

THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

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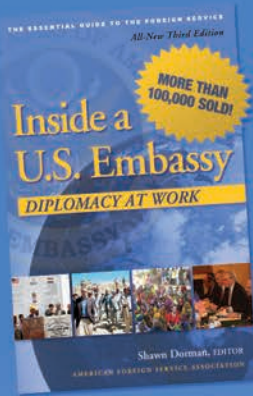
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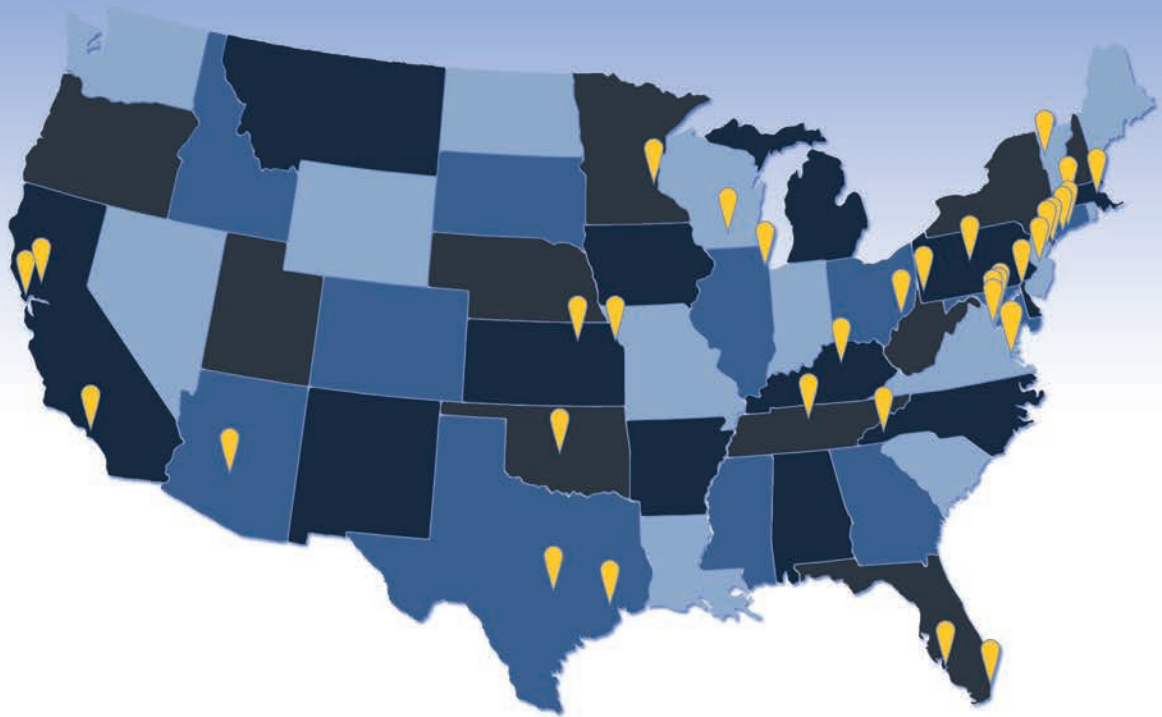
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On the cover: A view of north Tehran, with the Alborz mountains in the background. Tehran has been a population center for 7,000 years and Iran's capital since 1796. It has a population of 8.3 million. Photo courtesy of retired FSO Mark Lijek.

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A Doyenne of the Old School

BY ROBERT J. SILVERMAN

Let the public service be a proud and lively career. And let every man and woman who works in any area of our national government be able to say with pride and with honor in future years: 'I served the United States Government in that hour of our nation's need.'

—President John F. Kennedy,
State of the Union Address, Jan. 30, 1961

Baby boomers may recall a certain leadership style prevalent in the State Department when we came in that doesn't really exist any longer—a brutally honest, results-oriented approach that is also focused on self-sacrifice and the collective good.

I hold no nostalgia for the “good old days.” The Foreign Service I entered in 1989 was reeling from the class action law suits of women and African-Americans who had been systematically discriminated against in assignments and promotions.

The Foreign Service of today, while far from perfect, is more inclusive and meritocratic. Still, this background should not prevent us from admiring and retaining many good features of “old school” leadership. Let's recall the career of one of its exemplars, Mary Ryan.

Mary entered the Foreign Service in 1966, swept into the government like so many of her generation by the words of President Kennedy. An administrative



officer, she served in Italy, Honduras and Mexico.

From 1973 to 1975, she and a young Pat Kennedy were rovers in the Africa Bureau, covering at small posts for those on home leave or transfer.

She became assistant secretary for consular affairs in 1993, after Elizabeth Tamposi, a political appointee, left in disgrace for opening the passport files of then presidential candidate Bill Clinton (seeking nonexistent evidence that he had renounced his citizenship).

Mary served the next nine years as assistant secretary for CA. Among her achievements was mentoring a series of leaders, including her three successors, who together have elevated CA to the best-managed bureau in the State Department, one that truly engages in career development and long-term strategic planning.

Her first challenge after taking over CA was the World Trade Center bombing of 1993. The person who inspired and helped plan this attack, Omar Abdel Rahman, had been issued a visa in Khartoum, though information was known about him in his home country of Egypt. Mary led the inter-agency to undertake two reforms.

First, she directed visa fees to be used to automate the worldwide lookout system (replacing the cumbersome microfiche readers). Second, she worked with the intelligence and law enforcement agencies to create the Visas Viper program, to provide a mechanism for sharing information with consular sections.

Eight years later, a second attack on the World Trade Center gave Mary her

ultimate challenge. Once again the visa function came under intense public scrutiny. All of the 9/11 hijackers had received tourist visas. In congressional hearings, Mary defended these issuances as straightforward cases. The problem was that the CIA and FBI had not shared information on these individuals.

“Every name of every one of those 19 terrorists was run through the classified lookout system. And we had no information on any of them,” she later recalled. Mary became the public defender for keeping the consular function at State, as Congress moved customs and border protection into the new Homeland Security Department.

Mary knew her truth-telling was career-ending. She took a beating from both Democrats and Republicans in Congress. She didn't want her consular troops to think she was abandoning them, so she did not resign and, as the highest-ranking Foreign Service officer, continued to advocate for them. But she realized Secretary Colin L. Powell might have to ask her to step down—as he did, in September 2002.

Here is the most remarkable thing about Mary Ryan: She moved on to new challenges in retirement and had no time for resentments, despite the scapegoating she endured. I never knew her, but in talking with her protégés I believe it was a deep religious faith that sustained her and pushed her to become a Foreign Service hero.

Be well, stay safe and keep in touch,
Bob
Silverman@afsa.org ■

Robert J. Silverman is the president of the American Foreign Service Association.

When There Is No Relationship

BY SHAWN DORMAN

As we went to press, we heard the sad news of the passing of the wonderful, retired Senior FSO Ted Wilkinson. During a lifetime of dedication to the Foreign Service and to AFSA—as president in 1989 and later as retiree representative and then FSJ Editorial Board chair for six years (2005-2011)—Ted was a dear friend to many, and he will be deeply missed. Please look for an Appreciation in the April issue.

This month we take a look at the Foreign Service and Iran—not the Foreign Service *in* Iran, but rather *in connection with* Iran. The U.S. has not had a diplomatic presence in Iran since the 1979 Iranian Revolution, and before that had not made Iran expertise a priority. Our focus is on the challenge of doing diplomacy where the United States has no in-country representation, where there is no relationship.

Eyes are on Iran today because, after more than three decades of animosity and alienation, groundbreaking diplomatic talks have been underway between Washington and Tehran in the context of the U.S.-led six-power negotiations with Iran on the country's nuclear

program. Hope for an agreement thrives alongside calls from Congress to instead expand sanctions against Iran. Whether

the current talks prove immediately fruitful or not, the examples of China, Vietnam and, more recently, Cuba, remind us that, as Ambassador John Limbert puts it, “no estrangement lasts forever.”

Jillian Burns starts us off with “The Iran Watcher Program: A Different Kind of Teleworking,” a look at the work of the Iran watchers, those Foreign Service officers who work on the Iran portfolio from places far from Tehran.

The Iran Watchers program is relatively new at 10 years, but may serve as a benchmark for success as the State Department builds a cadre of Iran experts, helping Washington better understand Iran and all the complexities in the relationship. (The need to build Iran expertise within the Foreign Service helps explain why AFSA has protested the selection of a non-Foreign Service State employee for the London Iran watcher position. See AFSA News, p. 53).

The move from “watching” to constructive interaction with Iran is addressed by Amb. John Limbert—truly the Iran expert within the U.S. government, with 45 years of related experience. In “The Road Back to Tehran: Bugs, Ghosts and Ghostbusters,” Limbert discusses the requirements for effective engagement, including contending with the ghosts that haunt both Washington and Tehran. He offers guidelines to help the United States “get it right” this time. My favorite: Don’t do or say stupid stuff.

The hostage crisis played a decisive role in the collapse of U.S.-Iranian relations back in 1979. So that today’s Foreign Service members do not forget this important chapter, we bring you an up-close look at what it was like to be a “guest of the regime.” Michael Metrisko—perhaps the first (and only) prisoner evicted from the Iranian prison of Evin for bad behavior—describes his 14 months in captivity.

Ambassador Willard DePree takes us back to the newly independent Mozambique of the 1970s with the story of a time when diplomacy made a difference in a dicey situation. It is a case study on the benefits of having diplomatic relations not only with friends but with those who might not be “natural allies” of the United States.

Retired FSO Luciano Mangiafico brings the little-known tale of “Our Man in Fiume: Fiorello LaGuardia’s Short Diplomatic Career.” Our Speaking Out takes a glass half-full look at the Foreign Service today. AFSA President Robert Silverman remembers Mary Ryan, “A Doyenne of the Old School,” as a Foreign Service hero.

As always, we welcome your feedback on this issue and all things Foreign Service.

Next month’s issue promises to be a special one as we remember the fall of Saigon 40 years ago and consider the Foreign Service in Vietnam, then and now. ■



Shawn Dorman is the editor of The Foreign Service Journal.

Honoring Local Staff

I found the President's Views column in the December *FSJ* ("The Departed") a timely and moving reminder of friends and colleagues killed 10 years ago during a terrorist attack in Saudi Arabia.

On Dec. 6, 2004, I huddled with my colleagues beneath the visa counter at the U.S. consulate in Jeddah as a siren screamed overhead, and five terrorists planted bombs and sprayed gunfire across our compound. The day may come when I'm ready to reflect more fully on those events, but today I want only to recall my dearest friends who lost their lives there (not to mention the many who survive with scars, both physical and emotional):

Imad, who several times took me in hand on his own time to guide me through the complicated process of buying a truck in Saudi Arabia. Basheer, who smiled from the day he started working with us in general services, his generous gift of a vase still prominently displayed in my family home. Romeo, who kept my international line working so I could call home and talk to the woman who would later become my wife. Ali bin Taleb, noble driver. And smiling Jaufar Sadik, the Sri Lankan local guard force member.

In a letter to *Commentary* magazine, a former U.S. consul general in Jeddah wrote of Sadik's heroism: "Without protective cover, Sadik bravely returned fire on three terrorists who entered the consulate compound. It was he ... who killed the terrorist leader and prevented further carnage. Moments later, Sadik himself was killed by a fourth terrorist, who came

from behind and shot him fatally in the head."

Peace be upon them all.

I know that many of my colleagues saw Mr. Silverman's column and remembered their own terrible moments under siege as they served the United States. In reflecting on the events in Jeddah, I applaud AFSA's efforts to work with Congress to pass the Mustafa Akarsu Local Guard Force Support Act, which will provide special immigrant visas to the surviving spouses and children of U.S. government employees killed abroad in the line of duty. It will be a positive step toward recognizing the dedication and service of those who work side by side with our diplomats overseas, every day, everywhere they serve.

Ben East

FSO

Washington, D.C.

Teaching Diplomacy

The series on teaching diplomacy in the January-February *FSJ* touches on interaction between academics and practitioners with regard to teaching, but such interaction also offers important contributions to research. The volume co-edited by Abe Lowenthal, *Scholars, Policymakers and International Affairs*, reviewed in the same issue of the *Journal*, makes that point through case studies.

After retiring from the Foreign Service following service as deputy chief of mission in Moscow, I went to Brown University to establish a research center with the charge to bring together scholars and practitioners to search for policy ideas that could reduce the risk of nuclear war. That may seem quaint, but it was the 1980s.



One thing I learned was that such interaction can be a two-way street: scholars gain by testing theory against practice, and practitioners gain by seeing the advantage of applying a rigorous framework for testing possible policy solutions to complex problems. Although neither side readily acknowledged the advantages, they were real—or seemed so to me.

Mark Garrison

FSO, retired

Cranston, R.I.

Tempered Appreciation

My appreciation for the *FSJ*'s January-February issue on diplomatic training and the practitioner-academic paradigm is tempered by a sense that some issues that need deeper examination were overlooked. I have three observations.

First, how can the two principal streams in the diplomacy arena, practitioners and scholarly theorists, work better with one another? An elegant monograph written in 1979, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* by Alexander George and Andrew Bennett (MIT Press, 2005), remains relevant.

Foreign ministry officials need contextual information, how today's situation has similarities with what may have happened in the past, and the available policy options. Scholars need information from real-life situations; they lack a practitioner's felicity in tapping data via interviews or questionnaires.

Prof. G.R. Berridge has shown that exhaustive examination of archives can produce insightful analysis, evident in his book *British Diplomacy in Turkey, 1583 to the Present: A Study in the Evolution of the Resident Embassy* (2009). His writing also shows how trawling through oral history records can yield insights that help to ground theory with practical experience.

Consider *Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*, now about to emerge in a fifth edition, that is the gold standard in this field.

China's method of assigning scholars to major embassies, to work as political section policy analysts, is one simple device that is worthy of emulation, to permit needed connections between the two streams.

Second, we of the non-Western world need to do more to offer our experiences, to plug the lamentable domination by the West of diplomacy studies. Several good initiatives by developing country foreign ministries need wider replication.

In 2009, Kenya's Foreign Service Institute organized a two-day conference in Nairobi on the country's pioneering experiences in foreign affairs immediately after independence. It is described in *Kenya's Early Diplomacy: 1963-1993* (MFA Nairobi, 2009). The Singapore Foreign Ministry has captured its own history in two volumes: *The Little Red Dot: Reflections by Singapore's Diplomats* (2005 and 2008), recounting a series of definitive events.

Two Indian-edited books have used a similar method: *Economic Diplomacy: India's Experience* (2011) and *The Ambassador's Club: The Indian Diplomat at Large* (2012). Producing oral history records is equally useful (underway in India). Such collections serve training and public diplomacy objectives, inspiring new generations of diplomats.

Third, given that typically more than half of the executive and policy staff of foreign ministries is posted abroad, e-learning, especially of the intensive faculty-led variety (as distinct from massive open online courses, or MOOCs), is especially appropriate as a learning aid in today's environment of continuous education. While the World Bank,

UNITAR and others offer good models, the experience of the nonprofit DiploFoundation (www.diplomacy.edu) is especially relevant for working diplomats. (Disclaimer: I have served on DiploFoundation's teaching faculty for 15 years.)

Kishan S. Rana
Indian FSO and Ambassador, retired
New Delhi

Award Winners and Diversity

A letter in the December *Journal* called attention to the fact that the September issue featured the four winners of the AFSA dissent awards on the cover. Since all four were white males, the author wrote that this "exhibited very little demographic diversity."

It is generally recognized that the Awards Committee (on which I serve) must rely entirely on the nominations it receives to select dissent winners. That is all there is to work with, and AFSA expends considerable effort to advertise this fact and solicit submissions.

Vastly more male than female nominations are usually received, and there were none of the latter in 2014. There have been female winners; but if none have been nominated, it is certainly illogical to accuse AFSA of demographic discrimination.

Edward Peck
Ambassador, retired
Chevy Chase, Md.

Lip Service to Diversity?

I read Ms. Rachel Schneller's letter to the editor in the December *FSJ* with some confusion. As a current member of the AFSA Awards Committee and a

previous chair of the FSJ Editorial Board, I was struck by her complaint that both institutions were essentially "paying lip service to diversity without making any concrete difference."

Could that be true? I searched my memory and my conscience and decided no, the complaint was unfounded, because she has confused roles and missions. Diversity, by which I presume she means demographic in the broadest sense, is the responsibility of the recruiting organs of the State Department and the Foreign Service. They are responsible for a serious, honest and effective effort to recruit into the Foreign Service a meaningful representation of Americans.

The job of the Awards Committee is to reward exemplary performance, period. Surely Ms. Schneller does not wish us to institute a quota system for awards? The same for the *FSJ*, which is responsible for publishing a magazine featuring items of interest to our readership; with authorship determined by subject and not by ethnic, racial, religious or other credentials.

Ms. Schneller notes herself that the *Journal* issue that spurred her letter included a serious article about diversity.

The "role and mission" of the Awards Committee and the *FSJ* are to comment on and celebrate our profession and our life. This means to celebrate diversity as one element of that totality, but only one, and only when appropriate. To do otherwise is not to obtain meaningful diversity, but to enshrine separatism and division.

Edward Marks
Ambassador, retired
Washington, D.C.



Defining Diversity

A letter in the December *FSJ* objects to all white males shown in an honored group on the cover of the September issue and pleads for more diversity.

I recall serving with a group of white males who could not have been more diverse in backgrounds and experience—one a *Mayflower* family descendant, one the son of holocaust survivors and another who was the first in the family to go to college from a remote place in Appalachia.

Life in the Foreign Service is a rich experience because of the real diversity of individuals we work with and enjoy, not by photo representation of demographic or other groups.

The Foreign Service exists to be an effective instrument to advance American foreign policy interests. I have served and negotiated in many places, from North Korea to South Africa. I don't recall that the folks on the other side of the table ever cared if the U.S. team was composed of Aleut lads or the sons of Vermont hill farmers. Whoever we were, we were recognized as representing the United States, and dealt with accordingly.

Herbert Levin
FSO, retired
New York City, N.Y.

Useful Focus on Afghanistan

I am writing to express my appreciation for the December issue of the *FSJ*, focusing on Afghanistan. My only direct connection with that country is a week I spent there a very long time ago. But no American citizen can afford to be unconcerned about its present state and its likely future. From that standpoint I found the three focus articles in your December issue to be truly valuable.



They were serious articles, worthy of a serious publication, and indeed likely to be of interest to people inside the government. To be sure, they presented three distinct perspectives. But when taken together they gave a definite feel for what is really going on there.

I also appreciated the December Letter from the Editor, setting out the issue's contents and significance and how the articles related to each other. I found it helpful in my reading of them. I hope for similar articles and letters in forthcoming issues.

The Rev. Theodore L. Lewis
FSO and FSR, retired
Germantown, Md.

“Up or Out,” Redux

In the November *Journal*, FSO Matt Weiller lambasted George Lambrakis' denunciation of “Up or Out” (September Speaking Out). He said the view was “severely dated,” asserting that more, not less, up or out is necessary in order to weed out officers for “areas of conduct, suitability and discipline (known as CSD) and performance management issues.”

Mr. Weiller is conflating two separate matters. It is one thing to be able to weed out officers for legitimate reasons. But it is quite another thing for the State Department to eat its seed corn by involuntarily separating perfectly good officers through the promotion panel process.

Employee Evaluation Reports are inflated, and promotion panels are challenged to identify the true best performers based on EER after EER of imaginative writing. But so much more that is unrelated to performance impinges on the process: limited promotion numbers for



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budgetary reasons; gender and minority preferences that, even if not explicitly decreed, are widely known; shifting personnel definitions and criteria; subtle and not-so-subtle political influence; and more.

These are real factors. Mr. Lambrakis, and I, are justified in questioning “up or out.”

*D. Thomas Longo Jr.
FSO, retired
Lawrenceburg, Ind.*

We'll Take Those Glasses, Sir

I had long nourished the thought that my experience with access to State facilities as a retiree was isolated, unique and dated. But obviously (based on recent

pieces in the *FSJ*), little has changed since my experience more than eight years ago.

On arrival at one embassy in Africa, my eyeglasses (which I have worn nearly my whole life) were taken from me by a Marine security guard. I had a most difficult time doing any constructive work without them.

When I left the embassy, my eyeglasses could not readily be located. Fortunately, I had another pair at the hotel.

About two months after returning home, the confiscated eyeglasses were returned to me—sent in the diplomatic pouch and irreparably broken.

Thus, my visit to the embassy turned out to be a costly one. I have since made a point of never again going to an embassy to conduct business as a retiree, but

instead meet embassy personnel at hotels. The monetary outlays, not to mention the visual problems, were just too much to bear.

*Roy A. Harrell Jr.
FSO, retired
Ozona, Texas*

Concerning Diplomatic Security

Is the U.S. Department of State committed to addressing in a timely manner its policy and operational shortcomings on diplomatic security as documented by the Government Accountability Office?

More than six months have passed from the GAO report's issuance, and all 13 recommendations remain open awaiting State action.



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Last year the GAO, Congress' watchdog, undertook a comprehensive and balanced review of State's diplomatic security policy and procedures.

The findings were published on June 25: "Diplomatic Security: Overseas Facilities May Face Greater Risks Due to Gaps in Security-Related Activities, Standards and Policies." For the full report and recommendation status, go to www.gao.gov/products/GAO-14-655.

GAO found, among other shortcomings, that State has not fully developed and implemented a risk management policy for overseas facilities.

Further, State's risk management activities do not operate as a continuous process or continually incorporate new information. For example, in some instances updating standards took more than eight years.

The report's thirteenth recommendation dealt with this shortcoming by requiring the development of a risk management policy and procedures that include identification of the roles and responsibilities of all stakeholders. Further, the policy and procedures are to be continually updated.

This recommendation has far-reaching implications in that its implementation could also provide a cornerstone for the diplomatic security training programs being offered by the Foreign Service Institute.

Isn't it time that the State Department moved more swiftly to address these findings and recommendations before another six-month period passes? Movement on the recommendations would surely help with AFSA's congressional relations.

James (Jim) Meenan
FSO, retired
Fairfax, Va. ■

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The Foreign Service on the Small Screen

With the CBS series “Madame Secretary” renewed for a second season, and a whole host of programming in development in which the Foreign Service plays a role (see Talking Points in the November 2014 *FSJ*), diplomacy is a hot topic in Hollywood. In fact, this summer HBO will premiere a new half-hour dark comedy series, “The Brink,” in which the Foreign Service features prominently.

In “The Brink” a rogue general seizes control of Pakistan’s nuclear weapons, and it is up to three “disparate and desperate men” to save the planet from World War III. Tim Robbins plays U.S. Secretary of State Walter Larson; Jack Black portrays Alex Talbot, who HBO describes as “a lowly Foreign Service officer;” and Pablo Schreiber takes the role of Zeke Tilson, “an ace Navy fighter pilot.”

HBO ordered the series immediately after viewing the pilot and will produce 10 episodes. With HBO doing the producing, the quality of the show is likely to be top shelf.

It remains to be seen how audiences will feel about the series, of course, but the pre-season press seems to make one thing clear: in Hollywood’s opinion, the Foreign Service is the CIA’s neglected stepchild.

In *USA Today* Jack Black described his character—that “lowly” Foreign Service officer—as “a wannabe CIA dude, a bit of a doofus, a bit of a stoner.” Ouch.

—Debra Blome, Associate Editor

2014: Not the Year for Children

The year 2014 was particularly devastating for many of the world’s children. According to a report from UNICEF, those living in conflict areas such as

the Central African Republic, Iraq, South Sudan, Palestine, Syria and Ukraine suffered atrocities ranging from kidnapping, torture and rape to child slavery and other crimes.

The report, “The State of the World’s Children in Numbers,” contains a number of dramatic statistics. For instance, of the 2.2 billion children globally, “an estimated 230 million children live in countries and areas affected by armed conflicts.”

In Gaza, 538 children were killed as a result of the 50-day Israeli-Palestinian conflict during the summer. There were 1.7 million Syrian children living as refugees. At least 5 million children aged 3 to 17 were unable to return to school following the Ebola outbreak.

In a Dec. 8 *New York Times* article, UNICEF Executive Director Anthony Lake commented: “Never in recent memory have so many children been subjected to such unspeakable brutality.”

The report notes, “Data do not, of themselves, change the world. What matters most is that decision-makers use the data to make positive change.” UNICEF

is conducting campaigns targeted at treating malnutrition, administering polio vaccines, improving access to safe drinking water, getting children back into school and providing safe learning spaces.

The full 2014 report can be downloaded at www.unicef.org/sowc2014/numbers.

—Brittany DeLong, Assistant Editor

SIGAR: Information on Afghan Security Forces Now Classified

In late January, Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction John F. Sopko released the latest quarterly report on the status of the U.S. reconstruction effort in Afghanistan, covering October through December 2014.

The report zeros in on the “still-elusive goal” of coordinating aid to Afghanistan as the United States and NATO scale down and reorient their activity in what they have termed the “Decade of Transformation” (2015-2024).

SIGAR has launched a project to iden-

Contemporary Quote

“Our diplomacy is at work with respect to Iran, where, for the first time in a decade, we’ve halted the progress of its nuclear program and reduced its stockpile of nuclear material. Between now and this spring, we have a chance to negotiate a comprehensive agreement that prevents a nuclear-armed Iran; secures America and our allies—including Israel; while avoiding yet another Middle East conflict. There are no guarantees that negotiations will succeed, and I keep all options on the table to prevent a nuclear Iran. But new sanctions passed by this Congress, at this moment in time, will all but guarantee that diplomacy fails—alienating America from its allies; and ensuring that Iran starts up its nuclear program again. It doesn’t make sense. That is why I will veto any new sanctions bill that threatens to undo this progress. The American people expect us to only go to war as a last resort, and I intend to stay true to that wisdom.”

—President Barack Obama, *State of the Union Address*, Jan. 20.

tify lessons learned and best practices in aid coordination, and has also developed a “High-Risk List”—seven program areas that are vital to the reconstruction effort’s success, but are at risk of failure due to waste, fraud or abuse. In each area, the sources of risk are detailed and the degree of risk documented.

More significant in this latest report, however, is what is missing: information and analysis of the status of the Afghan National Security Forces—whose development and sustenance account for

\$65 billion, or more than half, of the \$107 billion U.S. investment on the civilian account since 2002.

In his letter of transmittal, Mr. Sopko calls attention to the Jan. 18 decision by General John F. Campbell—commander of the downsized and renamed NATO mission in Afghanistan, Resolute Support—to classify a broad range of information that SIGAR has used, until now, to publicly report on the progress of the ANSF, Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of the Interior.

“The classification of this volume of data for SIGAR’s quarterly report is unprecedented,” the report states. “The decision leaves SIGAR for the first time in six years unable to publicly report on most of the U.S.-taxpayer-funded efforts to build, train, equip and sustain the ANSF”

The list of questions for the Resolute Support Mission, whose answers are off-limits to the public, is included in Appendix E, and Campbell’s letter appears in Appendix F.

The trend toward greater classification is not new. As Sopko notes, in the previous quarter the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) had classified the executive summary of a report SIGAR used as a primary source of information on ANSF capability.

“ISAF’s classification of the report summary deprives the American people of an essential tool to measure the success or failure of the single most costly feature of the Afghanistan reconstruction effort,” Sopko stated in his October report.

“SIGAR and Congress can, of course, request classified briefings on this information, but its inexplicable classification now and its disappearance from public view does a disservice to the interest of informed national discussion,” he added, questioning how dissemination of aggregate national data on ANSF could compromise operational security.

Earlier in the year, ISAF had stopped publicly reporting data on Taliban attacks, and SIGAR has faulted it for classifying information about the Afghan Special Mission Wing.

Created by Congress in 2008, SIGAR’s

50 Years Ago

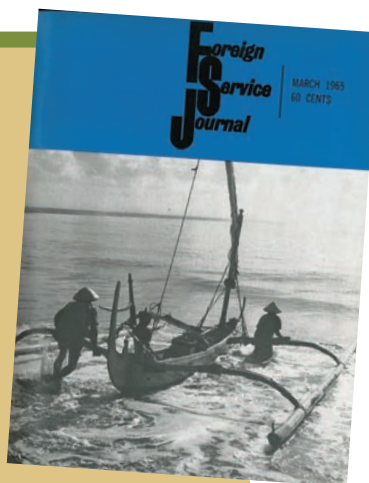
The Washington-Field Relationship

There is in Washington a widespread tendency to regard the field missions as the eyes and arms of United States policy, but taking no part in the function of the brain. It should be obvious, of course, that policy toward any country cannot be determined exclusively by the field mission there. The relationship between the United States and any other country in today’s world is not merely a bilateral matter. It must be placed within a framework of regional and global policy and strategy.

At the same time, the field mission has the great advantage over Washington of being in intimate contact with the whole spectrum of relationships—political, economic, psychological and military; and the ambassador is better placed than any single Washington officer to weigh together the various elements in a broad country strategy.

It follows that the field mission should be called upon to think in strategic terms, and to recommend policies actively to Washington, rather than merely serving as observer, reporter and executant. This is equally true of the component operating units in the aid, information and military fields. At the same time, in order to maintain a regional and global unity, the field mission should be kept abreast of the evolution of Washington policies, with ample opportunity to comment on them and to participate in their formulation. Much has been done in recent years to improve this relationship.

—Excerpt from Lincoln Gordon’s testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on National Security Staffing and Operations regarding relations between embassy and Washington, in “On the Front Lines of History” by Robert McClintock, FSJ, March 1965. At the time, Gordon was ambassador to Brazil, a political appointee.



SITE OF THE MONTH: *The Iran Primer*

When he coined the phrase “a riddle, wrapped in a mystery, inside an enigma” in 1939, Winston Churchill was referring to the Soviet Union. But many international relations scholars believe it an apt description of present-day Iran, referring to the richness and complexity of the country’s cultural and political heritage.

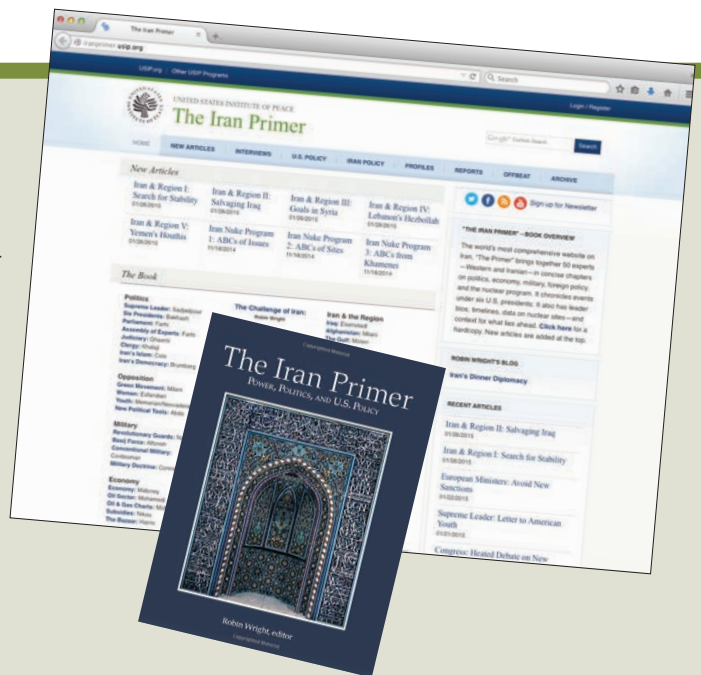
After 30 years of estrangement between Washington and Tehran, however, most Americans know very little about the most basic facts concerning Iran and its people. Happily, *The Iran Primer* (<http://iranprimer.usip.org>), self-described as “the world’s most comprehensive website on Iran,” offers extensive information and insights, food for thought for the expert and layperson alike.

Launched in 2010 as a joint project of the U.S. Institute for Peace and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, *The Iran Primer* is an ongoing online compendium of essays by 50 of the world’s top Iran scholars, representing 20 foreign policy think-tanks, eight universities and senior foreign policy officials from six U.S. administrations.

The site is centered on the book *The Iran Primer*, edited by journalist, author and USIP Joint Fellow Robin Wright and published by USIP in 2010.

The book is available in hard copy, and its individual essays, as well as the new articles featured regularly on the website, are available for download from the site.

A “living website,” *The Iran Primer* gives readers up-to-the-minute analysis of current events that have major implications for Iran, the United States and the world as a whole, such as the ongoing nuclear negotiations, Iran’s position on the Islamic State group, the power dynam-



ics of regional elections and what the recent drop in oil prices means for the Iranian economy.

In addition, it has archived articles from 2010 onward, making it easy to trace the evolution of both American and Iranian policy.

The site brings a wide range of perspectives to the table, and is a great source for background information and a variety of analytical opinions. The site also has sections devoted to U.S. policy, Iranian policy, profiles of important Iranian government officials and religious figures, and interviews with American and Iranian scholars.

The Iran Primer is an excellent resource for anyone looking to untangle the complicated American-Iranian diplomatic relationship and to understand Iran as a country in greater depth.

—Shannon Mizzi, FSJ Editorial Intern

mission is to oversee U.S. programs and operations in Afghanistan, ensuring that American tax dollars are being used effectively.

For the full report, go to the SIGAR website (www.sigar.mil).

—Susan Brady Maitra,
Managing Editor

Ebola Update: Grand Challenge Winners

Though the rates of new Ebola infections in West Africa have slowed dramatically, the U.S. Agency for Development’s work to combat the crisis is not finished.

In December the agency announced

the winners of “Fighting Ebola: A Grand Challenge for Development.” USAID launched the “Fighting Ebola” challenge in early October—in partnership with the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and the Department of Defense—to seek ways

to increase the protection and comfort of healthcare workers battling the virus. (See the January-February Talking Points for our coverage of the contest.)

A panel of U.S. government experts and international partners chose three winners:

- A redesigned personal protective equipment (PPE) suit that allows for quicker and safer doffing/removal and has integrated cooling features (submitted by Johns Hopkins University’s Center for Bioengineering Innovation & Design and Jhpiego, and featuring technology from Johns Hopkins University).
- An antiseptic that, when applied to skin, provides up to six hours of pathogen protection and serves as an antimicrobial barrier to viral transmission for health care workers (submitted by Aquarius

GEP LLC and Innovative BioDefense).

- A long-lasting, spray-on barrier that kills and repels microbes with electrostatic fields to prevent surface contamination and allow for more breathable PPE materials (submitted by SPR Advanced Technologies, Inc.).

These three ideas will receive financial or other support, including intensive testing, to ensure readiness for production and field deployment.

USAID reports that as of Jan. 21 the U.S. government has delivered approximately \$952 million in assistance in response to the Ebola epidemic. And now, it appears, the epidemic may be subsiding.

New Ebola cases in Liberia and Sierra Leone have been decreasing dramatically of late, so much so, in fact, that the U.S.

Test Your Worldliness: The Quiz

This month we are introducing a new mini-feature for Talking Points—The Quiz.

As an amusing diversion from pressing business, the quizzes will test your knowledge of any and all things worldly, from currencies (this month) and languages to capital cities. See how many you can get right. Gain bragging rights by comparing answers with colleagues!

Thanks to retired FSO Rob Callard for the suggestion and this currency quiz. In the “distant past,” Callard says, *The Foreign Service Journal* included a quiz section. A consular officer, he is now working as a “when actually employed” (WAE) in the visa office. During his Foreign Service career, he served in Port-of-Spain, Lima, Wellington, Toronto, Bridgetown, Jerusalem,

Pristina and Washington, D.C.

If you have a quiz to suggest, send it (questions with answers and source) to journal@afsa.org.

Answers appear on p. 18.

CURRENCY QUIZ

What countries use the following currencies?

1. Manat _____
2. Lek _____
3. Dram _____
4. Kyat _____
5. Nakfa _____
6. Pa’anga _____
7. Taka _____
8. Dirham _____
9. Rupiah _____
10. Ariary _____
11. Quetzal _____
12. Dalasi _____



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National Institutes of Health is having difficulty conducting a clinical trial of an experimental Ebola vaccine in Liberia. Reuters reports that NIH may move some testing to Sierra Leone.

The Washington Post paints a picture

EBOLA BY THE NUMBERS

21,689

Number of Suspected, Probable, and Confirmed Ebola Virus Disease (EVD) Cases in Acutely Affected Countries*

UN World Health Organization
(WHO) – January 21, 2015

8,626

Number of EVD-Related Deaths*

WHO – January 21, 2015

10,340

Number of EVD Cases in Sierra Leone*

WHO – January 21, 2015

8,478

Number of EVD Cases in Liberia*

WHO – January 21, 2015

2,871

Number of EVD Cases in Guinea*

WHO – January 21, 2015

*Includes cumulative EVD cases in Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone. Numbers are subject to change due to reclassification, retrospective investigation, and availability of laboratory results.

of “near-empty” treatment centers, built by what the *Post* called an “aggressive American military and civilian response” that occurred “too late” to help the bulk of Liberians who were infected.

Major General Gary Volesky, the top U.S. military officer in Liberia, told the *Post* that no one was “declaring victory” in light of the dropping infection rate, however. And the treatment centers are now in place to be used if the virus resurges.

In fact, the Ebola epidemic is now in a critical and difficult new phase that global health officials call “getting to zero.” This involves tracking the thousands of virus transmission chains, tracing all those who might have been exposed and monitoring them for several weeks to make sure they don’t get sick.

To do that, the U.S. Centers for Disease Control is increasing its involvement in the region. It now has 214 staffers in West Africa—more than at any other time during the outbreak. The agency plans to open new offices in Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone in the spring.

As Dr. Margaret Chan, director general of the World Health Organization, said in a speech to the Executive Board on Ebola at WHO, “The volatile microbial world will always deliver surprises. Never again should the world be caught by surprise, unprepared.” ■

—Debra Blome, Associate Editor

ANSWERS TO CURRENCY QUIZ

1. Turkmenistan
2. Albania
3. Armenia
4. Burma
5. Eritrea
6. Tonga
7. Bangladesh
8. U.A.E.
9. Indonesia
10. Madagascar
11. Guatemala
12. The Gambia

Jeff Lau

A Glass Half Full

BY DAVID T. JONES

Foreign Service personnel are congenital pessimists. But in light of today's realities, we should not be. Perhaps to appreciate the pinnacle on which we now stand, we should recall the tough slog that got us here.

We have had philosophical pessimism imbued in our souls. The maxim might be that while a pessimist can be pleasantly surprised, an optimist is continually disappointed. Still, there is more cause for optimism now than for several generations.

To be sure, there are many causes for legitimate complaint: the plethora of political appointees, each batch worse than their predecessors; the family challenges from "long war" terrorism and expeditionary diplomacy; the slow pace of promotions, ending with post-career challenges from "up or out" regulations; and grim recognition that the U.S. public notices its diplomats only when they get killed.

But I write to praise the contemporary Foreign Service, not to toss a shovel of despair on its casket.

I entered the Foreign Service in June 1968 and my wife, Teresa, in January 1974; between us, we are approaching a century of FS experience, both active and retired. And over the course of our

careers, we have seen radical improvements.

Greater Openness

In 1968, when I entered the Foreign Service, its ranks included women—but still not married ones, because any female FSO who married had to resign her commission. But by the time Teresa joined in 1974, regulations had changed, creating "tandem couples." Additionally, a naturalized citizen no longer had to wait 10 years to apply for the Foreign Service—another restriction that had previously excluded my wife.

A generation ago, assignments were "old boy" directed. Friends in high places placed their preferred candidates in the best jobs, regardless of qualifications. Entrants who started their careers in backwaters rarely made the connections that led to choice assignments and rapid promotion.

The current "bid" system is convoluted, and still subject to manipulation, but it is significantly more transparent than its predecessor.

Greater Equality

In my A-100 class, there were just three women, but there were five in my wife's, all carefully positioned in the front row for the class photo.

Now the changed composition of A-100 classes is obvious. Many classes these days are 50-percent female.

Elimination of Open Racial Discrimination. While the Foreign Service wasn't "lily white" in 1968 (African-Americans and other minorities had been serving for nearly a century), racial minorities were modestly represented. There were six black FSOs in my A-100 class, including one woman; five became ambassadors.

There is still much more to be done to ensure that equal employment opportunity extends to all Foreign Service personnel. But as organizations like the long-standing Thursday Luncheon Group can attest, State and the other foreign affairs agencies have made real progress.

The Closet Is Open. For most of my career, there were no openly gay diplomats in the Foreign Service. They were well-represented in its ranks, of course, and as effective as any other officer. But they had to be extremely discreet in their romantic lives—if, indeed, they had any. The idea that LGBT individuals would eventually be accepted at the top ranks of the Service was inconceivable.

But Much Stronger Security Rules

State used to be remarkably casual about security. Fifty years ago, while I was serving as an Army intelligence officer in Seoul, the embassy passed an assortment of SECRET material to the Eighth Army G-2 Headquarters that arrived without cover sheets or a chain-of-transmission responsibility list. We were appalled.

In Washington, the State Department had no "double-check" system for safes and office doors at the close of business and only casual control over who entered the building or your office. Steadily over the decades, not just after 9/11, security has tightened. The amateurish photo ID



David T. Jones is a retired Senior Foreign Service officer and frequent contributor to the Journal. He is the author of *Alternative North Americas: What Canada and the United States Can Learn from Each Other* (Woodrow Wilson Center, 2014), editor of *The Reagan-Gorbachev Arms Control Breakthrough: The Treaty Eliminating Intermediate-Range (INF) Missiles* (New Academia Publishing, 2012) and co-author of *Uneasy Neighbo(u)rs: Canada, the USA and the Dynamics of State, Industry and Culture* (Wiley, 2007).

In Washington, the State Department had no “double-check” system for safes and office doors at COB and only casual control over who entered the building.

that once let waggish officers substitute their dog’s photo for their own has been replaced by state-of-the-art IDs with double-coded entry systems.

After bitter experience, ranging from a disappearing computer (hopefully only stolen by cleaning staff, not espionage-connected) to a listening device in a State Department conference room (a foreign diplomat was detected receiving transmissions), internal security has also tightened. The ultimate embarrassment remains the “man in the brown tweed jacket,” who entered the Secretary of State’s outer office and walked away with the all-source morning briefing pouch ... and was never seen again.

Combined with revelations that some officers nominated for ambassadorial appointments had a significant number of security violations, these shortcomings prompted a major security overhaul. There are now stringent rules regarding penalties for security violations that can be career-threatening (or at least promotion-delaying).

The blistering recognition that 9/11 terrorists were in the USA with legitimate visas, not “illegals” slipping across the border from Canada or Mexico, prompted extensive rethinking of admission policies. The largest group of new FSOs is now in the consular cone; virtually every applicant from most countries is personally interviewed by a U.S. officer with computerized “lookout” lists constantly consulted.

Concern for security has also been

driven by WikiLeaks’ distribution of massive amounts of classified material to the global media and Edward Snowden’s even more disastrous revelations of NSA operations, the ramifications of which are still unfolding.

Consequently, security today is anything but casual. Diplomatic Security officers are now among the largest contingent of State Department personnel. We are doubtless more secure, but “nervous in the Service” is also a reality when a security violation is no longer a trivial offense.

Family-Friendliness

Until the 1970s, the concept of making the Foreign Service “family-friendly” literally did not exist. (One recalls the old military maxim, “If the Army wanted you to have a wife, it would have issued you one.”) Particularly in developed countries, support came primarily from Foreign Service colleagues, not from post management or Washington. As a result, arranging housing, finding suitable schools for one’s children, and dealing with separations and family emergencies could all be real struggles.

Larger societal changes have, thankfully, brought the Service into the 21st century. Management now recognizes that spouses have careers that require accommodation, particularly those in tandem couples. If the spouse and family are not happy, the FSO is not—and the chances rise that he or she will depart. With the creation of the All-Volunteer Army, the U.S. military has learned to pay

a great deal of attention to assuring family support on bases, both for stateside and deployed assignments.

State is still playing catch-up to some extent, but the Family Liaison Office, along with Community Liaison Offices at posts and youth support groups (“Around the World in a Lifetime”), have helped. There is also much greater flexibility in terms of timing high school education to alleviate the trauma of moving a rising senior from one school to another.

The growing number of FS personnel on unaccompanied assignments for a year or more find it much easier to keep in touch with loved ones via innovations like Skype—allowing the FS member to know about every physical or social misery without being able to help.

The Double-Edged Sword of High Tech

In 1968 we were not reporting on clay tablets written in cuneiform and delivered via Pony Express. Most standard reporting was by airgram (in effect, a memorandum sent by diplomatic pouch whose delivery often took weeks). Telegrams, written in compressed language (“telegraphese”), were reserved for high-priority communications.

In the late 1970s, State got low-level Wang computers with text editing capabilities, and high-priority embassies received optical scanners for telegram transmission. Frenzy mounted. By working until midnight in Washington, you could send guidance to European posts that would arrive by the opening of business. Conversely, by working until midnight, European posts could send responses that would arrive at midday in State, thus continuing the frenzy-response cycle.

Almost unnoticed, airgrams disap-

peared, and the number of telegrams sent/received at State rose exponentially. Today, of course, many if not most official communications travel via email. Quantity isn't necessarily quality ("garbage in; garbage out"); but the fact that employees can now send and receive massive amounts of information provides the opportunity for regular sophisticated analysis.

Another example: A generation ago we were still using rotary phones; as late as 1980, I had to scream into the telephone while calling our embassies in places like Ankara and Athens. Now, calls almost anywhere in the world, even over a secure line, are almost as clear as if you were speaking with someone in the next cubicle.

The Internet. In my day, the idea of social networking was closer to "Dick Tracy" wrist-radio science fiction than reality. Over the last 20 years, the Internet moved from something Al Gore just invented to the instant go-to resource for virtually any type of information, and "crackberries" taught us why opposable thumbs are really useful.

Indeed, instead of stacks of dead-tree cables delivered to your desk, today employees have a huge range of computer-accessible material transmitted from around the world. Unclassified and classified systems provide information from embassies, as well as the full range of global media. Once we lugged paper drafts from one office to another, collecting clearances and noting "edits" to be incorporated in the next draft.

The most sophisticated system was the "long-distance Xerox," or LDX, which could send a small selection of high-priority messages between State, Defense and the National Security Council. Now coordination can be done electronically domestically and globally—but it requires

29 clearances for a second-echelon action.

It is even possible to work remotely, using a fob that permits coded access to State Department computers and communication with colleagues throughout the world. Technology is amazing—until it isn't, and you find that your password has expired or remote access inexplicably fails.

As a result, Foreign Service members in the field are no longer without connectivity and guidance. Secure communication is the norm, so you know what you are to do and when to do it, and Washington knows what you have done—virtually instantly. To be sure, this capability is a mixed blessing; reins are tight, and being "out of touch" is no longer an option. Finding a vacation spot that does not have Internet access has become an art form.

Evaluations

In the late 1960s, an untenured employee faced an evaluation with a confidential section. The rater and reviewer could each record pleasing positives in the open section and insert knives in the confidential material. Additionally, if the employee were married, his wife was also rated.

That mechanism was an astonishing invasion of privacy, at least partly designed to keep wives "in line" and supporting husbands' careers by performing good works under the supervision of often-imperious senior embassy wives. That said, it did serve me well: my wife was so lauded by my rating officers that my career development officer said she was "exactly the type of woman who should take the FS exam." As regulations had just changed to accord her such an opportunity, she did just that. After passing, she pursued a highly successful career.

Since then, personnel evaluations have become more transparent and intricate—but also less meaningful. At times, it appears that every officer can turn water into wine by walking on it—and generate a premier cru, to boot.

The evaluation system continued to evolve. State devised work requirement statements, equivalent to contracts, so employees knew specifically what they were to perform. Raters had to review an employee's progress regularly; and each evaluation had to include an area for improvement (which generated some of the Foreign Service's most creative writing).

The Employee Evaluation Report was also expanded to include a personal statement by the rated employee in which to elaborate on an area of accomplishment or rebut a criticism. Bearing out the aptness of the informal term for that section, the "suicide box," one witless officer reportedly offered a 1,000-word rebuttal of the observation that he was verbose.

Current evaluations are still more complex: rated employees now describe how well they fulfilled their work requirements, an assessment balanced by rater/reviewer commentary.

Dickens Was Wrong

Today, members of the Foreign Service live in neither the best of times, nor the worst of times. Virtually every improvement identified above has a commensurate downside. But with a "glass half full" attitude, one can conclude that for individual diplomats the systemic improvements outweigh the associated disadvantages.

Then again, recall the down-in-the-dumps officer who heard a little voice saying, "Cheer up; things could be worse." So he cheered up—and, sure enough, things got worse. ■

The Iran Watcher Program: A Different Kind of Teleworking

Just over a decade old, the Iran Watcher program is an organizational model for remote diplomacy and a benchmark for success.

BY JILLIAN BURNS

There are definitely some advantages to working on a country with which the United States has no diplomatic relations. For instance, you never have to deliver demarches to bored second secretaries at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, or attend tedious National Day receptions. The obvious challenge, however, is how to make sense of a country where we have no access. Given our national security concerns regarding some of Iran’s domestic and external activities, the State Department has a duty to our president and to our nation to help address this challenge. We owe decision-makers the most credible assessments of political, economic and social realities in Iran, as well as our most considered policy recommendations.

The history of our rupture of relations with Iran is well known, stemming from the 1979 Islamic Revolution and the subsequent hostage-taking of 53 U.S. diplomats who were held for 444 days. Ever since then, the diplomatic model we have used in Iran is in many ways the mirror image of the one we followed for 53 years in Cuba. We send no official Americans to Iran, but do not obstruct the travel of unofficial Americans beyond warning them of the potential risks. In Cuba, we have official representation (via a U.S. interests section) but restrict private travel by U.S. citizens.

The Swiss ably represent our interests in Iran, but are no substitute for our own political and economic reporting officers. There is occasional talk of trying to reopen some kind of U.S. office in Tehran, but I doubt the Iranian government will allow that to happen any time soon—even though it has its own sizable interests section in Washington and a mission at the United Nations in New York.



Jillian Burns joined the Foreign Service in 1993 and spent most of her career as a political officer working on the Middle East, particularly Iran. She served as an Iran desk officer and Iran watcher, and was the first director of the Iran Regional Presence Office in Dubai. She has also served as acting director of the Office of Iranian Affairs in the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, an Iran issues staff member in the Office of Policy Planning, and the first National Intelligence Officer for Iran at the National Intelligence Council, within the Office of the Director of National Intelligence. Other assignments include consul and senior civilian representative in Herat, Afghanistan, and director of the Near East Affairs Office in the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor. Burns retired from the Foreign Service in November 2014.

The opinions and characterizations in this piece are those of the author, and do not necessarily represent official positions of the United States government.



DOS/Courtesy of John Limbert

The State Department's Iran watchers at a gathering in Washington, D.C., in 2010 with Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton (center) and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Iran John W. Limbert (to her right). Author Jillian Burns is to the left of Clinton.

The obvious challenge, however, is how to make sense of a country where we have no access.

The Iranian Challenge

Tehran will continue to challenge U.S. interests at multiple levels and remain intertwined with our broader interests in the region. Important as it is, the country's nuclear program is far from our only concern. Others include:

- Iranian support for terrorist groups, including Hezbollah and Hamas;
- Iran's economic and security support for Syrian President Bashar al-Assad, which has helped him stay in power since 2011 and continue the massacre of his people;
- Substantial support to Iraqi Shia militias, which have attacked U.S. forces in Iraq and exacerbated Shia-Sunni tensions;
- Support to extremists in Afghanistan (including its former enemy, the Taliban), some of which has been used against U.S. forces there;
- Iranian manipulation of festering Sunni-Shia schisms in places like Yemen and Bahrain to advance its own interests;
- Geostrategic risks to our security interests throughout the region, including the flow of oil through the Persian Gulf; and
- Violations of human rights in Iran, including the repression of women, religious minorities, political activists and journalists.

The Iran Watcher Program Is Born

The effectiveness of any policy depends on the quality of the information on which it is based. The classic example of miscalculation due to misinformation in our post-1979 Iran policy was the Iran-Contra affair. Proponents of that secret deal argued that the United States could help empower "good guys" within the Iranian political system, but the plan quickly fell apart because it was based on faulty assessments of the internal political situation. Some American political careers were ruined, and public mistrust of the U.S. government grew as a result, but it didn't lead to war. After 9/11, however, the risks of miscalculation grew exponentially.

The State Department had long depended on its diplomats in Dubai for some coverage of Iran, given the significant bilateral trade between the two countries and the large Iranian expatriate community living there. The Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs created the first formal overseas Iran watcher position in 2002, assigning fluent Farsi-speaker Alan Eyre to the slot in the United Arab Emirates.

At the time, I was one of two Iran desk officers in NEA's Northern Gulf Affairs Office, which covered both Iran and Iraq. The primary focus of that office—and the Washington policy com-

While Iran watchers are not directly involved in sensitive nuclear negotiations, they represent a critical feedback loop for policymakers.

munity—was Iraq. Even so, the voice of advocates outside of the U.S. government for regime change in Iran grew louder and louder. Some called for an Ahmad Chalabi-like policy to promote the late shah's son, Reza Pahlavi, or someone else as the next leader of Iran. Some advocated a U.S. embrace of the Iraq-based Iranian Mujaheddin-e-Khalq, then designated as a terrorist group, with the dangerous argument, "The enemy of our enemy is our friend."

Career Opportunities Related to Iran

While the lack of posts in Iran would appear to stymie a career as an Iran expert, there are numerous opportunities for Foreign Service personnel to develop and use Iran-related expertise. In Washington, State Department offices with an interest in Iran include NEA, International Security and Nonproliferation, Economic and Business Affairs, Energy Resources, Counterterrorism, International Organization Affairs, Mission to the United Nations, Policy Planning, Educational and Cultural Affairs, Public Affairs, Intelligence and Research, Consular Affairs and Democracy, Human Rights and Labor. Several former Iran watchers have served as advisers to the Deputy Secretary and under secretary for political affairs.

Outside State, Foreign Service members with Iran experience have served in related positions at the National Security Council, the National Intelligence Council, the Department of Defense and the Voice of America. Overseas, there are multiple opportunities as watchers, including the IRPO unit in Dubai, where the senior Iran watcher overseas is an FS-1 position.

In terms of follow-on assignments, Iran expertise is useful at many posts, including multilateral offices. And Afghanistan and Tajikistan offer opportunities to serve in countries with languages related to Farsi.

—Jillian Burns

Many claimed to speak for the "Iranian people," arguing that the Iranian population would support U.S. intervention in their country and would see any engagement with the government of the Islamic Republic as betrayal, legitimizing an entity that was supposedly close to implosion. What was not clear, however, was on what basis anyone could claim to speak for public opinion in Iran.

Meanwhile, Tehran refused to be sidelined, as it watched the U.S. presence in its eastern and western neighbors growing. While some in Iran are probably grateful that we targeted two of the country's biggest enemies, Saddam Hussein and the Taliban, others, including many within the regime, view the United States as a far greater threat.

In 2005, I replaced Alan Eyre as the sole Iran watcher in the field and learned firsthand the challenge of trying to produce credible reporting with such limited access to Iranians. Outside the context of negotiations and multilateral settings, U.S. officials, including the watchers, have long had a policy of no contact with official Iranians. Given the possible repercussions of meeting with a U.S. official, private Iranians were rightly apprehensive about such contact.

Still, I found that Iranians were eager to address the many misconceptions the West had about their country. Many I met were deeply unhappy with governance in their country, yet the bloody backlash to their 1979 revolution—including internal purges—and the horrific war with Iraq in the 1980s left them afraid of any kind of violent or abrupt change, preferring organic evolution. Their fears were compounded watching the declining security situation in both Iraq and Afghanistan, particularly as media speculation about possible direct military strikes against Iran's nuclear program spiked roughly every six months. Some thought change must be led exclusively from within Iran, while others thought the United States could play a supportive role in bringing about reform.

I also saw that the spectrum of political thought inside Iran was much broader than I had imagined. In some ways—particularly while President Mohammad Khatami was still in office—the status of women and the media within civil society, and economic diversification, were farther advanced in Iran than they were in many of our allies in the region. Then, I had to bear witness as his successor,

Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, set back progress substantially, from which Iran has yet to recover. Throughout this time, I made clear in all my reporting to Washington that my access to Iranian society was extremely limited, so I could not document public opinion in Iran in any scientific way.

More Eyes

Acknowledging that our Iran interests merited greater resources, in 2006 the State Department announced a broader Iran Watcher program. In addition to the new Iran Regional Presence Office in Dubai, Iran watcher positions were created elsewhere in the region and Europe to engage both Iranians and third-country nationals, including host governments, on Iran.

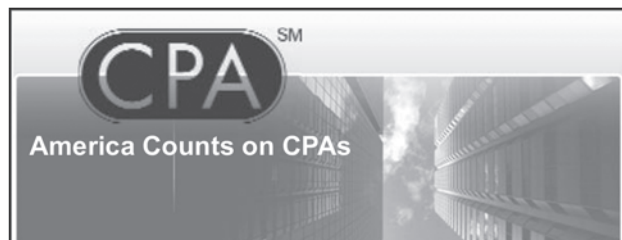
Besides improving our understanding of the country, there was a second goal: to develop a new cadre of Iran experts and Farsi speakers to prepare for the day when we would reopen our embassy in Tehran. There are few U.S. diplomats left in the Foreign Service who have ever visited Iran, let alone served there. In that regard, Iran has an advantage over us; its United Nations mission in New York serves as a de facto embassy and gives some Iranian officials direct U.S. experience, even if they are limited in their ability to travel outside of the New York City area.

Over time, the Near East Bureau's Office of Iranian Affairs has moved some Iran watcher positions from post to post, in search of the places with the maximum benefit. Administratively, these positions are challenging for State's bureaucracy, as many require cross-regional bureau coordination, with officers sometimes having two chains of command. NEA oversees the program; IRPO does not manage watchers in locations outside Dubai.

While there are many challenges, including dealing with host-country sensitivities to Iran-related work, overall, the program should be considered a success. While it is difficult to prove, I believe that over time, Iran watcher assessments have successfully challenged the faulty conventional wisdom about Iran that had been circulating in Washington since the 9/11 attacks. The watchers were also able to compile more accurate assessments of economic and human rights conditions, compensating for the unreliable data put out by the Iranian government. As a result, our policies came to demonstrate a more sophisticated understanding of Iran, including where our two nations' interests intersect and where they diverge.

More Than Reporters

Just like diplomats at any post, Iran watchers do not just report on developments and trends. They also advocate U.S. policy. Although they do not directly communicate with Iranian officials,



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There are few U.S. diplomats left in the Foreign Service who have ever visited Iran, let alone served there.

Iran watchers address misunderstandings and challenge the regime's deliberate mischaracterizations of our policies.

This was generally done on an interpersonal basis until 2013, when the department approved a long-standing request to create an official Farsi-language spokesperson position. That official, currently based in London, has authorization to engage, in close coordination with Washington, the Iranian media and to post in Farsi on social media.

While Iran watchers are not directly involved in sensitive nuclear negotiations, they represent a critical feedback loop for policymakers. They inform Washington of reactions, both by Iranians and others, to our public positions; and they track and assess the impact of Iran-focused sanctions imposed by the United States, European Union and United Nations.

In an effort to expand mutual understanding, the department also tasked IRPO in 2006 to launch a reinvigoration of our official exchange programs with Iran, particularly the International Visitors Leadership Program. Iran reacted predictably, demonstrating its deeply ingrained paranoia that everything the United States does masks an intent of regime change. In 2008, it arrested several people connected with exchanges, despite the clear intent of the program to provide a platform for exchange of best practices in areas of mutual interest, such as health. Nonetheless, we have managed to continue some cultural exchange programs, to the benefit of both countries.

Prior to the Iranian Revolution, Iran was one of the top-ranked countries of origin for foreign students in the United States. That number plummeted through the 1980s and 1990s; but after U.S. efforts to eliminate roadblocks, many of which were identified by Iran watchers, Iran now ranks 22nd among countries of origin for foreign students.

In addition to setting up a Farsi-language online advising program, in 2011 the State Department unilaterally extended the validity of student visas for Iranians from three months/one entry, to two years/multiple entry. This occurred after years of reporting by Iran watchers that the limited visa was actually eroding students' ties with their home country, because students were afraid to go home over the course of their study and risk not getting another visa.

Iran, of course, is not the only place where we do not have a diplomatic presence. The department has used a different diplomatic model for North Korea, led by a special representative, and

is adapting to new challenges like Syria and Libya. But the Iran Watcher program is a possible model for conducting remote diplomacy, despite some drawbacks.

A Viable Model, Despite Drawbacks

One disadvantage is the lack of an ambassador-level voice from the field in policy deliberations in Washington. Second, the limited career options for Iran experts make it more difficult to institutionalize expertise. While it is possible to follow Iranian developments from a variety of angles (see sidebar, p. 24), including at the National Security Council and on the seventh floor of State, the lack of an embassy and consulates diminishes somewhat the attractiveness of specializing in Iran issues. Moreover, serving as a watcher in non-Farsi language posts with only limited opportunities to speak Farsi makes language retention difficult.

Clearly, then, this kind of nontraditional diplomatic work requires case-specific adaptation and training. Toward that end, the Foreign Service Institute is beginning to study the logistics of conducting diplomacy in countries where we lack a presence, with the aim of teaching this tradecraft to our diplomats.

Some of this training can also be useful for diplomats serving in countries where we maintain an embassy but have reduced mobility because of security concerns. After the fact, I realized that I had applied lessons learned during my stint as an Iran watcher while serving in western Afghanistan from 2012 to 2013, as we sought to cope with a shrinking diplomatic presence in the country. Admittedly, it helped that we had a fairly systematic glide path of military base closures around which we could plan, rather than having to draw down rapidly in a crisis, with little warning, as is more often the case.

When I joined the Foreign Service in 1993, the State Department had recently opened posts throughout the former Soviet Union, where we had never had a presence before—I didn't know where half of the posts on my first bid list were. Meanwhile, we were closing posts for budgetary reasons around the world.

Our diplomatic map will continue to shift due to security and budgetary conditions, but we must always be prepared to cover areas where we have no direct access; the quality of U.S. policy decisions depends on it. The Iran Watcher program can serve as both an organizational model for remote diplomacy and a benchmark for success. ■

The Road Back to Tehran: Bugs, Ghosts and Ghostbusters

A veteran FSO and authority on Iran explains what it will take for Washington to “get it right” when U.S. diplomats finally return to Tehran.

BY JOHN W. LIMBERT

NPR: Is there any scenario under which you can envision, in your final two years, opening a U.S. embassy in Tehran?

I never say never; but I think these things have to go in steps.

— President Barack Obama, in an interview with National Public Radio, December 2014.

In 2010, I asked the State Department’s Iran watchers, then gathered in Washington, D.C., which of them would volunteer to serve at a reopened diplomatic post in Tehran if the opportunity arose. All said they would.

None of them had ever set foot in Iran; but they had looked into a new world through windows of language, film, policy argument and, most important, Iranians they had met in Dubai, Istanbul, Baku, Berlin and elsewhere. They had obviously caught the antibiotic-resistant “Iran bug,” and a fascination with the intricacies and contradictions of that country and its civilization had taken root in their systems.

Sooner or later, our Foreign Service colleagues will return to Tehran. But while essential for effective service in Iran, their brains and enthusiasm cannot by themselves carry a renewed diplomatic tie. They will need support from the State Department in the form of a serious “Iranist” career track and an ability to deal with the potent ghosts that haunt both sides in the American-Iranian relationship.

The (Incurable) Iran Bug

The Iran watchers have encountered conflicting realities that both puzzle and attract them. Many of the Iranians they have met are highly educated and creative people, who produce brilliant films, paintings and poetry, and who sometimes turn their creativity to concocting the most bizarre conspiracy theories. The result was sometimes shock, but more often fascination. The watchers are like people who create a Jerusalem, Mecca or Karbala in their imaginations long before there is any chance of making a pilgrimage. They have never been to Iran, but the idea of Iran has captured them.

I recognized this virus, because I had caught it 45 years earlier, during Peace Corps training in Iran in the summer of 1964. At first, the beauties, subtleties and mysteries of the Persian language—despite endless drills—were a revelation. I realized that we were in for something unexpected one evening when playing Monopoly

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Courtesy of Mark Liek

Top: Downtown Tehran. Middle: Tochal telecabin, the world's longest gondola at Tochal Complex recreation center north of Tehran. Bottom: One of the city's numerous café restaurants.

with our Iranian language teachers. I had never witnessed monopoly played this way: the rules became matters of mood and nuance. There were discussions about what number came up on the dice. Money and property would change hands mysteriously. A stodgy game became, in Iranians' creative hands, unpredictable, and I began to suspect we were headed for unfamiliar territory that carried the promise of surprises.

Our watchers may not have been aware that they have many predecessors who caught the same incurable infection: the British scholar E.G. Browne and the American scholar Richard Frye; the translator Dick Davis; the American political scientist Richard Cottam; the British writer Christopher de Bellaigue; the French geographer Bernard Hourcade; and the American writer Terrence O'Donnell.

Before the Islamic Revolution of 1979, the American Foreign Service had sought to immunize itself from the Iran virus. The Service never produced Iran specialists. By accident or design, young officers such as Arnie Raphael learned Persian, served two or three years in Iran and, driven by their own intelligence and curiosity, picked up basic knowledge of Iranian history, culture and politics. After Iran, however, they were sent elsewhere, never to serve in the country again.

The result, well-documented in studies such as Professor Jim Bill's *The Eagle and the Lion*, was that the State Department had trained no cadre of Iran experts to fill senior positions either in Washington or Tehran. Bill has traced how many Tehran embassy officers based their reporting on what they heard from a narrow circle of English-speaking, upper-class Iranians, most of whom

were unaware of the realities of their own society. To paraphrase Winston Churchill: "Never have so many known so few who knew so little for so long."

Getting It Right (and Wrong)

When our colleagues finally go back to serve in Iran, will we get it better? We will, if we can combine the enthusiasm and brains of the Iran watchers with a support system that supports. Such a system will need a cultural shift in the department in which our "Iranists," wherever they are serving, can look forward to a rewarding career track. Getting it right will require still another cultural shift, in which people with insight into Iran and into Washington policy issues read their colleagues' reporting and respond to it.

Two personal anecdotes illustrate the problem of support. In the early 2000s, while serving in Mauritania, I could read in my email unclassified reports on Iran from the consulate general in Dubai thanks to our embassy's being on some collective address list. (Nouakchott had no classified email in those days.) The reports were full of exceptional insights, and I would send notes to the author praising his work and suggesting further questions to pursue. I later learned that my notes, from the remote West African coast, were almost the only response he received to his excellent messages.

A decade later, when serving as deputy assistant secretary for Iran in the State Department's Near Eastern Affairs Bureau, I was reprimanded for sharing notes from National Security Council meetings on Iran with the watchers. I was told: "We must keep them [our colleagues] in the dark, lest we ourselves be excluded from the meetings."

For now, the question "What happens when we send American diplomatic personnel to Tehran?" remains hypothetical. But at some point, our people will go back to an interests section or a reopened embassy in Tehran, and diplomats from the Islamic Republic will return to Washington. As we are now seeing with Cuba, no estrangement lasts forever. And when former enemies do begin to talk, they will soon



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Under the Turkmanchai Treaty, ending the Russo-Persian War of 1826-1828, Russia reasserted its dominance in Persia. In addition to significant territorial concessions, Iran was forced to accept commercial treaties with Russia as Russia specified and lost rights to navigate the Caspian Sea and its coasts.

Before the Islamic Revolution of 1979, the State Department had trained no cadre of Iran experts to fill senior positions either in Washington or Tehran.

ask themselves: “What were those decades of enmity about? Why did we waste so much energy annoying each other?”

Ghosts in the Way

Our colleagues’ return, however, still faces an enormous obstacle: the presence of potent ghosts that haunt both sides in the American-Iranian relationship. See them or not, acknowledge them or not, the ghosts are there and will make their presence known. If we ignore them, they will still haunt us and work their spells.

Perhaps Secretary of State Cyrus Vance did not see the ghosts in October 1979 when, despite the explicit advice of his chief of mission in Tehran, he urged President Jimmy Carter to admit the ailing, deposed Mohammad Reza Shah to the United States. Asked by Carter why he was ignoring the views of the embassy, Vance said that we would tell the Iranians that the shah was in the United States “only for medical treatment”—there was “no political purpose” behind the decision.

Did Cyrus Vance and his colleagues think that anyone in Iran would accept this explanation? Did they believe that the ghosts of August 1953, when the CIA helped stage a coup that removed the nationalist prime minister, Mohammad Mosaddegh, had been exorcised and had lost their power to work mischief? Were they even aware of those events and their place in the Iranian political canon?

Combined with these simmering resentments of history was an explosive present. The revolutionary movement that triumphed in February 1979 had not brought Iranians the promised paradise. It had not even brought them peace. There was ongoing strife in universities, on the streets and in those provinces dominated by ethnic minorities.

Nationalists and liberal intellectuals were complaining about the new authoritarianism; leftists were beating the anti-American drum and clamoring for more confiscations and executions; with backing from powerful clerics, right-wing thugs called hezbollahi (God’s partisans) were beating up journalists, women and anyone who questioned their slogan: “Rahbar, faqat Rouhollah; Hezb, faqat Hezbollah” (The only leader is Rouhollah [Khomeini]; the only party is the Hezbollah).



Hulton Archive/Stringer/Getty Images

An Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. oil well in Iran, 1909. Exploitation of Iranian oil began in earnest in 1901 with the D’Arcy oil concession, backed by Great Britain as a way to push back against Czarist Russia’s influence in Persia.

With the revolution in such trouble, the hunt was on for scapegoats. Since the new rulers were not about to admit their own failings, the difficulties had to be the work of foreigners and their agents. Americans became the most obvious target, and assassinations, explosions and disturbances were described as the work of “American mercenaries.”

Yet, in a case study of obliviousness, the administration ignored these realities of both past and present and decided in



Top: Downtown Tehran at night. Middle: Tehran Imam Khomeini International Airport. Bottom: Valiasr Street, a main shopping area that separates Tehran's eastern and western sectors.

October 1979 that it would be a good idea to pour gasoline on the glowing embers of Iranian politics by admitting the shah to the United States.

And just as U.S. Chief of Mission Bruce Laingen had predicted three months earlier, the results were: (1) collapse of the relatively moderate provisional government of Iran; (2) end of any contact between the U.S. government and the new rulers of Iran; and, (3) end of the American diplomatic mission in Tehran.

The Curse of Obliviousness

Americans have no monopoly on ignoring ghosts in the room. In early 2014, despite quiet warnings from Washington, the Islamic Republic, under its new president, Hassan Rouhani, nominated Hamid Abutalebi to be its ambassador to the United Nations. It turned out that Abutalebi had been one of the “Moslem Student Followers of the Imam’s Line” who had seized the U.S. embassy in November 1979 and, with the support of the Iranian authorities, held its staff members hostage for more than 14 months.

The appointment reopened a wound that had been festering for 35 years, provoking a firestorm of reaction in the United States that seemed to catch the Iranian side unaware. One can only ask: Were those who nominated Abutalebi aware of his past? If they were, why did they ignore the ghosts of that time and misread the damaging effects of their choice, even on those Americans who were willing to give Rouhani and his new team the benefit of the doubt? What were they thinking when they made such a nomination? Were they thinking at all?

Former Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad’s com-

ments more than a year earlier provide some insight into how some Iranians deal—or do not deal—with the ghosts. At a private discussion with American academics in September 2012, during his visit to the United Nations General Assembly, Ahmadinejad spoke about the need to end the “negative mentality” infecting the U.S.-Iranian relationship that frustrated all efforts at change.

At the meeting I asked him: “Why not do as your predecessor (President Mohammad Khatami) did, and address the running sore of the 1979 embassy seizure and hostage holding? For example, you could end or limit the annual demonstrations on Nov. 4, which pretend that ugly action was a positive thing. Such an act would be a powerful first step toward eliminating that negative mentality you have deplored.”

Ahmadinejad appeared puzzled by the question. He seemed to be thinking: “Where did all that come from? What do those events of 33 years ago have to do with anything today?” His response, which completely missed the point, was: “Well, you were treated all right, weren’t you?”

The problem is obliviousness. In this way of thinking, whatever happened then has nothing to do with today. The events of 1979 happened “a long time ago in a galaxy far away.” The far savvier Rouhani, Ahmadinejad’s successor, could be just as unaware of realities past and present and could nominate Abutalebi, a step which turned into a fiasco for the Iranians.

Of course the Iranians are not the only oblivious ones. In 1973, President Richard Nixon also set a standard for thoughtlessness when he nominated the former CIA chief, Richard Helms, to be ambassador to Tehran. Did Nixon understand (or even care about) the symbolism of his action and the fact that this appointment would be seen in Iran as a gratuitous humiliation? The message was: “You Iranians may think you’re a sovereign country. But I am sending you a reminder that you are not. Now I will show you who is really the boss.”

The (Right) Road Back: Bring the Ghostbusters

No enmity is forever. It took decades, but the U.S. established diplomatic relations with the USSR and China after their revolutions when it was in both sides’ interest to do so. Cuba is the latest case, although in Havana there has long been a large U.S. diplomatic presence in the form of an interests section. In the case of Iran, the reasons for the 35-year estrangement are sometimes difficult to understand when balanced against the need to engage—not as friends, but as countries with matters to discuss—on subjects such as Afghanistan, Iraq and Sunni extremism.

When we do send our people back, and when Iranian diplo-

The problem is obliviousness. In this way of thinking, whatever happened then has nothing to do with today.



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An Iranian soldier guarding against chemical weapons during the Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988).

matic personnel appear in Washington, teams of “ghostbusters” who know how to deal with the phantoms of the past should be present. On our side, here are some guidelines that will help us get it right this time.

■ **Move carefully.** We should not be in any hurry. As much as possible, we need the assurance that the events of 1979 will not be repeated, and that the Iranian authorities will fulfill their responsibilities under international law and practice. The Iranian domestic political scene remains an arena of competing groups, which are looking for opportunities to embarrass their rivals. We need to be sure that at the first setback (and there will be setbacks) one group or another will not be able to act out “Hostages II,” as some groups did when they seized the British embassy in Tehran in November 2011.

■ **Listen to those who know.** In Washington there are many competing voices on Iran, and the views run from “It’s all our fault” to “They are evil people.” Our diplomats in Iran will not know everything, but at least they can provide a measure of first-hand reality useful in evaluating the ideas peddled in op-eds and think-tanks inside the Washington Beltway.

■ **Be serious about supporting our people.** Create what the department has never had: a cadre of Iranists. Six or nine months of Persian study at FSI and a two-year posting does not an Iran expert make. That is a useful beginning, but if there is no coherent follow-through, the time and money spent will be wasted. Officers need serious language and area studies train-

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Top: A luxury shopping center at Sheikh Bahaei Square in the Vanak area of Tehran. Middle: One of the city's many parks. Bottom: A panoramic view of Tehran in winter.

ing, both inside and outside the government. Beyond a posting in Iran, they should have related postings in the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, Central Asia, the Caucasus and elsewhere. Their Washington assignments should also be relevant. There should be cross-training in other Middle Eastern cultures and in Arabic and the Turkic languages. Such a program is not for everyone. We are going to need serious and committed people, not just anyone who shows up or seeks to rescue a career.

- **Don't do or say stupid stuff.** We must be aware of the effects of our words and actions in an Iranian political culture that sees itself as the humiliated victim of powerful outsiders—British, Russian and American. We should avoid talking about “Iranian paranoia” or “Iranian DNA.” We will need lots of empathy to understand Iranian views of events and understand what lies behind sometimes extreme rhetoric. We should acknowledge the symbolic power of the ghosts of the Iran-Iraq War, the 1964 status of forces agreement controversy, the coup of 1953, the D’Arcy oil concession of 1901 and even the Turkmanchai Treaty of 1828, in which the Qajar rulers of Persia gave up their sovereignty to Czarist Russia.

- **Listen and be very patient.** Since 1979, Iranian political discourse has too often consisted of reciting lists of complaints against the United States. Such recitation is both frustrating and unproductive. Yet a patient American listener needs to acknowledge, “Yes, I understand that you have grievances.” For a time, repeating these sterile lists can make dialogue very difficult. As long as we stay in the room and listen, however, sooner or later it will be possible to move into something more productive.



AFP/Getty Images

Former Iranian Prime Minister Mohammad Mossadegh (front right). The democratically elected prime minister was removed from power on Aug. 19, 1953, in a coup d’etat supported and funded by the British and U.S. governments. He was imprisoned for three years and then put under house arrest until his death in 1957.

That move happened with the nuclear negotiations in 2013. We waited out the rhetoric, remained professional and eventually found ourselves in “productive” discussions with Iranian officials for the first time in 34 years. The change has not led to a quick resolution of problems, but on the symbolic level it has been an enormous shift from more than three decades of trading insults, threats and slogans.

Sooner or later, our Foreign Service colleagues will return to Tehran. They may even reoccupy the “[Loy] Henderson High” complex on Taleghani (formerly Takht-e-Jamshid) Avenue, although exorcising the ghosts that haunt those buildings may take even more time.

When they do return, both sides should have learned their lessons: that a host government, even if it calls itself “revolutionary,” is responsible for the safety and security of foreign diplomats; and that behind Iran’s positions and policies lies a real and imagined history of defeat, exploitation and humiliation.

All candidates for an embassy post in Tehran should be asked: “What is the importance of Turkmanchai?” If they don’t know, they don’t go. ■

The 1979 Hostage Crisis: Down and Out in Tehran

Foreign Service Political Officer Michael Metrinko spent most of his 14 months as a hostage in solitary confinement. Here is his story.

BY MICHAEL METRINKO

W

hat happened on November 4, 1979?

I generally got into the embassy late because I would go out every night. I would not get home until midnight or 1 a.m. I was one of the few people who was going out, but I

was also seeing a whole wide range of people who were useful to the embassy, for reporting and to get things done.

On Nov. 3, I had been contacted by two of Ayatollah Taleghani's sons, saying they wanted to meet me the next morning at the embassy. I told them that I wouldn't be able to get there until around 11 a.m. or so. They were insistent it had to be earlier, because they were leaving to see Yasser Arafat and they wanted to talk to me before they went. This was logical, knowing these two people, so I agreed to be there early.

I was in my office waiting for my friends to call. I noticed that there was a tremendous amount of activity around the embassy. The noise level had just picked up considerably, and when we looked out we could see lots of heads. Suddenly the heads were coming over the walls. And that was that. When I got to the main floor, people were at the doors. Then it was a matter of battening down the hatches.

I was part of the group in the ambassador's office—a large group with some discipline, not a tremendous amount. The chargé, his deputy and the regional security officer were gone, so there was some confusion over who was in charge. There was more noise outside. The phone lines were still working. We were



Michael Metrinko addressing a huge crowd in Scranton, Pa., the first stop en route to his hometown from Iran in January 1981.



Michael Metrinko, a Peace Corps Volunteer, at the door to his house in Songhor in 1971 and, in Kurdish costume, visiting Kurdish friends in Mahabad in 1972.



on the phone with Chargé Bruce Laingen, who was trying to give orders from the Foreign Minister’s office, saying Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini had ordered that the protest be broken up immediately and that there were people on the way to help us, just to hang tight.

I dialed the number of my revolutionary friend who had asked me to be at the meeting, and got his security guard, whom I also knew quite well. I told him I just wanted to speak to Mehdi; he was silent for a moment, and then said, “Michael, Mehdi won’t come to the telephone.”

“You know what’s happening here at the embassy, where I’ve been waiting for Mehdi to come?” I asked.

“Yes, we know,” he said. I realized then that they had set me up.

So I just said, “Okay, I guess this is goodbye.” And he said, “Michael, I’m really sorry.” And that was that.

And That Was That

Then one of our regional security officers went outside, despite recommendations that he not do so—and shortly thereafter wanted us to open the doors and let them in because they said they were going to kill him if we didn’t. He had gone out thinking he could talk to the mob, using mid-American English and with no sense at all of Iran, Iranians or anything that was happening. He was going to go out there and say, “I am the American diplomat. You are breaking the Geneva Convention...”

“Oh, shit!” was our group’s collective reaction.

Still, the general feeling was that we’d be taken, but that the situation would be managed because the government was going to come back in and break this up. And in fact, the captors, the “students” that had arranged all this, also believed it was going to be a one-day event. They told us that at the time, some of the more pleasant ones. “Don’t worry,” they said. “You’ll be in your own home by midnight tonight.”

Even in later years, as they talked about it, giving interviews about it, they still said they had planned that this was going to be

Michael Metrinko was a Foreign Service political officer in Iran when the U.S. embassy was overrun on Nov. 4, 1979, by some 3,000 radical Iranian students. Before joining the Foreign Service in 1974, he had been a Peace Corps Volunteer for five years, two in Turkey and three in Iran. His first State Department assignment was back to Turkey, followed by six months on temporary duty. After only a few months in the Tehran visa unit, he was assigned as principal officer to Tabriz, where his Turkish and Persian fluency, and the large network of friends from his Peace Corps days, gave him access to a wide spectrum of Iranian society. He served in Tabriz as the revolution began to build up, returning to Tehran in February 1979, after his consulate in Tabriz had been overrun by revolutionary militia and he had been briefly jailed. In 1981 he received two Medals of Valor for his time in Iran, the first for saving American lives in Tabriz and the second for his 14 months in captivity.

Embassy Tehran had been taken over earlier in 1979, but the problem was resolved quickly and most believed Nov. 4, 1979, would be similar. Iranians were angry over President Jimmy Carter’s decision to allow the shah of Iran, who had been forced out of the country earlier amidst widespread discontent over his reign, into the United States for medical treatment. What was expected to be a short demonstration turned into a 444-day hostage crisis.

Now retired, Michael Metrinko’s lifelong interest in the Islamic world led to post-9/11 assignments in Yemen, Iraq and more than five years in Afghanistan, places he continues to follow from his home in central Pennsylvania. He remains in touch with a number of old and new Iranian friends. As the third generation of his family to live in Iran, he hopes that someone from his younger generation of relatives will also have that opportunity someday.

Metrinko’s account of his experience has been adapted from the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training’s “Moments in U.S. Diplomatic History,” excerpted from Metrinko’s oral history with permission from ADST and Michael Metrinko. The oral history was recorded in interviews with Charles Stuart Kennedy beginning in August 1999.

All photos are courtesy of Michael Metrinko.



Metrinko's return to his hometown, Olyphant, Pa., in January 1981 received national TV coverage.

a quickie, just to show the world that they could do it. Instead, so much solidarity cropped up for them—and Ayatollah Rouholla Khomeini suddenly supported them—that they stayed, and that was that.

We were taken to the ambassador's residence first, held for a while there, kept tied up. Well, I got singled out fairly quickly. I did not tell anyone in the group, and they had no reason to know, at least initially, that I could speak Persian. I had learned my lesson in Tabriz. You do not tell captors your entire life story and what languages you speak as soon as you meet them. In fact, you hope you never have to tell them.

By the second day, I was taken over to the cafeteria area, where they had mattresses spread out on the floor. We were placed on the mattresses, which we were sort of forced to sit and sleep on. At one point a new group walked in, went up to somebody and started speaking to him in Persian.

They were going from bed to bed. One of my embassy colleagues blurted out, "I don't speak Farsi. Ask Metrinko. He speaks Farsi really well." And they came over and hauled me away, and I never saw an American again for many months. The fact that you're a Foreign Service officer doesn't stop you from being an

idiot, necessarily. They purposely tried to separate the ones who spoke Persian and also the ones who were the heads of offices in the embassy. I went to solitary on Nov. 6 and came out sometime in May 1980 for the first time, briefly.

A Lot of Interrogation

For the first month or two there was a lot of interrogation. Who do you know? What did you do? Who did you talk to? I had to give them information about figures who were public revolutionary figures. They went on repeating and repeat-

ing and repeating the same questions. They weren't very professional.

First, they ordered me to open up the safe in my office, and I did that. If someone's pointing a gun at you and telling you to open up an office safe, it encourages you. Besides, the break-in time for one of these safes is approximately three minutes anyway, so I just saved them the trouble. By chance I had very little in my safe. They had my list of phone numbers from the office; but, luckily, the ones in the office were standard professional contacts. And the ones in the house they had not gotten.

(I found out much later that a friend of mine, hearing over the radio the news about what was happening at the embassy, had immediately rushed to my house, gone inside and removed every piece of paper to be found in my apartment. All the paper that was in the house, including telephone numbers of friends, things like that, was removed from my house and destroyed. And that probably saved a number of people's lives. It certainly saved them a fair amount of discomfort.)

My impression of my interrogators was that they were very idealistic, and not too bright in the sense of having had practical experience—just sort of know-it-all students, people who were



Flags set up as a memorial to the Iran hostages in Hermitage, Pa. The photo was taken after the hostages returned.

sure that their point of view was the only point of view in the world, and that everything you may have done was wrong. But by this point I was used to that attitude. I had already gone through a year and a half of listening to similar people.

They were not trying to indoctrinate me. They knew I was a lost cause. They were trying to extract information, especially about revolutionary officials who they thought might have been collaborating with us in the embassy. So I think I must have mentioned the name of every revolutionary official I could think of. “Oh, yes, he was educated in the United States. Ha, ha.” I was throwing them as many bones from their own ranks as I possibly could.

Survival Techniques

I ended up spending quite a bit of time in a small, semi-closet area in the basement of the embassy. I got by by doing a tremendous amount of physical exercise. When I say that, I mean a *really* tremendous amount of physical exercise. I was doing many hundreds of situps a day. I’d run in place for two or three hours. And I would do this all day long every day because I had to get tired enough to fall asleep. Otherwise you don’t sleep.

Food was no problem. They always fed us, even when it was

only bread and tea. I never saw anybody else all that time. I would read, exercise, read for an hour, stand up, run in place for an hour.

I never blamed the U.S. government. The U.S. government was us. I could blame myself for lack of prescience. But, you know, a revolution is an act of nature. In fact, it would be the “perfect storm.” A revolution is natural; it occurs in politics—not all the time, but as a cataclysmic event which, when you’re involved in it, you cannot deflect. You can lay back and enjoy it; you can go with it, hope to survive it; but you can’t stop it, and you can’t sit back and say, “Gee, if only I had done this” or “Why doesn’t my government do that?”

I knew my government. And I also knew all the various conflicting trends of thought in Washington about how to deal with the revolution that we were going through. I remembered very, very clearly from junior officer training, we had been told that if we were taken hostage, the government would not deal with hostage takers. I was in that situation. I did not expect the government to do anything.

May 1980 was when the incident in Tabas occurred, when Americans were killed trying to rescue us in one of the most stupidly planned, botched-up military-political escapades of the

season—it was unworkable, unwinnable and if they had succeeded, we would have been dead. It could not have gotten us out. Guards came into my cell one day and said, “Pack your things, you’re being moved.” I packed my things into a tiny bag. I think I had an extra shirt, an extra pair of under-pants.

They came back to my room a while later, blindfolded me, put these heavy plastic restraints on my hands, led me out and put me in the back of a van, lying on the floor. There were other people lying there next to me. We were not allowed to talk. And we started to move. I was on the floor of the van, bouncing around for a couple of hours.

We got to a different place, and they led me out, blindfolded, from the van and into a building. Various doors slammed and shut and opened and closed. You’d hear voices. Eventually, they sat me down, took off my blindfold, took off my restraints. I looked around, and I was with two other people (Americans) in the room.

We were, as it turned out, in a former SAVAK (Iranian secret police) prison in the city of Qom. I had no idea who the others were at first, and it was the first time I had talked to an American since November. So it took a while to start speaking English, which I hadn’t spoken since November. We lived together for the next month or two.

A Real Prison

I’m not sure how long I stayed in Qom. I knew it was Qom. They didn’t want to tell us where we were, but I figured it out because I could hear a train in the distance the first evening, and I knew that Qom was on a railroad track. And when I tasted the water, I knew that we weren’t in Tehran any more. Water in Iran has very distinct tastes depending on the city you’re in. The water of Qom is infamous because it tastes like salt water. It’s very brackish. Tea and coffee made there are almost undrinkable. When I had some water, I knew immediately that we had to be in Qom or somewhere near there.

We were then taken away from Qom—this was the time the hostages were spread out all across the country—and brought back to Tehran to what was called the Ghasr Prison, also known as Komiteh Prison, that had been built by Germans in the reign of Shah Reza.

It was the first time I was in a real prison, with cells and little



Large crowds lined the streets to honor the former hostages as they made their way to the White House in January 1981.

You do not tell captors your entire life story and what languages you speak as soon as you meet them.

apertures and no windows. You could hear screaming and things like that at night where people were being tortured, because there were lots of Iranians in prison with us at the same time. I had a cellmate there.

Then I was taken to Evin Prison, and went back into solitary. It was winter. Evin is in the northern part of the city of Tehran. My cell was excruciatingly cold. It was below freezing, especially at night. We had no heat. This was already after the Iran-Iraq War had started. But one day I was really, really cold. I had been told that the guards also had no heat, that they didn’t have any way to stay warm either, and there was nothing that anybody could do about this. Conditions were harsh all over the country.

Fine, I could accept that, except one day when I was going out to the bathroom—they were leading me out blindfolded—I brushed up against a stove that was on, a heater. I immediately knew it was a heater, and I just started to go on and on about what bastards they were.

They threw me back in my cell, and a little while later a

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couple of the leaders of the group came in—they were called in from the outside—and they said the guards were refusing to deal with me anymore because of my attitude, and they took me back down to Komiteh Prison at night in a car, blindfolded, and put me in a cell, just on a concrete floor with nothing else, for about two weeks. I was on bread and water for about two weeks. It was quite interesting. I may have been the first prisoner evicted from Evin because of bad behavior! Then they brought me back later to Evin.

Beginning of the End

It ended when the United States, I guess, finally got its act together. We had an election in the United States, which allowed the Iranians an out. Do I believe that our release was delayed on purpose, so that the election would take place? Yes, I do. Do I also believe that some Americans conspired in this? Yes, I do.

I was removed from Evin, taken to a building that (I found out later) was the former guest house of the prime minister. I was there with Dave Roeder, the Air Force attaché who had been my cellmate off and on. Dave's a good guy. We started getting visits—Algerian diplomats, for example, and others. They weren't supposed to talk to us very much, other than to inquire about our health. The guards were becoming "friendlier," as in, "Gee, hasn't this been swell?" and "You'll be going home very shortly."

One of the guards even gave me a copy of *Time* magazine, and that's when I discovered that Ronald Reagan had been elected president. I immediately assumed it was Soviet disinformation; I did not believe it.

And then it was almost over. When we were being put on the bus, I was led back to my seat (blindfolded), and I was trying very hard to be correct because it was an important time. The bus was filling up. Two of the Americans behind me started to whisper to each other.

One of them said, "Where do you think they're taking us? Are we really going?" Something like that.

When the other started to reply, one of the guards yelled out, "American, shut up!" Then, in Persian, he made an insulting reference to Americans.

So, in Persian, I simply replied in a loud voice, "Shut up yourself, you son of a Persian prostitute!"

They pulled me off the bus, and the bus left. They beat me up a little bit, and that was fine, except then they realized that they still had me, and I realized the bus had gone, too.

It had been stupid of me. I had just been pushed. I reacted.

Eventually they sent me out to the airport in a Mercedes-Benz, which is actually the only way to leave Iran. ■

MOZAMBIQUE: WHEN DIPLOMACY PAID OFF

In the face of numerous challenges, diplomacy played a vital role in post-independence Mozambique and the Southern Africa region.

BY WILLARD DEPREE

Well before I presented my letter of credence as U.S. ambassador to Samora Machel, president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, on April 16, 1976, it was already clear that my assignment would be a challenging one. Nine months earlier, on July 25, 1975, the State Department had informed Machel's government that we wished to send an ambassador to Maputo—yet it took more than three months for him to approve the request.

The delay reflected stark divisions within the ruling party, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique. Many officials were unhappy with the U.S. government's past support of the Portuguese during FRELIMO's struggle for independence. Others resented Washington's refusal to take a more active role in pressing for black-majority rule in Rhodesia and South Africa.

Some, including President Machel himself, were also angry about our support of ethnic groups in Angola who had taken up

arms to prevent FRELIMO's close ally, the Marxist Movement for the Liberation of Angola, from coming to power. Others feared the CIA might use the embassy as a springboard from which to create problems for Mozambique.

They were not the only critics of the diplomatic overture, either. Some members of Congress rallied behind the efforts of Senator Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) to block the opening of an embassy in Mozambique. Their argument could be summed up as: "Why should we spend U.S. taxpayer money opening an embassy in an unfriendly, Marxist country? What cooperation can we expect from a government that refers to the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea as 'our natural allies' and is so sharply critical of U.S. Africa policies?"

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's determination to proceed



Willard DePree is a retired member of the Senior Foreign Service and a former ambassador to Mozambique (1976-1980) and Bangladesh (1987-1990). He joined the State Department Foreign Service in 1956, serving overseas in Cairo, Nicosia, Accra and Freetown, in addition to assignments in Washington, D.C.

Those first 12 to 18 months at post were indeed frustrating. My staff of eight and I seemed to encounter obstacles whatever we tried to do.

was rooted in his concern that after the U.S. withdrawal of its last troops from Vietnam the previous year, the Soviets might conclude that Washington would be less diligent in resisting the spread of communist influence in Africa, especially in the former Portuguese possessions. He chose Angola as the place to signal this was not the case, by furnishing arms to Bacongo tribal leader Holden Roberto and his followers.

Helms and his allies were unable to block the opening of Embassy Maputo. But they were able to insert language into the State Department and USAID authorization bills proscribing the expenditure of any development aid money in Mozambique. (Ethiopia and Uganda were also singled out.)

For its part, the Mozambique government instructed American personnel at our consulate in Maputo not to fly the American flag before my arrival. It also stipulated that when our embassy opened, there were to be no uniformed U.S. military personnel on the staff, precluding the use of Marine security guards.

The Diplomatic Deep Freeze Gradually Thaws

Fortunately, the Department of State assigned Johnnie Carson, an exceptionally able officer, as my first deputy chief of mission. The political officers who were assigned to Maputo were some of the best with whom I have ever served. All three DCMs during my five years as ambassador in Mozambique went on to serve as ambassadors elsewhere in Africa: Johnnie Carson, who retired as assistant secretary of State for African affairs, in Kenya; Roger McGuire in Guinea-Bissau; and Bill Twadell in Liberia and Nigeria. (Two of my three junior political officers also eventually became chiefs of mission: Jimmy Kolker in Burkina Faso and Uganda, and Howard Jeter in Nigeria).

Those first 12 to 18 months at post were indeed frustrating. My staff of eight and I seemed to encounter obstacles whatever we tried to do. Rarely did ministers or senior government officials accept invitations to embassy functions. To travel almost anywhere outside Maputo required Mozambican government approval, which was not always forthcoming and took time even when it was granted.

Efforts to acquire rental property for our personnel proved difficult, as well. With the departure of the Portuguese, there was a lot of real estate on the market; but when we sought to sign our first lease, the government told us it was holding the property for one of their “natural allies,” who had expressed a “possible” interest in it.

Our repeated requests to see four American missionaries who had been held for months without charges were always turned down. Appointment requests for visiting U.S. officials were usually put on hold until they arrived in Mozambique, and then we were occasionally told that no appointment could be arranged.

A major disappointment was when the government said that a visit from Secretary of State Henry Kissinger would be “inopportune,” even though we offered two dates for such a visit. That turndown made me ask myself if those opposed to opening an embassy in Mozambique may have been right after all.

Meanwhile, the entire embassy staff was being closely watched. This was brought home to me three months or so after I had been at post. I had occasion to call on Pres. Machel to make another pitch for release of the American missionaries, or at least to be told why they were being held. I spoke in Portuguese, of course. After I had finished, Machel complimented me on my progress, which made me feel good—until he added, “But your wife is better.”

I had no problem with this, for my wife was indeed better. But then he added, “There are five wives of ambassadors who have taken the trouble to learn and speak our language. The Bulgarian ambassador’s wife is best; your wife is second-best, and the Tanzanian ambassador’s wife is third.”

Wow! If the president of the country knows this much about the wives of ambassadors, you can imagine how closely you are being watched. Of course, it is possible that Pres. Machel may also have wanted to put me and my staff on notice not to be doing something we didn’t want the government to know about.

But after that first difficult year, the chill began to thaw. When our paths crossed at receptions and cocktail parties, Mozambican officials seemed more ready to engage in meaningful discussions. Ministers and senior government officials also began to



People's Republic of Mozambique President Samora Machel meeting with U.S. Ambassador Willard DePree in July 1980.

Through these meetings, I was able to establish a close working relationship with Machel.

show up at embassy receptions and accept invitations to lunch at my residence. And while the government never did permit us to see the four American missionaries they held for more than a year, they finally released them.

Getting Our Feet in the Door

Three developments help explain why the Mozambicans began to have second thoughts about their standoffish relationship with the embassy. First, the U.S. government was quick to respond to two humanitarian crises that struck Mozambique during its first two years of independence. A drought ravaged a wide swath of the most agriculturally productive provinces, and then major flooding hit many of those same provinces the next year.

The regime simply did not have enough food to feed its own people, much less the thousands of refugees from Rhodesia who had sought shelter in Mozambique. Since the ban on development aid to Mozambique did not apply to humanitarian aid, the United States was quick to offer assistance. We did not ask for a quid pro quo, but our prompt shipments of food, tents and other supplies were very welcome.

Second, the Mozambique government was becoming disillusioned with its "natural allies." I came to understand this late in my second year as ambassador, when I received a call from Pres. Machel asking me to come in and discuss development aid. When political officer Jimmy Kolker and I arrived, we were welcomed not only by Pres. Machel, but by the minister of agri-

With no prospect of military victory in sight, Pres. Machel began to explore other ways to bring about a change of government in Rhodesia.

culture and other senior government officials, as well.

“You Americans know how to produce food,” Machel stressed. “Nobody is as good at this as you are. The Bulgarians are trying to help us grow food, but they have little to show for their work. In fact, we’re losing money supporting their efforts. Why don’t you come here and help us?”

He then asked his agriculture minister: “How many hectares of land in the Incomati River Valley can we let the Americans have?” The minister mentioned some astonishingly high figure, to which Machel interjected, “If that isn’t enough, we’ll double it. Prove that you can do it better than the Bulgarians.”

This was an enticing challenge, but one Machel obviously knew we couldn’t accept, given the ban on development assistance. Accordingly, I suspect he arranged the meeting to signal that his government was not so committed to Marxism as earlier rhetoric might have led us to believe. Whatever he may have had in mind, the meeting did highlight that disillusionment with their allies was beginning to set in.

We had already been hearing from other officials, for example, how disappointed the Mozambicans were with Soviet shrimp fishing off the coast. The Soviets did not appear to be sharing their take with the Mozambicans as they had promised, and their trawling methods were destroying some of the best shrimp-growing areas in the country. All this suggested that the Mozambicans might be more receptive to redressing the imbalance in their foreign policy posture. The embassy was eager to test this possibility.

The Rhodesian Opening

But the development that probably did more than anything else to spur FRELIMO to look for ways to improve its relations with the U.S. was the fact that the war in Rhodesia, which shares an 800-mile border with Mozambique, was not going the way the Machel government had hoped. They had thought that once they became independent and could offer sanctuary and military support to the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army forces engaged in the fighting inside Rhodesia, the war would soon be over. Instead, the white Rhodesian government of Ian

Smith began carrying out retaliatory bombings. It also stirred unrest inside Mozambique by supporting dissidents from the former Portuguese forces, a small number of whom had already organized and taken up arms in opposition to the government in Maputo.

With no prospect of military victory in sight, Pres. Machel began to explore other ways to bring about a change of government in Rhodesia. He knew the British, with the encouragement of the Carter administration, were seeking to persuade the government of Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith to agree to a ceasefire and free and fair supervised elections, with the British agreeing to turn over power to whoever won the election. Pres. Machel decided to explore this option; but to do so, he needed to elicit U.S. cooperation.

Fortunately, on June 7, 1977, President Jimmy Carter announced that the United States would not lift its sanctions against the Rhodesian government. Soon thereafter, Pres. Machel let me know that his government was prepared to work closely with us and the British to bring about a ceasefire and free and fair elections in Rhodesia. He said he hoped we would agree to keep what we were doing out of the public eye. Toward that end, the foreign ministry would not be involved; instead, he designated two of his aides, Sergio Viera and Fernando Honwana, to work with us on any actions we might jointly decide to undertake.

Machel took these negotiations seriously. He met with the two individuals chosen by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Pres. Carter to brief the interested parties on the progress of the negotiations (Ambassador Stephen Low for the State Department). Pres. Machel suggested people they might wish to see in support of their negotiations. He also met frequently with my British counterpart in Mozambique, Ambassador John Lewen, and me to offer further suggestions and be brought up-to-date on the state of play.

Through these meetings I was able to establish a close working relationship with Machel. At one point, the president called me in, closed the door and asked if I knew of any American who was a friend of Abel Muzorewa, a highly regarded bishop of the

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was so appreciative that she invited Mozambique to become a member of the Commonwealth.

United Methodist Church who was serving as president of the African National Council, an organization of Rhodesians seeking a political settlement to the fighting in Rhodesia. Machel wanted to send a personal message to the bishop, but did not want to put what he was requesting in writing. He also made clear that if his overture became public, he would deny it.

Pres. Machel said he hoped he could dissuade the bishop from joining forces with Joshua Nkomo and other tribal leaders who, Machel thought, would work against what he and we were seeking to accomplish. I knew a few American academics who had become friends of the bishop when he had studied in the United States. One of them came to Maputo and, after hearing what Machel was seeking from Bishop Muzorewa, agreed to deliver the message and to report back to Machel. Though he was disappointed in Muzorewa's response, Machel's readiness to turn to us for help on such a sensitive issue is a good indication of how dramatically Mozambican reservations about having anything to do with the United States had changed.

Bringing the Parties to the Table

In the summer of 1979, the British government concluded that it was time to concentrate on getting all the interested parties—Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith; the insurgents, led by Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo; the South African government; the United Nations and all the states neighboring on Rhodesia—to commit to a ceasefire. The parties to the agreement would then be responsible for maintaining law and order during a six-month transition to elections, including the demobilization and disarming of the Rhodesian forces and the insurgents.

Prime Minister Thatcher invited all the interested parties to a meeting at Lancaster House in London in September. Pres. Machel sent Fernando Honwana as his personal representative. After several days of negotiations, the British called for a vote. All those attending were prepared to sign on. But there was one delegate who refused to sign—Robert Mugabe, leader of the Mozambique-based ZANLA. Mugabe's concurrence was crucial, for it was his forces that were doing most of the fighting inside Rhodesia. It appeared that the conference would break up with-

out agreement; some delegations were already booking tickets to return home.

It was at this point that I received a night action cable from the State Department, with instructions from Pres. Carter to ask Pres. Machel if he would intervene and pressure Mugabe to sign onto the negotiated Lancaster House accord. Time was of the essence, since once the delegations departed, it would be difficult to ever reach agreement on a ceasefire and elections.

I called Machel's office at once to request a sit-down, but was told the president was in a Cabinet meeting and a face-to-face would be arranged as soon as he was free. Rather than wait for a return call, I asked if I could go to where he was meeting so I could catch him when he came out. This was granted and, as soon as he spotted me, Machel came over to ask what I was doing there.

Once he realized the urgency of my instructions, he didn't hesitate, but got in touch with Mugabe at once. Pres. Machel wanted a settlement as much as we or the British did. He couldn't understand why Mugabe was refusing to sign. "He's won!" exclaimed Machel. "He is Shona, the major tribal grouping in Rhodesia. ZANLA will win the election." I immediately returned to the embassy, reporting that Pres. Machel had agreed to do what Pres. Carter had asked him to do.

Shortly thereafter, I received a message from Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Dick Moose notifying me that agreement had been reached at Lancaster House, and that the British were crediting Machel with having made the difference. I learned later that the British had listened in on Machel's call to Mugabe, hearing the Mozambican president stress even more forcefully the arguments that he used with me that same day for why Mugabe should sign.

Prime Minister Thatcher was so appreciative that she invited Mozambique to become a member of the Commonwealth, the first time membership had been offered to a country that was not a former British colony or possession. And, much to the surprise of many, Mozambique agreed to become a member and has been one ever since.

Sometimes diplomacy pays big dividends! ■

OUR MAN IN FIUME: Fiorello LaGuardia's Short Diplomatic Career

Before serving in Congress and as a three-time mayor of New York, the colorful Fiorello LaGuardia spent nearly five years in the U.S. Foreign Service.

BY LUCIANO MANGIAFICO

Saundering down the main street of Rijeka, Croatia—the Corso—the tourist comes across a building sporting a plaque in two languages, Croatian and English. The English version reads: *Fiorello LaGuardia, Member of Congress and Mayor of New York City, worked and lived in this building from 1904 to 1906 in the capacity of Consular Agent of the United States to Rijeka.*

Yes, before serving in Congress and as a three-time mayor of New York, the colorful LaGuardia spent nearly five years in the U.S. Foreign Service. He was consular clerk and assistant to the U.S. consul general in Budapest from 1900 to 1903, then the consular agent in Fiume (now Rijeka) from 1903 to 1906. Both cities were then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Fiorello LaGuardia was born in New York City on Dec. 11, 1882. His father, Achille LaGuardia, an Italian musician and composer, hailed from southern Italy while his mother, Irene

Luciano Mangiafico, an FSO from 1970 to 1991, is the author of two books, Contemporary American Immigrants (Praeger, 1988) and Italy's Most Wanted (Potomac Books, 2007). He has also contributed articles to The Foreign Service Journal and the literary journal Open Letters Monthly, among other periodicals.

Luzzato Coen, was the descendant of a prominent Jewish-Italian family based in Trieste. Fiorello was named for his maternal grandmother, Fiorina Luzzato Coen.

The LaGuardias immigrated to the United States in 1880. Five years later, Achille enlisted in the U.S. Army as a band conductor, serving in the Dakota Territory; Watertown, New York; and at two frontier forts in Arizona. In 1898, at the beginning of the Spanish-American War, he was transferred to Tampa, Florida, where he became seriously ill and was discharged from the Army. He then took his family back to Trieste, where he managed a hotel before dying in 1904.

At loose ends in Trieste, the 18-year-old Fiorello did not want to work in his father's hotel. An acquaintance of his father, Raymond Willey, who was the U.S. consular agent in Fiume, told him about a clerical opening at the U.S. consulate general in Budapest and gave him a recommendation. Fiorello travelled there for an interview and was hired. The job did not pay much, but it afforded young Fiorello a modicum of freedom, and was an interesting learning experience.

The Chester Connection

Frank Dyer Chester, the consul (later consul general) there, was an honor graduate of Harvard University (Class of 1891), an Arabist and classical scholar. But he may have owed his appointment to being a member of a distinguished Boston Brahmin family that socialized with the powerful Senator Henry Cabot Lodge (R-Mass.). Even so, Chester was a thoroughly competent diplomat. Most of his reporting covered commercial matters, trade opportunities and public health issues, but included the occasional political item.

The younger Fiorello must have impressed Chester, since he referred to him in reports as his "amanuensis," a word whose meaning the young clerk had to look up in a dictionary. Since the office had no typewriters, it was Fiorello's task to interpret and draft his boss's notes for reports. His work also included collecting and organizing statistics, accepting applications for visas and for U.S. passports, keeping track of consular fees and rendering assistance to Americans passing through Budapest. The most high-profile visitors he met were dancers Isadora



Library of Congress/Bain Collection

Fiorello LaGuardia, shown here in his office on Ellis Island. He worked there from 1907 to 1910, following his Foreign Service career, as a language interpreter for Italian, German, Yiddish and Croatian immigrants.

Duncan and Loie Fuller, both famous across Europe.

Chester, who was a bachelor, warned Fiorello about the peril of personal involvement with glamorous women and the potential of blackmail, but the impetuous young man was not deterred. Once he took a blonde beauty against whom Chester had specifically warned him to the theater. Chester, who was attending the same performance, saw LaGuardia and fired him on the spot. However, the order was soon rescinded through the good offices of Vice Consul Louis Gerster.

Chester advised Fiorello that one way he could render himself useful in the Foreign Service, despite his lack of proper academic credentials, was to learn languages. He even sent him to Croatia for four months to learn Croatian. By the time he returned to the United States in late 1906, LaGuardia spoke fluent Yiddish and Italian, and had also learned German, French, Croatian and Hungarian. This linguistic ability allowed

One official reportedly labeled LaGuardia “the worst headache in the history of the [State] Department.”

him to pass a Civil Service exam and become an interpreter at Ellis Island, while concomitantly attending law school in New York.

Moving on to Fiume

In the fall of 1903, when Raymond Willey, who had helped LaGuardia secure the clerkship in Budapest, resigned to return to private business in the United States, he recommended Fiorello to replace him as consular agent in Fiume. Frank Chester secured approval from Washington; however, because LaGuardia was still a minor, he could not be commissioned until he turned 21. In the interim, he served as acting consular agent until February 1904, when he received a commission from Secretary of State John Hay.

Fiume was then a thriving city of about 30,000 and the second-largest port, after Trieste, in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Because Croatia was administratively part of the Hungarian portion of the dual monarchy, the incumbent in Fiume reported to the consul general in Budapest—in this case Chester, Fiorello’s old boss.

The consular agent’s office-cum-residence consisted of two rooms, one of which was used as an office and the other as a private bedroom. The small apartment had no kitchen or bathroom; the incumbent had to use a communal bathroom down the corridor and take his cooked meals in restaurants and tavernas. The apartment, however, was conveniently located on the Corso, the city’s main street.

LaGuardia received a guaranteed salary of \$800 a year, more than \$20,000 in today’s dollars. This was paid out of the consular fees he collected for various services; but if the collections exceeded \$1,000, the balance had to be turned over to the Treasury Department. LaGuardia assured Washington that he could manage well on his salary.

A few months after his arrival, in June 1904, LaGuardia assisted an American citizen from Scranton, Pennsylvania. While in Croatia to visit his parents, the immigrant had been conscripted into the Austro-Hungarian Army. LaGuardia

drafted a note of protest to the highest local official, called on him, and made a demarche on behalf of the unlucky citizen. Basing his arguments on the clauses of the 1870 treaty then in force between the United States and Austria-Hungary, LaGuardia eventually secured the young man’s discharge from the Austro-Hungarian Army.

Making his report on the affair to Budapest, he expected to be commended. Instead, Fiorello received a strongly worded reprimand for having acted without consulting his superiors and securing prior guidance and approval.

In his free time in Fiume, LaGuardia studied the local political situation. In an effort to keep their multiethnic subjects cowed, he observed, the authorities practiced a policy of “divide and rule,” encouraging ethnic, racial, national and religious discord.

Once he was even challenged to a duel after a brawl with a Hungarian Army reserve officer over a girl. Fortunately, on the day of the duel, the affair was resolved.

The Consular Agent Shows Initiative

One of LaGuardia’s major tasks in Fiume was dealing with ships and immigrants bound for the United States. The British Cunard Lines had just instituted a bimonthly service from Fiume to New York, catering to prospective immigrants from the Balkans and Eastern Europe. The only guidance he could find in the meager references he had in the office was that he had to “certify to the health of all passengers and crews and give the ship a certificate that it had cleared from a port free from contagious diseases or illnesses subject to quarantine regulations and that bedding and other household goods had been properly fumigated.” If generally satisfied that these conditions had been met, he was then obligated to issue a consular certificate to that effect.

LaGuardia believed that performing a medical examination of each prospective immigrant before they arrived at Ellis Island would better fulfill the purpose of the quarantine regulations, while also saving money and effort for both the United States and the prospective immigrants, who could otherwise be found inadmissible on arrival in the United States. After obtaining authorization from the consul general in Budapest, LaGuardia selected a reputable local doctor to conduct such examinations at embarkation.

When he advised Cunard Lines of the new procedures he was instituting, its officials were incensed and would not let the doctor “look at an emigrant.” However, when LaGuardia then declined to issue the sanitation certificate, they were

obliged to comply, at least in part. Cunard paid the \$5 fee for the certificate but refused to pay the doctor's fee, and filed a protest with the British consul. That protest eventually found its way to Washington, but the department never ruled on whether LaGuardia's actions were proper or he had exceeded his authority.

Some time later, Cunard Lines also agreed to pay the doctor's fees, including the arrears, to induce LaGuardia to issue the required consular certificates. For its part, the United States eventually adopted the system Fiorello had initiated, of medical examination of immigrants prior to embarkation, worldwide—though not for several more decades.

Onward and Upward

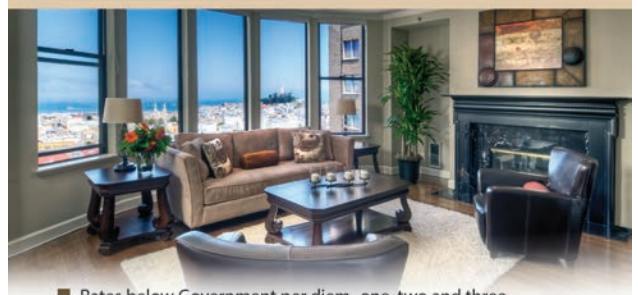
LaGuardia's stand on the processing of immigrants also got him into trouble with local officials. Once, while Archduchess Maria Josepha (the sister-in-law of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, who was assassinated at Sarajevo in 1914) was visiting Fiume, the city's governor arranged for her to view an immigrant embarkation procedure staged entirely for her benefit. To protest the sham, LaGuardia refused to participate or even meet her for tea aboard ship. The British consul, who did take tea with the archduchess and the governor, warned him that the authorities would not take such an affront lightly.

There is no record that Austria-Hungary lodged a formal diplomatic complaint against the young whippersnapper, but his behavior must have troubled many back in Washington. One official reportedly labeled LaGuardia "the worst headache in the history of the [State] Department."

That comment suggests the real reason for the brevity of LaGuardia's diplomatic career: he simply did not fit into the pre-Rogers Act Foreign Service. He had only a high school education, a fact not conducive to promotion in an institution dominated by Ivy League graduates. Nor did his Italian-Jewish background, his short and pudgy physique, and rumpled attire match the WASPish, tall and impeccably dressed traditional figure of a U.S. diplomat.

In addition, LaGuardia's restless intelligence; his brash, argumentative and stubborn character; his disregard for rules he considered silly; his compassion for the uprooted and the dispossessed; and his inclination to contrariness and wave-making did not win him many friends among his colleagues.

Whatever the reason, Fiorello LaGuardia resigned from the Service in 1906. Back in New York, he was soon on his way to a bright future in the political arena—and the history books. ■



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The screenshot shows the website interface for the American Foreign Service Association's Online FS Resources. The header includes the organization's name and logo. A navigation menu lists various sections like 'ABOUT AFSA', 'GOVERNING BOARD', 'MEMBER SERVICES', 'HOMES AGENCIES', 'SERVICES', 'POLICY & LEGISLATION', 'PUBLICATIONS & RESOURCES', 'OUTREACH PROGRAMS', and 'DISSENT AND OTHER ANNALS'. A search bar is located on the right side. The main content area is titled 'Online FS Resources' and includes a disclaimer: 'While AFSA does its best to maintain information on all that may concern the Foreign Service community, we readily admit that we are not always the best resource for each and every issue. To supplement our information, we are happy to provide a constantly-renewing list of relevant online resources for a variety of subjects.' Below this, there are several categories of resources: 'Housing Information' (listing 'Extended Stay Housing Guide', 'Housing Management Guide', and 'The Foreign Service Clause'), 'Foreign Affairs Agencies' (listing 'Department of State', 'U.S. Agency for International Development', 'Foreign Commercial Service', 'Foreign Agricultural Service', and 'US Broadcasting Service'), 'Foreign Service-Related Organizations' (listing 'Institutes of the American Foreign Service', 'AFSA', 'American Academy of Diplomacy (AAD)', 'Association of Diplomatic Studies and Training', 'Foreign Service Youth Foundation (FSYF)', 'Foreign Affairs Council', 'Outstanding Alumni', 'American Diplomacy', 'Rosen Panel & Small Panel', and 'The Lina Chagnon Cox Foundation'), and 'Pets and the Foreign Service' (listing 'Foreign Affairs Petrels of Almost Infinite Variety (FAPIV)', 'AFHS Country-by-Country Guide to Pet Travel', 'AFHS Pet Travel Issues for Short-Term Dogs', and 'Foreign Service Pet's Union Group'). At the bottom, there are 'Family Life E-mail Groups' (listing 'GSA Agent Station Group', 'FS Career Parents', and 'FS Inq') and 'Foreign Service Organizations'.

afsa.org/online_fs_resources.aspx



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Secretary of State John Kerry delivers the keynote address at the Foreign Affairs Day celebration at the U.S. Department of State in Washington, District of Columbia, on May 3, 2013.

★ **FOREIGN** ★ **AFFAIRS DAY**

The Annual Homecoming for Foreign Service and State Department Civil Service Retirees

★ **May 1, 2015** ★

There will be a luncheon at 1 p.m. in the Benjamin Franklin Room. Reservations are first-come, first-served. \$50 per person.

In the afternoon, there will be a reception to honor AFSA scholarship winners at AFSA headquarters at 2101 E Street NW.

To RSVP, please email foreignaffairsday@state.gov with your full name, retirement date, street address, email address and phone number.

AFSA Launches New Award to Recognize the Advancement of Democracy

The American Foreign Service Association is pleased to announce the creation of the Mark Palmer Award for the Advancement of Democracy. Proposed by Ambassador Palmer's family to honor the late FSO's character and spirit, the award will be bestowed for the first time at the AFSA Awards Ceremony on June 9 in the Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room at the Department of State.

Ambassador Mark Palmer was passionately committed to democracy promotion. He served as deputy assistant secretary of State for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and was one of the State Department's top Soviet experts. He was the U.S. ambassador to Hungary from 1986 to 1990, during that country's transition from communism to democracy.

Amb. Palmer served as a speechwriter for three presidents and six Secretaries of State, and was the chief author of President Ronald Reagan's historic 1982 Westminster speech to members



Ambassador Mark Palmer in Berlin, 1992.

of the British Parliament that predicted the eventual downfall of communism. He organized the 1985 Geneva summit between Pres. Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, a diplomatic breakthrough that led to a thawing of relations with the Soviet Union.

He also served in New Delhi, Moscow and the former Yugoslavia during his 26-year career.

Following his Foreign Service career, Amb. Palmer was a member of the American Academy of Diplomacy and the Committee on the Present Danger, vice chairman of Freedom House and

a member of the board of the Johns Hopkins School for Advanced International Studies. He was also co-founder of the National Endowment for Democracy and the Council for a Community of Democracies. He died on Jan. 28, 2013, at the age of 71.

The Palmer Award is open to Foreign Service members from any of the foreign affairs agencies, serving domestically or overseas, especially early to mid-career rank, who promoted American policies focused on democracy, freedom and governance through bold, exemplary, imaginative and effective efforts during one or more assignments. The award offers a \$2,500 prize and a travel stipend to attend the ceremony.

We invite you to nominate a colleague or yourself for this new award by March 20. Details can be found at www.afsa.org/performance. For more information, contact Perri Green, AFSA's coordinator for special awards and outreach, at green@afsa.org or (202) 719-9700. ■

CALENDAR

March 1-5
AFSA Road Scholar Program

March 4
12-2 p.m.
AFSA Governing Board Meeting

March 6
5 p.m. (EST)
Deadline: AFSA Financial Aid Scholarship Applications

March 15
11:59 p.m. (EST)
Deadline: AFSA National High School Essay Contest

March 20
11:59 p.m. (EST)
Deadline: Mark Palmer Award for the Advancement of Democracy

April 1
12-2 p.m.
AFSA Governing Board Meeting

April 12-16
AFSA Road Scholar Program

May 1
Foreign Affairs Day and the AFSA Memorial Plaque Ceremony

May 6
12-2 p.m.
AFSA Governing Board Meeting

May 17-21
AFSA Road Scholar Program

May 25
Memorial Day:
AFSA Offices Closed

NEWS BRIEF

VOTE FOR THE NEW AFSA GOVERNING BOARD!

Please visit the AFSA website at www.afsa.org/elections to learn more about the current AFSA Governing Board elections and to find the list of candidates.

All members in good standing as of March 16 are eligible to participate in the elections. Ballots will be mailed to retiree members on or about April 15 and will provide the option of voting online. Active-duty members will be sent an email to vote online with the option of receiving a printed ballot upon request.

If you do not receive either a printed ballot or an email to vote online by April 30, please contact election@afsa.org. ■



The Foreign Service Labor Market

Previous columns have discussed the rise of the Diplomatic Readiness Initiative and Diplomacy 3.0 generation and their “Pig in the Python” impact on promotions: i.e., more time at grade, slowing promotion rates and more limited upward mobility. This month, I suggest procedural and substantive reforms to address supply and demand in the crowded labor market.

The 2015 summer assignments cycle is one of the tightest ever as the first cohort of DRI officers is now being promoted to FS-1, and the Diplomacy 3.0 cohorts are at the cusp of FS-2 eligibility. AFSA’s concerns were acknowledged by pre-season department forecasts predicting position deficits in several skill codes, particularly at the FS-2 and FS-3 levels. In December 2014, the department acknowledged the tight labor market (14 STATE 146948), noting that bidders should explore out-of-cone assignments and domestic Y tours.

In order to make last year’s bidding market work, the department had to reclassify dozens of positions from FS-4 to FS-3 and transfer their ownership from entry-level to mid-level. At this time it is unclear how many positions will need to be reclassified or injected into the system to meet the Director General’s promise of “No Bidder Left Behind.” The market is only going to get tighter, though,

and the department needs to begin considering how to use the position drawdown in Iraq and Afghanistan to fill frozen positions and create new detail assignments and training opportunities.

The challenge of managing this closed-market labor system is that the bidders are free agents, regional and functional bureaus control the jobs, and the market’s regulator—Human Resources—has few intervention tools on hand. Individual bidders and Human Resources end up bearing the costs of the market’s inefficiencies.

Language-Designated Positions: In the past, Congress has criticized the department’s management of employees’ language abilities, paying particular attention to the percentage of language-designated positions encumbered by qualified language speakers (see GAO Report #09-955 at www.bit.ly/GAO-09-955). While part of the challenge resides in the lack of a properly sized training float, another explanation can be found in the selection process for language-designated positions.

The current system results in sub-optimal matching of employees and positions, because those selecting individuals for positions, i.e., regional bureaus, are not forced to consider the real costs of employee language training (travel and transportation, per diem, tuition, FSI

overhead allocation) borne by central Human Resources. Requiring bureaus to account for and, ultimately, bear the costs of the decisions would result in a more efficient use of existing employee skills, save real money, unlock additional employee productivity and make the assignments process more transparent.

Employees would still have opportunities to acquire new languages, but bureaus would have to prioritize where and how to spend their language dollars. Bureaus could no longer afford to be cost-agnostic as in the current system. Such a reform would ensure that the Service is making maximum use of existing employee language skills and limited training dollars.

An Economist’s Take: The State Department is not the only organization confronted by matching problems. New York City public schools face similar challenges when they match students and enrollment spaces. Policymakers in New York eventually turned to economists specializing in game theory and matching for solutions. *The New York Times* explained the use of game theory in the public school matching process in an article on Dec. 5 (www.bit.ly/NYT_gametheory).

The department’s assignments system is also ripe for outside analysis and improvement. For the past several years an economist from The George Washington University

has been looking at applications of game and matching theories to the entry-level assignments process. Such research has already identified process and technological solutions that will save the employee and the department time (read money) and result in better matches for the department and the employee.

Last year’s AFSA survey confirmed that assignment system reform was membership’s highest career and professional development priority. AFSA has accordingly proposed that the department take a serious look at the assignments process to see how the system can be made more efficient, transparent and user-friendly. Such a review would entail additional resources—people and money—to consider key workforce development issues that have been the subject of several Office of the Inspector General and Government Accounting Office reports.

The current open assignment process was established 40 years ago in response to a directive issued by the Secretary of State calling for a more open, centrally directed assignment process. Today, the strains of a larger workforce are showing, and it’s time to revisit that call—but this time with technology, game theory and a couple of economists on our side. ■

Next Month: Open-Plan Offices: Boon or Bane



Views and opinions expressed in this column are solely those of the AFSA USAID VP. Contact: swayne@usaid.gov or (202) 712-1631

USAID Launches Pilot Global Entry Program

By the nature of our agency's mission, many USAID employees are frequent flyers and many have top-secret clearances. Institutionalizing a reliable system with a trusted traveler program that improves the efficiency of our mission therefore makes a lot of sense.

Last year, AFSA's annual survey of USAID members showed that inequitable benefits among foreign affairs agencies was a major concern. In response, USAID has investigated two different versions of expedited airport clearance: Global Entry and the Transportation Security Administration's TSA Pre-Check. The latter is already available to State Department employees.

Global Entry is a U.S. Customs and Border Protection program that allows expedited clearance for pre-approved, low-risk travelers on arrival in the United

States. Participants in the Global Entry program are automatically eligible for TSA Pre-Check at no additional cost.

Global Entry costs \$100 for a five-year membership; TSA Pre-Check, \$85. This, and the understanding that the State Department uses specific software to participate in TSA Pre-Check, which USAID does not currently use, led to the decision to draft a three-month pilot of the Global Entry program as the preferred first step.

The current challenge to launching the pilot is that the General Service Administration Office of Government-wide Policy has consulted with the GSA Office of General Counsel about the use of Global Entry or any other airport security fast pass programs. The current determination is that there is no appropriation for the use of funds for these member-

ship fees, which is statutorily prohibited by 5 U.S.C. §5946. As the arena of security evolves, AFSA continues to engage GSA on the legislation and understands that GSA is preparing to come out with a statement to clarify the immediate way forward. Hopefully, this will be in favor of allowing agencies to pay the associated fees for the Global Entry program.

If the news is favorable and the pilot is run, feedback from the three-month trial will be analyzed by USAID's Travel and Transportation Division. The findings will be shared with AFSA and the Management Bureau to review the practical benefit of these programs to USAID travelers and develop appropriate next steps.

All feedback I've heard to date regarding Global Entry from outside users has been that it is well worth the money. Though intended for

frequent international travelers, there is no minimum number of trips necessary to qualify for the program.

Participants may enter the United States by using automated kiosks at select airports. There, they scan a machine-readable passport, place their fingertips on the scanner for fingerprint verification, and make any customs declaration. The kiosk issues the traveler a transaction receipt and directs the traveler to baggage claim and the exit. Completing the paper customs declaration form before arrival will no longer be required. The TSA Pre-Check program allows qualified travelers access to an expedited TSA security line, where they don't have to remove their shoes, belts, coats and laptops.

More information on the Global Entry program can be found at: www.globalentry.gov. AFSA applauds USAID's commitment to supporting our Foreign Service members. ■



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE/JAMES C. PAN

AFSA MEETS NEW DEPUTY SECRETARY

On Jan. 23, AFSA officials and professional staff met with Antony Blinken, who was recently sworn in as Deputy Secretary of State. In the hour-long meeting they discussed the need to achieve full Overseas Comparability Pay for all members of the Foreign Service serving overseas as well as other issues. Both AFSA and Deputy Secretary Blinken expressed a strong desire to work closely on a full range of issues.



Views and opinions expressed in this column are solely those of the AFSA Retiree VP. Contact: lawrencecohenassociates@hotmail.com or (703) 437-7881

Go Ahead: Create a Member Profile

Last year, AFSA's member services department created a new social media tool for AFSA members: a member profile page. These pages are located within the "members only" portion of the AFSA website and are viewable only by AFSA members.

Is setting up a profile necessary? No; as a retired AFSA member, you are already listed in the directory, along with your contact information. However, in our Web-based world, online profiles are increasingly prevalent and useful, helping others find out what you've been up to over the years and what you are doing currently.

How many AFSA members are on Facebook, for example? Probably quite a few; according to the *Facebook Demographic Report*, more than 150 million people in the United States are part of that network, with large growth among adults older than 55. Since 2011, Facebook reports adding 12.4 million new users from this age range, a massive 80-percent increase.

For job searches, LinkedIn and other sites are invaluable tools. LinkedIn profiles work like online resumés. More than 300 million people globally are active on LinkedIn.

Think social media is just for young people? Think again! More than 100 million LinkedIn users are over age 50. And almost a third of American adults with annual

household incomes over \$100,000 use it.

Of course, the AFSA online profile pages and community network will not compete with the dominant social media outlets. But they do help bind together a very specific, like-minded interest group. For retirees who do not have access to Uncle Sam's intranet, having a searchable, online profile is particularly useful.

Would you like to know what became of your former FS colleagues? If they are AFSA members, you can rediscover old friendships. Your profile shows that you are still alive and kicking and remain engaged. I invite you to view my online profile as an example.

To set up your AFSA profile, do the following:

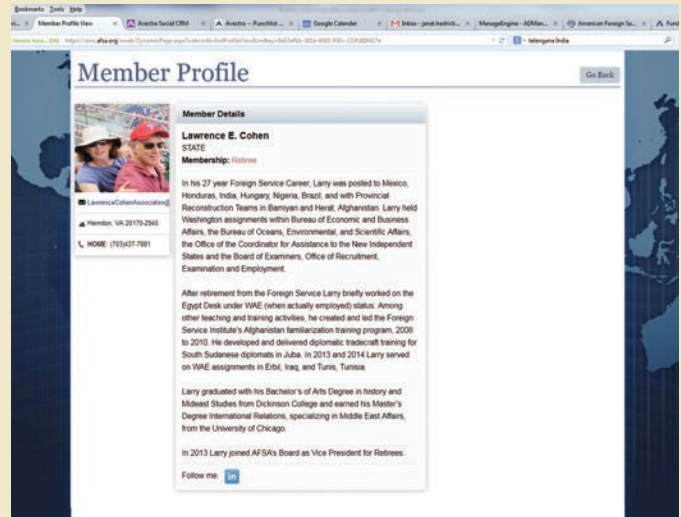
First, paste this link into your browser: ams.afsa.org/eweb; or, go to the AFSA homepage and click on "login."

Enter your primary email address and password (if you have not logged in before, your password is your last name in lower case).

You may be directed to update your password, or click on the "forgot your password" link.

Once logged in, update your contact information. You can also submit a brief bio and photo by clicking on the pencil icon on the My Profile page.

In 2013 AFSA will take the



next logical step by launching an online social community. To operate our chatroom, we'll need volunteers to serve as online moderators—a great way to remain active in the

Foreign Service community! If you're interested in serving as a moderator or if you have questions about the profile mechanism, contact AFSA at member@afsa.org.

NEWS BRIEF

AFSA WELCOMES NEW STAFF



AFSA welcomes Natalie Cheung, who is the new member services representative. Natalie comes to AFSA with a background in arts management and donor cultivation, as well as experience in association membership. Prior to joining AFSA, Natalie worked in membership at the Association for Prevention Teaching and Research, and as an art consultant specializing in corporate projects and collections.

An artist herself, Natalie is active in the D.C. arts community. She teaches at The George Washington University and serves on the Phillips Collection Contemporaries steering committee. A Virginia native, Natalie graduated with a BFA from the Corcoran College of Art and Design, and received an MFA from the Tyler School of Art at Temple University.

AFSA Supports the U.S. Diplomacy Center

BY IAN HOUSTON, AFSA EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

In July 2014, the American Foreign Service Association Governing Board decided to make a financial contribution of \$50,000 to the United States Diplomacy Center project through the Diplomacy Center Foundation.

The museum will highlight the critical role of diplomacy and development in our country's national security and economic prosperity. Additional AFSA support is linked to exhibit progress and further development of the museum's governance structure.

Since 1924, AFSA has played a central role in preserving and promoting the history of the U.S. Foreign Service, and we look forward to being a partner in the USDC project.

On Sept. 3, five former Secretaries of State joined Secretary of State John Kerry to break ground for the construction of the USDC at the 21st Street entrance of the State Department (see the October 2014 *FSJ* for coverage of the groundbreaking ceremony).

The USDC, which will be open to the general public, aims to illustrate the importance of American diplomacy in our nation, the role it plays in advancing peace and how it affects our daily concerns. Through exhibitions at the museum and educational center, a detailed website and a strong outreach program, the center will help visitors understand why diplomacy and those who conduct it—particularly members of the Foreign Service—matter to national security.

We believe this sort of outreach is critical to ensuring a strong connection between American citizens and those who represent them abroad.

AFSA's effective stewardship of member resources has allowed us to make a strategic investment in this historic initiative while still advancing other priorities. It is precisely with such goals in mind that AFSA has worked to develop its financial capacities, and we are excited to be able to use our resources to further the goal of improving public understanding of the essential role played by the professionals of the U.S. Foreign Service. ■

AFSA Roundtable Addresses Divide Between Foreign Policy Practitioners and Scholars

AFSA President Robert J. Silverman hosted a roundtable luncheon at AFSA headquarters on Dec. 2 to discuss ways to narrow the considerable gap between scholars and practitioners of foreign policy.

The event was held in connection with the recent publication of *Scholars, Policymakers and International Affairs: Finding Common Cause* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014). The book was reviewed in the Jan-Feb 2015 issue of *FSJ*.

Abraham Lowenthal, a professor at the University of Southern California who edited the book along with Mariano E. Bertucci, led the

discussion. Ambassador Thomas Shannon, the current counselor of the State Department and a contributor to the book, was a special guest.

Despite what he called "tremendous problems of mutual misunderstanding," Lowenthal cited opportunities for "fruitful connections" between the academic and practical world in foreign policy.

The book's final chapter, titled "Scholars, Policymakers and International Affairs: Toward More Fruitful Connections," lists several concrete steps to bridge the gap.

The Foreign Service members and other guests in attendance touched on issues ranging from the lack of time

for long-range thinking (which leads to "the inbox and the urgent" running the State

Department) to the need for career education, not just training, and ways to prioritize interaction between academics and practitioners. ■

—Debra Blome,
Associate Editor

NEWS BRIEF

UPDATE: LONDON IRAN WATCHER POSITION

AFSA supports the Iran Watcher program as a two-pronged tool to improve the government's understanding of Iran's regional presence and outreach, and to develop a cadre of Persian speakers within the Foreign Service. AFSA filed an implementation dispute regarding a breach of contract with the State Department on the removal from the Foreign Service bidding pool of the London Iran Watcher position and its inclusion in the Overseas Development Program (see "AFSA Acts to Protect Integrity of FS Assignments System," in the December 2014 *FSJ*). As of press time, AFSA and the department were involved in settlement talks regarding the London position and criteria for approving future ODP positions. ■

AFSA ON THE HILL



AFSA Greet the New Congress

When the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives convened on Jan. 6 for the first day of the 114th Congress, AFSA was there.

Despite the snow that fell persistently all morning—causing area schools to close, the Metro to slow and roads to clog—AFSA President Robert J. Silverman, AFSA

State Vice President Matthew Asada and AFSA professional staff headed to Capitol Hill to personally welcome many of the newly elected members of Congress in the festive atmosphere that is Congressional Swearing-In Day.

The AFSA delegation visited 31 Senate and House offices throughout the day,

setting the stage for what we expect to be a very successful year.

About the 114th Congress

Both chambers of Congress are now controlled by the Republican Party, which has its largest House majority (246) since 1929 and a comfortable Senate majority (54-46).

The 114th Congress has 74 new members (13 in the Senate, 61 in the House). Of these new members, 46 are African-American (three Republicans and 43 democrats); 33 are Hispanic (three in the Senate, 30 in the House); 12 are Asian-Americans (one in the Senate, 11

in the House) and two are Native Americans. One member, Rep. Don Beyer (D-Va.), is a former ambassador and an AFSA member. The 114th Congress also has the largest number of female lawmakers ever: 104.

Congress no longer has any World War II veterans in its ranks, although 25 lawmakers served in the military during the Iraq and Afghanistan conflicts. ■



From left: Housing and Urban Development Secretary Julian Castro, AFSA President Robert Silverman and House Committee on Foreign Affairs member Rep. Joaquin Castro (D-Texas).

AFSA/JANICE WEINER



AFSA State Vice President Matthew Asada (left) and Senator Gary Peters (D-Mich.), the only newly elected Democratic senator in the 114th Congress.

AFSA/DAVID MURIMI



Rep. Barbara Comstock (R-Va.) and AFSA President Silverman. The former Virginia delegate represents a district with one of the largest concentrations of Foreign Service members in the United States.

AFSA/JAVIER QUEBAS



State VP Asada (left) greets Sen. Tim Scott (R-S.C.), the chair of the Senate Commerce Committee's Subcommittee on Tourism, Competitiveness and Innovation, with oversight jurisdiction over the U.S. Department of Commerce.

AFSA/DAVID MURIMI



AFSA/JAVIER QUEBAS

AFSA President Silverman (left) shares a laugh with Senator Al Franken (D-Minn.) during the swearing-in reception for Senator Brian Schatz (D-Hawaii).



AFSA/DAVID MURIMI

From left: AFSA Retiree Counselor Matt Sumrak and State VP Asada greet Stoney Burke, the chief of staff for Rep. Will Hurd (R-Texas). Hurd is a former Central Intelligence Agency employee and a cybersecurity expert. Having served abroad alongside Foreign Service members, he has a unique understanding of the challenges facing American diplomats and the need for resources.

Update: AFSA Promotes Improved Security at State

Employee security continues to be one of AFSA's top priorities, as shown by its inclusion in the 2013-2015 Governing Board's Strategic Plan (see www.bit.ly/1nFz7tl).

AFSA works closely with the State Department and other foreign affairs agencies to address security challenges and ensure that employees are safely and effectively able to engage overseas. Toward that end, AFSA has focused on the need for enhanced language and security-awareness training.

AFSA fully supports the State Department's recent revision of criteria allowing posts to designate a position to receive language training for reasons of "personal security" that might not qualify for such instruction under the more restrictive "official capacity" category.

AFSA believes that this would be of particular value at high-threat, high-risk posts, where multiple positions and skill codes have traditionally been without language designation and language training.

AFSA provided feedback to developers of a pilot "Diplomacy at High-Threat Posts" course (RS 251) at the Foreign Service Institute which is being offered eight times in 2015.

AFSA also worked with the department on the creation of a new work requirement for Employee Evaluation Reports that emphasizes the employee's personal responsibility for security, while at the same time addressing AFSA's concerns about potential overly broad application in the disciplinary process.

The State Department recently instituted a new Vital

Presence Validation Process, which it will use to determine whether U.S. government presence in foreign countries engenders more policy benefits than risks to its employees. AFSA strongly supports the establishment of such a process and believes it would be enhanced by AFSA's formal participation overseas at the Emergency Action Committee level and here in Washington.

In a January 2014 letter to Secretary of State John Kerry, AFSA declared its desire to be involved. AFSA continues to work with the department and our congressional allies in this area.

AFSA is concerned by the department's recent use of "temporary relocation," for instance, with Embassy Baghdad, rather than the traditional authorized or ordered departures from post. AFSA

strongly believes that authorized and ordered departures afford management sufficient flexibility to reevaluate staffing decisions and ensure that employees receive adequate protections and allowances.

In June 2014, AFSA wrote to Acting Director General of the Foreign Service Hans Klemm detailing these concerns.

AFSA consistently highlights security concerns when meeting with members of Congress, and has particularly focused on the importance of training. AFSA was instrumental in the successful advocacy for the establishment of a Foreign Affairs Security Training Center in Ft. Pickett, Virginia. ■

—Shannon Mizzi,
Editorial Intern

The 2014-2015 AFSA Financial Aid Scholarship Recipients

The AFSA Financial Aid Scholarship Program awarded a total of \$199,300 in need-based financial aid scholarships during the 2014-2015 school year to 54 children of AFSA members. These scholarships, available to current undergraduate students, range from \$3,000 to \$5,000 each.

The 2014-2015 financial aid scholarship recipients are listed alphabetically. Each entry includes the names of the recipient's parents, AFSA scholarship(s) the student received and the college he or she is attending.

AFSA also sponsors an Academic and Art Merit

AFSA has given scholarships to 82 students totaling \$247,800 over the course of the current school year.

Award Program, which is open to the children of AFSA members who are graduating high school seniors. In May 2014, this program awarded scholarships of up to \$2,500 to 28 students, totaling \$48,500. The list of 2014-2015 winners was published in the July-August 2014 issue of *The Foreign Service Journal*.

AFSA has given scholarships to 82 students totaling \$247,800 over the course of the current school year. These two programs are run with the oversight of the AFSA Scholarship Committee, which is comprised of volunteers from the Department of State, the U.S. Agency for International Development, Foreign Agricultural Service and the Foreign Commercial Service.

In addition, the merit awards program relies on volunteers from constituent agencies to serve as award judges. The AFSA Financial Aid Scholarship Program is administered by the AFSA Scholarship Committee and staff.

These awards (both financial aid and merit) are not funded by membership dues. They are funded by donations from individuals and organizations, Combined Federal Campaign pledges, contributions from the scholarship fund's annual appeal and a 5-percent annual withdrawal from the program's endowment (currently valued at approximately \$6 million).

Two sister organizations—DACOR Bacon House Foundation and Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide—sponsor financial aid scholarships in their names under AFSA's Financial Aid Scholarship Program.

These programs are a benefit of AFSA member-

ship. It's not too late for students of AFSA members to apply for a financial aid scholarship for the 2015-2016 school year. **Applications will be accepted until March 6.** The deadline for merit awards is Feb. 6 each year. Please go to www.afsa.org/scholar for program details and applications.

If you have any questions on applying or would like information on how to establish a scholarship or serve as a merit awards judge, please contact Lori Dec, at dec@afsa.org or (202) 944-5504. ■

—Lori Dec, AFSA
Scholarship Director

2014-2015 AFSA SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM FINANCIAL AID SCHOLARS

Najee Agu

Son of Edward and Wanda Agu. Recipient of Heyward G. Hill Memorial/DACOR Bacon House Foundation Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

Sarajin Ali

Daughter of Karl and Nahid Fritz. Recipient of Anthony G. Freeman Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship, George and Mattie Newman Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and Marc Grossman and Mildred Patterson Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Virginia Tech University.

Spotlight on Scholarship Donors

AFSA offered 115 different scholarships in its 2014-2015 academic year Financial Aid Scholarship Program. Some of these are highlighted on the following pages.



The Norton W. Bell Perpetual Financial Aid Scholarship

Norton W. Bell established this scholarship in 2007 after attending an AFSA Elderhostel (now Road Scholar) program on diplomacy. Though he was never a Foreign Service employee, he has always been fascinated

by international relations. Bell has attended more than 40 Elderhostel programs and found AFSA's program to be one of the best. He retired in 1986 from Hewlett Packard, where he was an engineer. After retirement, he became a transcontinental cyclist.

Anandan Amirthanayagam

Son of Indran and Ruthann Amirthanayagam. Recipient of Elbert G. and Naomi M. Mathews Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and Gertrude Stewart Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Brown University.

Katherine Arriola

Daughter of Jacinta and Roinel Arriola. Recipient of Elbert G. and Naomi M. Mathews Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and George and Mattie Newman Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending SUNY Buffalo State College.

Helena Ball

Daughter of David Ball and Mara Teckach. Recipient of Louis C. Boochever Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and Naomi Pekmezian Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending CUNY Hunter College.

Joseph Bills

Son of Rebecca and Thomas Bills. Recipient of Evelyn K. and Horace J. Nickels Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and James Bolard More Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Brigham Young University.

Alexandra Bliss

Daughter of Mark Bliss and Kristin Rummel-Bliss. Recipient of Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide Financial Aid Scholarship, Louise Holscher Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and Lawsuit Over the Movie "Missing" Scholarship. Currently attending Florida State College at Jacksonville.

Niccolo Bluhm

Son of Christina and Nathan Bluhm. Recipient of Charles C. and Janet K. Stelle Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and Elizabeth M. and William E. Cole Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending University of Colorado, Colorado Springs.

James Chambers

Son of Hyong and James Chambers. Recipient of Harriet C. Thurgood Memorial/DACOR Bacon House Foundation Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending University of Tulsa.

Caleb Childers

Son of Julie and William Childers. Recipient of Albert E. Carter Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship, Brockman M. Moore Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and Naomi Pekmezian Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Liberty University.

Dylan Childers

Son of Julie and William Childers. Recipient of George and Mattie Newman Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and John Campbell White Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Liberty University.

Kirsten Christensen

Daughter of Casey and Margie Christensen. Recipient of Jacq Bachman Siracusa Financial Aid Scholarship and C. Montagu and Frances M. Pigott Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Florida State University.

I'm very thankful for the AFSA money I received to pursue my dreams. I plan on taking full advantage of this gift I have been given. —*Claire Gilbert*



Katherine Cooke-Caraway

Daughter of Robin Cooke. Recipient of Adolph Dubs Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship, Martin G. Patterson Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and Omar Sykes Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Wesley College.

Erika Cummings

Daughter of Constance and David Cummings. Recipient of Edith K. and Wilbur J. Carr Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship, Elbert G. and Naomi M. Mathews Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and Susan Lowe Modi Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending University of Oklahoma.

Kristina Cummings

Daughter of Constance and David Cummings. Recipient of Norton W. Bell Financial Aid Scholarship, Colonel Richard R. Hallock Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and George and Mattie Newman Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Colorado State University, Global Campus.

Christopher DiCarlo

Son of John and Mary DiCarlo. Recipient of Heyward G. Hill Memorial/DACOR Bacon House Foundation Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Dominican University of California.

Having some of my financial burden lifted by an AFSA scholarship is a great blessing. I switched schools eight times growing up. But traveling around the globe gave me an incredible understanding of different cultures, languages and ideas, and for that I am grateful.

—*Niccolo Bluhm*



I plan to make the most of all the opportunities at my university, both academic and extracurricular, and this scholarship is a great help in allowing me to do that.

—Ryan Hull



Alexandra Garcia

Daughter of Kathleen and Rudolph Garcia. Recipient of Brockman M. Moore Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending University of Colorado, Colorado Springs.

Claire Gilbert

Daughter of Jeffrey and Terri Gilbert. Recipient of AAFSW Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Tallahassee Community College.

Morgan Groth

Son of Gregory Groth and Wendy Medhurst. Recipient of Terence Flannery Annual Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Chandler-Gilbert Community College.

Raina Haynes-Klaver

Daughter of Karen Klaver. Recipient of Heyward G. Hill Memorial/DACOR Bacon House Foundation Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending San Jose State University.

Charles Holtrop

Son of Daniel and Julie Holtrop. Recipient of Suzanne Marie Collins Memorial Financial Aid Memorial Scholarship and Brockman M. Moore Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Calvin College.

Luke Howlett

Son of Patricia Howlett. Recipient of Brockman M. Moore Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and Dorothy Osborne and Theodore Xanthaky Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending St. Lawrence University.

Adriana Huff

Daughter of Curtis Huff Jr. and Deborah Paolini. Recipient of Robert and Evelyn Curtis Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship, William Leonhart Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and Dorothy Osborne and Theodore Xanthaky Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Delaware County Community College.

Ryan Hull

Son of Robert and Sandra Hull. Recipient of William Benton Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and Barbara Bell Black Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending University of Florida.

Serina Hull

Daughter of Robert and Sandra Hull. Recipient of Heyward G. Hill Memorial/DACOR Bacon House Foundation Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Florida State University.

Kaleb Johnson

Son of Brian and Tiffney Johnson. Recipient of AAFSW Financial Aid Scholarship, Marcia Martin Moore Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and Gertrude Stewart Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Yavapai College.

James Julian

Son of Karen and Mark Julian. Recipient of Betty Carp Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship, Harriet P. Culley Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and George and Mattie Newman Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Utah Valley University.

Liam Kierans

Son of Lisa Bucher and Thomas Kierans. Recipient of Heyward G. Hill Memorial/DACOR Bacon House Foundation Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending College of William & Mary.

Allison LaReau

Daughter of Cindy and Jeff LaReau. Recipient of Elizabeth N. Landeau Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and Elbert G. and Naomi M. Mathews Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Colorado Christian University.

Michael May

Son of Gregory May and Li-hung Ma. Recipient of Harriet C. Thurgood Memorial/DACOR Bacon House Foundation Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending University of Mary Washington.

Esubalew McCarthy

Son of Patricia McCarthy. Recipient of Elbert G. and Naomi M. Mathews Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship, Brockman M. Moore Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and Sheldon Whitehouse Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Prince George's Community College.

Christina McGuire

Daughter of John and Suzanne McGuire. Recipient of AAFSW Financial Aid Scholarship and William P. and Adele Langston Rogers Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Oregon State University.

Connor McKinney

Son of Christopher and Tracy McKinney. Recipient of Harriet C. Thurgood Memorial/DACOR Bacon House Foundation Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending University of California, Berkeley.

Jordan Palmer

Son of Susan Baker and Paul Palmer. Recipient of Brockman M. Moore Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and Lowell C. Pinkerton Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Texas Tech University.

Paul Palmer

Son of Susan Baker and Paul Palmer. Recipient of Philip C. Habib Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and Walter K. Schwinn Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Graduated from University of Texas, Austin.

Aidan Pazan

Son of Michele Castagna and Stephen Pazan. Recipient of Anna B. and John M. Steeves Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and Gertrude Stewart Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Ohio University.

Alana Perera

Daughter of Michele Balthazaar. Recipient of Rose Marie Asch Financial Aid Scholarship and Oliver Bishop Harriman Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending California State University, Northridge.

Tatiana Ravelomanana

Daughter of Nadia Ravelomanana. Recipient of Elbert G. and Naomi M. Mathews Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship, David D. Newsom Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and Ernest V. Siracusa Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Liberty University.

Connor Rhodes

Son of Nancy Rhodes. Recipient of Terence Flannery Annual Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and Francesca Bufano Lapinski Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Virginia Commonwealth University.

Andrea Salazar

Daughter of Jose and Wendy Salazar. Recipient of Edith K. and Wilbur J. Carr Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship, George and Mattie Newman Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and Dorothy Osborne and Theodore Xanhaky Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending George Mason University.



This scholarship will be a great help in meeting my financial needs at my university. I hope to make AFSA proud.

—Luke Howlett

Ryan Sandor

Son of Yvonne Sandor and Edwin Sellers. Recipient of Harry A. Havens Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and Dalton V. Killion Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Cuyamaca College.

Kathleen Saunders

Daughter of Robert and Wendy Saunders. Recipient of Heyward G. Hill Memorial/DACOR Bacon House Foundation Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending University of New Mexico.

Amelia Smith

Daughter of Matthew and Susan Smith. Recipient of Fallen U.S. Diplomats in Libya Financial Aid Scholarship, Prabhi G. Kavalier Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and George and Mattie Newman Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Avery Smith

Son of Matthew and Susan Smith. Recipient of John and Hope Rogers Bastek Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship, Kiang Fund for Excellence Financial Aid Scholarship and Christopher and Eliza Van Hollen Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Oberlin College.

Madeline Strandemo

Daughter of Guy and Kimberly Strandemo. Recipient of Heyward G. Hill Memorial/DACOR Bacon House Foundation Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending University of Minnesota.

Thomas Strandemo

Son of Guy and Kimberly Strandemo. Recipient of Heyward G. Hill Memorial/DACOR Bacon House Foundation Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending University of Louisiana at Lafayette.

Spotlight on Scholarship Donors**Alice and John Hubler Annual Financial Aid Scholarship**

FSO Stephen Hubler, who was an AFSA scholarship recipient himself from 1979 to 1983 while attending the University of Southern California, established this scholarship to honor his parents. "My mother and my father set the example for me and my three brothers to serve others less fortunate than we were," he says.



The award will definitely assist me in covering my college expenses. I hope to make my scholarship donor proud by taking full advantage of my education. *—Alana Perera*

David Sydney

Son of Dawn Lewis-Johnson and Roger Sydney. Recipient of John Foster Dulles Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship, Harriet Winsar Isom Financial Aid Scholarship and George and Mattie Newman Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending The University of Texas at Dallas.

Antigone Valen

Daughter of Kelly and Stephen Valen. Recipient of Rozanne L. Ridgway Financial Aid Scholarship and Gertrude Stewart Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Princeton University.

Alyssa VanGoethem

Daughter of Kathy Rivard. Recipient of Elbert G. and Naomi M. Mathews Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship, Ruth Nay Skiles and Victor H. Skiles Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and John C. Whitehead Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Northern Michigan University.

Christopher Volciak

Son of Christopher and Sabrina Volciak. Recipient of Brockman M. Moore Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and George and Mattie Newman Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Lehigh University.

Hannah Wolff

Daughter of Eric and Kathleen Wolff. Recipient of Alice and John Hubler Annual Financial Aid Scholarship and Gertrude Stewart Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Hillsdale College.

Jonathan Wolff

Son of Eric and Kathleen Wolff. Recipient of Turner C. Cameron Jr. Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and Arthur B. Emmons Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Hillsdale College.

Timothy Wolff

Son of Eric and Kathleen Wolff. Recipient of Clara C. and Everett K. Melby Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship, George and Mattie Newman Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and George Schultz Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Columbia International University.

Christian Zehr

Son of Dora and Wilbur Zehr. Recipient of Edith K. and Wilbur J. Carr Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and Brockman M. Moore Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship and Gertrude Stewart Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship. Currently attending Abilene Christian University. ■

Spotlight on Scholarship Donors



Christopher and Eliza Van Hollen Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship

Avery Smith, the recipient of the Christopher and Eliza Van Hollen Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship, met with Representative Christopher Van Hollen (D-Md.) on Jan. 27, 2015, at his office on Capitol Hill.

Christopher Van Hollen Sr., the congressman’s father, retired from his 28-year Foreign Service career in 1979. He was an authority on Southeast Asian affairs, and served as U.S. ambassador to Sri Lanka in 1972. After his death in 2013, his family (with contributions from many friends) established a perpetual AFSA scholarship in his name.

Rep. Van Hollen and his sisters take an active interest in the AFSA Scholarship Program, and he hopes to meet with the recipients of his parents’ scholarship each year. Avery Smith is the second recipient of the AFSA Van Hollen Scholarship, which provides need-based college aid to children of Foreign Service employees.

It is people like my AFSA scholarship donors who inspire younger men and women to reach their goals.

—Antigone “Tiggy” Valen



2014 AFSA Tax Guide Correction: Oregon

The following corrects inadvertent errors in the entry for Oregon. We regret the oversight.



ISTOCK.COM/RETROCKET

OREGON residents are generally taxed on their entire income. However, if you are domiciled in Oregon, you will be taxed as a nonresident and only Oregon-sourced income will be subject to Oregon taxes if you meet all of the following requirements: a) You do not maintain a permanent residence in Oregon for yourself or your family during any part of the year, **and** b) You maintain a permanent residence outside Oregon during the entire year, **and** c) You spend less than 31 days of the year in Oregon. For 2014, Oregon's tax rate rises from 5 percent on taxable income over \$3,300 for single filers and over \$6,600 for married filing jointly, in three steps to 9.9 percent on taxable income over \$125,000 for single filers and \$250,000 for joint filers. Oregon has no sales tax.

Write: Oregon Department of Revenue, 955 Center St. NE, Salem OR 97301-2555.

Phone: (503) 378-4988.

Email: questions.dor@state.or.us

Website: www.oregon.gov/DOR ■

AFSA Annual Report 2014 Coming Soon

The AFSA Annual Report is being published as the *FSJ* goes to press. It will be available online at www.afsa.org/annualreport. A hard copy will be sent to all retirees. Copies will also be available on request by emailing member@afsa.org.

The report details AFSA's 2014 activities, ranging from strategic planning to events,

and describes the work AFSA's does on members' behalf and the goals of the association. AFSA President Robert Silverman writes the introductory passage, followed by contributions from all constituency vice presidents, as well as AFSA's professional staff.

We hope you find it a useful publication. ■



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AFSA NEWS

AFSA Governing Board Hails and Farewells

Two members joined AFSA's Governing Board to serve out terms vacated by departing board members. The current Governing Board will finish its term of office in July, when the newly elected board takes office to serve from 2015 to 2017. AFSA would like to thank outgoing State Representatives Clayton Bond and Sue Saarnio and USAID representative Andrew Levin for their outstanding service to AFSA.



Jeff Cochran, a Foreign Service officer at USAID since 2005, has directed economic growth offices in West Africa and Iraq, was ICT Division chief in the Office of Infrastructure, and now serves as USAID desk officer for Bosnia, Serbia, Kosovo and most non-presence (no USAID Mission)

countries in Europe.

A strong believer in collective bargaining, Cochran has been a member of the Wisconsin Teaching Assistants Association (AFL-CIO and AFT) and the American Federation of Government Employees. He has a doctorate from the University of Wisconsin, Madison, in the economics of institutions and a bachelor's degree from Brown University. He lives in Georgetown with his husband, Robert, a television critic for *USA Today*.



Daniel E. Spokojny joined the Department of State in May 2009 as a Foreign Service officer.

He has served overseas in Karachi and Vilnius, as well as in the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations and the office of the Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan in Washington, D.C. Prior to joining State, Dan worked in the U.S.

House of Representatives. He is a graduate of the University of Michigan. Dan is committed to supporting an innovative and agile Foreign Service capable of meeting tomorrow's challenges. ■

AFSA BOOK NOTES

Ambassador's Memoir Illustrates Diplomacy in Action

On Jan. 8 the American Foreign Service Association hosted Ambassador Christopher Hill at AFSA headquarters for a Book Notes discussion of his new memoir, *Outpost: Life on the Frontlines of American Diplomacy*.

Currently dean of the Josef Korbel School of International Studies at the University of Denver, Amb. Hill is a retired career diplomat and four-time ambassador, whose last post was Baghdad (2009-2010). Prior to that, he served as assistant secretary of



Ambassador Christopher Hill.

State for East Asian and Pacific affairs (2005-2009); ambassador to South Korea

(2004-2005); ambassador to Poland (2000-2004); ambassador to Macedonia (1996-1999) and special envoy to Kosovo (1998-1999), among many other assignments.

Over the course of his Foreign Service career, Hill received many State Department awards, including the Secretary of State's Distinguished Service Award and the Robert A. Frasure Award for Peace Negotiations.

AFSA President Robert J. Silverman introduced Hill by observing that reading Hill's memoir reminded him of "how cool it is to be a Foreign Service officer."

Hill opened with a light-hearted jab at his writing experience. "I never thought I'd write a book," he said. "In the Foreign Service, I don't think I ever wrote anything longer than two pages, and no one ever read page two," he continued. "It was kind of weird to get to page three and realize I was in terra incognita."

Though diplomacy is "not the oldest profession in the world," Hill observed that it has "been around for a long time." He emphasized the importance of building relationships in the practice of diplomacy, citing their value when he served as special envoy to Kosovo, negotiated with the North Koreans and led Embassy Baghdad.

Describing Iraq as "one

of the most difficult issues for the Foreign Service," Hill noted that "the State Department put itself in the position where we were seen as the organization that would somehow provide the continuity once the military was gone: war by other means." However, he noted, "we should not be sending soldiers to do a diplomat's job, and to some extent I think that's what happened in Iraq."

Hill added that he does not call Iraq a "big mistake" in his book, but "we need to think things through a little better before we find ourselves in circumstances of that kind."

Before taking enthusiastic questions from the capacity audience, Hill declared that the Foreign Service profession is in "good shape." He also pointed out that he dedicated his book not just to his own family, but to all the men and women of the Foreign Service and their families.

"Anyone who has been to the outposts knows that you don't always have the option of waiting for guidance," he said. "You have to make decisions; you have to take a chance; you have to make these tough calls. And the men and women of our Foreign Service have done that very, very well over the decades." ■

—Debra Blome,
Associate Editor



Secretary of State John Kerry swears in FSO Ted Osius as U.S. ambassador to Vietnam on Dec. 10. His spouse, former AFSA Governing Board member Clayton Bond, their son, TABO, and Osius' mother, Nancy Zimmerman, look on. Amb. Osius is the first openly gay officer to serve as a U.S. ambassador in Southeast Asia.

AFSA Convenes Roundtable Discussion on Diversity

As part of its efforts to partner with other groups to enhance diversity in the Foreign Service, AFSA and representatives from 21 federal employee organizations and affinity groups from State and USAID met for a roundtable discussion on Jan. 15.

Hosted by AFSA President Robert J. Silverman, State Vice President Matthew Asada and Executive Director Ian Houston, the meeting took place at AFSA headquarters over lunch.

Asada opened the meeting by reviewing AFSA's ongoing initiatives to promote diversity. He noted that the AFSA Governing Board's 2013-2015 Strategic Plan

includes an explicit diversity goal for the first time (see <http://bit.ly/1nFz7tl>), and that AFSA's professional staff and Governing Board is the most diverse ever.

Participants discussed ideas for building coalitions

and AFSA professional and committee staff provided an overview of AFSA's awards and scholarship programs.

Asada described Management Directive 715, the U.S. Equal Employment



Opportunity Commission's demographic data reporting requirement for the federal government. Participants discussed how agencies could do a better job of making the data collected more meaningful.

In this regard, several affinity group representatives raised concerns about the difficulty in getting good human resources data from the agencies. There was agreement that good data is much needed, along with the ability to "unpack" that data, i.e., more data granularity at the bureau and post level, to discern meaningful insights about trends and challenges.

Attending the discussion were representatives from Arab-Americans in Foreign Affairs Agencies, the Asian-American Foreign Affairs Association, Blacks in Government, the Thursday Luncheon Group, Executive Women at State, the Hispanic Employees Council of Foreign

Affairs Agencies (known as HECFAA), the South Asian American Employee Association, the Council for Career Entry Professionals, the Disability Action Group, Employees with Disabilities, Veterans at State, Returned Peace Corps Volunteers, the Asian-Pacific American Employee Committee, American Indians and Alaska Native Employees, Gays and Lesbians in Foreign Affairs Agencies (known as GLI-FAA), the Jewish Employee Resource Group, the USAID Muslim Employees Resource Group, Presidential Management Fellows, Women@AID, and Young Professionals at USAID.

For additional information on AFSA's diversity initiatives, see AFSA News in the September and November 2014 issues of the *FSJ*. ■

—Debra Blome,
Associate Editor

AFSA ATTENDS SOCIAL STUDIES CONFERENCE

AFSA's Coordinator for Special Awards and Outreach Perri Green (right) and Publications Specialist Brittany DeLong attended the 2014 National Council for the Social Studies Conference in Boston Nov. 13-15. NCSS is the United States' largest association devoted to social studies education. Green and DeLong were there to meet social studies educators and promote AFSA's 2015 National High School Essay Contest and best-selling book, *Inside a U.S. Embassy: Diplomacy at Work*. AFSA was one of more than 150 exhibitors at the conference, which attracted more than 4,000 attendees, the largest turnout for NCSS since 2006. ■



■ **Marianne Collins Ahlgren**, 77, the wife of retired FSO Charles Ahlgren, died on Oct. 8 in Providence, R.I., after a long struggle with the rare disease amyloidosis.

Mrs. Ahlgren was born in Oak Park, Ill., on Oct. 3, 1937. After graduating from Siena High School in Chicago, she joined the Sisters of Mercy and attended St. Xavier College, earning her B.S. in education and speech. She went on to teach at several parochial schools in the Chicago area.

During her summers, Mrs. Ahlgren completed a master's degree in audiology from the University of Illinois. She went on to teach at St. Xavier's, where she started a clinic for deaf children in the wake of a rubella epidemic that swept the Chicago area. She later worked as an audiologist at Michael Reese Hospital in Chicago, Riverside Hospital in California and Gallaudet University in Washington, D.C.

After marrying, she accompanied her husband to the U.S. embassy in Singapore, where she taught at the American School and gave birth to the couple's two children, Ingrid and Theodore. She joined her husband in subsequent postings to South Africa, New Zealand, Thailand and Venezuela.

Wherever she lived abroad, Mrs. Ahlgren actively worked with the poor; she helped women in the teeming camps outside Cape Town and victims of sexual trafficking in Chiang Mai. Her greatest love, however, was for the deaf. She was a leader in deaf education and linguistics research.

While in New Zealand, Mrs. Ahlgren received a Ph.D. in applied linguistics from Victoria University in Wellington. Her dissertation discussed New Zealand Sign Language as a full-fledged language, with a large vocabulary of signs and a consistent grammar. As a consequence,

NZSL was recognized, along with Maori, as an official language of New Zealand. She authored numerous articles in scientific journals and wrote sign language versions of children's books such as *The Ugly Duckling*.

After the couple retired to Rhode Island in 1999, Mrs. Ahlgren worked at the Rhode Island School for the Deaf and was an active volunteer in many charitable organizations, including the Scandinavian Home and the Great Strides Cystic Fibrosis Foundation.

Mrs. Ahlgren was predeceased by her parents, Timothy and Lucille Collins of Chicago, Ill. She is survived by her husband, Charles; daughter, Ingrid of New York, N.Y.; son, Theodore of Hamden, Conn.; and granddaughter, Annika Liu.

The family requests that any memorial contributions be made to the Senior Living Foundation at 1716 N Street NW, Washington DC 20036-2902.

■ **Natale H. Bellocchi**, 88, a retired FSO and former ambassador to Botswana, died on Nov. 17 at his home in Bethesda, Md., of heart disease.

Mr. Bellocchi was born in Little Falls, N.Y. He earned a bachelor's degree in engineering from the Georgia Institute of Technology in 1948. He worked as an industrial engineer at the Burlington Mills Corporation for two years before serving as a U.S. Army infantry officer in Korea from 1950 to 1953.

In 1954, he received a master's degree from the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. He began his Foreign Service career in 1955 as a diplomatic courier, with postings to Frankfurt and Manila from 1955 to 1959.

He was posted to Hong Kong as a general services assistant in 1960, and two years later was transferred to Vientiane

and commissioned as an FSO.

Detailed to the Foreign Service Institute Field School in Taichung in 1963 to study Chinese, he was then assigned to Taipei as a commercial officer. In 1968 Mr. Bellocchi returned to Hong Kong as a commercial affairs officer.

He was then detailed to the U.S. Agency for International Development and sent to Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City), where he worked for 18 months, before being assigned to Tokyo as, successively, commercial officer and counselor for commercial affairs.

In 1974 Mr. Bellocchi was selected for the Senior Seminar. A year later he was detailed to the Treasury Department to focus on developments in Asia. Postings followed in New Delhi as an economic counselor and Hong Kong as a deputy principal officer.

He returned to Washington, D.C., in 1981 to serve as deputy assistant secretary in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. In 1985, President Ronald Reagan appointed Mr. Bellocchi ambassador to Botswana, where he served until 1988.

Five years later, President George H.W. Bush appointed Amb. Bellocchi to chair the Board of the American Institute in Taiwan. During what he described as "the most difficult and historic journey" of his life, he accompanied Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui to the United States.

Pres. Lee was denied permission to meet with the Chinese-American community in Honolulu and allowed to visit Cornell University, his alma mater, only after members of Congress pressed the administration. Beijing responded to the visit by firing missiles to ratchet up tensions in the Taiwan Strait.

After retiring in 1995, Amb. Bellocchi continued to follow Taiwan developments closely and advocated increased international agency and U.S. govern-

ment support for the newly democratic state.

Amb. Bellocchi is survived by his wife, Lilan, whom he met in Taiwan, and their children, Luke and Jacqueline.

■ **Edward Anthon Berg**, 85, a retired FSO, died on Sept. 12 in Venice, Fla.

Mr. Berg served in the U.S. Air Force from 1949 to 1955. His original assignment with the 10th Mountain Division in Colorado helped prepare him for his later career in the Foreign Service. In the Air Force he trained to speak and interpret Russian, adding that to a list of languages which included German, French and Danish. He later trained to speak Flemish, Afrikaans, Swedish, Farsi and Spanish.

After an honorable discharge from the Air Force, Mr. Berg continued his service in the Refugee Relief Program in the Netherlands during the 1950s. He then transferred to the Foreign Service, where he focused on consular work in France, Nigeria, Israel, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, South Africa, Sweden, Mexico and Bermuda.

Tracking international affairs, fishing, gardening and playing chess were among Mr. Berg's lifelong hobbies and interests.

He is survived by his wife, Loan, four children and five grandchildren.

■ **Harvey Taylor Clew**, 80, a retired FSO, died on Nov. 19 of a cerebral hemorrhage at Hartford Hospital in Hartford, Conn.

Mr. Clew was the son of William J. Clew, former managing editor of *The Hartford Courant*, and Mona (Gallivan) Clew, a former junior high school teacher in the Middletown, Conn., school district.

Mr. Clew attended St. John's Elementary School and graduated from Middletown High School in 1952. In high school he was on the swim and football teams

and served as mayor of Middletown for a day. He graduated from Wesleyan University in 1956.

He then joined the U.S. Army, where he served for three years in counterintelligence in Germany. He went on to work as a reporter for *The Washington Star* in Washington, D.C., covering events such as the inauguration of President John F. Kennedy.

Mr. Clew joined the Foreign Service in 1962 and was posted to the United Kingdom, Lebanon, Nigeria, Belize and South Africa during his 30-year career. He met his wife of 43 years, Joy (Lee) Clew, on an ocean liner en route to his first diplomatic posting in Cape Town in 1963.

Following his retirement, the couple settled in Haddam, Conn., where Mr. Clew served as a second selectman, as a member of the Region 17 School Board and as president of the Haddam Historical Society. He also served on the Mid-State Regional Planning Association and was president of Foreign Affairs Retirees of New England.

Mr. Clew was an environmentalist who worked diligently to protect open spaces in Connecticut. Recently, he helped successfully fight to preserve land for a state wildlife refuge along the Connecticut River across from the Goodspeed Opera House.

Mr. Clew is survived by his wife, Joy of Haddam, Conn.; son, Timothy W. Clew of Warren, Conn.; daughter, Carole Clew Elms of New York, N.Y.; their spouses and five grandchildren; his twin sister, Carole Clew Hoey of Middletown and Haddam, Conn.; his brother, William T. Clew (a former managing editor of the *Sunday Telegram*) of Webster and Worcester, Mass.; his sister, Elizabeth (Betsy) Clew Kampmeiner of Pittsburgh, Pa.; two brothers-in-law, three nieces and one nephew.

Donations in his memory may be made to the Cure Alzheimer's Fund at 34 Washington Street, Suite 200, Wellesley Hills MA 02481.

■ **Ruth Eloise Day**, 88, the wife of retired Foreign Service Officer Robert W. Day, died on Oct. 4 in Tallahassee, Fla.

Mrs. Day was born on Aug. 18, 1926, and raised in Andrew County, Miss. She graduated from Fillmore High School in 1943, attended Missouri State Teachers College in Maryville, Mo., and taught elementary school during World War II. She worked for several corporations as an executive secretary from 1946 to 1988.

Mrs. Day married Alfred N. Hurst in 1946, and the couple had three children. Job transfers took the family to Omaha, Neb.; Endicott, N.Y.; Rochester, Minn.; Barrington, Ill.; Stamford, Conn.; and Atlanta, Ga.

In 1988, Mrs. Day married Robert W. Day, a retired FSO, and they made their home in Tallahassee. During their 26-year marriage, the couple enjoyed traveling extensively throughout the United States, Europe and South America.

Mrs. Day was a member of the Trinity United Methodist Church in Tallahassee and a volunteer at Tallahassee Memorial Hospital for many years. As a harpist, she was active in the Tallahassee Music Guild, the Tallahassee Symphony Society, the Killearn Ladies Club and the Golden Eagle Ladies Club.

Mrs. Day instilled her deeply held values of honesty and integrity in all of her children, who remember her with great love. Mrs. Day was predeceased by her former husband, Alfred N. Hurst; her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Earl Lambright; her brother, Eldon L. Lambright; and sister, Elaine Skelton.

She is survived by her husband, Robert; two sons: Byron N. Hurst (and

his wife, Karen) of Wausau, Wis., and Gary S. Hurst (and his wife, Lauren Moll) of San Diego, Calif.; one daughter, Linda C. Hurst of Redmond, Wash.; two stepdaughters: Mrs. Betsey Leonard of Westminster, Md., and Mrs. Shaula Noonan of Old Town, Fla.; three grandchildren, all members of the U.S. Navy: Commander Christopher N. Hurst, Commander Nicole D. Hurst and Lieutenant Andrew J. Hurst; one step-grandson, Jack D. Leonard III; two great granddaughters; one great grandson; and one sister, Mrs. Lucille Jones of St. Joseph, Mo.

Memorial gifts may be made to the Tallahassee Trinity United Methodist Church (120 West Park Avenue, Tallahassee FL 32301) or to the American Cancer Society.

■ **John Liebig Griffiths**, 85, a retired FSO, died on Nov. 29 in Dana Point, Calif., of pulmonary fibrosis.

Mr. Griffiths was born on Nov. 10, 1929, in Los Angeles, Calif., to Jane Elizabeth Liebig and John Francis Griffiths, both educators. His father was a member of the Foreign Service who achieved some national notoriety in 1948 during service as a cultural attaché in Buenos Aires when then-President Juan Peron accused him of plotting his assassination.

Mr. Griffiths attended schools in Madrid and Buenos Aires, as well as in California and Indiana, before graduating from Los Angeles High School. He earned a B.A. in political science from the University of California, Los Angeles, and was pursuing graduate studies at the University of Southern California when he enlisted as an officer in the U.S. Navy and went on to serve in the Philippines.

On return to Los Angeles, Mr. Griffiths worked for the Office of Naval Intelligence and graduated from the Armed Forces Staff College in Norfolk, Va., before

joining the Foreign Service.


Mr. Griffiths served with the U.S. Information Agency throughout Latin America. He guided political, humanitarian and educational missions in Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela, Mexico, Honduras, El Salvador, Argentina and Brazil, concluding his career with several assignments in Washington, D.C.

In 1972, Mr. Griffiths was recognized for his work with USIA's Meritorious Honor Award. In 1975, he was honored with the Order of the Morazin by the government of Honduras for his humanitarian service, and in 1976 the state of Louisiana named him an honorary colonel.

During retirement in Albuquerque, N.M., and, later, Los Angeles, Calif., he worked as an international programs adviser for the University of Southern California and relished teaching English to students from across the globe at Berlitz Beverly Hills. He was also involved with Rotary International, Sister Cities International, the American Foreign Service Association and Sigma Chi Fraternity. Before his death, he was thrilled to give his vintage fraternity ring to a student who couldn't afford his own.

Mr. Griffiths and his third wife, Marguerite (Peggy), traveled to Latin America and Europe. At home in Los Angeles, the couple joined the Brentwood Presbyterian Church, where they remained active until their final move to Dana Point, Calif. Family members and friends remember Mr. Griffiths for his supportiveness, kindness, intelligence, extraordinary work ethic, philanthropic nature, humor (even his puns!) and perseverance, qualities that he extended with pride to his grandchildren.

Mr. Griffiths is survived by his first wife, Claudette D. Bakewell of Newport Beach, Calif., and their son, John D. Griffiths (and his wife, Mollie) of Los


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Angeles, Calif.; his second wife, Graciela Griffiths of Albuquerque, N.M., and their children: Alessandra Holowesko (and her husband, Stephen) of Nassau, Bahamas, and Glenn Griffiths of Albuquerque, N.M.; and his wife, Marguerite (Peggy) of Dana Point, Calif.; and five grandchildren: William, Maria Gabriella, Siena and John Theodore Holowesko, and Gavin Griffiths.

The family requests that, in honor of his exemplary caregivers, donations in Mr. Griffiths' memory be made to the Pulmonary Fibrosis Foundation at www.pulmonaryfibrosis.org or (888) 733-6741.

■ **Robert V. Keeley**, 85, a retired FSO and three-time ambassador who attained the rank of Career Minister, died of a stroke on Jan. 9 in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Keeley was born on Sept. 4, 1929, in Beirut, where his father, James, was the American consul. As the family moved from post to post, Mr. Keeley attended schools in Canada, Greece and Belgium, and he became fluent in French and Greek.

Majoring in English, he graduated summa cum laude from Princeton University in 1951, and then served in the U.S. Coast Guard as commander of an 83-foot patrol boat during the Korean War (1953-1955).

Mr. Keeley joined the Foreign Service in 1956. During a distinguished 34-year career, he served as political officer in Jordan, Mali and Greece; as deputy chief of mission in Uganda (1971-1973) and Cambodia (1974-1975); and as deputy director of the Interagency Task Force on Indochina Refugees (1975-1976).

He was appointed U.S. ambassador to Mauritius in 1976, and was then named deputy assistant secretary of State for African affairs, in charge of southern and eastern Africa (1978-1980). He then

served as U.S. ambassador to Zimbabwe (1980-1984) and Greece (1985-1989).

Ambassador Keeley was elected president of AFSA in 1985, but his term was cut short by the appointment as U.S. ambassador to Greece, his last posting.

As noted in his obituary in *The Washington Post*, "In the countries to which he was sent, governments fell, coups were plotted and attempted, strongmen seized power, the Cold War played out, and he dealt personally with international figures of prominence. Among these was the notorious and dangerously erratic strongman who ruled Uganda, Idi Amin."

Amb. Keeley was also closely involved with the evacuation of the U.S. embassies in both Uganda and Cambodia.

Known for his willingness to question the status quo in foreign policy and speak out against injustice, Amb. Keeley won AFSA's 1989 Christian Herter Award, given to a member of the Senior Foreign Service who demonstrates "extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage and creative dissent."

His citation pointed to Amb. Keeley's consistent intellectual courage and creative dissent in policy recommendations while serving in Greece, Uganda and Cambodia. His service as a political officer and, later, as U.S. ambassador in Athens was characterized by forthright honesty in dealing with a challenging relationship. In 1967, when a military coup overthrew Greece's democratic government, he vigorously contended that the United States should make clear its opposition to the junta.

In Uganda, he urged that the United States take strong action to demonstrate its disapproval of a deplorable regime. And in Cambodia, he distinguished himself with constructive criticism of some aspects of U.S. policy during the

traumatic period of 1974-1975.

After retiring from the Foreign Service in 1989, Amb. Keeley served as president of the Middle East Institute (1990-1995) and as board chairman of the Council for the National Interest Foundation, a group that tries to balance what it considers a pro-Israeli tilt in U.S. policy toward the Middle East. Amb. Keeley's strong, lifelong hope was that a just solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict would be found.

Amb. Keeley was an articulate advocate for a greater role for diplomacy in defusing conflict and protecting the nation, and contributed his expertise to the American Academy of Diplomacy collection, *First Line of Defense—Ambassadors, Embassies and American Interests Abroad* (2000). He is the author of *The Colonels' Coup and the American Embassy: A Diplomat's View of the Breakdown of Democracy in Cold War Greece* (2010).

An avid sailor throughout his life, Amb. Keeley celebrated his 70th birthday by renting a yacht and treating his extended family to a sailing trip through Greece's Cyclades Islands.

Amb. Keeley is survived by his wife of 64 years, Louise Schoonmaker Keeley of Washington, D.C.; two children: Michal Keeley of Fleischmanns, N.Y., and Christopher Keeley of Washington, D.C.; his brother; and four grandchildren.

■ **Micheline Lamirault Kemper**, 86 the wife of retired USAID FSO Joseph Kemper, died on Nov. 22 at her home in Alexandria, Va.

Born in Paris, France, on July 21, 1928, Mrs. Kemper was the only child of Robert and Lucie Lamirault. In 1947 she became a civilian English translator for the French army in Germany, where she met her future husband.

Mrs. Kemper accompanied her husband during his 1957-1961 posting with USAID to Seoul, where she taught French to Korean students. Their subsequent postings included Mogadishu, Tunis, Dakar and Kinshasa, in addition to assignments in Washington, D.C.

In 1980, Mrs. Kemper's husband retired as an administrative counselor in Abidjan, and in 1989 the couple settled at the Watergate at Landmark in West Alexandria, where they have lived ever since.

Family and friends remember Mrs. Kemper as the consummate diplomatic wife and a wonderful mother. She always knew how to laugh, they recall, noting the family stories of her mischievous youth.

Mrs. Kemper is survived by her husband of 65 years, Joseph, and their daughters, Chantal and Caroline.

■ **Anita C. Kuhn**, 93, wife of the late retired FSO John L. Kuhn, died on Sept. 17 in Sharon, Conn.

Mrs. Kuhn was born in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1921. She graduated from the Shipley School in Bryn Mawr, Pa., in 1939 and shortly thereafter participated in the newly established Experiment in International Living study abroad program, which took her to Austria and Germany on the eve of World War II.

Mrs. Kuhn enlisted in the U.S. Marine Corps in 1943, ending her service as a sergeant in 1945. She then moved to Baltimore, Md., where she worked at the Wilmer Eye Institute at Johns Hopkins University.

In 1948, she married John L. Kuhn, a Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Department of State. As a diplomatic wife and mother—the couple had four children—she spent more than 20 years at five different overseas posts in South Africa, France and Italy.

Following her husband's retirement

in the early 1970s, the couple moved to Salisbury, Conn., where Mrs. Kuhn became active in the Millbrook Garden Club and the National Society of the Colonial Dames. For many years she also presided over the fall festival at St. John's Episcopal Church in Salisbury.

In her later years, Mrs. Kuhn returned to her love of the outdoors and was an avid hiker with her many beloved dogs. In 2014 she moved to Noble Horizons Retirement Community, where she quickly became an integral member of the community.

Mrs. Kuhn was predeceased by her husband, John; her son, William Speer Kuhn III, a former FSO; and three sisters: Letitia Crosby of Franconia, N.H., Eleanor Morris of Pottstown, Pa., and Elise Felton of Southwest Harbor, Maine.

She is survived by her three daughters: Marian Browning of Salisbury, Conn.; Eleanore Boyse, who with her Foreign Service officer husband, Matt, lives in Wiesbaden, Germany; and Jacqueline Kuhn of Salisbury, Conn.; and grandchildren: Anya and Slava Browning and Fentress, Natalie and Derek Boyse.

Donations in her memory may be made to Noble Horizons, 17 Cobble Road, Salisbury CT 06038.

■ **John J. LaMazza**, 80, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Oct. 4 in Chandler, Ariz.

Mr. LaMazza grew up in New York City, the son of Italian immigrants: his father was a carpenter and his mother a seamstress. After graduation from the seminary (Cathedral College), he enlisted in the U.S. Army.

Mr. LaMazza joined the Foreign Service in 1957, spurred by his passion for history, culture and, most importantly, peace. His first overseas posting was Italy. He subsequently served in Libya,

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Jordan, El Salvador, South Korea, Spain and Argentina, in addition to Washington, D.C. Mr. LaMazza held a variety of positions, including eight assignments as labor attaché.

His work required him to travel extensively throughout South America, Europe, Asia and the Middle East. Mr. LaMazza's diplomatic career culminated with postings to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and three of the United States' major trading partners, Canada, Italy and Japan. In July 1998, on retiring, he received the Secretary's Career Achievement Award.

Mr. LaMazza settled in Philadelphia, Pa., where he managed the Meals on Wheels program. He then moved to Chandler, Ariz., in 2008 to be closer to family. He maintained his interest in public and foreign policy, read the morning papers in Arabic, translated Japanese haikus and monitored the trajectory of the New York Yankees.

Family and friends remember Mr. LaMazza for his fine sense of balance, justice and values, as well as his quick wit, sense of humor, diplomacy and humility.

He is survived by his daughters, Michelle Winter and Bernadette LaMazza; his son, John Dominic LaMazza; his brother, Father Carmen LaMazza; and four grandchildren.

■ **Malcolm McLean**, 87, a former Foreign Service officer, died peacefully at his home in St. Paul, Minn., on Nov. 19.

Mr. McLean was born on April 23, 1927, in Duluth, Minn., to Charles Russell McLean and Mildred Washburn. He attended boarding school in North Carolina and graduated from Yale University.

Mr. McLean joined the Foreign Service in 1955. His first overseas post was South Korea, where he met his wife of 58 years,

Wendy, who was also working there. The couple went on to serve in Brazil, the Dominican Republic and Guatemala.

In the early 1970s, Mr. McLean was enjoying his assignment in Central America when he received a call from an old family friend, a board member at Northland College in Ashland, Wis., who told him that he should consider applying to become president of the school.

That year, Mr. McLean made a complete career change, moving his family from Guatemala to northern Wisconsin. There, from 1971 to 1987, he helped shape Northland into a liberal arts school with a strong environmental studies curriculum.

Friends and colleagues at Northland remember Mr. McLean as an inspired, positive leader who was good at connecting with students, faculty and staff and a wonderful friend.

After serving at Northland, Mr. McLean moved to St. Paul, Minn., where he was president of the United Arts Council, and then worked for several years with Compatible Technology International.

Committed to service and education, and enjoying working with children, both Mr. and Mrs. McLean volunteered as teaching assistants at Paul and Sheila Wellstone Elementary School. Mr. McLean also read to the blind, was involved with the arts and with the United Theological Seminary of the Twin Cities. His children remember him as their hero.

Mr. McLean was predeceased by his brothers, Russell and John, and a sister, Carol. He is survived by his beloved wife, Wendy; their three sons, Ian (and his wife, Margaret) of Lincoln, Neb., Hugh (and his wife, Mary Beth) of Elmhurst, Ill., and Christopher (and his wife, Nancy) of Berkeley, Calif.; and six grandchildren:

Katherine, Kevin, Derek, Eileen, Reed and Helen.

■ **Leonard C. Meeker**, 98, a former U.S. ambassador to Romania, died on Nov. 29 at his home in Ocracoke, N.C., of congestive heart failure.

Mr. Meeker was born in Montclair, N.J., in 1916. He was a graduate of Deerfield Academy (1933), Amherst College (1937) and Harvard School of Law (1940). He began his legal career in the General Counsel's Office of the U.S. Department of the Treasury and in the Office of the Solicitor General, which handles the federal government's litigation at the Supreme Court. He enlisted in the U.S. Army in 1942, and served in the Office of Strategic Services.

In 1946, Mr. Meeker joined the State Department's Office of the Legal Adviser. He was named assistant legal adviser for United Nations Affairs in 1951, deputy legal adviser in 1961 and legal adviser of the State Department under President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1965.

Mr. Meeker played a significant role during the Cuban Missile Crisis on 1962 by developing the concept of a "quarantine" of the island instead of a blockade, which could have been considered an act of war. His top-secret memo (now declassified), "On Legal Aspects of Declaring a Blockade of Cuba," helped defuse one of the most serious international crises of the modern era.

In 1969, Mr. Meeker was appointed ambassador to Romania, where he served until 1973.

After leaving government service, he was for many years both a lawyer and director of the International Project at the Center for Law and Social Policy in Washington, D.C. He traveled to countries in Africa and Latin America to assist local lawyers in promoting and protecting

human rights. He served as a board member of the Union of Concerned Scientists and was also a member of the American Foreign Service Association.

In 2002, Amb. Meeker moved to Ocracoke, N.C. Active in the community, he chaired the Ocracoke Planning Advisory Board for many years. He also believed in physical fitness and, as long as his health allowed, swam in the ocean every day he could.

Amb. Meeker was predeceased by his first wife, Christine Halliday, who died in 1958. He is survived by his wife, Beverly Joan Meeker, and six children. From his first wife, Christine, they are: Richard Halliday Meeker of Portland, Ore.; Charles Carpenter Meeker of Raleigh, N.C.; and Sarah Louise Meeker Jensen of Los Ange-

les, Calif. His three children with Beverly are: Eliza Ann Hunt Meeker of Paris, France; Dr. James Edward Weeks Meeker of Portland, Ore.; and Benjamin Chester Gilman Meeker of Bloomfield Hills, Mich.

The family suggests donations in Amb. Meeker's memory be made to the Ocracoke Preservation Society at info@ocracokepreservation.org or (252) 928-7375.

■ **Hugh Orville Muir**, 82, a retired FSO with the U.S. Information Agency, died of complications from a stroke on Nov. 4 at Fairfax Hospital in Fairfax, Va.

Mr. Muir was born on Aug. 20, 1932, in Washington, D.C. He grew up in Chevy Chase, Md., where he attended Woodrow Wilson High School. He graduated from

Syracuse University School of Journalism and received his M.S. from Columbia University.

Mr. Muir began his newspaper career at the *New York World-Telegram and Sun* in 1955. When the paper folded in 1966, he relocated to Vienna, Va., where he worked briefly on the news copy desk of *The Washington Post* before joining the Foreign Service.

After two years in Washington, D.C., he was posted to London as an information officer. He returned to Washington to become chief of the Africa regional desk at Voice of America. In 1981, he was posted to Nairobi as East Africa Bureau chief. There, he and his wife of 61 years, Phyllis, enjoyed many exhilarating safari trips.

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Retiring in 1991, Mr. Muir returned to his first love, newspapers. He worked as a reporter and editor for *The Poughkeepsie Journal*, which was near the cedar and glass home he designed and built in Cold Spring, N.Y.

Ten years later, Mr. and Mrs. Muir moved back to Washington, D.C., and then, in 2005, to Fredericksburg, Va., where he wrote features for *The Free Lance-Star* and indulged his passion for history by giving tours of the many battlefields and sights in the area.

Family and friends remember Mr. Muir fondly for his charm, the stories of his travels and exploits, his delight in his Scottish heritage and his fantastic memory for dates and historical detail. As they recall, he loved his books, traveling around the world and watching old movies and British mysteries on TV. Family members point also to his legendary love of feasting on crab, oysters and lobster.

Mr. Muir is survived by his wife, Phyllis O. Muir; their three children: Linda M. Odell (and her husband, Craig) of Richmond, Va., Susan M. Trombley (and her husband, Larry) of Swanton, Vt., and Hugh Gordon Muir (and his wife, Betsy) of Naples, Fla.; his grandchildren: Erin Odell Cook (and her husband, Dan), Lee M. Trombley (and his wife, Tiffany), Ryan C. Odell, Justine L. Trombley, Kirsten E. Muir and Elyse M. Muir; and one great-grandchild, Cambria Trombley.

Memorial donations may be made to The Presbyterian Church of Fredericksburg Building Fund, 810 Princess Anne Street, Fredericksburg VA 22401.

■ **Robert B. Oakley**, 83, a retired FSO and three-time ambassador who attained the rank of Career Minister, died of complications from Parkinson's disease on Dec. 10 in McLean, Va.

Mr. Oakley was born on March 12,

1931, in Dallas, Texas, and grew up in Shreveport, La., where his father was an electrical engineer for a utility company. He graduated from South Kent School, a boarding school in Connecticut, and received a degree in philosophy and history from Princeton University in 1952.

He joined the U.S. Navy after graduation and served in naval intelligence in Japan for three years, an experience which kindled his passion for international affairs.

After a year of graduate work at Tulane University, Mr. Oakley entered the Foreign Service in the summer of 1957. He met his future wife, the former Phyllis Elliot, in Sudan, where he had been assigned and where she was a Foreign Service officer. They married in Cairo in 1958. She resigned from the Foreign Service, as required at the time, but returned in 1974, when the rules changed. The pair had postings in the Ivory Coast, Vietnam, France, the United States Mission to the United Nations in New York and Lebanon, in addition to Washington, D.C.

Mr. Oakley specialized in Africa, the Middle East and South Asia, and his perspective was profoundly shaped by his 1965-1967 tour in Vietnam, where he helped draft a Western-style constitution.

He served as ambassador to Zaire (now Congo) from 1979 to 1982 and to Somalia from 1982 to 1984. For the next two years, which saw a rise in hostage crises and state-sponsored terrorism in the Middle East and Libya, he headed the State Department's Office of Counterterrorism.

In 1987, Ambassador Oakley headed Near East and South Asian affairs on the National Security Council. In that role, he helped revive an "activist" policy in the Middle East after the embarrassment of Iran-Contra and the earlier American withdrawal from Lebanon follow-

ing deadly terrorist attacks on the U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut.

In August 1988, President Ronald Reagan appointed him ambassador to Pakistan, succeeding Arnold Raphel, who was killed in an Aug. 17 plane crash along with Pakistan President Muhammad Zia ul-Haq.

Amb. Oakley retired from the Foreign Service in 1991. But President Bill Clinton called him back to diplomatic service in 1993 after the Battle of Mogadishu, in which 18 Americans were killed and the bodies of U.S. soldiers were dragged through the streets. Amb. Oakley negotiated the release of Michael Durant, pilot of a downed Black Hawk helicopter taken captive by loyalists of the warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid.

Amb. Oakley then retired from the Foreign Service for good. He went on to work as a distinguished research fellow at the Institute for National Strategic Studies Research Directorate at National Defense University until 2010, often writing and commenting on international matters.

Amb. Oakley is survived by his wife of 56 years, Phyllis; two children: Mary Oakley Kress of Falls Church, Va., and Thomas Elliott Oakley of McLean, Va.; and five grandchildren: Robert Kress, Andrew Kress, Peter Kress, Graham Oakley and Josephine Oakley.

Memorial donations in his honor may be made to the International Rescue Committee, Development Office (122 East 42nd Street, New York NY 10168-1289) or to American Near East Aid (1111 14th Street NW, #400, Washington DC 20005).

■ **Robert White**, 88, a retired FSO and two-time ambassador, died of cancer on Jan. 14 in Arlington, Va.

Mr. White was born on Sept. 21, 1926,

in Melrose, Mass. He served in the U.S. Navy as a radio operator in the Pacific during World War II. He attended St. Michael's College in Vermont on the G.I. Bill, graduating in 1952, and completed a master's degree in 1954 at The Fletcher School at Tufts University in Medford, Mass.

Mr. White joined the Foreign Service in 1955 and served in a variety of positions related to Latin America. He was posted in Colombia, Ecuador, Honduras and Nicaragua; served as regional director of the Peace Corps; and was a U.S. representative to the Organization of American States. He was ambassador to Paraguay from 1977 to 1980, when he was transferred to El Salvador.

In 1980, when El Salvador was erupting in guerrilla war and military violence, the Carter administration sent Mr. White into the maelstrom as its new ambassador, hoping he could help the U.S.-backed government there find a reformist middle ground and prevent a full-scale revolution.

Instead, Ambassador White became a controversial and outspoken critic of assassinations and massacres being carried out by American-trained military units and private death squads. His views cost him his diplomatic career, but earned him the respect of many Salvadorans.

Amb. White, who once said he was inspired to join the Foreign Service by a "quotient of idealism," worked to promote human rights, economic reform and political negotiations between leftist rebels and El Salvador's civil-military junta.

Unable to keep silent as security abuses mounted, Amb. White began denouncing the rightist military and land-owning establishments in diplomatic cables, then in interviews and

congressional testimony. That outspoken posture drew praise from human rights groups but death threats in El Salvador.

In 1981, less than two weeks after President Ronald Reagan took office, Amb. White was removed from his post after coming into conflict with Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. He soon retired from the Foreign Service after a 25-year career, asserting that he had been forced out for political reasons.

Once free of the constraints of diplomacy, Amb. White spent much of the next three decades speaking his mind on U.S. policy and official abuses in Latin America. During this time he held a series of jobs, including a professorship at Simmons College in Massachusetts and a senior associate position at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, D.C.

In 1989, Amb. White was named president of the Center for International Policy, a think-tank that advocates cooperation, transparency and accountability in global relations. It was a position he held until the time of his death. He also visited numerous countries, from Haiti to Afghanistan, with delegations to monitor elections and human rights.

Amb. White was given the Colonel Donald Cook Award, bestowed on those who unselfishly give of themselves in service to others, and an honorary doctor of political science degree from Providence College in Providence, R.I.

He was predeceased by his son, Kevin White, and daughter Laura White.

Survivors include his wife of 59 years, Maryanne Cahill White of Alexandria, Va.; three children: Chris White of Manassas, Va.; Claire White of Cambridge, Mass.; and Mary Lou White of Evanston, Ill.; a brother, David White of Alexandria, Va.; and three grandchildren. ■

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Reading Pakistan

Fighting to the End: The Pakistan Army's Way of War

C. Christine Fair, Oxford University Press, 2014, \$34.95/hardcover, \$14.39/Kindle, 368 pages.

REVIEWED BY KAPIL GUPTA

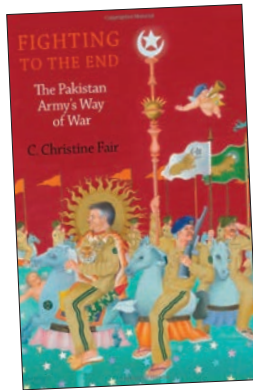
Sometime in 2005 a Pentagon briefer made a reference to Pakistan, and was promptly cut off—“What Pakistan are you referring to? There is no Pakistan! There is the army, the ISI (Directorate for Inter-Services Intelligence), the politicians, the industrialists, the tribal areas...” The moment was hallmark Donald Rumsfeld, and the staffer had no reply.

With the publication of C. Christine Fair's *Fighting to the End: The Pakistan Army's Way of War* there is no longer an excuse for any U.S. national security policy professional to be unprepared for such a question.

In writing this book, Fair has personally upped the ante for scholarship on Pakistan. Like a mathematically gifted card-counter banned from the casino, she is now persona non grata in Pakistan. Someone there even felt compelled to produce at least two YouTube video rebuttals to this book, complete with ad hominem attacks.

Although she is a controversial figure for Pakistan's military-intelligence community, Fair's work is firmly grounded in political science, empirical analysis and a detailed reading of the Pakistan Army's defense literature.

Dissecting Pakistan's praetorianism is not new territory, but in this book Fair exposes the full extent to which Pakistan's political character is defined by its military's strategic culture. She details how Pakistan's “unreasonable revisionism” regarding its history and role in the



world combines dangerously with the characteristics of a “greedy state” that is implacably driven to initiate hostilities against its perceived existential rival, India.

the ways in which Pakistan is existentially hard-wired to act in a regionally destabilizing manner, both against India and in pursuit of “strategic depth” in Afghanistan.

If you have worked on the Pakistan portfolio in the past 20 years, *Fighting to the End* will either confirm your wisdom of folding early, or carry the humiliation of losing to a low-card pair. The history Fair recounts is unforgiving on the facts

The history Fair recounts is unforgiving on the facts of how Pakistan's strategic culture has led to outcomes antithetical to U.S. national security goals.

Ironically, as Fair notes, pursuit of this rivalry is ultimately self-defeating: “Pakistan has doggedly attempted to revise the geographical status quo and roll back India's ascendancy, and the very instruments it has used to attain these policies have undermined Pakistan's standing within the international community and even its own long-term viability.”

The army's maladjustment to battlefield defeats (to India) and the territorial loss of East Pakistan (present-day Bangladesh) have contributed significantly to narratives of existential external threats. According to its own self-serving criteria, which differ from objective measures of national defense, Pakistan's mission across the various conflicts it has precipitated is simply to avoid defeat. For Islamabad, winning is simply preserving the ability to inflict security costs on India; loss is any constraint on offensive, low-intensity capabilities.

Thus, win or lose, the Pakistan military has been able to rationalize the core tenets of its strategic culture that, unfortunately, play out in a manner that is regionally destabilizing. Fair explains

of how Pakistan's strategic culture has led to outcomes antithetical to U.S. national security goals. There is no shortage of evidence suggesting that Pakistani officials have acted as sponsors of terrorism, proliferators of nuclear weapons and providers of a safe haven for Osama Bin Laden.

According to Fair, it is unlikely that Washington will call Islamabad's bluff: “Doing so would require American diplomats who are as thoroughly knowledgeable as their Pakistani counterparts. Even if more American negotiators were able to counter the narrative presented by their Pakistani counterparts and prevent them from employing their preferred strategy of playing on American desire to make restitutions for past failures, it is not obvious that they would do so. American policymaking—toward Pakistan generally and the army in particular—is always aimed at quickly completing transactions to meet short-term needs.”

Cumulatively, since the 9/11 attacks, Pakistan's winnings from the U.S. taxpayer are at least \$27 billion and counting. (For detailed documentation of U.S.

assistance to Pakistan, see the Center for Global Development's "Aid to Pakistan by the Numbers" and the Congressional Research Service's July 1, 2013, report, "Pakistan: U.S. Foreign Assistance.")

Poker players know that if you can't spot the sucker during the first few hands of the game, then it is most likely you. Christine Fair's scholarship is a gift to U.S. policymakers playing at the South Asia table; the savvy among them will use this book to be prepared to read Pakistan's tells—and know when the deck is cold.

Prior to becoming a Foreign Service officer, Kapil Gupta served as country director for Afghanistan at the Office of the Secretary of Defense. All of his poker losses from Dhaka, Accra, Navy Hill and Mumbai have been paid in full. He currently serves as the Economic Bureau's detailee to the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review office. The opinions expressed in this review are those of the author and not the U.S. Department of State.

Addressing the Cyberknowledge Gap

Cybersecurity and Cyberwar: What Everyone Needs to Know

P.W. Singer and Allan Friedman, Oxford University Press, 2014, \$16.95, paperback, 320 pages.

REVIEWED BY JIM PATTERSON

In *Cybersecurity and Cyberwar: What Everyone Needs to Know*, P.W. Singer and Allan Friedman quickly summarize current cyber issues, as of early 2014, in a highly readable style

The book works well as a source on current cyberdisputes and as a back-grounder for offering practical policy guidance on an increasingly complex and rapidly changing subject. It is not overly

technical; nor is it laden with jargon. In short, it is a resource to equip readers for today's challenges.

From personal privacy to global politics, cyberassaults are a daily affair in the 21st century. The Defense Department has reportedly budgeted \$5 billion for cyberdefense. The burden on U.S. businesses is growing annually, as witnessed recently in online assaults on everything from NATO to Sony Pictures. In December, President Barack Obama compared cyberspace to the "Wild West."

Arguably, cybersecurity is one of the most important diplomatic and defense issues of our era. As one U.S. general told

Arguably, cybersecurity is one of the most important diplomatic and defense issues of our era.

the authors, "Understanding cyber is now a command responsibility." If not at present a diplomatic responsibility, it is certainly a real factor in the international relations landscape, and cooperation with other agencies is critical to quickly identify and address threats.

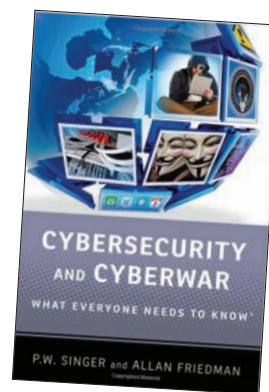
In the authors' view, however, the public and policymakers are woefully uninformed when it comes to such matters. The late Senator Ted Stevens (R-Alaska) once described cyberspace as "a series of tubes." And, as they report, a Pentagon committee spent a year writing a 28-word definition of the term that would perplex most readers.

Disturbingly, Singer and Friedman note that Congress has not passed any substantive legislation on cybersecurity since 2002. (In the final days of the 113th

Congress, lawmakers passed five bills that critics say amount to very little.) Why the delay on serious cybersecurity legislation?

Lawmakers lack understanding of the issue, the authors argue. Conflicting policy recommendations and priorities by agencies may also be confusing lawmakers. But the risk from inaction on a national cyberdefense policy is not in the best interest of the nation.

Several themes recur throughout the book. The first is knowledge: Whether it is cyberspace or foreign policy, demystifying something requires knowledge and knowledge-sharing.



Another is personnel: "The people behind the machines are inherently inside any problem or needed solution," the authors write. Think WikiLeaks Pfc. Chelsea Manning and National Security Agency contractor and international fugitive Edward Snowden. Management message: Think caution when giving clearances, and closely monitor personnel to prevent classified disclosures by future Chelsea and Edward types.

Finally, the different views of states about cybersecurity are critical to global politics, the authors advise. Each country practices "intelligence" gathering, but for different national security purposes.

For instance, cybersecurity has complicated diplomacy between the United States and China. China's definition of

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- Book Discussion: Ms. Rachel Thompson**
February 10 @ 11:15 am - 12:30 pm
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February 13 @ 12:00 pm - 2:00 pm
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February 16

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“intelligence” extends to cyberespionage and theft of proprietary business and industrial information. A sizable portion of the book covers current U.S.-China relations in the cybersecurity area, but with only general direction for a bilateral resolution.

Cybersecurity and Cyberwarfare was published last year, before the U.S. Justice Department brought cyberespionage charges against five members of the Chinese military. Beijing retaliated to the Justice move by suspending cybersecurity talks with Washington and, reportedly, by increasing its cyberespionage in the United States. Recent U.S.-China meetings seem to have produced nothing on cyber.

Cybersecurity also affects international organizations like NATO, which in 2007 found cyberdefense of Estonia (from Russia) to be outside its Article 5 duty of “collective defense” of a NATO member. Whether this policy prevails may depend on future cyberaggression against NATO members. The authors suggest NATO may soon be forced into cyberdefense.

Cloud computing, big data and increasingly small, cheap and accurate handheld devices will pose additional challenges for future cybersecurity.

This book is a great resource, when combined with other reading and training, as diplomacy becomes more technology-based. It will serve FSOs well as they grapple with these challenges. ■

Jim Patterson, a retired FSO and AFSA life member, writes on technology from his San Francisco office. He is a member of DACOR and the Society of Historians of American Foreign Relations. He blogs at www.JEPDiplomacy.blogspot.com.

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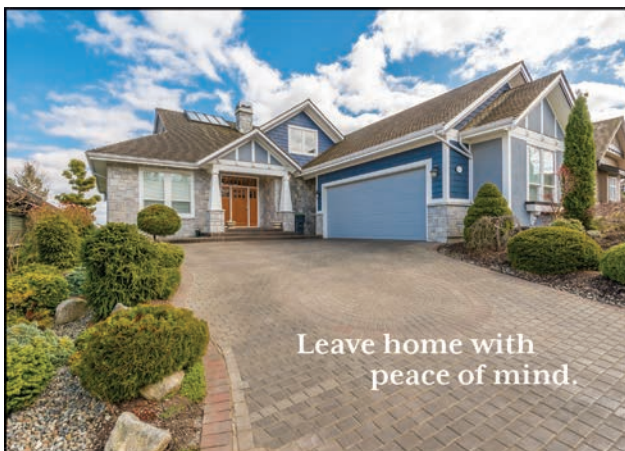
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Rangoon: A Walk in the Rain

BY ARTHUR DYMOND

The other day I left work at 5 p.m. to do some exploring in downtown Rangoon before sunset with my wife, Stefanie. We gave instructions to our nanny, who had agreed to stay late, then departed.

By the time we arrived at Sule Pagoda, in the heart of downtown opposite the former U.S. chancery, dark clouds had collected in the near distance. Their steel gray color made a beautiful backdrop to the golden pagoda, but seemed less than inviting for an early evening walk.

Nevertheless, we jumped out of the taxi in the direction of the beautifully manicured, bright green lawn called Maha Bandula Garden. It's named for General Maha Bandula, who commanded the Burmese army against the British in the First Anglo-Burmese War (1824-1826).

Then, as if in an attempt to wash the city of a day's worth of sweat, muck and filth, the heavens opened up suddenly. With a throng of pedestrians, we squeezed ourselves under what was left of an awning that had once been a grand entrance to the colonial high court. After about 15 minutes, the torrential rain gave way to something more "normal," and we ventured out—with one small umbrella between us.

Arthur Dymond is a first-tour management-coned officer posted to Rangoon as an assistant GSO. Before joining the State Department, he spent five years as an analyst at the Pentagon. Earlier he worked in the private sector in Europe, Africa and Asia. Arthur and his wife, Stefanie, have a 3-year-old son and a 16-month-old daughter.

Across from the courthouse was a narrow alley lined with tall, colonial-era apartment buildings. Their walls were green with moss, grass and even a few small shrubs growing horizontally from between bricks. The colors of the walls, already faded by decades of tropical weather and vehicle pollution, took on an even gentler hue as the sun began its descent.

The torrential rain gave way to something more "normal," and we ventured out—one small umbrella between us.

Fluorescent lights had begun to paint light semicircles around the entrances to a few of the ground-floor shops. A couple of street dogs followed us with their eyes, apparently not interested enough to expend the energy to turn their heads. Ahead was a small neighborhood street market that was preparing to close down for the evening.

From behind us, I heard a man's voice calling out, "Hello... Hey, you... You... Hello." I did not want to buy anything, and had already lost valuable daylight that was helpful in exploring this quarter of the city. But he continued shouting, and I finally organized my thoughts into the limited Burmese phrases I had learned, to say politely that I had no time and no money.

My Burmese lessons left me unprepared, however, for what happened next.

Turning to find the source of the voice, I looked up to the third floor to see a warm smile on an old man leaning over a balcony. In his outstretched arms was a red umbrella ... for me. He motioned that I should catch it. I declined repeatedly, but in the end relented. He gently let go of the umbrella, and it fell perfectly into my hands.

I thanked him, and we continued on our way down the narrow alley. But the attractions hidden along the street and around the next corner faded. I glanced with only passing interest at the dirty tables with their perfect rows of fish waiting to be sold; at the whole chickens, naked and headless; at the neat stacks of fruits and vegetables; at the tired women and children who had been selling their goods all day while trying to fight off the tropical heat. I hardly even noticed the rats gathering scraps of discarded food from beneath the tables.

I felt completely overwhelmed by the genuine kindness and hospitality this stranger had shown me. At the same time, I felt shame for having cynically misread the situation.

As we retraced our steps back to the narrow market alley, I carried the umbrella with a certain pride. It made me feel welcome and familiar, as if I somehow belonged in this place that was so different from my posh diplomatic neighborhood.

We wondered if the generous man would still be there. As it turned out, he was. And he welcomed us into his foyer, and we chatted for about 10 minutes before heading back home to get the children ready for bed.

Though our excursion was cut short by the weather, I feel fortunate to have discovered so much about Burma during that brief evening walk in the rain. ■



Young boys from Shigar, in the far northern Gilgit-Baltistan province of Pakistan, play polo on two legs instead of four. This is a common scene here, where locals claim polo originated. Iran might dispute that, but there is no denying strong local interest in the sport. Gilgit-Baltistan is home to the oldest royal polo square and holds annual contests with the neighboring province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, which is home to the highest polo ground in the world. ■

Brian M. Gibel is the cultural attaché at Embassy Islamabad. Previous assignments include Embassy Seoul, where he was cultural attaché; Consulate General Shenyang, where he was political-economic chief; Consulate General Shanghai, where he was assistant public affairs officer; and two additional tours at Embassy Seoul, where he was a consular officer and deputy spokesperson.

A native of Oceanside, New York, Brian wrestled competitively for 15 years before joining the Foreign Service. He is married to Dr. Hyun Hee Kim, a professor and academic coordinator of Hanyang University's Graduate TESOL Program in Seoul. Their daughter Maya was born in 2008.

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