volunteerism Awards

Winners of the AAFSW/Secretary of State's Award for Outstanding Volunteerism in 2001 were presented with their awards during Foreign Affairs Day on Sept. 10. AFSA would like to congratulate the winners, who serve as examples for all of us of the value of volunteer work, and the very real impact which personal initiative can have within local communities.

Ana Savinon - Embassy Caracas
Melanie Kilmarx - Embassy Bangkok (for work done in Chiang Rai Province)

Leslie Harnish — Embassy Cairo
Ellen Kramer Wright — Embassy Nairobi
Melodie Gage — Embassy Katmandu
Anja Lundberg — Embassy The Hague



AAFSW

From left: Ana Savinon, Leslie Harnish, Melodie Gage, AAFSW President Mette Beecroft, Ellen Kramer Wright, Anja Lundberg

USAID Reorganization Web Site

USAID's reorganization team, in an effort to keep its activities transparent and accessible, has opened a reorganization Web site. Check it out at <http://inside.usaid.gov/a/reform/index.html>.

Benefits Open Season is NOW

The 2001 Federal Employees Health Benefits (FEHB) Open Season runs from Nov. 12 through Dec. 10 for active Foreign Service employees. If you need information that your post or executive office cannot provide, contact Shelly V. Komegay in Human Resources. Her e-mail address is KomegaySV@state.gov and office phone number is (202) 261-8166. □

EXCERPTS FROM SECRETARY POWELL'S
KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Retirees Are Part of the Present

Secretary Powell, on the new Foreign Affairs Day: "We are reorienting this a little bit and calling it Foreign Affairs Day. The reason I wanted to do that was to embrace the entire family. To show that we care about everyone who has made a contribution to American diplomacy... to broaden it, and bring back all other members of our component in order to show that we are a team, we are a family, we are knitted up across the generations."

Calling for retiree involvement: "I want you here not just for the nostalgia and to reflect upon the past, but because you are a part of our present, and I want to make you a part of our future. I need you to help take the message of American diplomacy; take the message of what we need from the Congress; take the message of how important diplomatic careers are, so that we start to brand ourselves throughout the country once again and tell the American people that American diplomats around the world, every day, are serving their interests, are carrying their value systems forward, are showing the rest of the world what democracy and freedom and human rights and individual liberty are all about. ... So I want you to be disciples, not just retirees. ... to be those who go back to your communities and talk about it... to serve as mentors to those who are coming along."

The embassy is always right: "My operating philosophy is that the embassy is always right, and you guys here, especially on the seventh floor, are always wrong. They know more, they are supposed to know more; they are out there in touch. Empower the embassies, empower the ambassadors, and empower the missions. We give them guidance; we give them direction; but turn them loose. Let them know that we trust them, and when they make a mistake we will fix that mistake. Trust comes from allowing our ... missions out there to take risks in order to accomplish great purposes." □

SCHOLARSHIPS, WEB SITES
AND DATABASES

AFSA Resources for College Education

■ BY LORI DEC, AFSA SCHOLARSHIP
ADMINISTRATOR

AFSA offers three scholarships — Academic Merit, Art Merit and Financial Aid Awards — that may help you send your college-bound children to their first-choice schools. Scholarships are open to tax dependents of Foreign Service employees (active-duty, retired or deceased) who have served at least one year abroad.

AFSA academic and art merit awards are for Foreign Service high school seniors. One parent must be a member of either AFSA or AAFSW. Students can apply for both one-time-only awards. For the academic awards, students are judged by their GPAs, SAT scores, essays, extracurricular activities, letters of recommendation, and any special circumstances. For the art awards, students submit their own art (drama, visual arts, musical arts, creative writing or dance); an essay, letters of recommendation; and information on any special circumstances.

Individuals from the Foreign Service community act as judges. Each year approximately 15 winners receive \$1,500 each. Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide (AAFSW) and Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired (DACOR) support AFSA's scholarship program.

The financial aid awards are for undergraduate study and are need-based. Foreign

Service college students must attend a U.S. institution full time and maintain at least a 2.0 GPA. Depending on a family's financial situation, awards range from \$1,000-\$3,000 each year and students can reapply for the award. There is no membership requirement in order to apply to this program.

Even if your child does not qualify for federal aid, that does not necessarily mean he or she is not eligible for an AFSA award. AFSA uses the College Scholarship Service Profile to assist in comparing families' financial situations to identify who is eligible for an AFSA award and who is not.

The CSS Profile formula was updated in 2000 to take into account how families save and pay for college today. Families are now less "penalized" for having saved for their child's education. The Profile also now allows families to set aside funds for an emergency, which will not be taken into account when calculating each family's contribution to the child's education. Finally, family income and assets are now figured into the formula.

As part of the financial aid application process, AFSA requests that you complete the CSS Profile (www.collegeboard.com) by mid-January. Families that have not completed their taxes by then can estimate their earnings and other financial information based on the prior year. For an AFSA application go to AFSA's web page at www.afsa.org and click on the "Students" tab at the top and then click on "Scholarships" or call 202-944-5504 or 1-800-704-2372 ext. 504. □

AFSA Academic Merit, Art Merit and Financial Aid Scholarship applications are now available!



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Q&A

Retiree Issues

BY WARD THOMPSON,
RETIREE LIAISON

Q. How is it that FSPS benefits differ from those of FERS?

A. Provisions of the "new" Foreign Service Pension System (FSPS) were adapted from those of the Federal Employees Retirement System (FERS), created by Congress to coordinate federal retirement benefits with Social Security coverage, which begins no earlier than age 62. Employees under FERS may receive a regular annuity as early as age 55 (with 30 years service) and may qualify for an annuity supplement until Social Security is payable at 62, but with no cost of living adjustment (COLA) on the FERS por-

tion of their annuity until age 62.

Since earlier retirement is the norm for the Foreign Service, FSPS participants may retire at age 50 (with 20 years service) and receive the annuity supplement. They do receive annual COLAs on their annuities but not on the supplement.

The service factor in the basic annuity calculation under FSPS is 1.7 percent of high three average salary for each of the first 20 years of service, and 1% for each additional year. This is higher than for FERS employees who retire before age 62. The service requirements include service under the old system; the supplement is based only on years served under the new system and is subject to the Social Security earnings cap. (Employees with fewer years of service may meet reduced or deferred annuity provisions, not discussed in this column.)

These more liberal provisions do not extend to the third part of FSPS retirement, the Thrift Savings Plan (TSP). Regardless of the possibility of early retirement, there is still a penalty for lump sum or monthly TSP withdrawals prior to age 59 if one

retires before Jan. 1 of the year in which one reaches age 55. The penalty does not apply to a series of monthly payments based on life expectancy. However, the TSP advises FS personnel to consult a tax advisor or the IRS regarding the rules.

Q. Isn't it unfair not to allow FSPS retirees an annuity supplement after age 62 if they elect to wait for full Social Security benefits at age 65 or higher?

A. While many FSPS employees FERS employees, the annuity supplement is designed only to bridge the gap between retirement and age 62. The reason is that all American workers are able to begin drawing Social Security at age 62. Although the benefits are larger if one waits until age 65 or higher, some experts advise taking them at 62 to get a three-year jump. Congress did not concern itself with such decisions but only assured that federal employees are covered until the minimum age for Social Security is reached. □

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the culture of the United States predominates, yet U.S. culture is as much influenced by outside cultural forces as it is an influence on foreign cultures. Contemporary cultural globalization has not resulted in cultural homogenization and the obliteration of local cultures. Instead, a far more complex process of cultural interchange has arisen, one in which America plays the role of a global cultural "clearing house."

This process of cultural interchange has been made possible by extraordinary technological developments.

The Tools of Cultural Globalization

Such technological developments include the personal computer and the Internet; software that allows the transmission of large files, including high-resolution photographs, CD-quality music and even motion pictures over the Internet; cell and satellite telephones and videophones; highly portable, digitized still and video cameras; and global satellite and fiber-optic networks that help link these technologies. These fiber-optic networks have also greatly enhanced the global interconnectivity of older information and communication technologies, such as the telephone, fax machine, television and radio. Furthermore, passenger jets have greatly increased the speed, comfort and capacity of intercontinental air travel.

All these remarkable technologies would have had much less of an impact on societies if only a tiny elite had had access to them. But rapidly dropping costs over the past decade, due to Moore's Law (computer power doubles and the price of this power is cut in half approximately every 18 months), international deregulation of the telecommunications industry and the migration of high-tech product manufacture to low-cost labor regions such as China and Malaysia, have made information and communication devices with the potential for global reach affordable to an ever-widen-

***Unbound by regulation,
the Internet helps
advance such American
values as free speech,
diversity and
consumerism.***

ing segment of consumers around the world. Today, millions of Web pages are generated by governments, organizations large and small, and ordinary citizens the world over, and virtually every page has the potential to reach the entire global audience of the Web.

The United States, the pacesetter in the global information and communications industries, has benefited disproportionately from the

reach and sophistication of new technologies. The Internet, which provides unfettered access to information of all sorts, is custom-made to play to American strengths. The United States does more than any other country to protect free speech and outlaw information suppression. Largely unbound by regulation, the Internet helps advance such American cultural values as free speech, diversity, consumerism and sexual permissiveness (or licentiousness, depending upon one's viewpoint). Official U.S. attempts to legislate controls on Internet content have repeatedly been beaten back, and the limitations of filtering and monitoring technology mean most international users of the Internet can view everything that Americans can.

Though the U.S. is perhaps the best positioned of the world's nations to take advantage of the Internet as a medium for cultural dissemination, other states also, of course, share elements of their cultures and societies through the Internet. Contemporary communications and information technologies offer the world's citizens the means to buy and sell local goods such as Nepali pashmina, African corn or Andean musical instruments, to entertain and be entertained, and to present their political and cultural messages to the rest of the world or to examine and evaluate others' messages. For example, until mid-September, when it was evidently blocked, the Taliban's English-language Web site allowed anyone to read their official propaganda, pronouncements and theological perspectives. The Qatar-based news service Al-Jazeera broadcasts its reportage via satellite to millions of Arabic speakers around the world, and augments its coverage with its comprehensive Web site. Although there is a language barrier, because of Al-Jazeera's reputation for independence and adherence to high journalistic standards

Neal Rosendorf was the Dean's Research Specialist at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government from 1998 to 2001, where he was also an adjunct lecturer in international relations. He is currently a visiting professor of history at the State University of New York-Plattsburgh College.

F O C U S

(it is often referred to as the "CNN of the Arab world"), the news agencies of democratic countries and of states such as China often refer to its reports in their own coverage.

Technology has made possible what cultural historian Stephen Kern termed "simultaneity," a phenomenon whereby people around the world can grasp what is going on in a distant realm *at that moment*.

With the telegraph, the telephone, the phonograph, and radio, long-distance communication began to happen in real time, greatly intensifying the process of global cultural convergence, the experience of sharing cultures and societies across national boundaries. Now, the proliferation of ever more dependable, ever higher speed, ever wider bandwidth, ever higher resolution linking technologies has created a state of "hyper-simultaneity," where myriad events unfold across the

*Elements of foreign
cultures are transmuted
into "American culture,"
and then sent back out
into the world.*

globe in real time, in crystal-clear detail, before a potential audience of billions. Take, for example, a scene from the Millennium's Eve celebrations: As 2000 dawned in Singapore, an East Asian pop star with bleached blond hair sang Hispanic-American Ricky Martin's Spanish-English tune "Living La Vida Loca," and the performance was broadcast globally via satellite and fiber-optic network to, among other places, the United States. And of course, there is the gut-wrenching coverage of the events of Sept. 11, the shocking immediacy of which requires no description to the hundreds of millions who experienced it.

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F O C U S

and is at the same time most powerfully an instrument for its intensification. One might view America as a global cultural clearing house. America has an unparalleled communications/information/entertainment production and export infrastructure and a world-wide reputation as the arbiter of what is hip and fashionable. But American culture doesn't smother other cultures; instead, it *absorbs* elements of foreign cultures. These elements are combined in novel ways and transmuted into "American culture," and then sent back out into the world.

Unsurprisingly, given the United States' heterogeneous demographic makeup, American culture has always been receptive to external influences, which have often been incorporated into the fabric of American culture. For example, musical genres such as blues, country-western and rock-and-roll have

The U.S. will likely be the single greatest force in creating global culture.

drawn from a combination of African and Celtic folk music. Hollywood has welcomed generations of expatriate artists, such as Fritz Lang, David Lean, Milos Forman and Ang Lee, who have brought with them cinematic traditions such as German Expressionism, English Romanticism and Hong Kong's ballets of stylized action. Frank Sinatra, the son of Mezzogiorno immigrants, sang in what he referred to as an emotional Italian "bel canto" style, and prominent among the composers he interpreted was George Gershwin, the son of Eastern European immigrants, whose compositional style reflected in part traditional Ashkenazic Jewish melodies. Sinatra became one of the world's most popular entertainers and a significant global musical influence for decades. Because of these "foreign" influences, American culture contains elements that can strike chords of recog-

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Including Directors and Officers.

nition throughout the world.

By serving as a global culture clearing house, the U.S. can play an important political role. Consider one of 2000's hit films, "Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon," directed by Ang Lee, an expatriate from Taiwan. Some Chinese have groused that "Crouching Tiger" is "inauthentic," and claim that Chinese audiences have found the film "boring." But "Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon" has offered perhaps the most appealing, sympathetic and widely promulgated depiction of Chinese culture for an international audience since the Communist takeover in 1949. This is of no small consequence at a time when China is attempting to prove itself a "normal" state that has a rightful place in the WTO and as the host of the Olympic games.

If history is any indicator, the U.S. will likely dominate new mass communications mediums and continue to be the single greatest force in creating global culture. Americans spent the first third of the 20th century aggressively developing and rapidly dominating the information and communications infrastructure (undersea cables, radio and wireless telegraphy, news services and global air transport) necessary for the effective international dissemination of American culture. Technological developments in America have long been geared to the wide dissemination of goods and services; such early developments still in use include factories that can churn out hundreds of automobiles daily, movie-making and projecting equipment, high-speed printing presses and the like.

American cultural values, such as democracy, diversity, political and religious liberty and individualism, can be transmitted abroad through programs such as Voice of America, the Fulbright scholarships, or even simply through American tourism. However, American popular culture, in its many manifestations, has been the most important global disseminator of these values. This is not to diminish the aesthetic significance of high cultural American offerings, nor does it discount the impact abroad of the American higher educational system, missionary efforts or philanthropic organizations. But these movements have

American pop culture vaunts individualism, anti-authoritarianism and the triumph of the disfranchised over the powerful.

not captured the hearts and imaginations of vast audiences around the world as Hollywood and television and rock-and-roll have.

American pop culture is by turns sexy and violent and glamorous and materialistic and romantic. Much of it vaunts individualism, anti-authoritarianism and the triumph of the disfranchised over the powerful. While there is much that is specifically "American" about American pop culture — whether it is Hollywood stars, the iconography of American sports and even fast food, or rock and rap music — its universal themes, deliberately chosen for their commercial potency, translate extremely well from one culture to another.

Satisfying the varied tastes of the American public has turned out serendipitously to be a training ground for expansion into international markets. Will Hays, the first head of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, once declared that "[t]here is a special reason why America should have given birth and prosperous nurture to the motion picture and its world-wide entertainment. America in the very literal sense is truly the world state. All races, all creeds, all men are to be found here." The American market's unique qualities have facilitated the international dissemination of the nation's popular culture.

Economic Advantage

Add to this the propensity of American cultural producers to employ, in the typical manner of American business, economies of scale, which reduce the per capita cost of cultural offerings at the consumer end. Moreover, the enormous size of the U.S. market for movies, television programs, music, automobiles, fashions and a plethora of other American cultural commodities means that American producers can ordinarily amortize their production costs at home, which in turn means that foreign distribution is highly profitable.

American popular culture has been a creature of private enterprise not only in its creation, but for the most part in its international dissemination as well. The United States government, in contrast to other

major industrial states, plays little role in trying to shape how American culture is created or exported. In fact, the U.S. is virtually the only nation that lacks a formal ministry of culture. The American government takes a hands-off approach to culture dissemination because it supports free enterprise and free speech. Although it might seem that having the powers of the state behind one's cultural efforts should be helpful, it is, in fact, a disadvantage. Governments tend to treat the export of their culture as a means of extolling their culture's — and hence their country's — virtues in the international sphere. Foreign populations may not find such government-influenced cultural offerings attractive. Indeed, no less an authority on state control of culture than Josef Stalin once declared: "If I could control the medium of the American motion picture, I would need nothing else to convert the entire world to communism."

While the U.S. Departments of Commerce and State have been known to step in to help the American radio, news information, motion picture and television industries gain and maintain footholds in foreign markets, other governments have long positioned themselves as not only economic advocates of culture, but aesthetic and ideological tribunes as well. While most governments are currently preoccupied with protecting their cultural industries and institutions as much as they can — which is very little — from American preponderance, France in particular has continued to make strong efforts to promote cultural offerings, such as its television programs, to Francophone nations around the world.

America's Cultural Rivals — Are There Any?

Contrast the American paradigm for culture creation and dissemination with the paradigms of America's potential popular cultural rivals. The cultures of some states, such as France, Germany and Japan, are homogeneous and unlikely to gratify disparate audiences. (Britain's culture, which is somewhat more heterogeneous and linked to the United States by a common language, has periodically influenced international pop culture with contributions

*Satisfying the tastes of
the American public
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such as the Beatles, the Spice Girls and James Bond.)

Moreover, in other nations, unlike in the U.S., there is a yawning chasm between the elites who produce the culture and the potential consumers. Most of the Americans who created Hollywood and were entrepreneurs in other culturally significant fields (Henry Ford and Thomas Edison, for

example) were from modest backgrounds and hence strongly attuned to the average consumer's preferences. By contrast, government-sponsored tastemakers in Paris, London and Berlin have produced much fare that is patently uninteresting to the audiences of the country where it is produced, much less to potential audiences elsewhere. Media that in the United States would be considered first and foremost popular culture transmitters, such as motion picture and television, are viewed as high culture venues — at least when properly utilized — in Europe. The French director Luc Besson, for example, has long complained about the French film-making establishment's anti-commercialism and has come to Hollywood to make movies such as "The Fifth Element."

Additionally, many of America's potential cultural rivals do not have the populations necessary to support single-handedly a huge, internationally-oriented popular cultural industry. France, the nation that has most emphatically posited itself as a global cultural alternative to the United States, has approximately one-fifth the population of the U.S. And the cultures of countries with populations that exceed the U.S. haven't been able to attract a global audience for other reasons. The Chinese, whose pop cultural offerings are often hobbled by official censorship, in general avidly consume whatever American pop culture they can get their hands on. Though India's "Bollywood" film industry is, in terms of sheer output, the largest in the world, and some aspects of Indian culture, including traditional music (most famously filtered through the Beatles), cuisine and religion (particularly the ubiquitous Hare Krishna movement) are popular worldwide, India's highly stylized and idiosyncratic pop culture appeals primarily to Indians around the world, as well as, interestingly, Russians.

F O C U S

In sum, other national cultures have access to technologies such as satellite and Internet communications to reach out to the world, but their best chance of having the greatest degree of influence in the global culture sphere is predicated on their ability to "play in Peoria" and then be sent back out in to the larger world.

There is a difference between global cultural predominance, which the United States certainly has achieved, and the smothering of all local culture, which has most decidedly not occurred. The United States, perhaps the most intensively hybridized state on the planet, has not been remaking the world in its image during this period, but it has consolidated and maintained a preponderant position as the single greatest generator of culture intended for worldwide consumption. As more and more of the world becomes

There is a difference between global cultural predominance and the smothering of local culture.

wired, interchange among cultures will undoubtedly increase, and American culture will reach more people more of the time. Those who loathe the concept of cultural evolution, who believe that their cultures can only survive if they are preserved without modification, will focus on the United States as the fount of cultural destruction, and the most radical among them will seek its eradication. But in fact it would likely take a cataclysmic development on the order of Ronald Reagan's half-joking Martian invasion scenario (which he asserted would instantly cause the U.S. and the USSR to put their differences aside) to provide the force to forge some single global culture that would perhaps obliterate local cultural differences. The world will remain a more interesting place in the Martians' absence. ■

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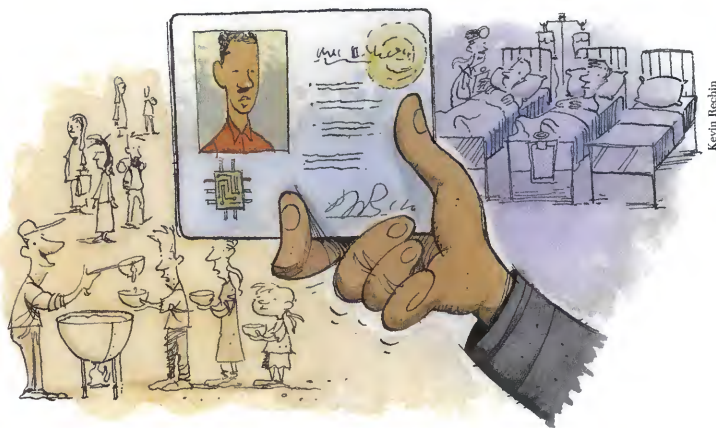
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A NEW PROGRAM FOR REFUGEES



T

SOFTWARE AND COMPUTERS ARE
HELPING UNHCR ASSIST REFUGEE
POPULATIONS.

By CAROLINE BENNER

Today, countries on the borders of Afghanistan are being forced to confront the confusion created by thousands of people running away from home, pushed by the threat of war. Countries with warring neighbors traditionally have had such refugee situations managed by international organizations like the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. While the guns, bombs and missiles that have created difficulties for refugees around the world may be high-tech, the tools that UNHCR used to sort out their problems have been, until recently, little more than pen and paper.

In 1999, UNHCR set up operations in Albania and Macedonia, where over 800,000 Kosovar refugees arrived after Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic destroyed their homes. As usual, many refugees needed medical

FOCUS

supplies, shelter, clothing, food and, equally important, news on the whereabouts of family and friends. The first, and most vital, step in meeting such basic humanitarian needs for UNHCR is recording refugees' names and related data and sorting that information to determine who needs what and who should go where.

The difference in Kosovo was that for the first time, UNHCR had the technology to greatly improve the speed and accuracy with which they organized the masses of refugees. The Refugee Field Kit, a portable refugee registration system designed and supplied by volunteers from Microsoft, Hewlett-Packard, Compaq and two European ID-card companies, created a database of names and

The Refugee Field Kit has already been used in Kosovo, Senegal and India.

the elderly.

"There was a very real need to get these people into a system because having 800,000 pieces of paper sitting around wasn't a very efficient way to run the operation," said Frank Schott, the Microsoft volunteer who led the development of the Refugee Field Kit.

The kit was made up of laptop computers, digital cameras and ID card printers, as well as specialized

information of some of the refugees, supplied them with ID cards, and linked information from all refugee camps in the area. It was designed to help UNHCR reunite loved ones, give appropriate assistance, and develop a demographic profile of the refugee population, which included the locations and numbers of especially vulnerable refugees such as lost children and

Caroline Benner is associate editor of the Journal.


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F O C U S

software that engineers designed to run the system. Metal cases protected the equipment from the dust and heat of the camps, and generators powered and cooled the kits. Some \$600,000 in funding from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation also supported the project.

While volunteers from the companies got the kit into operation within two months, some members of the humanitarian community believe that the technology was not deployed quickly enough to Kosovo to be fairly evaluated there. However, there is widespread agreement that, as UNHCR's Larry Fioretta commented, the kit could play "a major role in helping us help refugees around the world."

After Kosovo, Microsoft improved the refugee registration technology by simplifying the software to

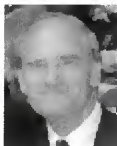
***Collecting
information on
Web sites could help
dispersed populations
maintain a sense of
group identity.***

enable volunteers to enter data more quickly. Last year UNHCR used Version 2.0 to register thousands of refugees in Senegal in just a few days, and 17,000 Afghan refugees in New Delhi.

In a speech at Microsoft headquarters last July, then-Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees Rick Barton suggested that technology could help UNHCR "move beyond just the care and maintenance of refugees to connect the diaspora of people who are influential in the development of post-conflict societies." He also pointed out other ways technology could improve the lot of the world's 22 million refugees: For example, collecting information about members of a displaced group on Web sites could help dispersed populations maintain a sense of group identity. ■

JAY KATZEN

Republican for Va. Lieutenant Governor



LEADERSHIP COUNTS

Delegate Jay Katzen didn't think it was fair that Virginia citizens who were U.S. employees serving their country overseas lost their right to vote in state elections unless they maintained a home in Virginia. So he pushed through a state Constitutional Amendment to restore that right.

EXPERIENCE COUNTS

Jay served 24 years as a State Department Foreign Service Officer, then as an advisor to major corporations and, for four terms, as a member of the House of Delegates.

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I SECRETARY OF STATE COLIN POWELL
EXPLAINS WHY EVERY DIPLOMAT NEEDS
TO BE INTERNET-SAVVY.

By COLIN POWELL

It is a great pleasure to be with you. My schedule has been bouncing around, so I wasn't sure when I would be here. A lot of things are going on, and I just came back from the White House, announcing a new envoy to Sudan to see what we can do to bring some peace to that troubled part of the world.

But I didn't want to let this conference go by without me having an opportunity to talk to you for a little bit, and give you my vision of what we are trying to do, but more importantly, what I want you to do, and what I want you to do is to

Editor's Note: Secretary of State Colin Powell delivered these remarks at the NetDiplomacy 2001 conference at the department on Sept. 5.

take the message that I have about the use of the tools that 21st century technology has given us to communicate our foreign policy, but more than communicate our foreign policy, to communicate the values that undergird our foreign policy: the values of openness, the values of freedom, the values of democracy, the values of an economic system that is open and free, the values that are universal to the world, we believe, and are certainly universal here in the United States, because they are enshrined in our Constitution, the rights of men and women, the role of government to secure those rights given by universality, given by God to men and women.

And increasingly, in the modern world, these values are looked up to for inspiration. People around the world want to know: How do we move forward into this globalized 21st-century world? And we as the United States have an enormous opportunity to communicate not only these values, but how these values can shape economies, how these values can shape lives, how these values can shape political systems, give hope to a world that wants hope.

Your job is not just, well, we do Web design and we do Internet pages. No, let's see it in its broadest context, helping to take the message of the American people to the world. Not for the purpose of lecturing or telling other people what we do, or do it our way, but just to show them what has happened here in this country of countries. People from all over the world come here.

You are helping us design the most powerful tools to do this. We do it many ways. I give speeches, the President gives speeches, people watch our television programs for better or worse coming in from all over. But the tools that we now have through NetDiplomacy are just remarkable, in the sense that they can go over political boundaries, they can go over cultural walls, they can break down any barrier that is out there to communication.

I was at a conference a couple of years ago, and people were talking about a particular country that has a regime that tries to suppress information coming into that country. And we were talking about the Internet. So that country is going to keep the Internet from coming in, it's going to control it, they're going to put barriers to access.

***I am determined to get an
Internet-accessible computer
on every desk in the
State Department and every
embassy around the world.***

And one of the persons in the room was a very important person in the computer Internet world, a very senior person.

And he just sat there listening to this and he said, "Is there a single telephone line going into that country?" Well, yeah. Then forget it, we can't keep it out, won't keep it out. Technology is moving too fast. What a powerful tool.

Now, I am not just an advocate of this; I am almost theologic on the subject. It comes from my experience as a board member of AOL before it became AOL-Time Warner, and it also came to me as a result of my experience in the military, where information and getting information out and communicating with large numbers of people — what you wanted them to do and how to influence their behavior — is also relevant to where I am now.

But it was in my retirement as I went around the world and as I participated in the private sector with AOL and other companies that I did business for, the speaking circuit, and I kept seeing these things that were happening out there. I remember going to a large retail organization's annual business meeting, and it was on a Saturday in Birmingham, and I was backstage getting ready to speak and I was sort of getting myself ready to speak, and I heard this applause out front — huge applause.

And I said to the guy who was getting ready: "What happened, what happened?" He said, well, we just announced yesterday's sale figures for the whole company, with hundreds and thousands of outlets all across the world. And I said to him, well, gee, that's pretty good. I mean, it's Saturday morning and you had the results from yesterday already? He says, "We have the results every 15 minutes. We know every 15 minutes — and we can do it faster than that — what is happening throughout our entire organization, because every time somebody puts a product across the scanner it registers on the cash register, but it registers at our home office. So we are in instantaneous touch with our market, with our suppliers, with the producers, with the vendors, with everybody in this organization."

Now, that's a retail organization, and now I'm Secretary of State, so it ought to be the same way. Now, relax. I'm not going to roll any of you across a scanner. But I want to make the same point to you. It is that abil-

ity to communicate instantaneously that we now have that we must use. We must break away from old patterns and habits. Not that they were bad, but they are not as relevant as the new patterns that exist for us.

I get up every morning early. The first thing I do is go down and fire up my computer. And long before anyone has given me an intelligence report or before I've read any newspaper, my server comes up. And I've coded it with certain news segments that I'm interested in, and instantly I will get online about 20 messages every morning, very early in the morning — too early in the morning. But I get about 20 messages of things going on in different parts of the world. So long before the formal system, the intelligence community and the wonderful systems that we have in the department start to feed me, the rest of the day, I start out online instantaneously. And I have a pretty good sense of what is going on in the world even before I have my first cup of coffee. Then I go outside and get the newspapers and read them. Hopefully there is a correlation between what I got on the Net and what I read in the newspapers.

It doesn't mean newspapers aren't important. I devour them. Six every morning. But I am increasingly finding that I supplement that with what I can pull down out of the ether. In the course of the day, I will go online with one of the two computers in my office, and I dare any one of you to come up in my office, and you will discover they are not just sitting there as desk ornaments or paperweights; they are fired up all day long. And I am using one for scheduling and other purposes and writing notes to people, to their great distress, and the other one I am essentially watching the world with all the other systems that are there so that I can know. Whether it's breaking wire stories or if I have a particular interest, I go. I always have a search engine running. I have just about gotten rid of all paper reference materials that I used to use — no dictionaries, no encyclopedias. Everything is search engine.

As an example, the other day I was having a debate with one of my foreign minister colleagues from another country here in the Western Hemisphere, and it was over the Rio Treaty that was signed some 50-odd years ago,

***The tools we now have
through NetDiplomacy can
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over cultural walls; they can
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communication.***

and we were debating who had signed it and who hadn't signed it. And he had one view and I had another view of one particular signatory, and so he was saying he was right. And I said, "Excuse me a minute, there's another call coming in. Let me put you on hold for a second."

It took me something in the neighborhood of seven seconds to use my preferred search engine — which I will not disclose because

my lawyers are giving me trouble about constantly disclosing various proprietary holdings — it took about seven seconds for that search engine, just throwing in "Rio Treaty." Nothing else. Rio Treaty. Gimme. It took about seven seconds for it to come up with the treaty I was looking for, and it took me perhaps another second or two to start scrolling through 14,322 entries, and it was the second one that told me exactly who had signed it and when.

And while he was still going on at some length, I got off hold. I said, "Well, I happen to know that information. It's right here."

Another example. When I was in private life before coming back into government, I ran a youth organization that many of you may be familiar with — America's Promise, the little red wagon I always wear. And one of the things we were trying to do was to connect the country together in this crusade for the little red wagon and for kids. And one of the tools we hit upon was the use of the Web increasingly, and we designed Web stations called America's Promise Stations, where we would put all the assets available within a community — mentors, safe places, places to get an education, where to go for a particular service, how youngsters could volunteer for them to serve — and what we did was essentially design the best Web site that we could come up with. We had the best people in the country come help us with that.

And now we've gone to every community in the country and said, "Don't design yours. We're going to give you one. We're just going to export it to you, and you can use it. And we'll maintain it, we'll keep it up. You just use it and localize it for your purpose."

That's the kind of power that's out there, the kind of power that I want everybody in the State Department to

get used to using and to be comfortable in using. I am determined as Secretary of State that I am going to get an Internet-accessible computer that's going at something other than 4KBS an Internet-accessible computer with pipes to support it at the level we need it on every desk in the State Department and every embassy around the world.

We cannot fight this battle of values and information with one hand tied behind our back. And I am bringing in people who understand this. I hope soon to have the new under secretary confirmed. Charlotte Beers is with us here today, and she has great experience.

Charlotte, there you are. I probably shouldn't do that. Charlotte Beers, my new under secretary [for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs].

Not only is she very, very fluent with this sort of thing, but she is from the advertising business. I wanted one of the world's greatest advertising experts, because what are we doing? We're selling. We're selling a product. That product we are selling is democracy. It's the free enterprise system, the American value system. It's a product very much in demand. It's a product that is very much needed.

It is our job to be salespersons, and one of the best tools we are going to have is the Internet, Web design, NetDiplomacy, all of the things you're working on. It is vital that we do it well. It is vital that we do it right.

And so my simple message to you today is don't just see yourselves as Web designers, don't just see yourselves as people who are technicians who are putting this all together; please see yourselves at the top of the organization, as people who are as important to what we are doing as any ambassador I have out in the field, any under secretary, any assistant secretary, or me; people who are going to empower the senior leaders of the department to communicate with the world, to let the rest of the world have our message, let the rest of the world see facts and see truth, and to do it quickly. Because in this instantaneous world we live in, this instantaneous information cycle, we see news, we see data, we see capital, we see lies, we see gossip, we see untruths — speeding around the world in nanoseconds — more than nanoseconds, better than nanoseconds.

And for us to compete in that environment, we have to

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Web design, NetDiplomacy,
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make sure we are putting out facts, we are putting out truth, we are getting our story out. I see it every day. I see barriers breaking down to communications. I've seen countries where 10 years ago there was one television station owned by the government, and the government told the population what the government wanted to tell the population. All information came

from there.

And then somebody got a dish in one of the villages in that country, and there was a little bit of liberalization within the country, and the police did not come take the dish away. And now if you go to that country, you will find dishes in every village in that country, information pouring down, television pouring down, knowledge pouring down, misinformation pouring down. We've got to deal with that.

If there was any time I came to understand this better than any other time in my life and career, it was during Desert Storm when we really were seeing this 24-7 phenomenon, at least in my judgment, for the first time. And knowing that when I, as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, or my boss then, my dear friend, now Vice President Dick Cheney and I, would get up to talk to the world about what was going on in Desert Shield or Desert Storm, or Norm would get up in Saudi Arabia to talk about what was going on, we understood that it wasn't like the old days where you would send out messages and please convey this to your counterpart in whatever embassy you were in, or we were using other forms of written communication. It was instantaneous.

And I used to tell all of the members of my staff, "Remember, when we are out there on television, communicating instantaneously around the world, we're talking to five audiences."

One, the reporters who ask the question — important audience.

Second audience, the American people who are watching. You're not really talking to reporters. You're talking to the American people.

Three, 170 capitals, perhaps, around the world who have just heard the American chairman [of the Joint Chiefs] or the American secretary of Defense or the

F O C U S

American president is about to be on television. Everything stops. Everybody watches. The third audience, 170 capitals who may have an interest in what the subject is.

Fourth, you are talking to your enemy. It was a unique situation to know that your enemy was getting the clearest indication of your intentions by watching you on television at the same time you were giving that message.

And fifth, you were talking to the troops, talking to the wonderful young men and women that we put in harm's way and who had more of an interest in what I was saying than anybody else. Their lives were on the line.

And so the point here is it's a fascinating world where you have to keep all of these messages and audiences in mind. And so as you do your work now 12

*Long before anyone has
given me an intelligence
report or before I've read
any newspaper, I am at my
computer each morning.*

years later, 10 years later, but the principles are the same: Keep all of the audiences in mind, and make sure we're talking not only to world leaders but we're talking to the average citizen; we're talking to children, teenagers and students; we're coming up on our sites to know what America thinks, to know what America believes, to know what America

stands for.

And so I charge you to go forward and to continue that great work that you are engaged in. But don't see it in the narrow sense of just Web site design and technical aspects; see it in the terms that this conference has used: NetDiplomacy. And your role, your job, is as important as any ambassador, any under, any assistant — and heaven help us, even S@state. gov.

Thank you very much. ■

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AN OUNCE OF PREVENTION

CRISIS-BASED DIPLOMACY IS SOMETIMES UNAVOIDABLE. BUT SUPPORT FOR CONFLICT PREVENTION MAY ACTUALLY INTENSIFY IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE SEPT. 11 ATTACKS.

By *FREDERIC B. HILL, DENNIS MURPHY AND BOB HOPPER*

The events of Sept. 11 and the inevitably protracted aftermath will dominate American foreign policy, and no doubt the world stage, for years to come. Geopolitical fault lines, alliances, international organizations, economic realities and even global issues will be redefined in ways that are not easy to foresee.

But in place of the world as we knew it, a new international landscape will evolve and settle into new patterns and new priorities. And when it does, when terrorism is subdued or at least more effectively managed, when economic relations across the globe resume their dynamic and interdependent pulse, the United States and its allies will have little choice but to give powerful new impetus to the concept of "conflict prevention."

Academic experts and NGOs have been advocating this approach for over a decade now as a framework to tackle complex social, political and economic crises in places such as Rwanda, Bosnia and Somalia. It encompasses better early warning systems about what is going on in trouble spots and earlier, more effective intervention — even military deployment in some cases, though not necessarily U.S.-led.

Cold-eyed realists have a compelling point that many conflicts are impossible to solve and only can be managed or blocked from infecting larger regions. It will never be possible to prevent or even mitigate all civil wars, human

rights abuses and crippling health and environmental problems. But the will and capacity to strengthen preventive action may well grow as a byproduct of a new sense of international community in the wake of the murderous attack on humanity, not just on America, of Sept. 11.

A Warming Trend?

At least in its rhetoric, the Clinton administration early on recognized the need for a more aggressive "preventive" approach. As secretary of State during Clinton's first term, Warren Christopher gave several major speeches about making conflict prevention the central theme of policy. Under Madeleine Albright, such efforts continued on various fronts, including a State-led effort to assist the Indonesian government in dealing with sensitive human rights abuses by its military leaders. State pursued similar initiatives to bolster democratic institutions in three other emerging democracies: Ukraine, Nigeria and Colombia.

The Clinton administration also continued or expanded other policies it inherited from its predecessors which fit under the same rubric. These include steps to reduce the nuclear arsenal of the former Soviet Union, strengthen democratization and promote the rule of law and human rights. Yet, other than a short-lived "conflict prevention initiative" undertaken by the Policy Planning Staff in 1994 and an ongoing African Crisis Response Initiative, State took no concrete steps to institutionalize such preventive efforts either in its own structure or in interagency policy-making.

In the past, a variety of factors placed "crisis management" far above "conflict prevention" on the ladder of policy considerations, both in the State Department and other foreign affairs agencies. Those factors, at least at State, range from inadequate funding and personnel shortages to a bureaucratic culture that does not reward bold, aggressive reporting and analysis. And without such input, the White House is unlikely to consider the need for early

Frederic Hill, a former correspondent for The Baltimore Sun in Europe and Africa, is director of Special Programs at the Foreign Service Institute. Col. Dennis Murphy is director of Operations and Gaming at the United States Army War College in Carlisle, Pa. Bob Hopper, a former FSO, is director of Political Training at the Foreign Service Institute. The views expressed in this article are the authors' own.

action in troubled regions that are not of life and death concern to the American public. Instead, these manageable, at times preventable problems are elbowed aside by the crisis (or crises) du jour until they, too, flare up.

Recognizing this reality, two senior State Department officials in previous Republican administrations, Chester A. Crocker and Richard H. Solomon, recently called for "new approaches to international conflict management and peace-building" to deal with the challenges posted by ethnic and religious conflict. Crocker and Solomon, now chairman and president respectively of the U.S. Institute of Peace, argued that President Bush, "in asserting that we cannot be the world's 911," implicitly made a strong case for tough conflict management and preventive diplomacy. "We need more effective negotiators, backed by economic assets and our military, to prevent international conflicts from turning violent and to make peace agreements stick," they wrote in *The Washington Post* earlier this year.

It appears that their message may have been falling on receptive ears. True, during last year's election campaign, major figures in the Bush camp signaled their aversion to deep U.S. involvement in those messy and intractable conflicts that threaten to destabilize countries and regions. Yet soon after the administration took office, many leading officials began pursuing policies indicating awareness that continuing disengagement would be self-defeating and counter-productive. The events of Sept. 11 ended any doubt about the need for a new direction.

Secretary of State Colin Powell has given prominence to the primacy of U.S. engagement in the world, including in non-strategic regions of Africa. In early testimony before Congress, he made a strong case for preventive

The events of Sept. 11 ended any doubt about the need for a new direction.

diplomacy, arguing that the U.S. should fully pay its dues and its arrears and work with the U.N. wherever that makes sense. He has made clear that the problem with "nation-building" as a part of U.N. or coalition peacekeeping is not that we don't need to help build effective partners and help stabilize key nations. The problem is that the uniformed military is not the right organization to do this. Instead, the international community needs to build and deploy appropriate mechanisms, from civil police to humanitarian NGOs. As such efforts proceed, it will also be important for players, including U.S. diplomats posted at embassies, consulates and special missions overseas, to learn how to take timely preventive actions and become better at sharing this load with a wide and often dizzying array of players.

In addition, NSC Adviser Condoleezza Rice has underscored the importance of U.S. troops in the Balkans as NATO, the U.S. and Europe seek to build a new security architecture. And the new administrator of the Agency for International Development, Andrew Natsios, has followed his predecessor, Brian Atwood, in making conflict prevention the overarching goal of his agency. It has done so by underwriting comprehensive projects that assist countries with transition problems and try to get at the roots of conflicts in the Greater Horn of Africa and southern Africa.

The Defense Department has required its theater commanders to develop and implement engagement plans encouraging projects, activities and interactions that help to shape the regional environment. These "theater engagement plans" are peacetime conflict-prevention mechanisms in places such as Africa and Central Asia that allow us to assure our friends and dissuade potential adversaries.

Achieving A Consensus

The costs of a crisis-based strategy are staggeringly high. Since 1990, conflicts around the globe, many of them within states, have claimed nine million casualties and doubled the number of refugees from 12 to 25 million. Ninety percent of USAID's budget, which once went for economic development, now goes to disaster relief and crisis management. The Defense Department estimates that it has cost \$30 billion to conduct 48 overseas operations in the 1990s alone.

The Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict observed in a highly regarded 1997 report: "The problem is not that we do not know about incipient and large-scale violence; it is that we often do not act. Examples from 'hot spots' around the world illustrate that the potential for violence can be defused through the early, skillful and integrated application of political, diplomatic, economic and military measures." The commission also noted that while "nation-building type peace operations" are easy to criticize, we need capable partners to work with in regions from the Balkans to Africa to Southeast Asia.

Similarly, former Rep. Lee Hamilton, now director of the Woodrow Wilson Center, noted two years ago that "No issue facing the world today deserves our attention more than conflict prevention."

Outside the U.S., the need for more systematic strategies and decision-making focused on preventing conflict and shaping the geostrategic environment has also been widely recognized for several years. Conflict prevention has been a central goal of the United Nations since 1992. In the last few years, it has been adopted as a major goal by the European Union, the G-8 and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. The United States has officially signed on to most of these international efforts and the previous administration made "prevent(ing) instabilities from threatening the vital and important interests of the United States and its allies" a key goal in the government's strategic plan. Moreover, the "National Security Strategy for a New Century," released by the White House in December 1999, stated: "While crisis management and crisis resolution are necessary tasks for our foreign policy, preventive diplomacy is far preferable."

Yet, despite a stated goal of prevention and a rich and growing body of work at the U.S. Institute of Peace, military institutes and think tanks, the American body politic, including Congress and many government agencies, has undertaken little substantive effort to implement this potentially cost-effective emphasis on preventive diplomacy.

This is true despite the fact that preventive diplomacy and deterrence of aggression were cardinal features of U.S. foreign policy for much of the 20th century. The Marshall Plan, containment of the Soviet Union, the peace process in the Middle East, and U.S. policy in Korea all have been notably successful products of this approach.

Road Map For Prevention

Still, skeptics argue that the United States today must focus on

the big picture issues: proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, global economic policy and relations with the major powers: Russia, China, Europe and Japan. Do that, they say, and everything else will take care of itself.

There is much truth in that. Get those relations right and other problems and crises will be easier to handle — bilaterally and through the U.N., OSCE and other regional bodies. But that argument goes only so far, especially in a more complex, post-Cold War environment where the "smaller" conflicts can destabilize whole regions, such as Central Asia. And, there is no reason the U.S., with its power and wealth, cannot do both. Certainly, as the world's sole superpower, the U.S. not only has the capability but a moral imperative to lead in seeking to prevent, manage and resolve conflict when possible, or, if the "interests calculus" dictates against direct U.S. action, at least to mobilize others to act. And it is not just armed conflicts that require U.S. leadership. Citing deforestation, destabilizing refugee flows and diseases such as HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis, *The New York Times* recently urged the new administration to act preventively against "threats that carry no weapons."

There are success stories, instances where early intervention in an area considered less than "vital" has prevented conflict. Macedonia is a case in point. An early commitment of a small U.S. observer force of 600 troops plus other U.N. troops effectively deterred conflict there in the early 1990s that would have cost 50 to 100 times that expenditure if conflict had broken out. Then-President George Bush made the initial commitment; President Clinton sustained it. Yet Macedonia's current troubles also show that "buying time" isn't enough. The international community also needs to develop

thoughtful and sustained plans for making the best use of such dearly bought space for action.

Bruce Jentleson, a proponent of both conflict prevention and "coercive diplomacy," also confronts the "realist" school that argues against U.S. involvement in crises that are not "vital" national strategic interests. "The paradox," he writes, "is that even though many of these conflicts did not start out involving inherently strategic locales, the damage to major power and other international interests proved greater than anticipated because the assessment of their limited importance resulted in inaction or inadequate action."

Several respected authorities offer specific suggestions they feel would strengthen a commitment to conflict prevention — and enhance U.S. foreign policy. Sam Nunn, the former Georgia senator, said last summer as he was honored with the Ralph Bunche Award for Diplomatic Excellence: "Do we have the wisdom and skill to develop an effective, sustainable preventive diplomacy and preventive defense?" He urged creation of a "preventive diplomatic fund at State that would allow millions to be spent in predictable hot spots like Kosovo to prevent wars, rather than waiting for billions to be spent to fight wars."

Nunn and a number of foreign policy experts and think tanks have offered a host of specific recommendations to put teeth into a so far largely academic debate, in order to "operationalize" conflict prevention. In addition to a more vigorous lobbying effort on Capitol Hill to give the State Department a budget commensurate with its far-flung responsibilities, these experts recommend taking the following steps:

- The State Department should take the lead in working through the National Security Council to establish a global set of priorities and

mechanisms for conflict prevention.

- The secretary of State should assign clear responsibility for managing preventive diplomacy to one of his associates who, in turn, would take steps to develop appropriate staff, resources and reward system to encourage direct linkages of policy options to the array of early warning intelligence that already exists.

The secretary of State should also;

- Push decision-making in State and other agencies down to lower levels in order to respond more effectively to developing conflicts, and enhance strategic thinking in policy and training circles. Many former officials say chances to intervene at earlier stages in crises are often lost because they don't get on the agendas of senior meetings at State or the NSC until it's too late.

- Create interagency working groups, led by State's regional bureaus, to closely monitor potential trouble spots and recommend early policy options to shape events. Empower political officers in embassies abroad to take the lead in timely and innovative steps.

- Use the improved strategic planning process to seek adequate resources to deal with developing crises. Too often, this process, required by the Government Performance and Results Act, is tailored to more traditional, check-the-box justifications.

- Bolster programs to train officers in conflict prevention theory and practice, perhaps drawing on efforts already under way at USAID, military schools and institutes, and in academia. It should also consider cooperating with similar programs conducted by the U.N. and non-governmental organizations.

Gauging Success

One of the obstacles to a more ambitious focus on conflict prevention is the argument that you cannot

"No issue facing the world today deserves our attention more than conflict prevention."

— Lee Hamilton, 1999

measure success. If a civil war or coup d'état does not happen, how do you know what prevented it? But there are recent models. Consider the Y2K issue as a case study. A recent issue of *State* magazine compared the department's global preparations in 1999 with those of D-Day: "a well-devised, superbly coordinated effort combining countries, corporations, international organizations and non-governmental organizations as well as the U.S. Departments of Defense, Energy, Treasury and Transportation and the U.S. Agency for International Development." Y2K was a priority issue supported by strong political will, implemented by a new bureaucracy with a stake in the success of the program. Much like conflict prevention, its success lies in what *didn't* happen.

A recent State Department cable to all points called for "the best and the brightest" Foreign Service officers to apply for jobs in the Operations Center — "among the most exciting and challenging the department has to offer." The Op Center is the section of the department that handles crises around the clock — a key focus of State's mission. Given the unpredictable stream of crises and conflicts that can endanger Americans and entangle U.S. interests at any moment, the Operations Center, with its focus on "crisis management," is a

place where young and mid-level officers can make great strides in their careers by solving crises, working on task forces and making connections with senior policy-makers who can become mentors and guides.

Yet, the unfortunate and telling fact is that there is no comparable appeal or reward for "conflict prevention." With a new administration, one which has indicated that it will not be so ready to intervene militarily, one whose leaders have committed themselves to gaining more resources for the Department of State as the front line of diplomacy and defense, there may well be more room for a conflict prevention-centered strategy. And some of these efforts just might succeed, preventing the need to consider the use of American troops once again.

Many international conflicts are doomed to cause major violence, and some should be left to others to worry about. But to reach such judgments, and not be vulnerable to the "CNN factor," which presses for belated military intervention, the United States needs to develop more effective strategies and mechanisms for monitoring potential crises and be better prepared to intervene, not necessarily with military force but with more assertive political, economic and social programs, at an earlier stage.

To be sure, the nature of American engagement and assistance will be heavily influenced by the behavior of states in the renewed campaign against terrorism. But even as we pursue that campaign, we will also have to join with the rest of the global community in addressing the root causes of instability and develop mechanisms for intervening before conditions in other countries deteriorate into anarchic rule, humanitarian disasters, genocide and ethnic cleansing. ■



BOOKS

PREVENTING DEMOCIDE

Pax Democratica: A Strategy for the 21st Century

James Robert Huntley, Palgrave, 2001, \$21.95, paperback, 243 pages.

REVIEWED BY DAVID T. JONES

The terrible events of Sept. 11 make the issues former FSO James Robert Huntley deals with in *Pax Democratica: A Strategy for the 21st Century* — if not necessarily his policy prescriptions — even more relevant than they were three years ago, when the book originally appeared as a hardback. However, while this paperback reissuance has a new preface discussing events since 1998, the text has not been updated.

Huntley, who has written other analyses of international affairs (*The NATO Story* and *Europe and America: The Next Ten Years*), is a World War II veteran profoundly influenced by what he witnessed in that conflict and during his subsequent diplomatic career. He applies the term “democide” to all the massive civilian killings of the 20th century, most of which he believes could have been avoided had the prescriptions that he endorses been adopted.

After surveying the current disheveled state of foreign affairs and prophesying worse, Huntley concludes that the present array of international organizations is insufficient to prevent future tragedies,

***Huntley contends that
the only way the U.S.
can exercise leadership
in the future will be
within a truly
collective system.***

since we have already used up “our accumulated psycho-political capital.” Similarly, Huntley asserts that “national interest” is now a counterproductive concept due to “the decreasing importance of military power.” Accordingly, he contends that the only way the U.S. can exercise leadership in the future will be within a truly collective system.

Specifically, Huntley conceives of an “intercontinental community of democracies” to address “all vital global challenges” of the 21st century. In listing those challenges, he casts his net widely, encompassing issues ranging from a crisis in the global monetary system to global computer sabotage, relations with Russia, China and the Middle East, and, of course, terrorism. Building on structures tested in the E.U. and NATO, he envisions that the same “good guys” who have worked together in reasonable harmony over the past 50 years would contin-

ue to do so under the new umbrella (hopefully joined by newer members of the club). He elaborates its structure in considerable detail, envisioning a central “democracies planning group” — an operating body with extranational powers — that would take action through weighted voting.

To his credit, Huntley does not pretend that creating, let alone effectively implementing, such a community will be easy. He recoils preemptively from the prospective charge that an ICD would be a world government, declaring that such an organization, if ever implemented, would be decades, even centuries, in the future. However, he insists that forming such a organization should be viewed as the next great global challenge for peace-loving people, replacing the concluded Cold War struggle with a positive exercise to “work out the problems of existence.”

Pax Democratica is a love-it-or-leave-it book. Either one is impressed with Huntley’s idealism and detailed effort to construct a paradigm for a better, more peaceful future or one dismisses it out of hand as a construct of fuzzy-minded impracticalities. Even Huntley’s fundamental premise — to wit, that democracies do not make war on each other — is, despite its status as a modern shibboleth, unproved. We simply have not had enough democracies for a long enough period to make that judgment.

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BOOKS

cise, *Pax Democratica* is well worth reading. Otherwise, it is never a waste of time to reread Machiavelli's *The Prince* or Sun Tzu's *The Art of War*.

David Jones, a retired FSO, is a frequent contributor to the Journal.

AFRICA ONLINE

From Ancient Afryqah to Modern Africa: History Revealing Clues to Current Issues

Pierre L. Sales, 1999, CD-ROM (Acrobat Reader 4.0 format included on CD), available via *Afryqah.com*, \$49, equivalent of 2,400 hard-copy pages.

REVIEWED BY
STEVEN ALAN HONLEY

Most of us grew up with encyclopedias in our homes and spent countless hours researching school reports or just reading entries about exotic places and people. But the very qualities that make such reference works valuable — their comprehensiveness and authoritative-ness — can actually be handicaps when looking for specific, up-to-date information.

This is even more true given the proliferation of online databases, Web sites and search engines. Fortunately, there is an alternative that combines the best features of both research resources: publication of encyclopedias in the compact disk format known as CD-ROM, rather than in printed form.

A good example of this approach is *From Ancient Afryqah to Modern Africa: History Revealing Clues to Current Issues*, by retired

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BOOKS

FSO Pierre Sales. (Note that you must have Adobe Acrobat Reader Version 4.0 or higher installed on your computer to use the CD; it's available for free downloading at www.adobe.com.) Although he generally maintains an objective tone, Sales is unabashedly an advocate of greater understanding and appreciation of all things African. His interest in the continent and its peoples goes back nearly half a century and includes over 15 years spent working for USAID and its predecessor agencies throughout the continent.

His first overseas assignments coincided with the wave of independence movements: Morocco (1957), the four Entente states of West Africa (1959) and the Congo (also

***The author is an
unabashed advocate of
all things African.***

known as Zaire, 1960). Back in Washington, he headed the Francophone West Africa office before being seconded to the United Nations, where (among other portfolios) he worked on issues relating to the Congo and Burundi.

The work opens with a magister-

ial "Synthesis" tracing Africa's setting in the world from ancient to modern times. A second essay, which Sales calls a "Treatise on the 'Discovery' of Africa and its Linkage to Country Placenames," illustrates his love of etymology (as does his inclusion of a glossary/etymology at the end of every chapter). For example, to the question implicit in the encyclopedia's title — what is the difference between "Afyraqah" and "Africa"? — he offers the following answer: "Africa derives its name from the Phoenician *Afryqah*, meaning 'colony,' as transliterated into Roman Latin. The name applied to the area surrounding Carthage, the 'new city,' which became the colony of Tyre. The



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BOOKS

*There are numerous
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word's root is *afir*, meaning 'city,' and may relate to the mystical name 'Ophir' mentioned in the Bible, whose antecedents go deeper into history, suggesting Assyrian and/or Semitic origin. Rome's conquest of Carthage c. 146 B.C. resulted in its transliteration to the Roman Latin (or Italic) form 'Africa' and was first introduced as 'Africa Nova' (New Africa) and 'Africa Propria' (the 'original territory of Africa')."

In addition to these two essays, there are numerous overviews of subjects ranging from settlement history to ethno-linguistic characteristics to what the author considers the continent's most fascinating countries. Then come country-specific chapters on each of Africa's 53 sovereign states and 18 dependent territories, formatted to facilitate cross-referencing with the overview chapters. The inclusion of about 550 historical maps (many in color) throughout is especially helpful and striking.

The author plans yearly editions of the encyclopedia to update political and economic events. But even without those, *From Ancient Afriqyah to Modern Africa* will surely remain an excellent reference work for years to come. ■

Steven Alan Honley is the editor of the Journal.

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IN MEMORY

Dorothy "Dottie" Call Catherman, 73, retired FSO, died Aug. 31 at Georgetown University Hospital of leukemia.

A native of New Hampshire, she joined the Foreign Service in 1954 and was assigned to Bonn. There she met her future husband, Terrence Catherman, an FSO. They were married in 1956. The couple served abroad for the U.S. Information Agency in Vienna, Moscow, Tel Aviv, Berlin, Belgrade, Paris and Bonn. They retired in 1990, settling in Washington. Mr. Catherman died in 1999.

Mrs. Catherman had many and varied interests. She was an artist, specializing in whimsical papier-mache animal sculptures. She was an avid skier, and a member of the Writer's Center in Bethesda. She was also a member of the Jungian Society of Washington. She and her husband were charter members of the National Gallery's Legacy Circle.

Mrs. Catherman leaves no immediate survivors.



Lucy Barnard Briggs, 98, wife of Ambassador Ellis O. Briggs (1899-1976), died in Hanover, N.H. on Sept. 2.

Mrs. Briggs accompanied her husband to all his overseas posts except Chunking (1945). She was a leader in volunteer work every-

where they served. Among her notable achievements was organizing a self-help project for Korean War widows, in Pusan and in Seoul, during the Korean conflict.

Born in Harlem and raised in New Rochelle, N.Y., Mrs. Briggs graduated from New Rochelle High, and received a bachelor's degree in 1925 from Smith College. She was married in 1928 and immediately joined her husband at the American Embassy in Lima. Other overseas postings included Havana (twice), Santiago, Santo Domingo, Montevideo, Prague, Rio de Janeiro and Athens.

Mrs. Briggs lost a daughter, former FSO Lucy Therina Briggs (1930-1994). Survivors include a son, retired FSO Everett Ellis Briggs of Norfolk, Conn.; five grandchildren and five great grandchildren; a brother, Edward T. Barnard of North Branford, Conn.; five nieces and a nephew.



Philip H. Trezise, 89, retired career minister, died of pneumonia on Aug. 26 in Bethesda, Md.

Mr. Trezise served as ambassador to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development from 1966 to 1969. He was appointed assistant secretary of State for economic affairs in 1969, serving until his retirement from federal service in 1971.

Mr. Trezise joined the Department of State in 1946, when the research and analysis function of the Office of Strategic Services (in which he served during World War II) was transferred to the department. He remained in the Office of Intelligence and Research until 1955, serving as deputy director of the office from 1953 to 1955.

He transferred from the Civil Service to the Foreign Service in 1954 and joined the Policy Planning Staff in 1955. In 1957, Mr. Trezise was assigned to the American embassy in Tokyo. During four years in Tokyo, he focused primarily on emerging trade disputes with Japan and held several positions, including minister for economic affairs and acting deputy chief of mission. He returned to Washington in 1961 as deputy assistant secretary for economic affairs.

Mr. Trezise was the chief American negotiator of the 1965 Canadian-American automobile agreement. The agreement allowed duty-free trade in vehicles and parts between the United States and Canada. It allowed the auto industry to restructure as an integrated North American industry and helped pave the way for the North American Free Trade Agreement. President Johnson awarded him the President's Award for Distinguished Federal Service for his work on the automobile agreement.

After his retirement, Mr. Trezise joined the Brookings Institution as a

IN MEMORY

senior fellow. During 22 years at Brookings, he authored, edited and contributed to a number of books, including *Asia's New Giant: How the Japanese Economy Works* and *Building a Canadian-American Free Trade Area*.

He became a leading proponent of the view that the Japanese economic miracle was the result of a high domestic savings rate and innovation by companies such as Sony, Matsushita, Hitachi and Honda, rather than of skilled maneuvering by bureaucrats in the Ministry of International Trade and Industry. He received the Emperor's Order of the Rising Sun from Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone in 1985 for his analysis of the Japanese economy.

Mr. Trezise was born in Calumet,

Mich. in 1912. He graduated Phi Beta Kappa from the University of Michigan in 1936 and earned a master's degree in economics from there in 1939.

His wife, Ruth Dorsey, whom he married in 1938, died in 1985. He is survived by two sons: John of Bethesda and David of Geneva, Switzerland; and five grandchildren. ■

To submit an obituary for the In Memory column:

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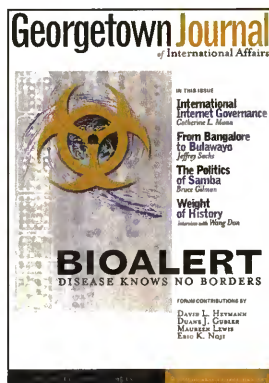
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National Prayer Service

Excerpts from The Rev. Billy Graham's remarks during a prayer service at Washington National Cathedral on September 21:

“Several years ago, at the National Prayer Breakfast here in Washington, Ambassador Andrew Young, who had just gone through the tragic death of his wife, closed his talk with a quote from an old hymn “How Firm a Foundation.”

We all watched in horror as planes crashed into the steel and glass of the World Trade Center. Those majestic towers, built on solid foundations, were examples of the prosperity and creativity of America.

When damaged, those buildings eventually plummeted to the ground, imploding in upon themselves. Yet, underneath the debris is a foundation that was not destroyed. Therein lies the truth that Andrew Young quoted — how firm a foundation.

Yes, our nation has been attacked, buildings destroyed, lives lost but now we have a choice — whether to implode and disintegrate emotionally and spiritually as a people and a nation or whether we choose to become stronger through all the struggle to rebuild on a solid foundation. And I believe that we're in the process of starting to rebuild on that foundation. That Foundation is our trust in God.”

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POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

The Digital Dividend

By R. DAVID HARDEN

Kutubdia, an island in the Bay of Bengal, is home to nearly 150,000 inhabitants. The island has a total of two analog telephones. There is no electricity. Most food is shipped in from the mainland and off-loaded by day laborers who cart the groceries to town by rickshaw.

Kutubdia is so remote that the world may not know about it, but by the end of this year, Kutubdia will know the world. Solar-powered computers already in place will soon link to a VSAT satellite, which will bring the Internet to this island.

With support from the U.S. Agency for International Development, Grameen Bank, the renowned bank that provides micro-credit to poor Bangladeshi women, has begun to bring information technologies to Bangladesh. Grameen has started a computer center on Kutubdia Island run entirely by solar power.

Bringing the Internet to Kutubdia will be just the latest breakthrough Grameen has made in Bangladesh. Grameen first opened the world to Bangladesh when it began to provide mobile telephones with international service to poor remote village women on credit at market rates. These "telephone ladies" sell telephone time to their neighbors. Remote villages without telephone lines now have access to

R. David Harden is a Foreign Service officer. This article represents his opinion only. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."

Even the most powerful man in the village must now and then pay a visit to the telephone lady when he wants to place a call.



high-quality, high-tech mobile phones.

Technologies such as the telephone, and now the computer, not only provide faster and cheaper communication, but also influence traditional social structures. Husbands quickly learn to appreciate their entrepreneurial wives. Farmers call the capital city, Dhaka, for the latest rice prices, no longer relying on the word of the middleman. Even the most powerful man in the village must now and then pay a visit to the telephone lady when he wants to place a call.

Still, technology alone will not breach the gulf between the poor and rich nations. As Catherine Mann of the Institute for International Economics noted during a recent visit to Dhaka, economic growth arising from e-commerce needs not only hardware, but also convertible currencies and functioning distribution systems.

For instance, a Kutubdia Island shrimp farmer who wants to buy a book from Amazon.com on, say, pat-

terns of seafood consumption in the U.S. faces two significant barriers to business. First, he needs dollar-based credit cards to order the book online. Yet credit cards are non-existent in countries with strict currency controls.

Even if the farmer's currency were freely convertible to dollars, the book he orders would then have to clear Bangladeshi customs and work its way from the central postal office to the local post office. The opportunity for what is euphemistically called "system loss" en route is so great that the book may never reach the shrimp farmer's doorstep.

The arrival of the information age to remote Bangladesh means its citizens will demand changes to make them players in the global economy. An increasingly sophisticated group of shrimp farmers and telephone ladies will want broadband, microchips, convertible currencies, and honest mail carriers.

But most importantly, the Internet will bring these traditionally marginalized folks opportunities that have not been readily available — such as a shot at enrolling at Harvard University. Children of Bangladeshi shrimp farmers and telephone ladies have already started to download applications to Harvard. Of course, whether these children gain admission remains to be seen, but it seems likely that eventually some descendants of the shrimp farmers and telephone ladies will graduate with the crimson colors. This will be the true digital dividend. ■

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