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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Foreign Service Pets: Not a Peripheral Issue

BY SUSAN R. JOHNSON

Following its recent merger with Continental Airlines, United Airlines replaced its internationally oriented, pet-friendly policies with Continental's U.S.-specific PetSafe transport program. The announcement set off alarm bells throughout the military and Foreign Service pet owner communities because PetSafe imposes unrealistic requirements, unclear procedures, high costs and increased risks for pets traveling as "cargo" rather than "excess baggage."

After military protests, United quickly announced a waiver program that exempted DOD personnel on transfer orders from certain provisions. Following a vigorous advocacy campaign led by AFSA, and supported by State Department engagement with United and the U.S. General Services Administration, United extended this waiver to Foreign Service personnel traveling on transfer orders.

This may seem an unimportant issue to some, but for Foreign Service pet owners, it's huge. The companionship pets provide is long recognized across many cultures and throughout human history. It is as valued to the nomadic diplomat (and family) who must pull up roots and move on every two or three years as to anyone, and perhaps even more so. The important role pets play in providing emotional support, joy and even safety to singles and families alike



came across eloquently and poignantly in the thousands of e-mail letters AFSA members sent to United's chief executive officer.

Here are a few excerpts: "Because our lives are often uprooted, we rely even more heavily than usual on that which is familiar and constant to us. The comfort of a pet is so important to the mental health and well-being of my family members and many Foreign Service families." "Our pets are part of our families and help provide the stability and grounding many of us need." "So many of us value the companionship to help us cope with a major life change." "Being thousands of miles away from my wife while she was alone in a dangerous place, one of the few comforts I had was knowing that she had our dog to help protect and comfort her." "Having pets can sometimes be the only link to 'normalcy' in a stress-filled environment."

Even under long-accepted policies, air travel with pets is complicated, often anxiety-inducing and expensive. Post-9/11 security measures and proliferating health documentation requirements, which differ from country to country, make traveling with a loved pet a challenge. In many countries the pertinent laws and regulations are antiquated and subject to arbitrary interpretation.

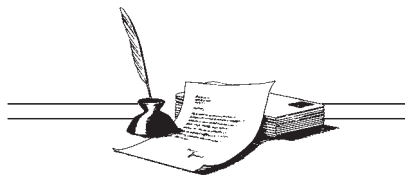
The high costs and complications of

a PetSafe program far from ready for global rollout would have pushed many Foreign Service families to the breaking point. United's waiver and the option to use other U.S. carriers have helped somewhat, but we still have a long way to go.

AFSA surveys suggest that close to 40 percent of Foreign Service members have pets. Recognizing their importance to this significant community, we must continue engaging with airlines, as well as host countries, to improve their laws and regulations concerning the transport of pets.

As a first step, United could revert to its former pet-friendly policies, at least for members of the foreign affairs agencies and the military. In addition, our embassies and missions, along with diplomatic colleagues from other countries, can approach host governments, and local airlines if necessary, to develop streamlined procedures that distinguish clearly between pets traveling as part of a household and animals imported or exported for commercial purposes.

Pet owners are responsible for their animal companions, but employers, governments and airlines all have an interest in recognizing the important role that animal companions play in supporting well-being and morale, and the benefits of common-sense, streamlined laws and regulations for travel with diplomatic and military pets. ■



LETTERS

Standing Up for the Foreign Service

In the May *Journal* AFSA President Susan Johnson uses her President's Views column to make an eloquent pitch that "It's time for FSOs to stand up for the Foreign Service ... to explain who they are and what they do." Her column goes on to note that doing so will require leadership from the State Department itself to make a better "case for professional education and training, improved assignment policies and clearer criteria for career advancement."

The obvious mutuality of that expression of needs makes needful action on the part of all concerned equally obvious. Is AFSA's president issuing some kind of call for action?

*Bruce Laingen
Ambassador, retired
Bethesda, Md.*

Distance Learning at the Army War College

I saw the announcement that your July-August issue is going to focus on Foreign Service training and education, and believe my experience at the U.S. Army War College might shed some useful light on the issue of pro-

fessional training.

FSI offers an advanced training opportunity that is located, for the most part, in the ether. Six State Department employees annually participate in the Master of Strategic Studies distance education program offered by the U.S. Army War College. It takes two years to complete but, with the exception of two two-week sessions held at Carlisle Barracks, Pa., participants conduct all their work online. As a graduate of the class of 2012, I highly recommend this program to my State Department colleagues.

The State Department began enrolling students in this program in 2003. Some 54 students have started since then; 40 have graduated. (This attrition is in line with the dropout rate for military members of the student body.)

Students in the distance education program follow the curriculum of the Army War College's one-year residential course, which is also available to State Department employees. The program trains senior leaders to think and plan strategically in order to achieve the president's national security objectives.

State Department students are well

received by the Army War College. Clayton Chun, chair of the Department of Distance Education, told me in an e-mail that "Our State Department students are some of the brightest and best thinkers at the U.S. Army War College. They provide a very unique and diverse view of the world and national security challenges. I only wish that we could have more State Department students to share our educational program and forge lasting relationships with our military, civilian and international students."

FSO Jonas Wechsler, who graduated in the class of 2010, echoes this sentiment: "The Army War College is more than welcoming of FSOs and State Department perspectives. What FSOs may lack in terms of familiarity with some of the Army's planning procedures and terminology, they more than make up for in writing skills and experience in the international arena."

The program is rigorous. Nine courses over two years (not counting the two residential courses) works out to about 10 weeks per course, and one starts right after the next. FSI advises students to plan on 15-20 hours of class work per week. That's about right, in my experience.

One's day does not expand to accommodate schoolwork, of course. Students have to find time to read and write while fulfilling the regular obligations of work and family. Department of State participants, however, can take heart. Many of the other students are Army Reserve or Army National Guard who juggle their commitment to the military with their day jobs (one of my seminar-mates is a senior manager for Lexmark; another is the chief financial officer of a large university) and their home lives.

The AWC distance learning program has benefited me in several ways. First, it was excellent mental training; my cognitive faculties haven't received such a workout since college. Second, I acquired new tools that will benefit me as a strategic planner and leader for the department. And, perhaps most gratifying of all, I took on a challenge and succeeded.

Robert Hilton
FSO
Washington, D.C.

Heeding Jefferson's Words

I enjoyed the article by Greg Naarden about our first Secretary of State in the April edition of *AFSA News*, "This Month in Diplomatic History: Thomas Jefferson." Mr. Naarden rightly describes Jefferson's affinity for the French. Indeed, the Secretary was very perplexed when France started attacking our ships in 1798.

In a letter to Elbridge Gerry, dated Jan. 26, 1799, Jefferson wrote: "The first object of my heart is my own country. In that is embraced my family, my fortune and my own existence. I have neither one fiber of attachment out of it, nor a single motive of preference of any one nation to another, but in proportion as they are more or less friendly to us."

That sentiment might well be titled, "The American Interest." Along with a portrait of Jefferson, I had the quote hanging in my office during my

long tenure in the regional office of the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, where we dealt regularly with the competing interests of Greeks and Turks; Arabs and Israelis, and Indians and Pakistanis. I commend Jefferson's words to all members of the Foreign Service.

Edward A. Padelford
FSO, retired
Bethesda, Md.

New President, Former Grantee

Germany's new president, Joachim Gauck, is a former International Visitor program grantee, once again demonstrating the great value of this State Department program in selecting individuals with future leadership potential in their respective countries.

In 1992, I accompanied Herr Gauck on a 30-day tour of the U.S. as his escort interpreter. Tremendously impressed by my traveling companion, I told him as he left New York to return to Berlin that I was sure I was looking at a future president of Germany.

When I reminded him of this in congratulating him on his overwhelming election by a special assembly on March 18, he replied that he indeed remembered my prophecy. But, he added, "Try as I might at the time to believe it, I simply could not. Rather, I found it highly amusing."

Dean Claussen
Senior FSO (USIA), retired
Bellevue, Wash. ■

CORRECTION

In the obituary for Kevin Morgan, on p. 61 of the May issue of the *Journal*, Mr. Morgan's wife, Tatiana, a Civil Service employee of the Department of State who lives with the couple's two daughters in Virginia, was not listed among the survivors. We sincerely regret this error.

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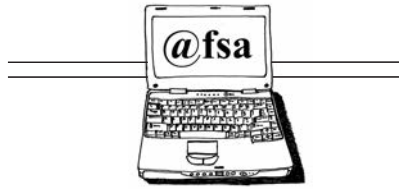
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CYBERNOTES

Honoring Public Diplomacy's Best

Successful public diplomacy requires leadership, imagination, resourcefulness and determination under challenging conditions. Each year the Public Diplomacy Alumni Association (formerly the USIA Alumni Association) recognizes the achievements of those PD practitioners, whether overseas or in Washington, D.C., who exemplify these qualities.

This year's three winners were feted at PDAA's 15th annual awards dinner, held on May 6 in Washington, D.C. They are:

Heather Grace Eaton, public affairs officer at Consulate General Naha since 2010, received an award for innovative leadership and creativity in advancing U.S. strategic objectives in Okinawa. Operating with limited resources in a historically difficult public affairs environment, Ms. Eaton built a collaborative network of American and Japanese civilian and military public diplomacy professionals, educators, librarians and volunteers, which she used to expand outreach and refocus programming on core, security-related themes.

Sharon Hudson-Dean, counselor for public affairs at Embassy Harare since 2010, was honored for exceptional courage, creativity and persever-

North Korea always returns Nevil for good, and the Chinese government always swallows the humiliation and the anger. Who would dare do this to American fishermen?

— "The Far Off Time,"
a pseudonymous user of
www.Weibo.com, a Chinese
microblogging site, reacting
to North Korea's seizure of
28 Chinese fishermen;
translated and quoted in the
May 24 *Washington Post*
(www.washingtonpost.com)

ance in the face of daunting political and communications challenges. She cultivated new, effective platforms for U.S. engagement with Zimbabwean youth, women, opposition groups and hostile media; established bilateral partnerships; achieved exchange alumni support for public diplomacy efforts; and harnessed the power of social media to outstanding effect.

Jean Manes, director of resources in the Office of Policy, Planning and Resources in the Bureau for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs since 1993, was cited for outstanding initiative, insight and determination in leading a thorough strategic review of State Department public diplomacy person-

nel and budgets. She effectively advocated for public diplomacy resources and field-directed input, and tutored a generation of PD managers in building the foundations for long-term resource planning.

For more information about the awards and the work of the Public Diplomacy Alumni Association, visit the organization's Web site (www.publicdiplomacy.org).

— *Steven Alan Honley, Editor*

Are Federal Workers' Personal Data Safe?

The Federal Retirement Investment Board (www.tsp.gov) announced on May 25 that personal information belonging to more than 120,000 federal employees and other account holders enrolled in the Thrift Savings Plan was accessed last year in a "sophisticated cyberattack." (As most *FSJ* readers know, the TSP is a 401(k)-style retirement plan available to active and retired federal employees and uniformed services personnel. About 4.5 million individuals currently have accounts with it.)

The names, addresses and Social Security numbers of 43,587 individuals were in the affected files, along with financial account numbers and routing numbers in some cases. Another group of 79,614 TSP participants had



50 Years Ago...

This is the great period of the Foreign Service, much greater than any period that has gone before. And it will be so through this decade, and perhaps even more in the years to come, if we are able to maintain ourselves with success.

But it places the heaviest burdens upon all of you. Instead of becoming merely experts in diplomatic history, or in current clippings from the *New York Times*, now you have to involve yourselves in every element of foreign life — labor, the class struggle, cultural affairs and all the rest — attempting to predict in what direction the forces will move.

— Excerpted from “The Great Period of the Foreign Service,” a luncheon address given by President John F. Kennedy at the American Foreign Service Association on May 31, 1962; *FSJ*, July 1962.



their SSNs and various other information taken, but without names or other identifying features.

The incident actually occurred last July when a computer belonging to Serco, a third-party service provider that supports TSP operations, was breached, but did not come to light until April. As soon as the Federal Bureau of Investigation notified the company and the agency, they shut down the compromised computer and beefed up security procedures. (There has been no explanation of what triggered the FBI inquiry, how it discovered the breach or why the initial notification took so long.)

TSP Executive Director Greg Long has assured plan participants that all affected individuals have received letters telling them how to contact a call center established to offer credit monitoring and other services.

Though there is no evidence that the data have been misused, *Washington Post* blogger Edwin Yoder reports in a May 26 article that information security is an ongoing concern for federal agencies. He cites a disquieting October 2011 Government Accountability

Office study (GAO-12-137, “Information Security: Weaknesses Continue Amid New Federal Efforts to Implement Requirements”) which revealed that the number of attacks on federal agencies’ computer systems reported to a central incident center soared from 5,503 in Fiscal Year 2006 to 41,776 in Fiscal Year 2010 (www.gao.gov/assets/590/585570.pdf).

— *Steven Alan Honley, Editor*

Voices Silenced, Tweets Heard

The spread of the Arab Spring not only reflects the power of cyberactivism — the use of social media platforms for sociopolitical objectives — but continues to be driven by it.

Earlier this year Courtney Radsch, senior program manager for the Global Freedom of Expression Campaign (www.freedomhouse.org) and an American University doctoral candidate in international relations investigated this topic for Rice University’s Baker Institute for Public Policy (www.bakerinstitute.org). Her report, “Unveiling the Revolutionaries: Cyberactivism and Women’s Role in the Arab Uprisings,” examines the im-



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SITE OF THE MONTH: www.animatedatlas.com/movie.html

This month, as the United States celebrates the 236th anniversary of its independence, it seems only appropriate to highlight a Web site that both shows and tells the history of our country. *Animated Atlas* produces interactive videos presenting essential events in America's history utilizing maps and geographic features. The site features "Growth of a Nation," a free 10-minute movie that depicts our country's expansion since 1789.

The film has three segments: Completion of Territory (1789-1853), Civil War (1853-1865) and Post-Civil War (1865-1959). The animation effects include color coding of states, fireworks signaling battles, moving lines for bodies of water, and hovering pictures of presidents, generals and other relevant figures. Audio commentary explains each historical event in detail.

Clicking on a state brings up basic geographical and historical facts. Viewers can also select a year at the bottom of the screen to pull up a timeline for the following categories: States, Territories, President, Society, Native American, World, Science and Culture.

In addition to the free online version, *Animated Atlas* also sells an enhanced CD-ROM edition that traces the growth of cities, changes to rural areas and the history of Native Americans.

— *Eva M.A. Moss, Editorial Intern*

pact of social media on Arab gender roles.

Echoing a theme Melanne Vermeer explored in the May *FSJ* ("Women and the Arab Spring") — "women have seized their new freedoms to organize outside of the government" — Radsch documents how young women in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Bahrain, Yemen and other Arab states are using social media like Twitter, Facebook and YouTube to carve out central roles for themselves in both the private and public spheres.

Through real-time Twitter posts from demonstrations, heated Facebook status updates and much more, these young women have successfully taken their activism from cyberspace to the streets. Identifying the three keys to the movement as citizen journalism, mobilization and organization, Radsch declares, "Facebook pages and

Twitter hashtags were an integral part of any protest, and became effective tools for influencing mainstream media coverage and organizing action."

Radsch predicts that Arab women of all ages will not stop protesting until their voices are heard — something that social media made feasible.

— *Eva M.A. Moss, Editorial Intern*

Closing the Language Deficit

The Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee's Subcommittee on Government Management, the Federal Work Force and the District of Columbia (www.hsgac.senate.gov) held a sobering May 21 hearing on "A National Security Crisis: Foreign Language Capabilities in the Federal Government." It is the eighth session its chairman, Senator Daniel Akaka, D-Hawaii, has convened on the subject.

Summarizing the hearing in his May 22 Federal Diary column, *Washington Post* writer Joe Davidson says Uncle Sam has made real progress on hiring fluent foreign-language speakers. Foreign Service Director General Linda Thomas-Greenfield testified that while just 61 percent of State's language-designated positions were filled with fully qualified personnel in 2009, three years later that figure now stands at 74 percent. Still, a quarter of LDPs are either held by less fluent speakers or are vacant, a shortfall that is particularly acute for Near Eastern, South Asian and East Asian languages.

The Defense Department faces similar difficulties, Davidson reports. More than 80 percent of DOD language slots had incumbents in Fiscal Year 2011, but just 28 percent of those employees were rated proficient.

Sen. Akaka used the occasion to urge federal agencies to do more to coordinate and share best practices in recruiting, retaining and training personnel. He also called for a coordinated national effort among all levels of government, industry and academia to tackle the problem so we "can improve our nation's language capacity and effectively confront the challenges to our nation's security and economic prosperity."

— *Steven Alan Honley, Editor*

Beat the Press

On May 2 the Committee to Protect Journalists (www.cpj.org) released its list of the "10 Most Censored Countries" in commemoration of World Press Freedom Day. Eritrea, North Korea and Syria topped the list, followed by Iran, Equatorial Guinea, Uzbekistan, Burma, Saudi Arabia, Cuba and Belarus.

The report assesses three categories



for each country: Leadership, How Censorship Works and Lowlights. It pinpoints those in charge of state censorship, their methods and the corruption that accompanies their tactics.

For instance, North Korea's Korean Central News Agency controls all media-related activity. Burma declines visa applications for major international reporters, while Saudi Arabia requires registration for "electronic journalism" practitioners.

Iran, Cuba and Belarus all imprison reporters, and the Syrian government is linked to the murder of at least six journalists. Many of these governments also employ filters to block all external Web sites and software to impede access to search engines in an attempt to black out media coverage.

Commenting on the report, Equatorial Guinean government spokesman Jeronimo Ecoro asserts that it shows "a biased opinion of the situation in the country." In fact, the report painstakingly documents the full extent of the threat from censorship.

As CPJ Executive Director Joel Simon comments, "Because the Internet and trade have made information global, domestic censorship affects people everywhere." The presence of Syria, Iran and North Korea on the list is particularly worrisome given the implications of their tight restrictions on information for geopolitical and nuclear stability.

—Eca M.A. Moss, *Editorial Intern*

Speaking of Dictators ...

In early May the *Journal* received a curious invitation in the mail. Purportedly sent on behalf of Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe by the Ministry of Education, Sport, Art and Culture, it invited us to the presidential residence in Harare for the May 12

premiere of a new movie. The handsome invitation, carefully labeled non-transferable, instructed the bearer to present it at the southwest entrance of the residence on the appointed night.

Alas, *Washington Post* columnist Al Kamen revealed in his May 9 "In the Loop" column that the invitation, which went to hundreds of recipients all over Washington, D.C., was a hoax to promote Sacha Baron Cohen's new movie, "The Dictator" (www.republicofwadiya.com). In it, the comedian portrays a despot who used to rule over the fictional African nation of Wadiya before being ousted and forced to start a new life in America.

Despite clever marketing, the film received generally poor reviews and tanked at the box office. But if nothing else, the prank is a salutary reminder that after nearly a quarter-century as president, the 88-year-old Mugabe remains firmly entrenched in power and intends to run for re-election this fall.

In the meantime, the *Guardian* (www.guardian.co.uk) reports that the United Nations' World Tourism Organization (www.unwto.org) has just appointed Mugabe a "Global Leader for Tourism." He and a political ally, Zambian President Michael Sata, signed an agreement to that effect with UNWTO Secretary General Taleb Rifai at their shared border at Victoria Falls on May 29. The two will also co-host the next UNWTO General Assembly in August 2013.

Critics were quick to note the irony of the appointment: Mugabe remains subject to comprehensive European and American sanctions that include travel bans, making it rather difficult for him to promote tourism effectively.

Sometimes truth really is stranger than fiction.

—Steven Alan Honley, *Editor* ■

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ADEQUATE FUNDING IS A KEY PIECE
OF THE PROFESSIONALIZATION PUZZLE,
BUT NOT THE ONLY ONE.

BY SHAWN ZELLER

In the summer of 2010, the Center for a New American Security examined more than two dozen reports, articles and blue-ribbon commission studies, all aimed at overhauling the Foreign Service for the new millennium. CNAS found that all the studies, dating back to the late 1990s, were consistent in one regard about what the State Department needs to do to fulfill its mission in the new century: train its staff better.

The center, which has close ties to the Obama administration, noted that State has been trying to do just that for a

long time. But as it documented in *Rebuilding Diplomacy: A Survey of Past Calls for State Department Transformation* (www.cnas.org), “chronic staffing shortfalls driven by budget cuts and increased responsibilities severely constrain the department’s ability to release employees from daily duties so that they can undertake needed education and training.”

The CNAS study made it clear that expanded State Department training should go beyond simply preparing employees for their next assignment to offering courses to prepare Foreign Service officers for a career in government. “The State Department should make an institutional commitment to training its diplomats to excel at conducting 21st-century diplomacy,” the Center said.

As soon as he became Secretary of State in 2001, Colin Powell made rectifying the situation a top priority. Through the Diplomatic Readiness Initiative, intended to rebuild a Foreign Service gutted by a decade of flat or declining budgets, State quickly hired more than a thousand Foreign Service personnel, exceeding the rate of attrition. The goal was to create a surplus “float,” or reserve, of officers that would allow full staffing of posts overseas even as a sizable contingent of officers underwent long-term education and training in Washington.

Unfortunately, the demand for Foreign Service personnel, particularly in Iraq and Afghanistan, grew so voraciously that allowing them to stay in Washington to pursue long-term professional training was a luxury most posts couldn’t afford.

Diplomacy 3.0, We Hardly Knew Ye

In 2009, the Obama administration decided to tackle this longstanding challenge head on. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton launched an initiative dubbed Diplomacy 3.0, with an ambitious goal of expanding the ranks of Foreign Service personnel at the State Department by 25 percent, both to meet new needs and to allow more officers to take training. The year before, USAID launched the Development Leadership Initiative, a related program, with the even bolder goal of doubling the

Diplomacy 3.0 and the Development Leadership Initiative have attempted to institutionalize a training reserve.

number of FSOs there.

As its name suggests, Diplomacy 3.0 — also known as “The 3 Ds” — has three elements: diplomacy, development and defense. Developed as part of a creative marketing pitch aimed at Congress, the initiative centered on the proposition that the Foreign Service faces increasingly complex challenges in the post-9/11 world. Besides serving in war zones,

today’s diplomats have to engage their foreign peers on subjects ranging from terrorism and international crime to nuclear nonproliferation, the environment and many others requiring specialized knowledge, program management abilities and familiarity with the interagency community.

To do that effectively, they also need to master difficult languages like Chinese and Arabic. Taken together, all of these demands require a massive expansion of programs at the Foreign Service Institute, the department’s training center, as well as sufficient hiring to create and maintain a training float.

For a while, the approach seemed to be working. Thanks to massive infusions of resources, State expanded the ranks of Foreign Service employees by about 17 percent in less than two years to more than 13,000. As of 2011, USAID had hired 809 new officers, boosting its Foreign Service work force by two-thirds. FSI received sizable budget increases, as well. Its budget doubled between 2008 and 2011, rising from \$121 million to \$240 million.

But the progress stopped once Democrats lost the House of Representatives in November 2010 and held a narrower majority in the Senate. A huge class of Republican freshmen, many of them inspired by the fiscally austere Tea Party movement, joined forces with other fiscal conservatives and foreign policy isolationists on Capitol Hill to downsize federal agencies. FSI’s budget went flat, and funds for Foreign Service recruitment and hiring also took a hit.

In early 2011 Senator Tom Coburn, R-Okla., perhaps the Senate’s foremost budget-cutter, delivered a blunt message to State Department officials at a Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee hearing. Diplomacy 3.0, he said, was dead.

“We are all on an absolutely unsustainable course in

Shawn Zeller, a regular contributor to the Journal, is a freelance writer in Washington, D.C.

terms of being able to pay the bills,” Coburn explained. “It is a new day and it’s really important that our leaders, such as you all, understand that we are going to be under very constricted resources for the next 20 years in this country.”

To add insult to injury, Coburn cited a January 2011 Government Accountability Office report that criticized some aspects of State Department training as cause not to go forward. “It’s one thing to ramp up,” he said. “It’s the other thing to ramp up without proper training ... and also the proper controls on the training.”

In fact, the GAO report — *Additional Steps Are Needed to Improve Strategic Planning and Evaluation of Training for State Personnel* (www.gao.gov/assets/320/315137.pdf) — presents a much more nuanced view of the Foreign Service Institute’s performance in training Foreign Service personnel.

The GAO found that the State Department had “taken many steps to incorporate the interrelated elements of an effective training program” including developing an “annual training plan, and implementing a range of training evaluation mechanisms and a learning management system that can be used to track training delivery.”

But GAO also argued that State didn’t do enough to ensure that training was improving the performance of its employees in the field. Specifically, GAO said that State lacked a “systematic, comprehensive training needs assessment process incorporating all bureaus and overseas posts” and that “State’s performance measures for training generally do not fully address training goals, and are generally *output-* rather than *outcome-*oriented.”

While the November elections may usher in a new Congress with more interest in improving American diplomacy, continued gridlock seems a more likely outcome. Already, the scope of Diplomacy 3.0 has been curtailed, particularly with regard to Foreign Service training. State and USAID have been forced to concentrate on staving off large reductions in their budgets rather than seeking new resources.

Critical as funding is, it is also important for State and USAID to broaden their thinking about the distinction between professional education and training. A crucial step would be to shift the current emphasis on training as

***State and USAID
are now focused on
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cuts rather than seeking
new resources for training.***

an ad hoc process focused on prepping staff for each new assignment. Instead, the Foreign Service must make professional education an integral, ongoing part of each employee’s career development.

“The Last Place to Cut”

Despite Sen. Coburn’s skepticism about the quality of State Department training, Foreign Service

Institute Director Ruth Whiteside believes the record supports calls for additional resources, not fewer. “Training is the last place you cut, rather than the first,” she says. (See page 32 for an in-depth interview with her.)

FSI’s offerings include 600 classroom courses and more than 200 classes that employees can take online. Training starts with orientation and extends through advanced classes on tradecraft, with subjects ranging from managing an embassy to doing political and economic reporting and using information technology. New offerings focus on promoting human rights and democracy, cultivating supervisory and leadership skills for entry-level staff, and understanding the roles of different agencies in national security.

Because the Foreign Service’s duties have expanded in wartorn and increasingly dangerous parts of the world, Whiteside has pushed for more course offerings in stability operations, area studies and negotiating techniques. And recognizing that State employees must often work with other agencies, she has tapped the expertise of the General Services Administration and the Defense Acquisitions University to bring in or purchase training on governmentwide issues like human resources, acquisitions and federal budgeting.

For future leaders, she’s championed the National Security Executive Leadership Seminar, a 10-day class in which State Department employees and peers from other agencies study U.S. national security strategy, critical challenges to American interests and the leadership skills needed for success in the interagency policy implementation process.

Foreign Service employees can also pursue long-term professional education opportunities beyond FSI, whether at the defense war colleges, private universities such as Princeton and Tufts, or think-tanks like the Hoover Institution and the Center for Strategic and In-

FOCUS

ternational Studies. FSOs who have done so, like Walter Douglas, who has taken a yearlong fellowship to research public diplomacy efforts in Muslim countries at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, say State would be wise to make greater use of such opportunities. "It's an incredible value if people can do it," Douglas says. "You get to step out of the system and read the literature and do the research on how to improve our work."

Fellowship opportunities are listed on the State Department's intranet site; competition for a limited number of slots is fierce. Employees who are selected must agree to stay with the department for a period three times the length of the fellowship, or else refund the training expenses to the department.

Beyond slots at the war colleges, think-tanks and private universities, employees can pursue exchanges with foreign governments, such as Australia and Japan, and sabbaticals, such as that offered by the Una Chapman Cox Foundation, that come with few restrictions on how they are used.

About 160 officers are currently taking long-term training. Another 182 are pursuing Foreign Service detail opportunities outside State, and 40 more are taking after-hours seminars or other instruction.

Testimonials from the Field

Language training, of course, remains FSI's bread and butter, with classes in 70 languages that last anywhere from a few weeks to two years for the more difficult languages. Retired Ambassador Ken Brown, president of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, says FSI's language school is "if not the best in the world, close to that."

Brown notes that competition for the teaching awards ADST gives to FSI instructors is fierce. "The quality of the teaching is very high, and the teachers are very motivated to teach well and to look for ways to teach beyond the normal curriculum materials," he says. "If they have a student with a particular problem, they will go out of their way to help that student learn."

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Most respondents to a survey the American Foreign Service Association sent to its active-duty State Department members this spring echoed Brown's sentiments. Stuart Denyer, who entered the Foreign Service in 2009, recently completed a 30-week course in French to prepare for his assignment as a public affairs officer in Djibouti. He says his instructors were stellar. Class sizes were typically just three or four, and teachers went the extra mile to ensure the students learned the material.

"They make every effort to see that we succeed," he says. "Testing can be intimidating and feel like a hostile environment, but everyone has our best interests in mind. They've added additional conversation tables throughout the day, so we have opportunities to be continually speaking. The teachers are creative, and they use new technology to improve the course."

Denyer found the language training tailored to the needs of the officer in the field. "It's less on how to be a tourist and order food and more on immigration and the death penalty and who's going to win the next election," he says.

Many other recent entrants responding to the AFSA survey also expressed positive views of FSI. Tim Lamb, a new security engineering officer, says the course he took on overseeing federal contracts put him in a good position to step up when he is sent abroad. "It seemed really professional," he says. "They weren't just looking to check a box. The instructor was a retired Air Force colonel who did 25 years managing contracts. He had a wealth of experience and all kinds of good examples."

Lisa Swenarski de Herrera, a cultural affairs officer in Quito, now on her fourth overseas assignment in 10 years, says that the classroom training has been excellent overall, apart from some variation in the quality of her teachers. She also praises the department for now requiring officers to take management and leadership training. The courses in those areas are strong, in her experience. "They contain a good balance of theory and practical exercises and real-life anecdotes."

Like most personnel at State, her biggest concern is that she hasn't received enough education. "The issue is not whether the department offers quality training or not—it does. The issue is that officers are not being granted

***Professional education
must go beyond training
FS employees for their next
assignment to preparing them
for a career in government.***

the time to get the training. The way the transfer cycle is set up, the receiving post is too often desperate to fill a position and training is sacrificed."

But FSI Director Ruth Whiteside sees evidence that the attitudes of supervisors about training are changing. "We have seen a serious change in bureaus' willingness to let people go to training,"

she says, noting that the shift is reflected in the numbers. Over the last seven years, the number of enrollments at FSI is up by a third. FSI's annual customer survey indicates that many new enrollees are coming there because their supervisors recommended it.

AFSA officials say they've noticed the difference, as well. Daniel Hirsch, AFSA's State Department vice president, says that the department has been more rigorous about insisting that employees get their training, even when posts want them to arrive earlier.

Hirsch praises Whiteside as one of the most knowledgeable people at the department in determining what a Foreign Service employee should know to advance his or her career, and says she's surrounded herself with good people. "She has a good staff, quite a creative staff, and they are clearly thinking about the right things."

The department is also doing more to integrate training into professional development, as AFSA has long argued it should. For instance, it conducted comprehensive job analyses in 2007 and 2009 that FSI has used to shape training offerings. However, AFSA has not been wholly satisfied in this area, arguing that in some career tracks, such as Office Management Specialists, training requirements have actually been curtailed.

Again, Hirsch says, this is likely a problem stemming from a lack of resources. Some plans are being scaled back because "the department doesn't feel it can meet some of the training goals."

Interpreting the GAO Report

Some on Capitol Hill recognize this. Sen. Daniel Akaka, the Hawaii Democrat who commissioned the 2011 Government Accountability Office study Coburn cites, says that its key finding—that State Department training needs better quality controls—indicates a need for more funding, not less.

FOCUS

Akaka has blasted his colleagues for recent budget decisions, calling them shortsighted because they could actually increase costs to the government in the future. “The work of the State Department helps build more stable societies, which minimizes the potential for conflict, lowering the human and financial costs of military engagement,” he says. “Meeting these critical challenges requires investment in training and professional education.”

But on Capitol Hill, the GAO study looms over State’s efforts to win that funding. And, at least lately, Coburn’s take on it — that State needs to prove the value of its training before it gets more money — is winning.

The GAO report actually said that State was doing a lot of things right in training its staff. But it also said the department wasn’t doing enough to evaluate whether its efforts were making a difference in the field by helping officers do their jobs better. It also couldn’t show that it was putting its training dollars into the right classes and programs, GAO argued, and needed to do a better job of

tracking the outcome of the instruction — not just the number of classes held and course hours completed.

In particular, the GAO found, FSI doesn’t reach out enough to bureaus and overseas posts to get a sense of what kind of training they want their employees to have. The watchdog agency also said State needs to do more to formulate professional development plans for each of its employees, so they will know precisely what they need to do to advance their careers.

Whiteside says that FSI is responding to those recommendations, and notes that it already applies feedback from its students on how training helps them do their jobs.

Creative Thinking

Having the funding to hire enough extra officers to allow for more time in training is crucial. But even if the float does not materialize, or it takes longer to build than expected, there are creative steps the department can take.

For instance, Whiteside wants to accelerate ongoing




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efforts to increase interagency training, especially with the Agency for International Development, and to make FSI's online courses more user-friendly.

Foreign Service employees who responded to AFSA's survey had numerous suggestions to address training shortfalls. Stuart Denyer, for example, says that his own experience at State — he was a civil servant for a decade before joining the Foreign Service — shows that the department could make better use of Civil Service personnel by giving them short-term assignments overseas when it has staffing gaps, perhaps resurrecting the old idea of a Foreign Service Reserve.

Lisa Swenarski suggests offering more foreign language training at post, creating an immersion experience that will help officers learn more efficiently. And she says the department would do well to add transfer seasons to the existing summer and winter peaks. Staggered transfers, she believes, would allow more time for training.

AFSA has long argued that State leaders need to wrest more control over training from posts, whose interests are focused on their immediate needs rather than on the professional development of career officers. That hasn't yet happened, but AFSA was successful in inserting language into the promotion precepts rewarding supervisors who think in terms of developing their subordinates' skills.

The surge of online course offerings, observes AFSA State VP Daniel Hirsch, is not the solution, unless officers are given more incentive to take the classes. Given the strain on officers overseas, "time is a valuable commodity," he says.

"People are unlikely to take online courses without compensation, such as overtime pay," he comments. "That is not because they are lazy, or greedy, or unwilling to better themselves. It is because employees overseas have far less free time than those in Washington, and they have at least as much to do with that time — to take care of basic needs — as folks back home."

The American Academy of Diplomacy, in its 2010 report, offered other ideas to improve Foreign Service training. The department could make a clear statement about the value of training, for example, by simply re-

About 160 FSOs are currently taking long-term training, while others are pursuing details outside State or taking after-hours seminars or other courses.

quiring more of it, the report said — if the resources are available to carry out the training.

In AAD's view, given the large number of officers with less than a decade of experience, it's crucial that training be given priority over other staffing requirements. Even with resource constraints, the Academy believes the department could strengthen the Office of Career Development and Assignments in its Bureau of Human Resources by bringing on new staff to better coordinate assignment patterns with long-term strategic plans.

"The personnel system needs to take a stronger hand to ensure proper training," says Ambassador Ronald E. Neumann, the academy's president. "Right now, it's self-monitored by the officer."

Given the dearth of mid-career officers, a legacy of the hiring drought in the 1990s, the Academy also suggests creating a temporary corps of roving counselors, drawn from recently retired officers who can remain abroad for periods of several weeks or months, to provide counseling, advice and career guidance to new officers.

Neumann says that State has been blessed by the fact that senior officers willingly mentor their juniors. But now, given the gap in the ranks of mid-career officers, even that approach is at risk. "We've essentially had an apprenticeship system," he says. "But when two-thirds of your officers have less than 10 years of experience, it can't work that way anymore."

Such challenges are real. Fortunately, FSI still has a sizable budget to work with as it seeks to expand language training and course offerings in leadership development, project management and public diplomacy.

Likewise, the Foreign Service is still about 17 percent bigger than before Diplomacy 3.0 launched in 2008. At the same time, overseas staffing demands may finally be ebbing as the United States reduces its commitments in Iraq and Afghanistan. So, perhaps the long-awaited training float will finally materialize.

But Whiteside cautions it's still too early for the Foreign Service to get its hopes up. "That's not yet the world we live in," she points out. ■

FOSTERING A PROFESSIONAL FOREIGN SERVICE



STATE AND USAID SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON PROTECTING RECENT STAFFING GAINS, NOT PROGRAMS, TO COPE WITH BUDGET CUTBACKS.

BY RONALD E. NEUMANN

Achieving adequate staffing and fostering professional development within the Foreign Service are long struggles made worse by the federal deficit. The American Academy of Diplomacy has been deeply engaged in these endeavors and will soon return to the battle with a new study.

A year ago, my colleague Robert M. Beecroft reported in these pages on the ongoing advocacy of AAD for continuing professional development at the Department of State and the U.S. Agency for International Development, and the resources required for this to happen (“Taking Diplomatic Professional Education Seriously,” July-August 2011 *FSJ*; www.afsa.org/fsj).

As he noted, AAD has long been an energetic partner of AFSA and other allies in these efforts. Back in 2008, in collaboration with the Stimson Center and with funding provided by the Una Chapman Cox Foundation, the Academy produced *A Foreign Affairs Budget for the Fu-*

Ronald E. Neumann, a retired Senior Foreign Service officer, served as ambassador to Algeria, Bahrain and Afghanistan, among many other assignments. President of the American Academy of Diplomacy since 2007, Ambassador Neumann is the author of The Other War: Winning and Losing in Afghanistan (Potomac Press, 2009).

ture, the first study in decades that related State and USAID’s missions to needed staffing for both services.

That study, referred to in the following as the FAB, proceeded on certain basic assumptions: the principle of universality (i.e., a U.S. diplomatic presence in all countries); expanded engagement with nongovernmental actors; and the need to manage a broad base of U.S. interests overseas, to name but a few. It made specific recommendations for additional staff totaling 1,099 positions to carry out core diplomatic work in the areas of multilateral diplomacy, international law, economics, science and technology, public-private partnerships and interagency coordination.

As for training, the report delineated a lamentable gap between the number of language-qualified Foreign Service officers and the staffing required to meet FS needs, among other problems. To address the shortfall, it recommended the creation of an additional 1,287 training slots, as well as allocation of the resources necessary to support additional training.

FAB made extensive recommendations for increases in public diplomacy, going beyond staffing (487 American personnel and 369 Locally Employed Staff) to urge expansion of exchanges, cultural centers and other programs to support public diplomacy overseas. As for

USAID, the report recommended increasing staff by 1,250 positions above 2008 levels by Fiscal Year 2014, the cost of which would be partially offset by the conversion of 700 personal service contractors and other short-term American staff to permanent Foreign Service positions.

In the area of reconstruction and stabilization, the report recommended providing a substantial surge capacity of 562 personnel in various capacities. Before, during and since the drafting of the report there has been a continuing discussion of whether the U.S. needs such capacities, whether the requirements of Iraq and Afghanistan were aberrations that can be put behind us, and whether State can or should revert to its “traditional” role — a view heavily influenced by resistance to the Afghan and Iraqi deployments.

The idea that we can revert to older modes of diplomacy, however, overlooks the continuing record of other interventions, of which Haiti, Kosovo and Bosnia are only the latest examples. Another key element of that debate is whether the Civilian Response Corps should include dedicated language and area experts, in addition to the functional experts currently engaged.

Ambassador William Farrand’s interesting new book, *Reconstruction and Peace Building in the Balkans: The Brcko Experience* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2011) is a case study of the skills the Foreign Service fails to impart to officers before launching them to assume extensive responsibilities in a stabilization situation. There will be more such situations, and a response corps, no matter how constituted, cannot be the sole answer. In most cases there will be embassies and officers already on the ground that have to take charge.

Officers on the ground may not be fully trained to handle the issues of justice, policing and reconciliation common to stabilization and reconstruction operations. But while every situation will have its peculiarities, they should know, at a minimum, that some of them have arisen before and lessons have been learned. There is no reason to repeat painful mistakes.

Last year we built on the FAB concept with a follow-up study, *Forging a 21st-Century Diplomatic Service for*

***The American Academy
of Diplomacy continues to
push for the resources
required to advance
professional development
within the Foreign Service.***

the U.S. Through Professional Education and Training. Launched in February 2011, it focused heavily on the fact that two-thirds of current Foreign Service personnel have entered since 9/11, and about half have joined in the past five years.

**The Value of
Professional Education**

Under these conditions, our old models of mentoring cannot stretch far enough to provide the necessary training and education. State works hard to select the best possible officers and offer them a broad menu of voluntary and some required training for specific functions, as well as leadership and language training. However, it has done little to establish professional education. The difference between education and training was summed up by a military colleague as “We train for certainty. We educate for uncertainty.”

Professional education in this sense means having the opportunity to focus on larger issues beyond immediate tasks, and thus to prepare for senior-level responsibilities. (This is the function of the war colleges to which a few State officers are assigned each year.) But with ever increasing numbers of officers taking on more senior positions, and doing so with a shorter apprenticeship due to rapid promotions, the need for serious professional education is growing. The same is true of efforts to expand Foreign Service staff’s knowledge through required systematic training throughout their careers.

The 2011 report put forward a number of specific recommendations to address the rapidly changing international environment and equip the Foreign Service to meet new professional demands. State has already adopted a few of those, but most of our proposals have hit the wall of budgetary austerity — a challenge likely to worsen before it improves.

Despite such pressures, the Foreign Service Institute has continued to expand training opportunities, especially in the Language and Leadership Schools, and courses to prepare civilian personnel deploying to Afghanistan and Iraq. It has also responded heroically to a flood of new professional demands by creating new, short courses and beefing up its commitment to distance learning. But

State remains hampered by the absence of a training reserve (often called a float), seriously limiting the numbers of personnel who can be detached from regular duties for longer-term instruction.

The department has made genuine progress on defining the skills officers must achieve through the establishment of the Career Development Program for generalists.

However, the success of this largely self-monitored approach remains difficult to assess. Assignments continue to be made on the basis of the immediate needs of the Service and staff preferences, without systemic reference to long-term personnel development.

While Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton's Diplomacy 3.0 initiative has achieved noticeable progress, adding more than 4,000 positions to State and USAID over the past three years, fewer than half of these have been in the func-

Our old models of mentoring cannot stretch far enough to provide the necessary training and education for the many new FSOs.

tions our study highlighted as in urgent need of strengthening: crisis response, public diplomacy and training.

Moreover, while Diplomacy 3.0 set a commendable goal of a 25-percent increase in staffing and associated budget levels, State's presentations to Congress have been confined to listing detailed goals on a yearly basis. The fact that the department has never articulated, much less defended, longer-term staffing goals in the budget may well reflect strictures from the Office of Management and Budget, particularly in the current fiscal climate.

Whatever the reason, our *Foreign Affairs Budget for the Future* is still the only document that has taken a long-term approach to these issues, using specific benchmarks to justify the requested budget increases.

Even so, in some respects the FAB has been overtaken



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by events. For instance, the current congressional requirement to divide funding requests between a base budget and a category known as Overseas Contingency Operations (basically, to fund our posts in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan) has made it difficult to assess how much recent progress is permanent and how much is transitory.

Nor do we have any sense of how temporary the OCO structure is. Current administration policy calls for a continuing, if substantially reduced, military involvement in Afghanistan after the transfer of the “security lead” to local forces in 2014. This may change, but it appears likely that our nation will still be involved in stabilization operations in Afghanistan for many years. In Iraq, State’s substantial role is undisputed but its character and size may change. Thus, like its military equivalent, the “contingency” funding of OCO may be with us for years to come.

Furthermore, many of the expanded positions in Iraq and Afghanistan are filled by temporary, contract hires. While further research is needed, it appears that eventual reductions in the size of these missions will not release more than a handful of Foreign Service positions for training or other assignments.

Finally, the FAB study failed to address requirements for support staff in security, information management and office management. This makes it tricky to relate FAB requirements to accomplishments in increasing staffing.

Progress and Setbacks

With this in mind, AAD is now preparing a new study, *Diplomacy in a Time of Scarcity*, in partnership with the Stimson Center and the Una Chapman Cox Foundation. Its purpose is twofold: to determine the full gamut of staffing needed for an effective Foreign Service at State and USAID, even as the respective responsibilities of civilians and military personnel are being recalibrated, and to assess progress since the 2011 study. New challenges will continue to shape staffing requirements, but that is why it is more necessary than ever to have a detailed and defensible vision to guide the multiyear budget process.

Although the new study will only be completed in late

State still does too little to expand staff knowledge through career-long, systematic education.

summer or early fall of 2012, it is already possible to lay out a few facts. Comparing the recommendations of 2008 with progress since then (as of late March 2012), we can draw some conclusions, although there are differences between how we formulated our recommendations and how State keeps its personnel records.

Of the 1,099 additional positions in core diplomatic functions recommended by the FAB report, only about 500 have actually been added. Public diplomacy, very much a core component of diplomacy but one we treated separately for analytical purposes, grew by about 300 officers; that constitutes satisfactory progress compared to the 487 positions we advocated be added. The FAB recommendations for expansion of the stabilization function have advanced, but because that function is undergoing changes after the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review, conclusions now would be premature. The FAB report did not look at consular and management officers, but since 2008 these areas have increased by approximately 280 and 150 officers, respectively.

In round figures, then, the Foreign Service during the current administration has grown by about 1,200 officers. Less noticed is that during the same period Civil Service growth has been larger still, so that at least half (we are still working through some issues of data interpretation) of State’s growth under the much-discussed Diplomacy 3.0 program has been in the latter corps. The rationale for this distribution is one of the objects of the current study.

During the same period, USAID has added nearly all 1,250 positions FAB recommended. However, we are still sorting out some aspects of how USAID’s personnel structure relates to its mission and how much of the increase is in development officers. Thus, we are not yet ready to declare that these numbers meet the need.

In the area of training, the State Department has added nearly 700 additional positions for language instruction — an excellent step, and more than the FAB report forecast before the demands of the Arab Spring and the expanded involvement in Afghanistan, along with some other changes, raised the requirement for officers with hard language skills.

These enhancements of the Foreign Service’s ability to field staff with language skills commensurate with their

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responsibilities are most welcome. However, the increase in language training positions in no way obviates the need for increased positions to deal with other requirements for long-term professional education and training.

Taking a Fresh Approach

In addition, the Department of State needs an educational vision for staff development that goes beyond short-term training and language instruction. Realizing the vision may take years, but that is what vision is for.

We will be attempting to come to grips with some difficult issues in the new study. One is whether State and USAID can expect to recapture significant staff from anticipated changes in the missions in Iraq and Afghanistan over the next several years. The shifting of resources be-

Programs can be rebuilt relatively rapidly, but institutional and personnel structures take decades to rebuild if they are not properly maintained.

tween the base international affairs budget (known as the 150 Account) and the OCO budget complicates analysis but, as noted earlier, there may not be many positions to “recapture” for other needs.

The biggest challenge ahead for State and USAID is coping with the additional funding cuts that are certainly coming. Even after making a strong case for diplomacy’s role as part of national security, the Foreign Service cannot expect to be exempted from the sacrifices every part of the federal government will be called on to make.

The question is what will be cut. State must launch a major educational effort with the administration, Congress and the American people to ensure that such cuts are taken primarily in programs rather than staff. Pro-




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grams can be rebuilt relatively rapidly, but institutional and personnel structures take decades to rebuild if they are not properly maintained.

The so-called “peace dividend” taken after the collapse of the Soviet Union, with the opening of 20 new embassies and simultaneous reductions in staff, resulted in a hollow diplomacy manifestly too weak to meet its responsibilities at the beginning of the 21st century. As recently as 2008, nearly a fifth of positions requiring language competence were not filled by officers possessing the relevant skill — the equivalent of soldiers without bullets. Half a decade later, even after greatly expanded budgets we are barely keeping pace with language requirements. This is symptomatic of the time required to build a capacity once lost or damaged.

All these complexities only underscore the need for a well-researched, carefully documented, forward-looking study of America’s diplomatic needs.

All these complexities only underscore the need for a well-researched, carefully documented, forward-looking study of America’s diplomatic needs. The post-Arab Spring world and the breadth of multinational challenges are here to stay. If the United States is to succeed in recalibrating the levers of state power so that military action is not seen as the default solution, then it must have the tools and skilled personnel to conduct an effective diplomacy in support of its interests.

If we fail, the mistakes of the past will be a prologue for the future. Fortunately, this need not happen, and the Academy of American Diplomacy will do its share to avert such an outcome. Yet make no mistake: this struggle will be long and difficult. ■

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THE ARMY'S APPROACH TO LEADER DEVELOPMENT

A LOOK AT HOW THE ARMY'S PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION SYSTEM DEVELOPS LEADERSHIP SKILLS OFFERS POSSIBLE LESSONS FOR THE FOREIGN SERVICE.

BY JEFFREY LAMOE AND TED STRICKLER

Any look at the State Department's professional education and training programs may benefit from a corresponding review of how other agencies handle this important career development requirement. Such comparisons may help bring into sharper focus the unstated assumptions and invisible organizational values on which the programs are based, as well as the more visible techniques and methodologies they employ. With its long history of support for profes-

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Ted Strickler is executive director of the Simons Center for the Study of Interagency Cooperation at Fort Leavenworth. During his 34-year Foreign Service career, he served in Somalia, Ethiopia, Germany, Sudan, Egypt, Switzerland and Italy. He is the 2002 winner of AFSA's Christian A. Herter Award for constructive dissent by a Senior Foreign Service officer.

sional training and education, the U.S. Army's approach may be particularly instructive for the Foreign Service.

As an institution, the Army develops leadership skills and traits in its personnel through a continuing program of professional military education that starts the first day an individual enters the Army, and provides appropriate functional training and professional education throughout a soldier's career. By comparison, the State Department's method for developing professional diplomats, with the exception of language training, is episodic and ad hoc.

Unlike the Army, State concentrates on developing managers, not leaders. Leadership development at State is largely a function of on-the-job training, which has a long history of mixed results. For this to change, the State Department needs to alter its approach to developing leadership skills in its personnel as part of their overall professional development.

The State Department and the U.S. Army differ in many important respects, but the need for leaders to be well-educated, adaptable and innovative is common to both institutions. A look at how the Army meets that challenge may be instructive for evaluating how to improve education and training at State.

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The Army as a Profession

The Army consciously works to develop its future leaders through training, experience and a formalized, structured program of professional education, a process that takes years. It follows this approach because it cannot hire professionals away from the competition. Nor is it possible to acquire the expert knowledge and experience to lead Americans in combat without actually spending time in the Army. Advanced degrees or senior civilian experience are beneficial, but do not by themselves qualify individuals for leadership responsibilities.

State, too, must develop leaders from within who have the right mix of experience and professional education to successfully handle leadership roles and responsibilities in the organization. As the Army discovered, this requires a continuing program of training and education across an entire career. Disjointed, standalone, one-week courses on leadership at unpredictable times in an FSO's career barely begin to meet that requirement.

The Army trains and educates more than half a mil-

*By comparison,
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lion individuals per year in an institutionalized, regular, course-based process. Known as Professional Military Education, this process is an investment in preparing soldiers for success at their next level of responsibility. It also confers an appreciation for the responsibilities they will face following subsequent promotions. Schools and courses at the beginning of soldiers' careers

generally focus on *training*, to prepare them for *certainty*. As their time in service increases, their courses are weighted more toward *education*, to prepare them for *uncertainty*.

PME must be delivered at the right time to realize the greatest value. The benefits are not recoverable if courses are attended out of sequence, provided too late in a soldier's career or skipped. For example, an officer needs to attend the Captains Career Course before commanding a company, not afterward. Once shaped by the command experience, an officer cannot go back and apply what he should have learned from the earlier educational experience.

The Basic Officer Leader Course starts an officer on

Army Officer Professional Training and Education Timeline

<i>Years in Service</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Army School</i>	<i>Course Length</i>	<i>Attendees</i>
0	Second Lieutenant	Basic Officer Leader Course	18½ weeks	All officers
3	Captain	Captains Career Course	24 weeks	All officers
10-12	Major	Intermediate Level Education – Command and General Staff College	1 academic year	All officers
11-13	Major	School of Advanced Military Studies	1 academic year	Board selection 100 officers per year
15	Lieutenant Colonel	School for Command Preparation	5-7 weeks	Officers selected for battalion and higher command About 480 per year
20	Colonel	War College and Fellowships	1 academic year	Board selection About 370 per year

This example of an Army officer's professional development timeline during a typical career shows a recurring pattern of institutional training/education followed by assignment to the operational force.

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the career path of professional military development. During BOLC, officers first learn skills common to all Army officers. The final part of BOLC covers specific technical and tactical skills associated with each specialty or branch (Artillery, Infantry, Engineer, etc.), such as how to operate a tank, how to maneuver an infantry platoon, or how to fly a helicopter.

Participants then learn the skills necessary to train and lead other soldiers. In their first assignment as platoon leaders, they will each be responsible for developing, training and leading 16 to 45 soldiers as a unit that can effectively operate in a tactical combat environment with full mastery of their weapon systems.

After about three years in an operational unit, officers are promoted to the rank of captain and return to school for the 24-week Captains Career Course. Com-

***State must develop
leaders from within
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of experience and
professional education.***

pletion of the CCC, combined with platoon leader experience, prepares officers for greater responsibility: as company commanders, they will each be responsible for 100 to 120 troops. Beginning at about the junior captain level, while they are still working to master their technical branch skills, each officer is also expected to begin, as an apprentice, to develop as a combined arms officer. The essential

task is integrating and synchronizing all the branches of the Army to sustain land operations in any mission.

A key concept of land warfare is integrating the combat power of several different weapon systems and technical branch skills in time and space to achieve a military objective. In addition to being able to lead their own units effectively, an NCO, warrant officer or commissioned officer must thoroughly understand how the Army works and fights as a combined arms team. They

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must also be capable of serving in a joint assignment where they are required to integrate Army capabilities as part of a larger, joint service effort.

As their careers progress, these officers go on to master joint operations while developing skills in interagency operations.

Intermediate Level Education

At about the 10-year mark in an officer's career, the Army takes him or her out of operational units for enrollment in an intensive, yearlong academic program known as Intermediate Level Education. ILE marks the first time the Army brings all officers from different branches together in an academic setting to focus on combined arms integration.

At Fort Leavenworth, the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College educates and trains mid-career Army officers, international officers, sister service officers and interagency leaders to operate in full-spectrum Army, joint, interagency and multinational environments as field-grade commanders and staff officers. Each year, in two overlapping sessions, some 1,100 Army officers, 160 sister service officers, 120 international officers and 30 interagency representatives complete the 10-month course of study. About 100 top-rated officers are then chosen for a second year of graduate-level study at the School of Advanced Military Science.

Only a limited number of lieutenant colonels and colonels are provided the opportunity to command battalions and brigades. Battalion and brigade commanders are centrally chosen by a selection board convened each year at the Department of the Army's headquarters. Those who are selected attend the School for Command Preparation. This program, lasting five to seven weeks, prepares new Army commanders, their spouses and the new command sergeants major for the unique requirements of commanding and leading soldiers during war and peace across the full spectrum of operations.

Full-Spectrum Learning

Leader development is a continuous process — not a single event, course or assignment. The proportion of time spent in institutional training or education assignments during a career is typically less than 10 percent. It must be noted, however, that this percentage is much

*The Army is
confirming its belief
that leaders are made,
not born.*

higher during the first 12 years of a career so that there is a sufficient period of time for the individual and the Army to benefit from the learning.

These institutional training and education experiences are critical to creating the foundation on which more complex operational experience can be understood and used as a learning opportunity. While a significant amount of the learning that goes into attaining a developmental state comes from organizational assignments, institutional learning is also necessary to create the best foundation on which to build and synthesize that experience.

Full-spectrum learning is the idea that a soldier's career should reflect an integrated balance of training, education and experience. During the Captains Career Course the institutional focus is on training, but there are elements of education and experience. Similarly, at ILE, an officer's focus is mainly on education, but training and experience are still involved, as well. The emphasis in all assignments is on maintaining the appropriate balance of the three domains.

It is noteworthy that 6.5 percent of officers entering the Army as second lieutenants have a master's degree. But for those who remain in the service for a minimum of 20 years, the percentage of officers with at least one graduate degree increases to 84 percent. For many of these individuals, the advanced degree was earned with the help of the Army, either at a military school such as the Command and General Staff College or the Army War College, or in one of the many subsidized programs at civilian colleges and universities.

As an indicator of the Army's support and investment in the development of an individual soldier's career, this is a remarkable measure of performance. What is equally impressive is the effectiveness of that commitment in grooming soldiers for top leadership positions. In devoting the energy and resources to maintain this extensive training and educational program of professional career development, the Army is confirming its belief that leaders are made, not born.

Lessons for State

The Army's investment in training and education provides the essential foundation on which on-the-job experience can take root and grow. Experience alone

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produces technically capable but one-dimensional soldiers. While the level of resources available to the Army facilitates implementation of its vision of leader development, the institutional commitment to supporting that vision is the real reason for its success.

In terms of professional education supporting leader development, the Army really does put its money where its mouth is.

The lessons that the State Department can learn from the Army's experience with professional leader development can be summarized as follows:

1. Leaders are made, not born.
2. Leader development requires the proper mix of training, education and experience throughout an entire career.

***Leader development
is a continuous process
— not a single event,
course or assignment.***

3. Professional development of subordinates is as much the responsibility of supervisors as it is of the institution itself.

4. Leader development needs to be a top organizational priority.

Resources are always an issue, but the Army has shown that an unwavering, institutional commitment to

leader development as a core element of professional training and education is the important first step in obtaining the necessary money and personnel for such a program.

For the State Department to carry out its foreign policy and diplomatic mandates, it needs a Foreign Service composed of trained professional leaders, not talented amateurs. The Army has a proven, professional leader development system that State would do well to study and adapt for its own needs. ■

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AT FSI'S HELM: AN INTERVIEW WITH RUTH A. WHITESIDE

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THE DIRECTOR OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE INSTITUTE
REFLECTS ON THE TRAINING CENTER'S EXPANDING ROLE.

BY SHAWN ZELLER

Editor's Note: Reporter Shawn Zeller interviewed Foreign Service Institute Director Ruth A. Whiteside and Deputy Director Tracey Jacobson on April 24.

SZ: *What did you think of the 2011 American Academy of Diplomacy/Stimson Center report that laid out the case for expanding State Department training?*

RW: We spent a great deal of time with the folks who did the study. A lot of the issues they raised were more appropriate for the Foreign Service director general and the Bureau of Human Resources to decide.

Part of what they were trying to get at, which is very valuable for the department, was really to build the case for a very robust training float. If you have a very robust training float — the military has 15 percent more soldiers than they have jobs, so they can constantly have people in training — you can take people out of the system at various points and give them a year of training. But they also recognized that's not the world we live in.

The ability of HR to staff all our current positions, until we've grown more than we've grown, doesn't fit into

Shawn Zeller, a regular contributor to the Journal, is a freelance writer in Washington, D.C.

the notion that you can take an FS-2 or FS-3 out of the system for a year in that military way. The case they were really making was the case for resources. The longer-term issue of how you would reshape the entire Service — not just training, but assignments, details and other interagency experiences — depends on our ability to create a personnel “float” that would allow for all of that.

SZ: *So they weren't criticizing the quality of training. They were just saying Foreign Service employees need more of it, right?*

RW: I don't know anybody who disagrees with that. Certainly not us. But until you have resources to sustain that, our focus is making the training that we do as valuable as it can possibly be.

SZ: *Still, people are already getting more training, right?*

RW: Absolutely. Under Diplomacy 3.0, the most recent hiring initiative, the Foreign Service has grown by 17 percent and the Civil Service by 10 percent, so that's definitely one factor. The other factor has been an interest in training, a willingness to send people to training, giving entry-level officers and others more training than we would have some years ago. It's a combination of in-

creased numbers of people and increased interest in the value of training from the posts and the bureaus.

I think there's been a real culture shift over the last decade regarding the value of training. It's not unusual to have some of our more senior officers and retired officers say: "The only training I ever did after A-100 was language training and the deputy chief of mission course." We would all talk about why that was true: "People didn't value training. People didn't want to go to training. People didn't want to release their employees for training." And I think that has really turned around significantly.

We see it in the volume. Since we instituted mandatory leadership training in 2002, during Secretary of State Colin Powell's tenure, 17,000 people have participated. The courses get very high marks and high reviews. We don't hear people talking about how "I don't want to go, but I have to go," or how they don't want to let their employees go, but they have to let them go. I think in general, people have come to see the value of letting their employees improve their skills.

TJ: Our most recent customer service survey showed an overall rate of 94-percent satisfaction with the training. In it, when we asked: "How did you pick what training to apply for?" a plurality said, "My supervisor recommended I take the course." That's a change. That shows supervisors are not just willing to let their employees go to training, but are encouraging them to do so. Part of the reason for that is we train supervisors to do that in the leadership school.

SZ: *How is leadership training changing?*

RW: It's the focus on leadership training from A-100 orientation through a person's promotion into the senior ranks. We're not waiting until people get to be senior to say: "Now we'll talk about leadership training." It builds an expectation that people in A-100 expect to be treated well, expect to be well trained and expect to be well led.

I think the whole personnel system has begun to see the importance of these people skills and leadership skills, and not just policy skills, in getting you to the top. It's a real continuum, from FS-3 to -2 to -1, and into the senior ranks; talking about practical issues of perform-

***"I think there's been
a real culture shift over
the last decade regarding
the value of training."***

— FSI Director Ruth A. Whiteside

ance management, how you supervise employees and listen to them, how you deal with problem employees and building self-awareness.

The senior training is really focused on how leadership at that level is really different. When you move across that threshold into the senior ranks, you're really taking on a different set of responsibilities for

the leadership of the whole department. Tracey and I were visiting this morning with someone who was in that course last week, and he talked about how valuable it was to reflect on his own leadership style. There is a very different attitude toward all of that, with people thinking: "If I want to be a very successful senior officer, then leading people is as important as having very strong policy skills or very strong substantive skills."

I'm not so sure historically that was always the case. You could certainly get to the top if you were brilliant even without having very strong leadership skills. I think on the whole, today people think that leadership skills are an important part of rising to the top of the Service.

TJ: One of the things I think is really critical about all of our mandatory leadership courses, all four of them, is that they include 360-degree feedback. Before taking the course, each participant is required to send this survey out to supervisors, peers and subordinates asking those folks to rank them in a variety of different areas. It gives everyone the opportunity to identify the person's three biggest leadership strengths and three areas for improvement.

This gets to the issue of self-awareness, which is a key element to any kind of leadership. It's a very powerful tool. It's not something anyone is using to rate anyone in the class or judge them. It's for the officers themselves to see how they are perceived by others. That helps folks to direct their training and their professional development, and to understand how they might interact differently with people who have different work styles.

SZ: *Can you quantify the increase in training that's occurred?*

RW: At the end of Fiscal Year 2011, the number of enrollments in training and number of hours people spend in training are up by at least 30 percent since 2005.

Foreign Service National training is up by nearly 300 percent.

SZ: *The Government Accountability Office criticized FSI last year for not being able to prove that its training has an impact in the field. What did you think about that report?*

RW: I think we took the GAO report very, very seriously. And on the whole, it was very positive. One of the things we learned is it's not so much what you do, or whether you do something, but whether you have the documentation. We shared with them a variety of ways in which we get feedback on training and whether it has an impact. But from their point of view, you need to do a formal evaluation of each course. We asked whether there was any agency in the federal government that met their standard on accountability, and they couldn't name one.

SZ: *It was a pretty high bar?*

RW: Yes, but we have taken it very seriously. You do have to demonstrate the value that the training has. In the training world, and I think the GAO recognized this, there is a recognized scale of evaluating it, named after the person who invented it. On the Kirkpatrick Scale, the evaluation at level one is a kind of smiley face. At the end of the class, I give you a piece of paper. You say: "I really had a good time, enjoyed the class, learned a lot," and then you go. It's an immediate reaction.

Level two is whether you think you really increased your skills. Level three, which is about as high on the scale as anyone in the training world gets, evaluates impact: "Have I been able to use this in my work?"

We have a very broad evaluation process now, which we've put in place as a result of this feedback. Every year we are doing a level-three evaluation of 30 percent of our courses. This means going out three to six months after a class to try to capture the impact: "Have you been able to implement what you learned on the job?" I think we've really tried to take this on, documenting the training and making changes depending on what we found out.

TJ: That 30 percent of level-three evaluations reflects an industry standard to which Kirkpatrick says any training organization should aspire. And this year, we've met that target.

"We asked [the GAO] whether there was any agency in the federal government that met their standard on accountability, and they couldn't name one."

SZ: *Is the training making a difference in the field?*

RW: Responding to our customer survey, 94 percent said they were satisfied or very satisfied. In the feedback that's coming back in on impact, there are very high numbers of people saying: "I'm putting into practice what I've learned."

It varies widely. In a course like the consular course, you're giving a test and you have a way to say this person mastered this material. We know they know the consular law and regulations. For leadership and soft skills, you don't really have a test, but people tell us: "Yes, I'm using these skills." We use people's responses to continuously review the course curriculum.

SZ: *Sen. Tom Coburn, R-Okla., said at last year's Senate hearing on Foreign Service training that he thought the GAO report was reason not to give the State Department more funding. Do you think he was misinterpreting what GAO said?*

RW: Oh yes, of course I do. The GAO said we were doing an excellent job.

SZ: *How are instructors recruited, hired and evaluated at FSI?*

RW: We have about 600 direct-hire staff, both Foreign Service and Civil Service. Our Civil Service employees are for the most part on the training side. We have Foreign Service officers in regular assignments who bid on our jobs. We work very hard to recruit strong candidates in areas like political training or economic training or management/consular training. They are experienced officers doing that work in the field.

We pair them up with our Civil Service trainers, who are really training specialists with professional credentials in curriculum development, in adult learning, in course design and course evaluation. It's a good mix of practitioners who know how the work is done in the field and expertise on the Civil Service side on adult learning. Our Foreign Service jobs are very heavily bid, so we are able to attract very high-quality folks. And we think our Civil Service staff gets extremely high marks, as well.

TJ: The Foreign Service officers who come to be train-

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ers go through a weeklong course on training tradecraft.

SZ: Are you seeing any spikes in enrollment in language courses?

RW: I think language training across the board has grown a lot since 2005. Some of that is due to very robust hiring. Newly hired officers are getting more weeks of training than before. The big five are French, Spanish, Arabic, Chinese and Russian. There's been a serious increase in the number of Chinese-language students.

SZ: Are you still doing any language training in shifts?

RW: Some, but that was eased considerably when we added new facilities two years ago. Part of the use of shifts was simply because we did not have enough classrooms. The new addition has 135,000 square feet

“There are very high numbers of people saying: I’m putting into practice what I’ve learned [at FSI].”

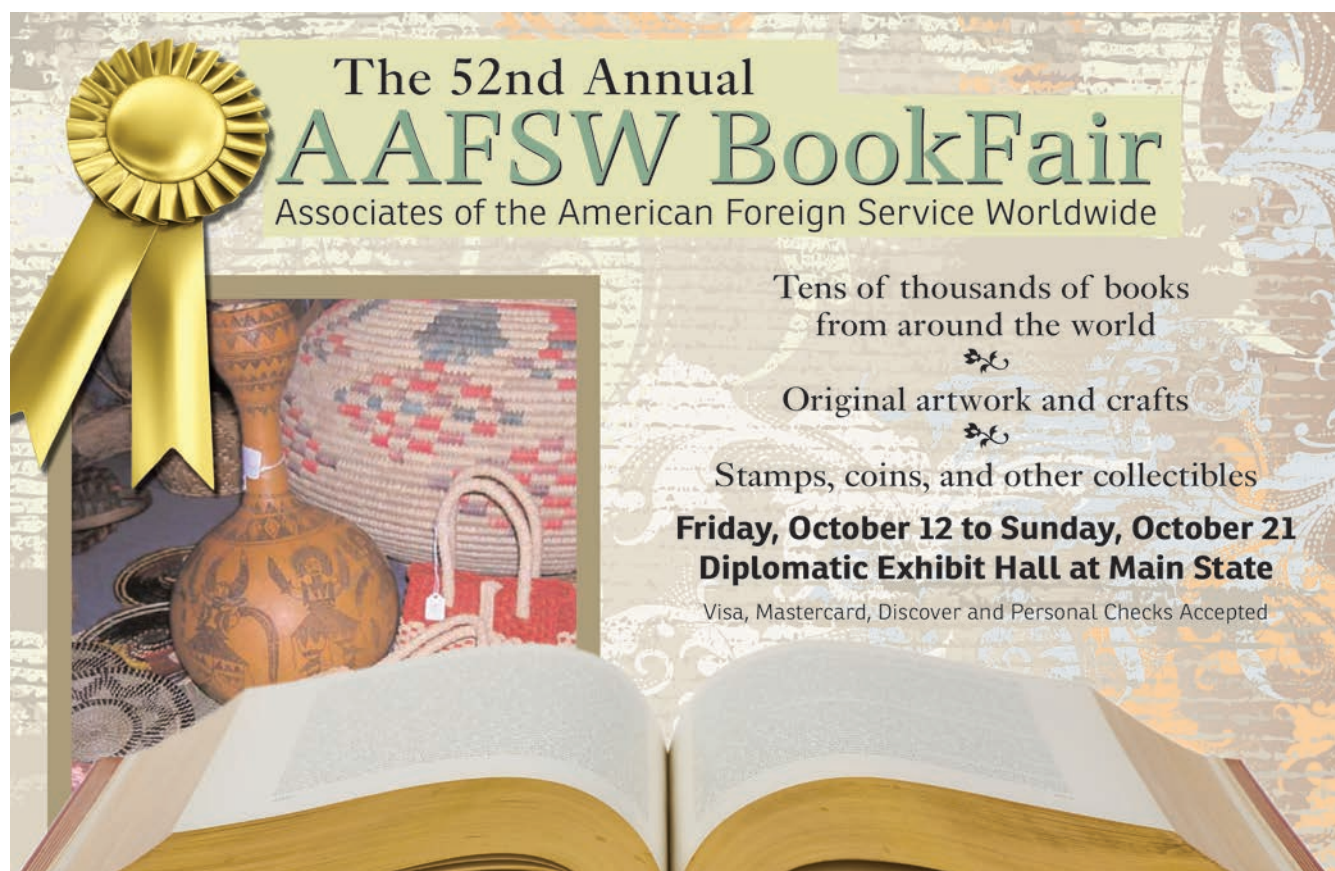
of space, and since a large percentage of that went to the language school, shifts aren't as needed as before.

SZ: Do Eligible Family Members and Members of Household get training?

RW: Even in some of FSI's most in-demand courses, eligible family members can enroll on a space-available basis; many of them take languages. We also have more than 30 fantastic courses that are designed and run through the Transition Center specifically for EFMs, including same-sex domestic partners. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton announced that expansion in June 2009.

SZ: Have you implemented any changes in area studies?

RW: We still teach area studies in two primary ways.



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One is the two-week intensive course that covers a broad array of issues in a particular region. And then we do advanced area studies as part of long-term language training.

That model has not changed, but we have added a number of courses. We have a new course on area studies for people assigned to Mexican border posts, for example. It's not the same as if you are assigned to Mexico City. That was something the director general's staff recognized: the need to do more to prepare our officers assigned to the border.

There is also more use of technology in area studies, and across FSI, in fact. Almost all of our classrooms are equipped with smartboards, making training more interactive. And we're able to bring the Internet into the classroom. Seven or eight years ago, we didn't have that capability.

TJ: We're also giving a scrub to area studies courses to ensure they deal with the development pillar highlighted in the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review.

SZ: *Would you like to highlight any recent innovations in the curriculum of the Leadership and Management School?*

RW: The major additions since 2005 are the emphasis on interagency training and training the interagency community. A flagship course we created in the leadership school four or five years ago is the National Security Executive Leadership Seminar, at the FS-1, GS-15 level. It meets for two days a month over five months, and we offer it three times a year.

It's a very different model from what we normally do, in several respects. Half the participants come from the State Department and half from other agencies. It's also a course people are nominated to take. It focuses on national security strategy and the roles of different agencies; the reason to do it over five months is to give people a chance to do a lot of networking in between.

The course has a long waiting list of participants from other agencies because it's one of the few genuinely interagency training opportunities in the federal government. There was so much demand for it that we also created a weeklong course we call "Understanding the Interagency." It also focuses on national security and the

"There is more use of technology in area studies, and across FSI, in fact."

roles and missions of various departments.

Particularly coming out of the QDDR process, we have worked very hard to build a collaborative relationship with the U.S. Agency for International Development on

training. I think it's been a real success story.

We now have a senior USAID officer detailed to FSI, and together we created a very successful distance learning course on diplomacy and development. USAID made it mandatory for their new hires. Between our two agencies, nearly 400 people have taken it so far.

We are now creating a classroom course that has similar content, only on a more advanced level. And we are working with USAID to create their first mission director's course, which is patterned on the Ambassadorial Seminar.

SZ: *AFSA believes the Bureau of Human Resources should be able to ensure that employees get training, regardless of the complaints at the posts and bureaus. Do you think that's necessary?*

RW: If I understand AFSA's goal in this regard, it isn't so much a training-related question as it is about career development and assignments. I believe their point of view is that regional bureaus have too much say in assignments, and training would be a part of that.

Without commenting on whether the central system or bureaus have too much control of personnel, we have seen a serious change in bureaus' willingness to let people go to training.

SZ: *What other changes would you highlight?*

RW: Foreign Service National training has been a very big growth area for us over the years. In recent years, it became clear we cannot send trainers out to all the regions, and bureaus and posts can't afford to send a lot of people back to Washington for training. So we've tried to come up with a different model, which I think has been very successful and well received.

Almost all of the regional bureaus have training centers, so we have partnered with them to take more training to the field. And because we can't send a lot of American trainers overseas due to the cost, we've created a new program of adjunct faculty.

In that program, as well, we work with the regional

FOCUS

bureaus. Each of them nominates high-performing FSNs who they believe would make good adjunct faculty trainers. We then bring that cadre back here for train-the-trainer training, focusing on a set of courses that are most popular with FSNs, such as customer service and supervisory skills.

As a result, we now have more than a dozen FSN adjunct faculty who are able to teach these FSI courses in the field. In 2011 alone, we reached approximately 550 FSNs who would not otherwise have had training, through our adjunct faculty program — and in 2012 we expect to reach 800 more. It's been a real win-win.

We are just about to launch a pilot of a similar program using eligible family members who would take train-the-trainer instruction and be certified to teach the

“Particularly coming out of the QDDR process, we have worked very hard to build a collaborative relationship with USAID on training.”

popular FSI course on customer service. They would then also be able to teach overseas.

SZ: FSI has received large budget increases in recent years, though funding has flattened out recently. How have you used the money?

RW: A major activity is all the training we are doing with stability operations. We created a new Division of Stability Operations in the School of Professional and Area Studies, and added an associate dean to the school because of the growth in that area. They are doing all the mandatory training for Iraq and Afghanistan, for instance. We also developed a curriculum of training with the new Bureau of Conflict and Stability Operations.

I should note that much of the increased funding



STATE DEPARTMENT ALUMNI NEEDED FOR GLOBAL EVALUATIONS

The Department of State's new evaluation policy requires all bureaus and independent offices to conduct evaluations of their programs. **Management Systems International**, an international development consulting firm, has been contracted to conduct several of these evaluations.

Assignments will last 2-3 weeks and be based both in DC and globally. We are seeking candidates with senior-level State Department experience in a range of areas, including:

- Civil Society
- Electoral Support
- Gender
- Security Assistance
- International Agreements
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- Negotiations and Refugee Programs

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Photo by Evan Collinson: Tzahi 10/30 at Trabelsi Pool, Tunisia, November 2011

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came to us from Afghanistan and Iraq supplemental allocations.

SZ: *In an ideal world, what would you like to be able to do to improve training?*

RW: A lot of what we do is tied to the State Department's overall budget. I think we've tried very hard to demonstrate the value-added of training, so in tough fiscal times we'd want to make the case that it is more important than ever. If we go back to somewhat reduced hiring, which we may have to do under the likely budget scenarios, I hope we will have demonstrated the value of training so the department would agree it is the last place you cut, rather than the first.

We'd also love to expand training with USAID, where we've just taken the first steps, and with other agencies in general, so we can train foreign affairs professionals together. At many other agencies, there's not a lot of train-

“Foreign Service

National training has been

a very big growth area

for us over the years.”

ing, so many of them contract it out. We'd like to be able to increase our ability to attract other agencies to FSI.

We'd also like to continue to push the envelope on technology. We just got permission for our distance learning courses to run on a Macintosh and multiple

browsers, not just Microsoft. We'd like anything we develop for distance learning to run on any kind of platform an employee has, whatever kind of phone, whatever kind of laptop.

A great step would be to turn this into a wireless campus, like most college campuses. Currently, the only wireless we have is in our A-100 classroom. There are legitimate security concerns about doing that, but we hope we can move in that direction.

SZ: *Thank you both.* ■

Calling All Foreign Service Authors!

The November 2012 issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* will include a list of recently published books written by Foreign Service-affiliated authors.

FS authors whose books have been published in 2011 or 2012, and have not been featured in the roundup, are invited to send a copy of the book, along with a press release or backgrounder on the book and author to:

Susan Maitra
Foreign Service Journal
2101 E Street, NW
Washington, DC 20037

Deadline for
submissions is September 1.



CELEBRATING INTELLECTUAL COURAGE: AFSA'S CONSTRUCTIVE DISSENT AWARDS

THESE UNIQUE AWARDS TRULY HONOR THE BEST OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE.

BY JOHN W. LIMBERT

In December 1967, as the Vietnam War was raging, AFSA unveiled two annual awards to recognize and encourage constructive dissent and risk-taking within the Foreign Service: the **W. Averell Harriman Award** for constructive dissent by junior officers (FS-6 through FS-4) and the **William R. Rivkin Award** for mid-level officers (FS-3 through FS-1).

A *Foreign Service Journal* editorial that month expressed the hope that the awards would “result in even higher professional standards in the Foreign Service. In this regard, we are particularly pleased that in stressing excellence, these two awards are to be received primarily by those officers who show intellectual courage or creativity.”

First given in 1968, the Harriman and Rivkin Awards were joined the following year by the **Christian A. Herter Award**, honoring constructive dissent by Senior Foreign Service officers. And in 2000, AFSA created the **F. Allen “Tex” Harris Award** for dissent by Foreign Service specialists in honor of the renowned FSO and AFSA activist, who received the Rivkin Award in 1984.

John W. Limbert, a retired Senior Foreign Service officer, chairs AFSA's Awards and Plaques Committee. He was ambassador to Mauritania from 2000 to 2002 and AFSA president from 2003 to 2005, among many other assignments. Ambassador Limbert is the author of Iran: At War with History (Westview Press, 1987), Shiraz in the Age of Hafez (University of Washington Press, 2004) and Negotiating with Iran: Wrestling the Ghosts of History (U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 2009).

Ambassador Thomas D. Boyatt, himself a recipient of two AFSA dissent awards, points out that in a culture where peer regard is very highly prized, these awards bestow extraordinary distinction. Moreover, most awardees have gone on to enter the Senior Foreign Service and account for a much higher percentage of ambassadors than the Service as a whole.

Together, the four AFSA constructive dissent awards constitute a program unique within the federal government, one that celebrates the courage and integrity of Foreign Service personnel at all levels who have challenged the system from within.

The association confers its dissent awards, as well as performance and other awards, each June in the Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room at the Department of State in the annual AFSA Awards Ceremony, which is co-sponsored by the director general of the Foreign Service. The Secretary of State or Deputy Secretary has frequently attended the ceremony, as well.

Profiles of this year's award-winners begin on p. 53; look for coverage of the June 26 ceremony in the September edition of *AFSA News*.

A Unique Program

Commenting on the distinctiveness of the AFSA constructive dissent award program in a September 2010 Speaking Out column, retired Ambassador Edward L. Peck, the 1973 recipient of the Rivkin Award and a longtime member of AFSA's Awards and Plaques Committee, observed:

“Doing battle with authority is certainly not a major facet of the Foreign Service's public persona. When people think

of us at all, they tend to do so in terms of good manners, a carefully balanced approach, extensive use of the passive voice and, perhaps as much as anything else, conflict avoidance.

“In the real world, however, only the Foreign Service, acting through AFSA, publicly commends members who are willing to advocate and pursue changes in policies or management. No similar program exists in any other organization.”

It is important to emphasize that the subject of the dissent does not have to be related to foreign policy. It can involve a management issue, consular policy or personnel regulations. Nominees may have used the formal State Department Dissent Channel to express their views, but that is an entirely separate program from AFSA’s own constructive dissent awards.

From 1968 through 2011, AFSA conferred the Harriman Award on 36 entry-level officers and, collectively, the Embassy Tehran hostages (in absentia in 1980 and in person in 1981). Over the same period, the Rivkin Award went to 43 mid-level FSOs, as well as the Iran hostages and, in 1994, a group of 13 officers who dissented over the Clinton administration’s initial refusal to intervene in Bosnia.

In addition to the group awards for the Iran hostages in 1980 and 1981, 38 Senior Foreign Service officers received the Herter Award from 1969 through 2011. And since 2000, 10 specialists have won the Harris Award for constructive dissent.

AFSA also issued a special posthumous award for constructive dissent in 2002 to Hiram “Harry” Bingham IV. Disobeying State Department orders, Bingham issued life-saving visas to more than 2,000 Jews and anti-Nazi refugees in Marseilles in 1940 and 1941, for which he was eventually forced out of the Foreign Service.

The names of all past winners of constructive dissent awards are posted on AFSA’s Web site (www.afsa.org/

The question for each of us should be, “Why am I not expressing my disagreement?” — not, “Will I hurt my career if I dissent?”

dissent_and_other_awards.aspx). Even new entrants to the Foreign Service will likely recognize the names of at least some recipients. Here is a small sampling of awardees and the issues about which they dissented.

Calling the Honor Roll

John Paul Vann received the 1968 Herter Award for his recommendations about U.S. policy as deputy director of the Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support program in Vietnam. His nomination termed him “a controversial figure, a man who insisted on maintaining his independence and integrity at all costs. ... His judgments have been repeatedly proven right by time.”

Three decades later, *Edmund McWilliams* would win the same award while serving as political counselor in Jakarta. Long before the resignation of President Suharto, McWilliams had a “seemingly prescient view of Indonesia’s imminent political transition.”

As the colleague who nominated McWilliams in 1998 observed: “No individual within the embassy did more to promote a U.S. reappraisal of the distribution of benefits from Indonesia’s economic growth and of the nation’s readiness for fundamental political reform. ... Never have I served with anyone more aggressive and tena-

cious in challenging existing policies, while encouraging lively debate of the issues in the embassy.”

Ron Schlicher received the Herter Award in 2004 for work in two Middle Eastern hot spots. His assignment as consul general in Jerusalem from 2000 to 2003 — just as the Palestinian intifada moved from street protests to the systematic application of terrorism — was marked by exceptional reporting and advice. As the award nomination states, “He demonstrated unmatched intellectual integrity in providing a continual flow of advice and information, which frequently challenged long-held assumptions.”

As if that performance were not impressive enough, during his 2003-2004 tour in Iraq Schlicher created and ran the Coalition Provincial Authority’s Office of Provincial Outreach. There his reporting challenged many of the assumptions under which the U.S. government had been operating, and gave the CPA a new ability to influence Iraqi opinion in a coordinated way.

Anthony Quainton received the Rivkin Award in 1972 for his reporting and analysis during the India-Pakistan crisis the previous year. (Later promoted to ambassador, he would go on to earn the Herter Award in 1984.) His nomination read, in part:

“He is always able to question whether the accepted policy genuinely fulfills U.S. needs and make innovative proposals for constructive change. He has the knack of taking the initiative and putting forward a new and sometimes dissenting view when that view is critical to a policy decision being made. He has the ability to argue his case skillfully and aggressively but without offense. ... In other words, Mr. Quainton has demonstrated that a middle-ranking officer can have major impact upon policy.”

Long before the Arab Spring, Foreign Service officers were not just monitoring the democratization move-

ment in the Middle East, but reaching out to its members. As a political officer in Tunis, *Douglas A. Silliman* received the Harriman Award in 1988 for “extraordinary initiative and achievement in reporting and analyzing historic changes in Tunisia’s internal political scene.”

His citation continued: “He demonstrated intellectual courage in insisting on contacts with the largely underground Islamic fundamentalist groups.”

Though the Harris Award for constructive dissent by Foreign Service specialists is a relatively new program, it is already making a real difference. *Andre de Nesnera*, a 32-year Voice of America correspondent, bureau chief and news director, received the award in 2002 for his efforts to defend VOA’s charter and preserve the integrity of its news broadcasts.

*Dissent is not a luxury —
it is a necessity of our job.*

As his award citation explains, VOA correspondents work under a congressional charter that requires them to be “accurate, objective and comprehensive” in their news reporting. Even so, the Department of State and International Broadcasting Bureau exerted intense pressure on VOA not to broadcast a report that used excerpts from a post-9/11 interview with Taliban leader Mullah Mohammed Omar.

Despite the pressure, de Nesnera authorized the release of the segment, which accurately quoted Omar as say-

ing Osama bin Laden would not be surrendered, and the Taliban was preparing for war.

Dissent: A Job Requirement

As these examples show, dissent is not a luxury — it is a necessity of our job. Our work requirements statement should include the phrase, “bring attention to problems, contradictions and unproductive policies.” What kind of Foreign Service do we have if employees say nothing when they see something that wastes money, endangers health and safety, or damages the nation’s foreign relations?

Dissent should be put alongside our Service’s core values of duty, honor and country. The question for each of us should be, “Why am I not expressing my disagreement?” — not, “Will I hurt my career if I dissent?”

Taking a contrary position can be uncomfortable in an organization that values consensus and collegiality. It can damage friendships and even divide family members. Dissent can force us to confront facts we would prefer to ignore.

So why dissent? Because we have goals beyond advancing our careers. We have a conscience, and care about our country’s fortunes and about the fate of our Service. We have a duty to point out misguided policies — be they in Iraq or elsewhere — and to provide a constructive solution.

We are also the people on the ground with the training, knowledge, judgment and experience to advise the president and the Secretary of State. We owe it to our country to use what we know and to give our honest views, even when they may differ with current orthodoxy. For if not us, who?

When AFSA issues the call for nominations for the 2013 dissent awards this fall, please consider nominating a deserving colleague — or even yourself — for one of these unique awards. You will do us all a great service by honoring the best among us. ■

The Nomination Process

Anyone may propose a superior, peer or subordinate — or themselves — for an AFSA dissent award, so long as the nomination (700 words or fewer) includes all of the following elements:

- The name of the award for which the person is being nominated, along with the nominee’s name, grade, agency and position.
- The nominator’s name, grade, agency and position, along with a description of his or her association with the nominee.
- A justification for nomination that describes the actions and qualities that qualify the nominee for the award. This should cite specific examples demonstrating that he or she has “exhibited extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage and constructive dissent.”

Additional Guidelines

- Only career or career-conditional members of the foreign affairs agencies (e.g., State, USAID, FCS, FAS or IBB) are eligible for a constructive dissent award.
- An individual may be nominated more than once in different years for the same award, provided that he/she has never won that award.
- The time period during which the actions attributed to the nominee took place does not have to be within the most recent calendar year. However, they should have occurred not more than four years before the time of the nomination.
- While messages sent via the State Department Dissent Channel and USAID’s Direct Channel may be cited as the basis of a dissent award, it is still necessary to submit a nomination directly to AFSA for consideration.

For more detailed information on AFSA’s Constructive Dissent Award Program, including criteria and procedures for nominating recipients and lists of past winners, visit www.afsa.org/dissent_and_other_awards.aspx, or contact Perri Green, AFSA’s coordinator for awards and outreach, at green@afsa.org or (202) 338-4045, ext. 521.

THE NEED FOR LONG-TERM PERSPECTIVES IN FOREIGN POLICY

SUCCESSFUL FOREIGN POLICYMAKING NEEDS OVERARCHING PRINCIPLES,
A VISION AND A MISSION STATEMENT DECLARING ITS PURPOSE.

By JON ELLIOTT

Assorted journalists, nongovernmental organizations and academics have penned a lot of nonsense about the failure of Western governments to predict the Arab Spring revolutions. Yes, the United States and Europe were caught with their pants down during the Arab Spring, but the failure was not one of prediction. Rather, the West failed to acknowledge the link between the lack of regime legitimacy and false stability, and so did not develop relationships with the broader representatives of popular opinion who now find themselves in power.

These lapses stemmed from a narrow focus on short-term, “national interest”-driven transactional relationships with old regime insiders. Responsibility for such inadequate policymaking lies with the diplomats, the analysts and the elected politicians who oversee them. To prevent recurrence of these failures, policymaking needs to be driven by credible, coherent values and a long-term perspective.

Jon Elliott spent 16 years in the United Kingdom Diplomatic Service, serving as deputy high commissioner to Uganda and head of the Zimbabwe and Maghreb/Mediterranean sections of the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office in London, among other assignments. He left the Service in 2007 to join Human Rights Watch as Africa advocacy director, serving in that capacity until 2011. Since then, he has been based in Tanzania working as an independent consultant advising corporate, nongovernmental and governmental clients across Africa on a wide range of issues.

A Policy Machine Off Kilter

Social and political discontent had been fermenting just under the surface of these North African and Middle Eastern societies long enough and visibly enough for ambassadors and political officers with even modestly sensitive antennae to have spotted it. These regimes’ obvious lack of domestic legitimacy should not have come as a surprise: Any government that feels the need to manufacture a 90-percent election win is manifestly insecure.

North Africa’s dictators were also aging, and gossip about the succession was rife throughout the region. Yet remember the French defense minister authorizing the dispatch of anti-riot gear to Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali as the initial demonstrations spread? After all, Ben Ali was France’s friend, and alternative narratives of genuine democratic expression didn’t fit the established policy of working with the regime.

Could it be that senior diplomats on the ground chose to ignore the inconvenient signals of impending change, so as not to risk that next move up the career ladder?

Another part of the problem is the encroachment into foreign policy formulation over the past decade or so of “securo-diplomats” — my term for officials who assess problems through a narrow national security lens and see all foreign relations as transactional and short-term. For them, foreign policy is like military planning with suits and ties, a game of psychological operations and realpolitik. You isolate a near-term objective and create mechanisms to achieve it, cutting whatever cynical deal it takes, and worry about the consequences later. However, once that culture is ingrained into

policy by headquarters officials, who are a million miles from the front lines, the entire policy machine loses the long-term view and is knocked off kilter.

In the securo-diplomats' world, democracy and human rights are for wimps: it's "smarter" to get results quickly, be testosterone-driven and tough. But the real, five-dimensional foreign policy environment seldom cooperates for long. And that is why the securo-diplomats lost traction so embarrassingly during the Arab Spring. Torturers with whom they had closely collaborated in running the global rendition machine were being replaced by nascent democrats they couldn't stomach, just because some were Islamists. The securo-diplomats perversely saw the stirrings of democratic legitimacy not as a core value driving foreign policy and something to be celebrated, but as a threat to stability. The ripples of laughter from Beijing and Moscow must have been deafening.

Our Thugs, Right or Wrong

The securo-diplomats' approach to foreign policy follows the delightful phrase attributed to FDR in describing Nicaraguan President Anastasio Somoza Garcia: "He may be a thug, but he's our thug." (FDR didn't say "thug," of course, but this is a family journal.)

Unfortunately, the law of diminishing returns was working against them in North Africa: the longer the thug clings to power, the more his people despise him (it's always a man), unite against him (and you) and take more extreme measures to remove him from power. And as soon as Mr. Thug and his support group disappear, you are left with some angry enemies in the territory and have to play a frantic game of catch-up. In the worst-case scenario, you confront a failed state and spend years trying to re-establish any kind of normalcy. Just look at Somalia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo 20 years after those states collapsed.

The Arab Spring has proved again the old adage that autocracies' lack of democratic legitimacy makes them inherently unstable. Democracies might look messy and fragile at times, and they do infuriating things (such as electing governments we don't like). But they are less prone to outright collapse.

Their messiness comes from the growing pains associated with creating accountable, popular governments that tackle social and political demons, unlike repressive autocracies such as Algeria that ensure such grievances fester. Respecting democracy and human rights may create short-term vulnerabilities, but it builds long-term strength. So the "moral" policy becomes the sound, practical policy, too.

Consider the most durable Middle Eastern regimes to

have weathered the current turmoil: Jordan and Morocco. Two years ago, they would probably have been on any securo-diplomat's list of vulnerable states. But the long-term foreign policy analyst would have seen them as "work-in-progress" democracies.

Neither country is perfect — not by a long shot. But in the long term, both are also more likely to be bastions of democracy standing against terrorism than the brutal autocracies — e.g., Yemen, Bahrain and Saudi Arabia — that function as extremism's recruiting agents. Plus, the good news about democratic legitimacy is that it's relatively easy to identify and measure.

Securo-diplomats assess problems through a narrow, short-term national security lens.

In Search of Overarching Principles

So how do we determine whether our policy toward a particular issue or country has lurched dangerously into short-termism? First off, we need to be wary of people who repeatedly talk about "the national interest," a term usually employed by those who want to sound clever about policy but rarely look below the

surface or over the horizon. Because the term can mean anything to anyone, it is useless when trying to craft effective, long-term policy within a shifting, multipolar environment.

Successful foreign policymaking needs overarching principles, a vision and a mission statement that sets out clearly its real purpose. This not only builds international credibility, but improves internal communication and spreads risk exposure by reducing inconsistency. That way, what you're doing on Syria bears a passing resemblance to what you're doing on Algeria. And it is not a naïve, soft option: it may ultimately mean making difficult decisions like finding an alternative to Bahrain for your Persian Gulf fleet. That requires bold leadership.

A long-term view also means focusing on the totality of an engagement with the country or region in question — not just governments, ruling parties or elites. (As a corollary, human rights and governance must therefore be given equal — and top — billing within policymaking, not relegated to walk-on roles.) Ask yourself how much stronger would the opposition to Syrian President Bashar al-Assad's regime be now if foreign governments had invested more time and attention in forging ties to the Syrian diaspora *before* the Arab Spring. Will policymakers wait until Algeria or Saudi Arabia teeters before they follow suit there?

Visibility also matters. Diplomats should be seen publicly with the vulnerable and oppressed, as U.S. Ambassador Robert Ford bravely was in Syria and my former colleague Craig Murray was in Uzbekistan a decade ago. (See Murray's article about that experience, "The Folly of a Short-Term Ap-

proach,” in the October 2007 *FSJ*.) Images of physical solidarity with the oppressed deliver messages a hundred times more effectively than words.

Some diplomats claim that such public association with the oppressed puts innocent people in danger. They are quite wrong. In my work at Human Rights Watch, every vulnerable group and human rights defender in Africa I spoke with said exactly the opposite.

Of course, this comes down to effective senior-level leadership. The worst generals plan to fight the last war, and so it is with senior diplomats. Bad leaders close off debate that does not fit the established policy. They focus on the 48-hour news cycle, the four-year domestic electoral timeline and their two- or three-year diplomatic posting roster (and next job).

Effective foreign policy leaders, by contrast, obsess about creativity, inclusivity and transparency, internally and externally. They assemble a broad mix of voices into the policy machine, especially dissenters. The age of foreign policy carried out by self-selecting, in-house “experts” ought to be long gone by now.

Telltale Signs

The good news for Foggy Bottom is that the United States is already better at this than most other Western states, especially those in Europe. But it still has a long way to go. President Barack Obama, for example, reached out to ordinary Arab citizens well before the Arab Spring, beginning with his June 2009 speech in Cairo. Yet that turned out to be a half-measure at best, as much motivated by a counterterrorism narrative as promoting democracy.

Washington still has a number of thuggish regional allies in its diplomatic closet: Algeria, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and various Central Asian and sub-Saharan African states. And worryingly, it still seems to be pursuing business as usual with many of them.

The good news about democratic legitimacy is that it's relatively easy to identify and measure.

To be fair, of course, there are not enough hours in political leaders' days to keep tabs on everything. They have to rely on advice from below, and bad advice leads to bad policy. But how, whether one is a top official or an entry-level political officer, can you spot bad advice?

Based on more years than I care to remember inside the foreign policy machine, as well as time outside looking in, I offer the following list of platitudes that should set alarm bells ringing.

“*He's the only game in town.*” My all-time favorite in the hit parade of bad policy advice, this is an extension of FDR's “thug” doctrine — but with a subtle difference. It tantalizingly allows the speaker to “hold his or her nose” and to demonstrate awareness of dealing with bad people — while conveniently carrying on business as usual.

For obvious reasons, the thug in question won't allow any other “game” to take shape on his watch, as we saw in pre-upheaval Tunisia, Syria and Libya. A variant is to bemoan “*the lack of a credible alternative to President X*” — ignoring the fact that the people of the country in question are the proper judge of that, not foreign diplomats. Moreover, if President X really is the only game in town, that should *really* worry us!

“*He's clearly a brutal dictator, but he is progressive and helpful in some ways, so let's cut him some slack.*” This attitude was often heard in pre-upheaval

Tunisia, Egypt and Bahrain. Tunisian President Ben Ali was regularly portrayed as great on women's rights — so long as women didn't oppose him (for which they could expect to be tortured). If we look hard enough, we can say something positive about everyone. Mussolini made the Italian trains run on time.

“*We have no leverage on the regime.*” Maybe you do have levers that you're not using, or you aren't looking hard enough for them. Or you expect them to work too quickly, even though effective pressure takes months or years to build under even the best of conditions. The United States has been extraordinarily creative in applying pressure on Iran; it's amazing what a bit of well-directed willpower can achieve.

“*The country has no domestic U.S. constituency, plus we use up international political credit to get anything done, so we can just ignore the problem altogether.*” In situations like this, it is common to hear the “national interest” argument deployed, usually to justify inaction or the wrong action. In the early 1990s, Somalia was not a priority U.S. “national interest.” Oops.

“*He clearly stole the elections, but that didn't affect the final result.*” How could any foreign diplomat possibly know this, or think that such a patronizing judgment matters more than the view of the people directly affected? Yet I have heard Western officials use the phrase in countries ranging from the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Guinea to Uganda and Burundi in the past 18 months, to explain why they are letting leaders produced by dodgy elections slide by. Remarkably, senior Western policymakers keep echoing the line in other parts of the world, too.

“*His country's just been through a terrible conflict; we shouldn't be too demanding.*” In other words, let's put the past behind us and move on, even if that means setting aside sustainability, justice and accountability. Recent ex-

amples of this attitude include Guinea and Cote d'Ivoire, where the international community, led by the African Union, the United States and France, did a remarkable job of bringing potentially catastrophic crises to a swift conclusion using principally diplomatic means. But except for a few token individuals, those who committed crimes during these crises remain free to do so again.

Having a credible foreign policy means not just prevention and resolution of conflict, but prevention of a recurrence. The hard work shouldn't stop when a catastrophe has been averted; that's when it should really begin. Hope that things will turn out well is never an effective basis for strategy or policy.

Doing the Right Thing

My own conversion to the cause of long-term policymaking began in 1999 when I was head of the Foreign Office's Maghreb Section. No one in a senior diplomatic role really cared about the Maghreb then. It was pre-9/11, the Israel-Palestine peace talks were all that mattered, and I was left to play around with policy, like a kid with a new toy.

One day, an Algerian contact based in London (who is now a prominent regional commentator), suggested I meet Rached Ghannouchi, the London-based leader of the Tunisian Islamist movement, Ennahda (Renaissance). I was new to the region, still relatively inexperienced and not really sure what an Islamist was. But since I thought it was my job to listen to different opinions, and I knew that meeting Ghannouchi would annoy the Tunisian ambassador to London, I readily agreed. There began a great conversation that taught me (again) not to judge books by other people's covers.

Over time, I saw how Tunisian President Ben Ali's regime had lied about Ghannouchi to suit its own agenda. But diplomats don't have to

*In some cases,
U.S. foreign policy has
begun a welcome shift to
long-term perspectives
and a focus on legitimacy.*

take lies seriously. They can take the time to understand those they might otherwise label as enemies, or unreliable, when they are simply different.

So we see now that Ghannouchi's party was already the "legitimate" representative of the Tunisian people long before Ben Ali ran away. Yet while it is now the leading moderate Islamist movement in the world, it is also a fragile coalition — one we cannot afford to let fail.

Happily, we can see cases where U.S. foreign policy has begun a slow but welcome shift to long-term perspectives and a focus on legitimacy. Some are not entirely new; despite inconsistencies and wobbles over the years, Washington's policy toward Sudan and Zimbabwe has had a long-term focus and a generally positive impact.

Without it, we would not have had the North-South Comprehensive Peace Agreement in Sudan, ending a war that killed millions. And in Zimbabwe, we may finally be witnessing the last months of one of the continent's genuinely malevolent regimes, in part due to sustained international pressure.

Similarly, American policy on Nigeria is at last being driven by efforts to fix the long-term governance failure that led to oil bunkering and Islamist terrorism, rather than just treating these symptoms. And in Rwanda, guilt

over the West's failure to stop the 1994 genocide has been replaced by a more nuanced U.S. understanding of the repressive Rwandan Popular Front and the threat it poses to peace, human rights and stability throughout the region.

I live in hope of seeing more examples of enlightened U.S. policy toward other African dictatorships, as well as regimes in the Middle East and Central Asia. As in Hosni Mubarak's Egypt, the de facto dictatorships of Angola, Uganda and Ethiopia — with their occasional "election-like events," as one U.S. diplomat elegantly put it — are living on borrowed time.

Pursuing a more enlightened foreign policy, focused on bolstering legitimacy and minimizing the long-term risks posed by repressive autocracies, can help prevent more failed states and tackle the roots of extremism. And, even better, it is the right thing to do. ■



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FS HERITAGE

JOEL R. POINSETT: FIRST U.S. ENVOY IN LATIN AMERICA

THOUGH MAINLY KNOWN TODAY FOR GIVING HIS NAME TO A CHRISTMAS FLOWER,
JOEL POINSETT ACHIEVED MUCH MORE.

By *LUCIANO MANGIAFICO*

During the Napoleonic era, when Spanish America saw the opportunity to seek independence, the United States seized the opportunity to increase its political and commercial influence in the area, while limiting or excluding that of European powers.

Beginning in 1810, a primary agent for the implementation of these policies was **Joel Roberts Poinsett** (1779-1851).

A botanist, traveler and politician, Poinsett was the first U.S. envoy to the pre-independence Spanish colonies in the cone of South America; he was later envoy to Mexico. He was involved in the independence movements of Argentina and Chile; and while in Mexico, he tried to purchase Texas and limit British influence.

Joel Roberts Poinsett was born in Charleston, S.C., in 1779, the descendant of a family of French Huguenots, who had moved to the U.S. in the 1660s. He was educated in Connecticut and Europe, and traveled extensively overseas from 1802 to 1807.

Luciano Mangiafico, a Foreign Service officer from 1970 to 1991, served in Milan, Palermo, Bucharest, Manila, Bridgetown and Washington, D.C. Since his retirement from the Service, he has continued to work as an inspector for the State Department. The author of two books, Contemporary American Immigrants (Praeger, 1988) and Italy's Most Wanted (Potomac Books, 2007), he writes on foreign policy, business and the arts for various publications.

While in St. Petersburg, U.S. consul **Levett Harris**, the first U.S. representative posted in Russia, introduced Poinsett to Czar **Alexander I** (1777-1825). Harris was still at his post when the consulate was raised to the level of a legation in 1809, and worked for the head of the U.S. mission (and later Secretary of State and president), **John Quincy Adams** (1767-1848). Adams would later write that Harris “made a princely fortune by selling his duty and his office at the most enormous prices.” Though Harris lost his position in 1819, he surfaced again in 1833 as *chargé de affaires* in Paris.

In January 1807 Czar Alexander I tried to recruit Poinsett to take a post at his court but advised him to “see the empire, acquire the language, study the people,” before deciding. With that advice in mind, Poinsett left St. Petersburg on an adventurous journey through southern Russia. When he returned to St. Petersburg, the czar offered him a commission as a colonel in the Russian Army, but Poinsett decided to return home.

Busy in Buenos Aires

During the first decade of the 19th century, the foreign policy of the United States encountered many challenges. Apart from the brewing conflict with Great Britain on the impressment of U.S. sailors of British extraction, Napoleon's actions in Spain and Portugal had created an opening for most of their Latin American colonies to seek independence.

The United States, already faced with harassment of its seaborne commerce by Great Britain and France, viewed

these developments with alarm, particularly as British power grew in the Western Hemisphere.

In 1810, President James Madison sought to confront these issues by appointing several “agents” to Latin America. These men were to report on the evolving situation in their area, advance U.S. influence and, concurrently, limit the influence of other European powers, particularly Great Britain.

Madison selected Poinsett as his “agent” to the southernmost area of Latin America. Secretary of State **Robert Smith** (1757-1842) detailed Poinsett’s scope of action, instructing him to travel to Buenos Aires and “to take such steps, not incompatible with the neutral character and honest policy of the United States, as the occasion renders proper.”

Poinsett arrived in Buenos Aires on Feb. 13, 1811. His initial assessment was that the United States could replace the influence of both Spain and England once the European colonies declared independence. Three days after his arrival, he wrote to the new Secretary of State, **James Monroe** (1758-1831), requesting that he be given official credentials and detailed instructions to deal with the fledgling governments of Buenos Aires, Santiago and Bogota. Cautiously, Monroe told Poinsett that “the destiny of these provinces must depend on themselves.”

But Poinsett was ill suited to be a passive observer. He successfully protested the preferential commercial advantage given to British shipping and obtained a similar treatment for the U.S. In addition, he worked around Secretary Monroe by contacting Treasury Secretary **Albert Gallatin** (1769-1849) to ask that he use his influence to get **William G. Miller**, a local businessman, appointed as U.S. consul either in Buenos Aires or Lima. This effort came to naught, however.

On April 30, 1811, President **James Madison** (1751-1836) appointed Poinsett consul general to all the new South American republics, and named **Luis Goddefroy** (1774-1860), a French national working in Montevideo, as consul under him. Because the U.S. Senate would not confirm Goddefroy, the president appointed **Thomas L. Halsey** (1777-1845) to the position, which he held from 1812 to 1819. Miller was appointed vice consul, serving from 1812 to 1816; both men were based in Buenos Aires.

Drafting the Chilean Constitution

Frustrated by his scant success in promoting U.S. interests in Argentina, Poinsett left Buenos Aires in November 1811, traveling over the Andes Mountains to arrive in Santiago on Dec. 29. He was accredited as U.S. representative the following February, becoming the first foreign agent to be so recognized by the new Chilean government.

On July 4, 1812, Poinsett hosted a party to celebrate the independence of the United States and the unveiling of the new Chilean flag. In a letter to Chilean President **Jose Miguel Carrera** (1785-1821), Poinsett noted the “special coincidence that on that same date of my fatherland’s separation from Great Britain, [we celebrate the] creation of the Chilean national flag. This gives curious significance to tomorrow’s celebration, in which we will see interwoven the symbols of two sister nations.”

Meanwhile, Poinsett was helping Pres. Carrera draft a liberal republican constitution; in fact, the first meeting of the Constitutional Committee was held at his residence on July 11, 1812. It appears likely that Poinsett took the lead in composing the document, for when he delivered the draft, he wrote that he was “submitting the constitution that we developed together ... as we haven’t spent enough time on it, it

wouldn’t be unexpected that some changes are made.”

The Spanish viceroy in Lima, under whose jurisdiction Chile fell, regarded the Chilean actions as rebellious and attempted to enforce his authority by seizing ships trading with Santiago, including American ones.

Poinsett decided to take matters into his own hands. He sought a general’s commission in the Chilean army and at the head of a troop of cavalry marched north and defeated the Royalist troops at San Carlos. He then led an artillery detachment to lay siege to the port town of Talcahuano, accepted the surrender of the Royalists on May 29, 1813, and freed the 10 U.S. merchant ships being held in the bay.

Soon that success was overshadowed by the arrival of two British warships that nearly captured the envoy (the War of 1812 was well under way by this point). Hounded by Spanish Royalist troops who had gone on the counterattack and retaken Santiago, Poinsett fled with Carrera back over the Andes to Buenos Aires, where he found that British influence was well established.

Poinsett could not even secure a passage home to the

*Czar Alexander I
advised Poinsett to
“see the empire,
acquire the language,
study the people.”*

United States because American ships, cleared from the Atlantic by the British, were no longer visiting Buenos Aires. Eventually he was able to board a neutral ship bound for Bahia, Brazil, where he took another vessel going to the Madeira Islands. He arrived in Charleston on May 28, 1815.

Revolutionary Mexico and the Poinsett Report

Next, Poinsett pursued a successful political career. After serving in the South Carolina legislature from 1816 to 1821, he was elected to two terms in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Simultaneously, in recognition of his Latin American expertise, Pres. Monroe appointed Poinsett as an informal special emissary to Mexico, which had just declared its independence from Spain.

Poinsett left Charleston on Aug. 28, 1822, arrived in Vera Cruz on Oct. 19, and reached Mexico City on Oct. 27. There he met with ranking officials and obtained an audience with Emperor **Augustin I** (1783-1824) on Nov. 2. Shortly thereafter, he returned to the United States to brief the Monroe administration on his mission.

He produced two reports. One, *Notes on Mexico*, was for general consumption; the other, *The Present Political State of Mexico*, went only to Secretary of State John Quincy Adams and President Monroe.

The latter document was highly perceptive and realistic. It not only summarized the emperor's speeches but reviewed population trends, economic developments, the state of the military and the extent of valuable natural resources. The report was aimed at ensuring that the United States was ready to take advantage of Mexican difficulties, both in economic affairs and in territorial expansionism.

Yet even though he warned that the emperor would soon be deposed "because his violent dissolution of Congress had so stirred the indignation of

Shortly after arriving in Mexico, Poinsett produced two perceptive, realistic reports that were promptly ignored.

the people," Monroe decided to recognize his government.

Soon thereafter, just as Poinsett had predicted, Mexico became a republic. But while the United States quickly recognized the government of President **Guadalupe Victoria** (1786-1843), it took considerable time to appoint a diplomatic representative.

Minister to Mexico

On July 8, 1824, Senator **John C. Calhoun** (1782-1850) sounded Poinsett out about taking the post. He initially declined, but reconsidered when he failed to secure a higher position. On March 26, 1825, Poinsett received his letter of instruction from Secretary of State **Henry Clay** (1777-1852).

Poinsett's major task was to negotiate the cession to the U.S. of all or part of Texas, a very difficult undertaking. The negotiation dragged on for years, as the United States offered substantial amounts of money without making headway. In February 1828 the negotiations came to a screeching halt.

As Poinsett told Secretary Clay in a letter: "We have been represented by the agents of certain European powers as the natural enemies of Mexico; and our desire to make alterations in the treaty limits concluded with Spain, was constantly urged as proof of our bad faith and insatiable ambition."

It also did not help that Poinsett had become embroiled in domestic

Mexican politics. Soon after **Vicente Guerrero** (1782-1831) became president in 1829, he wrote President **Andrew Jackson** (1767-1845), requesting that he recall Poinsett. Jackson complied, and Poinsett left Mexico City on Christmas Day 1829 — a date that would soon prove highly appropriate.

A Lasting Legacy

After his return to Charleston, Poinsett again served in the South Carolina state legislature, from 1830 to 1831. In this capacity, he was President Jackson's confidential agent, keeping him abreast of developments and helping him to craft policy in response to the nullification crisis. In 1833, he married **Mary Izard Pringle** (1780-1857), daughter of Ralph and Elizabeth (Stead) Izard.

Poinsett served President **Martin Van Buren** (1782-1862) as Secretary of War from 1837 to 1841. In that capacity, he presided over the continuing removal of Indians west of the Mississippi, conducted the Seminole War and significantly improved the efficiency of the U.S. Army. In March 1841 he retired to his plantation in Georgetown, S.C., where he died on Dec. 12, 1851.

Though Poinsett's mission in Mexico a quarter-century before had ended in failure, it did have one lasting legacy: a flowering plant he collected there and brought back with him reminds us of Poinsett every December.

The plant, which the Mexicans call the flor de noche buena (Christmas Eve flower), is known to us as the poinsettia. One story has it that he obtained a few exemplars of the plant near the city of Taxco Alarcon; another, that he saw the plants adorning a manger tableau in a church in Cuernavaca and swiped a few from Baby Jesus.

Either way, he will forever be linked to the now-iconic Christmas flower. ■

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • July-August 2012

AFSA Panel Assesses Prospects for the Arab Spring

BY EVA M.A. MOSS, AFSA STAFF

In conjunction with the May issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*, which focused on “Snapshots of Challenge & Hope: The Arab Spring, A Year Later,” on June 6 AFSA hosted a panel discussion drawing on the expertise of three Foreign Service professionals.

Two of the panelists were on the front lines at that historic juncture: Ambassador Gene Cretz was chief of mission in Tripoli when Libyans rose up against Moammar Gaddafi, and Ambassador Margaret Scobey experienced firsthand the tumult of Tahrir Square and the downfall of Hosni Mubarak.

The third panelist, FSO Victoria Taylor, served in Tunisia from 2006 to 2008, and returned to the country in February to assess developments. (She shared her insights from that visit in the May *FSJ*.) And the panel moderator, retired Ambassador David Newton, spent 22 of his 36 years in the Foreign Service in the Arab world, including tours as ambassador to Iraq and



AFSA hosts FS experts on the Arab Spring. From left, Executive Director Ian Houston, Ambassador Margaret Scobey, Ambassador David Newton, AFSA President Susan Johnson, FSO Victoria Taylor and Ambassador Gene Cretz.

Yemen and deputy chief of mission in Syria and Yemen.

Before introducing the panelists, Amb. Newton noted that we have begun “a challenging decade for American diplomacy in the region.” He pointed to the role of Al-

Jazeera and other information outlets, including the Internet and social media, in fomenting the revolts and changes in governance that have collectively constituted the Arab Spring.

Each panelist then shared his or her experiences dealing with the former regimes and the ongoing transitions, highlighting the role of Foreign Service professionals in reaching out to the democratic opposition in these countries, as well as monitoring and reporting on developments and making policy recommendations to Washington.

Amb. Scobey, who is now deputy commandant and international affairs adviser at the National Defense University, noted that neither she nor anyone else “could predict [the] incredible collapse of the regime” of President Mubarak.

Amb. Cretz stressed that a person had

Continued on page 58

AFSA Announces 2012 Award Winners

On June 26, with a large audience filling the State Department’s Benjamin Franklin Room, AFSA honored the winners of the 2012 AFSA Constructive Dissent and Outstanding Performance Awards. Winners received a certificate of recognition, a monetary prize and the AFSA Globe.

Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy

Ambassador William Lacy Swing

Constructive Dissent Awards

The William R. Rivkin Award: Joshua Polacheck, Washington

Outstanding Performance Awards

The Nelson B. Delavan Award: James R. Velez, Mazar-e-Sharif

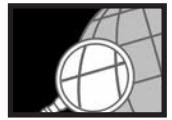
The M. Juanita Guess Award: Sara Hurst Butler, Port-au-Prince

The Avis Bohlen Award: Leila Gupta, Nairobi

AFSA Post Representative of the Year: Jeff J. Jacob, Kabul

Profiles of the winners begin on page 53.

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



AFSA Welcomes New Interns

The change of season brings yet another crop of dynamic young interns to AFSA. We are thrilled to welcome the summer 2012 class! Eva M.A. Moss is the new *Foreign Service Journal* Editorial Intern. She is a rising sophomore at the University of the South in Seawee, Tenn., and the daughter of a recently retired Foreign Service employee. (Advertising Intern Claudia Gerken will remain with AFSA through August.)

Beth Romagnoli is the new Communications, Marketing and Outreach Intern. A senior at Franklin College Switzerland, Beth is studying communications and media, and comparative literary and cultural studies. Interestingly, Beth's grandfather, Eugene Sullivan, was honored at AFSA's Memorial Plaque Ceremony last year. He was a Foreign Service officer with USAID when he died of malaria in Ethiopia in 1972.

We thank our departing interns — Paul J. Carter, Christy Nguyen and David J. Barton — for their hard work and dedication during the spring semester and wish them the very best.

Managing Unaccompanied Tours

In May, more than 25 Foreign Service family members and employees attended a Washington-area happy hour hosted by the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide. The topic was managing an unaccompanied tour and the event included presentations from representatives of State Department offices and a panel of family members who have experienced an unaccompanied tour.

Family Liaison Office representatives presented information on FLO's Unaccompanied Tours Support Program, which provides guidance, resources and assistance to all FS employees and family members from all foreign affairs agencies.

The Foreign Service Institute's Transition Center provided an overview of courses available to employees and family members and resources offered by the Overseas Briefing Center.

The Office of Medical Services' Employee Consultation Service explained the confidential counseling and referral options available for

FS Follies



State Department employees and family members.

For more information about happy hours and other upcoming events, please contact AAFSW First Vice President Jen Dinoia at vicepresident1@aafsw.org. □

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Internet Porn: Does State Know It When It Sees It?



Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart once famously said of pornography: “I could never succeed in defining it, but I know it when I see it.” It is a position that works well when everybody shares the same point of view. But when viewpoints diverge, that position becomes untenable, at least as a basis for punishing pornographers.

AFSA is growing increasingly concerned over the proliferation of rules applied to employees’ off-duty behavior that, on the one hand, are deliberately vague and, on the other, are adjudicated with a degree of conservatism that seems at odds with the views of a majority of FS members. One of these areas is the off-duty use of social media, such as blogging and Facebook.

According to AFSA’s latest survey, 15 percent of the 2,200 respondents either publish a blog or have a household member who does so. Seventy-six percent use Facebook or other social media at least once a week. One can assume that these numbers will rise. State’s policies governing the use of such media have not kept pace with these developments, and considerable confusion appears to exist, both within State and among FS bloggers, over the rules.

Issues have ranged from a regional security officer who incorrectly asked all employees at post to report every foreign national Facebook friend, and an ongoing debate about FS bloggers’ first amendment and free speech rights, to various complaints of career-related threats, often vague, directed by people of questionable authority toward publishers of blogs or their spouses.

The State Department’s attitude toward the use of social media for personal purposes appears to be based on three general ideas, all of which are valid: that the government has a right to protect classified information; that the core FS mission can be hampered if employees embarrass themselves or the United States; and that certain (and often apparently innocuous) disclosures of information can potentially hurt both the security of individuals and national security. State’s policy can be found in the Foreign Affairs Manual at 5 FAM 792, which also references other relevant sections.

Problems arise when these ideas are incompletely defined, inconsistently applied or applied in ways that appear inconsistent with 21st-century viewpoints and realities. They are complicated by the fact that those who write the rules for social media usage are not the ones who enforce them. Importantly, State’s

regulations address social media as communication tools, whereas social media users — and those who enforce the regulations — view them as virtual venues for social interaction.

The most common area in dispute is not even mentioned in the FAM sections dealing with social media. This is 3 FAM 4130, concerning conduct that could embarrass the government. Cases arising within this realm often appear to be selected for discipline haphazardly, and adjudicated by standards far more common in the early part of the last century. Conduct that is not notorious (neither widely known nor discussed as scandalous) and not disgraceful by modern standards (such as describing romantic encounters on Facebook) can be alleged to be both notorious and disgraceful in the case of an individual the department seeks to discipline, while ignored in dozens of similar cases.

State, in consultation with AFSA, affinity groups and others, should:

- More completely define and consolidate its regulations, both in regard to personal behavior and to social media use. Rules cannot be consistently applied if they are not specific.
- Dramatically enhance the efficiency and speed of its review process for publications, or specifically exempt specific forms of publishing (e.g., social media) from that process.
- Define the authorities responsible for social media monitoring and rule enforcement. People should know who does, or does not, have the authority to censor their writing, both at post and in the department.
- Apply policies consistently.

Where interpretation is key to enforcement — as in deciding what constitutes disgraceful behavior — the rules should either clearly describe the department’s interpretation, or officially designate a single body or office to make the call. To promote decisions more reflective of modern viewpoints, that body should consist of a diverse selection of FS members. (The propriety of blog postings should be judged by people familiar with our realities, and regularly rotating FS members through an office or review panel reduces the risk of outdated viewpoints taking root.)

These are my thoughts on this issue. What are yours?

AFSA’s advice for social media users can also be found on the Web site at: www.afsa.org/MemberServices/MemberGuidance/SocialMediaGuidance. □

V.P. VOICE: FCS ■ BY KEITH CURTIS

Views and opinions expressed in this column are solely those of the AFSA FCS VP.

Counting Our Blessings

While we face some of the biggest challenges we have seen in 20 years, I would like to take a moment to pat ourselves on the back. The effectiveness of AFSA over the last couple of years, under the leadership of President Susan Johnson, has been extraordinary. We have a strong organization running a surplus, and our membership has reached 16,000—the largest in our history.

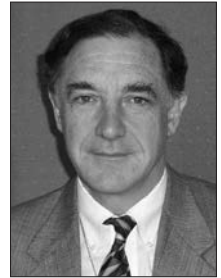
We have recently shown how pointed and effective we can be by sending more than 3,000 letters that helped United Airlines see the error in its pet policy, and have made very significant strides in protecting the professionalism of the Foreign Service. Under Executive Director Ian Houston's able leadership, AFSA has put together an excellent speaker series that allows us to promote our cause and rank among the "heavy hitters" in the foreign policy field.

On Capitol Hill, we have defended the first two tranches of the Overseas Comparability Pay, protecting the 16 percent salary increase for regular FSOs. On the FCS side, our diligent action on the Hill with our stakeholders over the last two years is mostly responsible for an extra \$25 million in funding. We established

a strong director general position in Ambassador Chuck Ford and we have helped strengthen our personnel and budget.

Much of this is thanks to the strong and inclusive leadership that Pres. Johnson has shown, always thinking not only of the voice of State but also of the smaller agencies. Sometimes I wonder why we can manage this but State and FCS management cannot seem to work as a unit. As I said in my last column, the "economic statecraft" of State has sewn confusion, and management failed to demonstrate teamwork across our agencies. Can't management at least make sure that cables that go out to the world on commercial issues are cleared by both agencies? I remember when that used to be a common courtesy.

All that said, at home in the International Trade Agency at Commerce, we face the biggest challenge to FCS since our creation: a proposed reorganization that could dismantle the Commercial Service. (Gird your loins, as we will need to make some big decisions on this one). Still, it is heartening to think, as we face challenge after challenge, we are an organization with proven effectiveness and real power. So for the moment, at least let us count our blessings. □



V.P. VOICE: VP RETIREES ■ BY MARY ELLEN GILROY

Views and opinions expressed in this column are solely those of the AFSA RETIREE VP.

Something New and Different

Returning to State for Foreign Affairs Day 2012 was both familiar and strange. It was great catching up with old friends and discovering I had not forgotten how to navigate the halls. However, listening to Under Secretary for Management Pat Kennedy's briefing on the "State of State" made me realize how much has changed since I retired at the end of 2009. The fundamentals of diplomacy may still be the same, but how we carry it out is not exactly the same.

AFSA President Susan Johnson's May 2012 *Foreign Service Journal* column, "Time for FSOs to Stand Up for the Foreign Service," touched a chord for many of us. When I joined the Foreign Service in 1983, the U.S. Information Agency still followed the practice of rotating junior officer trainees through each section of the embassy. My time spent in the U.S. Agency for International Development, the military sales office, management and all the other sections of the embassy, was an extraordinary learning experience. It also accelerated my understanding of the breadth and depth of the work of the mission. Shortages of budget, staffing and time ended the apprenticeship junior officer trainee tour: and it's not coming back.

Now, many posts have active programs to give entry-level professionals an opportunity to learn something of our craft outside their current job descriptions. However, some posts have less active

programs or no program at all. Those assigned to Washington may or may not have mentors or, if they do, their mentors may not have the time for mundane questions about FS life.

The *Washington Post* used to publish an advice column for apartment renters. The first time I read it, I was appalled at how basic it was—how to furnish an apartment, how to buy cleaning products. Then it dawned on me: so many young professionals starting out are far from home and have never lived in apartments. Suddenly the column didn't seem so useless to me.

The Foreign Service is like that for new hires who do not have the benefit of family or friends who served before them. It's one thing to pass the tests and read the blogs, but even the most gifted graduate of the Georgetown School of Foreign Service might lack some basic overseas life skills.

Thinking about Kennedy's remarks and Susan Johnson's call for reconsideration of professional education and training, I wonder if we need something new and a little different: a volunteer corps of retirees serving as mentors to new FS employees and family members. We might not be able to talk about current career path strategies, but we can offer some common-sense advice. If you like the idea of a volunteer former FS mentoring corps or you have a better idea, please let me know at megilroy@gmail.com. □



Profiles of award winners compiled by Donna Ayerst.

William R. Rivkin Award

FOR A MID-LEVEL FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER

Joshua Polacheck

There is a common perception among many Foreign Service officers, particularly those who have served at critical threat posts around the world, that security restrictions imposed by the Department of State hinder their ability to perform their mission. Joshua Polacheck, this year's winner of the prestigious William R. Rivkin Award for Constructive Dissent, had the courage to take up that issue.



Josh Polacheck (right) speaks with the local council in Hatra, Iraq.

Having begun his FS career in 2003 as a public diplomacy officer in Harare, Josh quickly came to the conclusion that it is “imperative that our diplomats have the ability to reach out, interact and engage with the people of the country in which they serve, not only the traditional elites.”

During assignments in Harare, Santo Domingo, the U.S. mission to the United Nations, the Provincial Reconstruction Team in Ninewah, Beirut and Islamabad, Polacheck has seen the effects of barricaded embassies and barricaded mentalities on the diplomatic process. While mindful of security concerns, he maintains that when such obstacles keep our personnel from explaining our mission, political, social and other problems often erupt.

Since the 1998 bombings of the U.S. embassies in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi, and especially in the post-9/11 era, Josh points out that the “new normal” to build embassies with high walls and push our presence out to places beyond city centers has, literally, closed the “openness of American values.”

In his dissent message, Josh notes: “In an attempt at perfect security, we made a series of choices with grave policy impli-

cations. These choices send a message of distrust to the people of our host nations.” He went on to argue that “the siege mentality and isolation” play into the “goals of many terrorist organizations, including al-Qaida and Hezbollah.”

“Transnational nihilistic terrorist movements use improvised explosive devices. These bombs are not weapons of war; they are weapons of terror. Nobody is aiming them; they’ll

kill whoever happens to be there — the woman, or the child, or the elder,” he reflects. No stranger to danger and risk, Josh survived the detonation of a roadside bomb under the vehicle in which he was riding while serving in Mosul in 2007.



A young boy from Heywar, Erbil, meets Josh Polacheck.

Yet he believes that as security tightens, diplomacy suffers. Moreover, the balance is lost.

“Adopting an approach of consistently erring on the side of caution empowers everyone to tighten security while, often, no one is empowered to significantly loosen it,” Josh states.

He offers two suggestions: The department’s Office of Policy Planning should perform an in-depth review of our worldwide security policy; and FS personnel should be allowed to take personal responsibility for their own actions.

“Approximately one-third of A-100 classes have served in Iraq, Afghanistan, Yemen or Pakistan. There are plenty of FSOs open to personal responsibility regarding risk; they understand the world is a dangerous place, but they accept it and are willing to volunteer,” Polacheck observes.

The nomination cites the department’s response, which asserted that the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review process was addressing many of the points he had raised. It also said that his cable furnished important input for the discussion.

When asked what spurred him to act, Josh replies simply, “I felt someone needed to say it.” He went on to add that the department needs to find the balance between security and risk. “We need to reconsider what is our mission and what is an acceptable level of risk and go from there.” □

2012 AFSA OUTSTANDING PERFORMANCE AWARD WINNERS

The Nelson B. Delavan Award

FOR A FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICE MANAGEMENT SPECIALIST

James R. Velez

While assigned to the German-led Regional Command North headquarters platform in Mazar-e-Sharif, Afghanistan, Office Management Specialist Jim Velez put his previous 26 years of experience serving in the U.S. Army, followed by Foreign Service assignments to Baghdad, Jakarta and Brussels, to good use. He took on many of the functions of a facilities manager, assistant general services officer, translator and morale booster.



Jim Velez with his trusty vehicle, Max.

“It wasn’t long after my arrival before I realized that my military background would serve me well in this unique operational environment. The offices and residences of the U.S. senior civilian representative required frequent facilities maintenance-type support and liaison with a variety of German and NATO offices located throughout the large base,” Velez adds.

The German air base, Camp Marmal, serves as the platform for five subordinate Provincial Reconstruction Teams. Prior to Velez’s arrival, there had been tension between U.S. personnel and their North Atlantic Treaty Organization partners, mostly due to lack of proficiency in German. “Velez’s fluency in the language, combined with his profound understanding of the command structures of the U.S. military and NATO organizations, allowed him to actively engage our NATO counterparts, thereby vastly improving the relationship,” the nomination states.

Establishing rapport with key German maintenance personnel allowed Velez to respond to any issues or problems affecting chief-of-mission personnel, whatever the hour. He had someone there when the heating systems in the residential containers went out, when satellite problems arose, the cable systems needed repair and when supplies were offloaded from embassy cargo planes. He even found someone to assemble bicycles for staff

Continued on page 59

The M. Juanita Guess Award

FOR A COMMUNITY LIAISON OFFICE COORDINATOR

Sara Butler

Each year, AFSA singles out a Community Liaison Office Coordinator for his or her job performance during the previous year. This is no easy task. The exceptional nature of the job tends to attract outstanding individuals. AFSA looks for one CLO who has been not only willing and able to take on the many challenges the position presents, but somehow manages to do it all and more.

Sara Butler proved her mettle by re-establishing the Community Liaison Office in earthquake-devastated Port-au-Prince and, in so doing, transformed the quality of life for those assigned there.



Sara Butler plays with a child at the Rose Mina Orphanage.

That was no small task given the extent of the damage and the fact that it is her first Foreign Service post.

Information and resource management — skills she honed as a congressional aide on Capitol Hill — proved to be among Sara’s strong suits. She effectively collected a wealth of information on Haiti for newly assigned personnel and those considering bidding. She also revitalized the CLO intranet site; directed a post video providing a realistic picture of what people can expect at post; and revised and produced new material on Port-au-Prince for the Overseas Briefing Center.

Another particularly noteworthy endeavor was the CLO Yellow Pages. After the quake destroyed landlines, many businesses were forced to switch to cell phones. Sara, along with Quisha Calixte, the locally engaged staff administrative assistant in the CLO office, spent three months canvassing local businesses, collecting more than 250 listings.

Sara has proven to be a strong advocate for community needs during the rebuilding phase of the mission. The management section relied on her innate ability to consider the needs of others and to gauge the effect management decisions could have on post morale. These skills were essential, given high personnel turnover and a 40-percent loss of post housing stock.

Sara’s perspective says it all: “It can be easy at hardship posts to focus on what is not available. I really wanted to embrace the challenge of finding creative ways to organize events and activities within Haiti’s parameters.” A Habitat for Humanity project,

Continued on page 58

The Avis Bohlen Award

FOR A FOREIGN SERVICE FAMILY MEMBER

Leila Gupta

The Avis Bohlen Award honors the volunteer work of a Foreign Service family member. As a result of Leila Gupta's efforts, a dilapidated school in one of Kenya's largest slums has been transformed, a library has been established and a clinic has opened its doors, offering Kenyans and expatriates alike mental health care.

Leila's professional credentials as a trauma and grief consultant read like a disaster junkie's bucket list: Rwanda in the wake of the 1994 genocide; Afghanistan after the Taliban takeover of Kabul; Sierra Leone following the rebel invasion; Ethiopia and Chad with HIV/AIDS orphans; and Haiti following the 2010 earthquake.

She joined the State Department as an eligible family member in 2002 with her husband, Jay Zimmerman. They have been posted to Ndjamena, Port-au-Prince and Nairobi, where they have been residing since 2008.

When Leila first visited Casa Upendo School in Mathare Valley shortly after arriving in Nairobi, she was confronted with impoverished children playing in filth and a school in name



Leila Gupta reads to students at the Casa Upendo School.

only. The structure was dilapidated, learning materials were nonexistent and teachers had little understanding of curriculum development.

"I found it extremely distressing to see 275 children crowded together in small, dark class-

rooms sitting on broken benches and muddy floors without a pencil, slate or exercise book," she explained. "Even more striking was the total absence of textbooks, teaching materials or books of any kind in any of the 10 classrooms from kindergarten to 8th grade."

The experience spurred her to action. To raise awareness of the deplorable conditions of the school, she e-mailed relatives, friends and mission colleagues soliciting donations to renovate the building and establish a library.

Working with Bishop Bernard Wambala, a respected Kenyan community leader; Pastor Sammy, the school director; and donations from the embassy community and others, Leila contracted local carpenters and laborers to renovate the structure

Continued on page 59

AFSA Post Representative of the Year

Jeff J. Jacob

It takes all kinds of people to volunteer to be an AFSA post representative. Generally speaking, someone with an outgoing personality would be the first type to come to mind. But this year's AFSA Post Representative of the Year, Jeff Jacob, dispels that image. A modest, self-effacing, private kind of guy, he is also a man with a mission.

From 2008 to 2009, Jacob's first assignment with the Bureau of Diplomatic Security was in their New York field office. He then traveled to Kabul, where he served from 2011 to 2012, and will be moving on to Manila this month.

Before joining DS, Jacob served on the New Orleans police force, a job that also required working with communities. So when the post rep position in Kabul became vacant, he volunteered.

Jacob instigated an AFSA membership drive — sending out mass e-mailings and making personal appeals — successfully adding new members from Kabul to the association's roster.

As a result of his tenure as post rep, a number of individuals benefited from his proactive support during a variety of personal problems. By steering his constituents to AFSA's labor management office, he

helped them cope with such complicated issues as discrimination, overtime pay and eligible family member employment.

His commitment to his role as AFSA rep did not end when he went on R&R. Jacob continued to respond to AFSA emails. And nearing the end of his time at post, he sought volunteers to replace him as post rep.

Commenting on his post rep role, Jacob said, "I found it very satisfying to help people in the community." He describes his position as "serving as the middle-man" between AFSA and members at post by keeping them abreast of association information, which requires frequent updates. He modestly characterizes his role as the initial point of contact, with AFSA staff providing all of the support and guidance.

"I am glad I took the job, and I look forward to being active and helpful in the association at my next post," he concluded. □



Jeff J. Jacob, winner of AFSA Post Representative of the Year Award.

A number of individuals benefited from his proactive support during a variety of personal problems.

2012 AFSA Merit Award Winners

BY LORI DEC, SCHOLARSHIP DIRECTOR

AFSA is proud to announce the 26 Foreign Service high school seniors who were selected as the winners of the 2012 AFSA Merit Awards Competition. These one-time-only awards, totaling \$40,500, were conferred on Washington, D.C.-area winners on May 4. AFSA congratulates these students for their academic and artistic achievements.

Winners receive \$2,000 awards, and Honorable Mention winners receive \$1,000 and \$750 awards. The best-essay winner and the community service winner each receive \$500. Judges are members of AFSA's Scholarship Committee, chaired by Ambassador Lange Schermerhorn and made up of individuals from the Foreign Service community.

This year, 70 students competed for the 15 Academic Merit Awards. They were judged on grade point average, standardized test scores, an essay, two letters of recommendation, extracurricular activities and any special circumstances. From the Academic Merit Award applicants, Nora Kirkham was selected best-essay winner, and Christina McGuire was selected as community service winner.

Nine students submitted art merit applications under one of the following categories: visual arts, musical arts, drama or creative writing. Art

applicants were judged on their art submission, two letters of recommendation and an essay. Victoria Laney was selected as the Art Merit Award winner for her visual art submissions. Elizabeth Dunham and Moira Sims were selected as the Art Merit Honorable Mention Award winners for their visual art submissions.

Eight academic merit named scholarships have been established to date. These awards were bestowed on the highest-scoring students: Bridget Jamison received the Association of the American Foreign Service Worldwide Scholarship; Lucinda Chu-Ketterer received the John and Priscilla Becker Family Scholarship; Rose Hinman and Bradley Raynor received the Turner C. Cameron Memorial Scholarships; Charlotte Ellison received the John C. Leary Memorial Scholarship; Shannon Ball and Basil Smitham received the Joanna and Robert Martin Scholarships; and Marshall Richards received the Donald S. Memorial and Maria Giuseppa Spigler Award.

For more information on the AFSA Merit Awards, the AFSA Scholarship Program, or how to establish or apply for a scholarship, please contact Lori Dec at (202) 944-5504 or dec@afsa.org, or visit www.afsa.org/scholar.

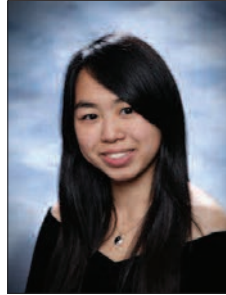
Academic Merit Winners



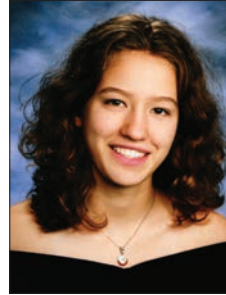
Shannon Ball – daughter of Douglas Ball (USAID) and Janet Ball; graduated from the American Community School, Amman, Jordan; attending Tufts University, majoring in international relations; designated the Joanna and Robert Martin Scholar.



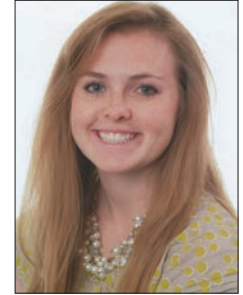
Madeline Carwile – daughter of John Carwile (State) and Karin Hauschild; graduated from the American Overseas School of Rome, Italy; attending Rhodes College, majoring in biology.



Lucinda Chu-Ketterer – daughter of Keith Ketterer (State) and Jeanette Chu (FCS); graduated from George Mason High School, Falls Church, Va.; attending Pitzer College, majoring in chemistry; designated the John and Priscilla Becker Family Scholar.



Charlotte Ellison – daughter of D. Kevin Ellison (State) and Marie-Christine Ellison; graduated from Lake Braddock Secondary School, Burke, Va.; attending the University of Virginia, majoring in mathematics and art; designated the John C. Leary Memorial Scholar.



Elizabeth Goldrup – daughter of Stephen Goldrup (State) and Nicole Price; graduated from the International School of Beijing, China; attending Brigham Young University, majoring in studio art.



Bridget Jamison – daughter of Jeffrey Jamison (State) and Shannon Jamison; graduated from James Madison High School, Vienna, Va.; attending Barnard College, majoring in dance and history; designated the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide Scholar.



Bradley Raynor – son of Michael Raynor (State) and Kathleen Raynor; graduated from Our Lady of Good Counsel High School, Olney, Md.; attending Kenyon College, majoring in international studies; designated the Turner C. Cameron Memorial Scholar.



Marshall Richards – son of Robert Richards (State) and Cynthia Richards (State); graduated from George Mason High School, Falls Church, Va.; attending The College of William and Mary, majoring in Chinese studies; designated the Donald S. Memorial and Maria Giuseppa Spigler Scholar.



Amelia Smith – daughter of Matthew Smith (State) and Susan Smith; graduated from the American Community School, Amman, Jordan; attending the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, majoring in physics.



Basil Smitham – son of Thomas Smitham (State) and Alexandra Maduros; graduated from Walt Whitman High School, Bethesda, Md.; attending Yale University, majoring in physics; designated the Joanna and Robert Martin Scholar.

Scholarship Winners Honored

On May 4, eight local winners of the Merit Awards were honored at AFSA. Top row, left to right: Bradley Raynor, Marshall Richards, Basil Smitham and Betina Van Meter. Front row, left to right: Chairwoman of AFSA Scholarship Committee Ambassador Lange Schermerhorn, Lucinda Chu-Ketterer, Charlotte Ellison, Kathryn Hornbeck, Molly Nesemann and AFSA President Susan Johnson.



PMA Funds \$3,000 AFSA Scholarship

Amb. Lange Schermerhorn (left), AFSA Scholarship Committee chairwoman, thanks attendees for their generous donations to AFSA's scholarship fund at the Public Members Association of the Foreign Service luncheon on May 3, as PMA President Carmen Delgado listens.



Academic Merit Award Honorable Mention Winners

Torrence Delawie – daughter of Gregory Delawie (State) and Vonda Delawie (State); graduated from the Berlin Brandenburg International School, Brandenburg, Germany; attending the California Institute of Technology, majoring in computer science.

Adriana Larsen – daughter of Jon Larsen (State) and Jennifer Barber; graduated from West Creek High School, Clarksville, Tenn.; attending Auburn University, majoring in physical therapy.

Molly Nesemann – daughter of Michael Nesemann (State) and Susan Nesemann; graduated from George Mason High School, Falls Church, Va.; attending the University of Virginia, with no declared major.

Jack Smith – son of Dean Smith (State) and Alison Toledo; graduated from Lake Oswego High School, Lake Oswego, Ore.; attending the University of Virginia, majoring in engineering.

Reia Tong – daughter of Kurt Tong (State) and Mika Tong; graduated from Walt Whitman High School, Bethesda, Md.; attending Brown University, majoring in architecture.

Michael Winnick – son of Seth Winnick (State) and Cindy Winnick; graduated from the John F. Kennedy School, Berlin, Germany; attending the University of Pennsylvania, with no declared major.

Art Merit Award Winner

Victoria Laney – daughter of Bridget Tambe (State); graduated from the International School of Tanganyika, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania; attending Johns Hopkins University, majoring in biology.

Art Merit Award Honorable Mention Winners

Elizabeth Dunham – daughter of John Dunham (State) and Marya Dunham; graduated from the American Embassy School, New Delhi, India; attending the New College of Florida, with no declared major.

Moria Sims – daughter of Marco Sims (State) and Karen Morrissey (State); graduated from Istanbul International Community School, Turkey; attending Pratt Institute, majoring in photography.

Community Service Award Winner

Christina McGuire – daughter of John McGuire (State) and Suzanne McGuire (State); graduated from the International School of Manila, Philippines; attending Connecticut College, majoring in human development.

Best Essay Award Winner

Nora Kirkham – daughter of Keith Kirkham (FCS) and Beth Kirkham; graduated from the American International School of Bucharest, Romania; attending Gordon College, majoring in international affairs.



Rose Hinman – daughter of Richard Hinman (State) and Josephine Hinman (State); graduated from the American Community School of Amman, Jordan; attending Columbia University, majoring in Russian; designated the Tumer C. Cameron Memorial Scholar.



Kathryn Hornbeck – daughter of Robert Hornbeck (State) and Joan Andrews (State); graduated from James Madison High School, Vienna, Va.; attending the University of Miami, majoring in marine science.



Jeremy Hyde – son of Andrew Hyde (State) and Diana Rowen (State); graduated from the American International School of Vienna, Austria; attending Carnegie Mellon University, majoring in physics.



Quincey Szymeczek – daughter of Jerzy Szymeczek and Shemie Szymeczek (State); graduated from TASIS, The American School in England, Thorpe, England; attending American University, majoring in international studies.



Betina Van Meter – daughter of Joseph Van Meter (USAID) and Martine Van Meter; graduated from South Lakes High School, Reston, Va.; attending the University of Twente, The Netherlands, majoring in industrial design.

AFSA Bestows the 2012 Kennan Writing Award

On June 1, at a ceremony at the National War College at Fort McNair, AFSA Governing Board Retiree Representative Hugh Neighbour and NWC Commandant Rear Admiral Douglas J. McAneny announced this year's winner of the George F. Kennan Strategic Writing Award. AFSA has long sponsored this award, which recognizes the best paper written by a State Department employee at the War College.

FSO Michael S. Dixon, this year's winner, was nominated by two separate professors for two outstanding essays: "Afghanistan's Mineral Wealth: Can It Eliminate the Need for Foreign Assistance?" and "A Critique of Russia's Use of Economic, Informational, Diplomatic and Non-Kinetic Military Instruments in the Run-Up to the August 2008 Russia-Georgia War."

Mr. Dixon is a political officer whose most recent assignment was as deputy political-economic counselor and senior economic officer in Prague. Following studies at the War College, he is headed to Astana as political-economic counselor. He has served in Cyprus, Ukraine, Poland, Turkmenistan and in the Office of the European Union and Regional Affairs. Before joining the Foreign Service, he was a Peace Corps Volunteer.

In other writing awards, FSO Greg Macris took first place in the strategic essay category of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs and Secretary of Defense contest. AFSA members Andrew Erickson and Paul Avallone won National Defense University Foundation awards. And AFSA member Marc D. Koehler won a Dr. Frank Trager Faculty and Alumni Award, sponsored by the NWC Alumni Association.

Kennan Award winners receive a certificate and a prize of \$250, intended for the purchase of scholarly books. To learn more about the award, please go to www.afsa.org/kennan_writing_award.aspx. □

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

FSYF Scholarship Merit Award

The Foreign Service Youth Foundation congratulates Reia Tong, this year's recipient of the FSYF 2012 Scholarship Merit Award, sponsored by GEICO and the FSYF. Reia, 18, is the daughter of Mika and Kurt Tong, currently assigned to Tokyo. She graduated from Walt Whitman High School in Bethesda, Md., in June. In her free time, Reia enjoys outdoor activities, swimming, painting and traveling to new places with her family — she has already lived in Tokyo, Beijing and Seoul. She will attend Brown University in the fall, where she will major in architectural studies.

Reia will receive a cash award of \$4,000 and will be honored at the FSYF Youth Awards Ceremony, held in the Benjamin Franklin Room at the Department of State on Friday, July 20.

For information on the 2013 FSYF Scholarship Merit Award, please contact fsyf@fsyf.org.

52nd Annual AAFSW Art & Bookfair

The 52nd annual Art & BookFair of the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide will take place from Friday, Oct. 12, through Sunday, Oct. 21. The event will be held in the Diplomatic Exhibit Hall of the Harry S Truman Building. The fair will feature books, art, collectibles, stamps and coins from all over the world.

All proceeds benefit Foreign Service families and the AAFSW Scholarship Fund.

Donations — especially rare books, art items, stamps and coins — are now being accepted. For donation pickup, please call (202) 223-5796 or e-mail bookroom@aafsw.org. If you would like to volunteer to help at the event, please contact Judy Felt at (703) 370-1414. □

Arab Spring • Continued from page 49

to have lived in Libya before the revolution to appreciate the "psychological, economical and governing impact" of Gaddafi's regime, which he described as being "like cancer."

Ms. Taylor, currently an international affairs fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, described Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali's strenuous efforts to portray his country as a "tourist haven." But as Embassy Tunis reported, beneath the surface "the model had a lot of cracks."

After the presentations, an overflow crowd posed thoughtful questions to the panelists, many of which addressed how Foreign Service personnel operated under such challenging conditions.

In their responses, as in their remarks, all three panelists were optimistic about the region's prospects, though they noted that progress may be slow and uneven. As Amb. Cretz remarked, the Arab Spring reflects a pent-up desire by the people of all these countries to rule themselves that cannot be reversed. □

M. Juanita Guess Award • Continued from page 54

involving 25 embassy volunteers over a span of three months, is just one of several successful projects Sara organized.

Together with Anna Lason, the mission's FS health practitioner, Sara helped to establish a fitness calendar of activities that has resulted in a corps of volunteers organizing everything from soccer to tennis tournaments.

Since the 2010 earthquake, there has been a fivefold increase in the number of youth at post, so Sara secured volunteers to teach children's music and swim lessons and championed a management initiative to procure a playground.

"One of the highlights of my time at post was installation of the children's playground," said Sara. "There were six children at post when I arrived, and now there are 31 kids. The playground became a symbol of continued efforts to transition back to normal embassy operations."

When asked what this award means to her, Sarah's response typifies the kind of person she is: "Above all, I'm just really grateful for all our community accomplished under very difficult circumstances." □

Delavan Award • Continued from page 54

members. He served as a one-man Angie's List, ensuring that the platform had the capability to successfully carry forth its mission goals.

In his role as OMS, Velez established standard office procedures in an office that had not previously had a full-time administrative specialist. He responded to requests from Embassy Kabul for personnel accountability, provided charts of deployed field personnel, and coordinated the sensitive delivery of personal mail items to PRT-based staff.

Taking on the role of a community liaison officer, Velez coordinated official lunches, hail and farewells, and the first-ever Mazar-e-Sharif consular corps representational event at a local downtown restaurant. By meeting individually with numerous foreign diplomats, he was able to garner support for an event that has become so popular it is now held monthly and sponsored by other diplomatic missions.

There is no doubt that the professionalism, enthusiasm and dedication Velez put into his time in Mazar-e-Sharif, frequently under arduous and dangerous conditions, make him a superb choice for the Nelson B. Delavan Award. □

Bohlen Award • Continued from page 55

and build school benches and blackboards.

In April 2011, the first and only library in Mathare Valley opened, boasting 1,200 donated books and teaching materials used by students and teachers from five neighboring schools in the community. To make better use of the new materials and resources, Leila brought in an expat librarian to train the school staff.

To top it all off, to help lower school fees, she bought three sewing machines, taught a group of widows to sew and gave them loans to buy fabric. Students may now buy uniforms from the widows at an affordable cost.

Recognizing the need for mental health care, Leila opened her own clinic in Nairobi in 2010 (at the time she was working as a consular assistant in the embassy). As many of her patients have experienced extreme trauma or grief, she organized free training for 92 Kenyan counselors and mental health providers on "Grief and Trauma Interventions for Children."

As the nomination states, Leila will leave an "overwhelming legacy" when she departs Kenya. □

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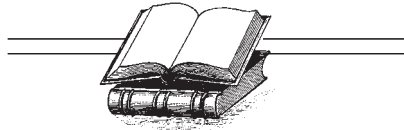
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BOOKS

Lessons Unlearned

The Wars of Afghanistan: Messianic Terrorism, Tribal Conflicts and the Failures of Great Powers

Peter Tomsen, PublicAffairs Books, 2011, \$39.99, hardcover, 849 pages.

REVIEWED BY SUSAN B. MAITRA

Barely two years before the projected final withdrawal of all U.S. combat forces from Afghanistan, the way out of America's longest-running war seems far from clear. How and why has it come to this? And what is U.S. policy in Afghanistan, anyway?

Retired Ambassador Peter Tomsen addresses these fundamental questions in a compelling narrative that gives legs to the old adage that truth is often stranger than fiction.

From the first chapter, a dramatic account of President Mohammad Najibullah's attempt to flee Kabul in 1992 as his regime crumbled, the reader is swept into the tragedy and complexity of the past three decades in Afghanistan and the broad pattern of that country's encounters with foreign powers over centuries.

What makes this 849-page tome so vital — and important — is that the author was directly involved in the drama and has personal relationships with many of the principal actors. As President Ronald Reagan's special

*The history
Tomsen recounts
is so breathtakingly
outrageous that
no one could
make it up.*

envoy, with the rank of ambassador, to the Afghanistan resistance from 1989 to 1991, Tomsen was charged with implementing U.S. policy for the White House during the critical period in which the anti-Soviet jihad turned into civil war, Pakistan became an international terrorist base, and the stage was set for the fateful U.S. invasion.

The career diplomat came to the job well prepared. As deputy chief of mission in Beijing from 1984 to 1988, Tomsen had been engaged, among other things, on the Afghanistan issue. Before that, as a political officer in Moscow from 1977 to 1979, he had witnessed the lead-up to the portentous Soviet invasion.

Still earlier, he'd lived in South Asia for seven years, five as political officer in India and two as a Peace Corps Volunteer in a Nepali village. So he knew the territory.

The trouble for Tomsen was that it was hard to know what U.S. policy really was. From official ignorance of

Afghanistan and lack of understanding of Islam and the Muslim world, to Washington's de facto outsourcing of Afghanistan policy to Pakistan via the CIA and the military, and the resulting divergence between official U.S. pronouncements and actions in the field — the story of the U.S. misadventure in the Afghan "shatter zone" is so breathtakingly outrageous that no one could possibly make it up.

Tomsen brings history, hard-won insights and a keen grasp of Afghan tribal culture to bear in explaining the dynamics of what he calls the Afghan political cauldron. There each invader's hubristic "we can play them" conceit meets its rude and inevitable demise.

He recounts how the Soviet government was sucked into that cauldron lock, stock and barrel — the Politburo's time-tested bag of tricks for controlling East European satraps thrown back in its face and its own intelligence agencies turned into the competing servants of a tribal power struggle in Kabul.

That story is arresting enough. But the detailed record he presents of America's dive into the very same abyss — the result of militant ignorance, bureaucratic stovepiping and a bad, Cold War-related habit of deference to the Pakistan military's InterServices Intelligence organization — is, frankly, embarrassing. (Who can forget the ISI's champion, the extremist Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, who was on the verge of



The Wars of Afghanistan

is a timely look at the realities of making and implementing foreign policy.

“winning” Kabul throughout the 1990s, while billions of taxpayer dollars were allocated to the cause?) And our policy’s negative impact on the region, not to mention the struggle against Islamic terrorism, is sobering.

Because the lessons Tomsen identifies stayed deliberately unlearned through several administrations, one wonders: Is change possible at this point? “The hour is late,” he writes in early 2011, but a U.S. policy based on facilitating a fundamental change in Pakistan’s policy, genuine Afghan custody of the war, and diplomatic regional and global reinforcement “could salvage some long-term success in Afghanistan.”

Sadly, it is still not clear that any real change is at hand.

Though meticulously documented, *The Wars of Afghanistan* is no academic work. It is an intimate, timely look at the realities of making and implementing foreign policy that should be required reading for anyone who has anything to do with Afghanistan, and for every student of U.S. foreign policy and international affairs.

Susan Brady Maitra is the Journal’s Senior Editor.

In Everyone’s Interest

Religious Freedom: Why Now? Defending an Embattled Right

Timothy Samuel Shah and Matthew J. Franck, Witherspoon Institute, 2012, \$9.95, paperback, 86 pages.

REVIEWED BY JOHN M. GRONDELSKI

Even a cursory survey of current events indicates that religion is undergoing a global resurgence. In fact, as co-authors Timothy Samuel Shah and Matthew J. Franck put it in *Religious Freedom: Why Now? Defending an Embattled Right*: “What needs special explanation is not the resurgence of religion in the last 50 years or so, but the paroxysm — often violent — of secularism that swept across the world beginning with the French Revolution in 1789, and had decisively receded only by 1989.”

So what does this trend signify for foreign affairs professionals? One basic implication, according to this report of the Task Force on International Religious Freedom, convened by Princeton’s Witherspoon Institute, is the need to use diplomacy more effectively to defend and promote this basic right.

The book first builds the case that religious freedom is a fundamental right, not some special pleading. It is intrinsic to human dignity because it plumbs to the person’s most basic rights: to define himself or herself, to relate to others and to live according to the dictates of his conscience. Thus, Foreign Service professionals who hope to skip to the part detailing what diplomats should “do” about religious freedom miss the point: basic

human rights and their promotion stand and fall on their own, irrespective of utility.

That’s not to deny that diplomats will also find a national interest in promoting religious freedom. States that respect religious freedom tend not to incubate terrorism, while those that repress it generally do.

In any case, the demand for religious freedom isn’t going away anytime soon. As Shah and Franck observe: “In virtually every part of the world, religious actors increasingly seek to enjoy the right to exist, organize and influence public opinion and political decisions on the same basis as non-religious actors.”

They continue: “The future of numerous societies of strategic importance to the United States — including China, India, Russia, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Nigeria, Afghanistan and Iran — will depend in no small part on how they respond to the insistent demands of their diverse religious communities for freedom and security.” If believers keep pressing their demands for freedom, America will have to take sides.

The task force focuses specific attention on the Islamic world. For the “moderate Islam” in which so many Westerners put such faith to emerge, there must be political space. And if a regime favors just one sect of Islam, it is unlikely to be a “moderate” one.

In such cases, the country’s society will not develop the ability to peacefully test divergent religious opinions. And absent those natural release valves, extremism grows.

America’s national interest clearly lies in defending religious freedom, especially as the full impact of the Arab Spring unfolds. Concretely, the report advocates nine major steps to

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BOOKS

America's national interest clearly lies in defending religious freedom around the world.

afford religious freedom “an appropriately robust status within the foreign policy community.”

These include enhancing the role and resources of the Ambassador-at-Large for Religious Freedom; giving religious freedom policymakers adequate means and the discretion to nimbly target them; making religious freedom a functional subspecialty; building religious freedom strategies into annual mission planning processes; and putting a senior international religious freedom official at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations.

Although densely written, the report argues effectively for a vigorous foreign policy defense of religious freedom — not only as a human rights concern, but as a critical part of America's strategic interest. Such a perspective could add vitality to State's legally mandated mission to advance this right. ■

John M. Grondelski is an FSO currently studying Chinese for an assignment in Shanghai. He previously served in London, Warsaw, Bern and Washington, D.C.



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IN MEMORY

Marguerite (Owens) Anderson, 92, wife of the late Foreign Service officer William Otto Anderson, died on Jan. 7 in Kensington, Md., her home since 1960.

Marguerite Anderson grew up in the St. Louis area and attended MacMurray College in Jacksonville, Ill., where she obtained a bachelor's degree in business after switching from a music major (she was a pianist). Later, she took teaching-related graduate courses at the University of Maryland.

She accompanied her husband to postings abroad for 20 years, including South Africa (where their twin sons were born), Thailand, Singapore and Germany. Active in the community wherever she found herself, Mrs. Anderson helped start the American School in Singapore and taught fifth and sixth-grade classes there. She also helped start a school for Chinese women to learn home economics and domestic skills and another that taught Chinese children to read.

In West Berlin, Mrs. Anderson was president of the American Women's Club, chaired the American Red Cross Grey Ladies, and organized and taught English and American customs to German war brides. In addition, she chaired the "Conference of American Women's Activities in Germany" held in Wiesbaden. She wrote and lectured on business- and club-related activities,

including "How to Run a Meeting," and conducted a seminar on club programming.

The couple returned from Berlin and settled in the Kensington area in 1960. There Mrs. Anderson taught business courses at the former Kensington Junior High and at Richard Montgomery High School. She worked as a legal secretary in several firms and wrote a number of business-related pieces, including "How to Run a Club."

An active member of Business and Professional Women, she twice served as president of the Kensington chapter. She also spoke to various groups, including her alma mater, to dash the myth that Americans overseas "live only unto themselves."

Mrs. Anderson was predeceased by her husband in 1964 and by her son, Michael, in 2011. She is survived by her daughter, Narda R. Anderson of Reisterstown, Md.; a son, Mark W. Anderson of Saint Augustine, Fla.; four grandchildren and five great-grandchildren.



Mary Buell, 89, a former FSO, wife of the late FSO Elim O'Shaughnessy and wife of the late FSO William A. Buell, died on May 12.

Born Mary Wilson Cutler on Feb.

12, 1923, in Brookline, Mass., Mary Buell graduated from St. Timothy's School near Baltimore in 1940. After a year at Erskine Junior College in Boston, she became a cub reporter for the *Baltimore Sun*.

She spent most of the rest of her career overseas, working for the Office of Special Services in Ceylon from 1944 to 1945, for the U.S. military in Shanghai from 1945 to 1946 and for the State Department in Washington, Munich and Bonn.

In 1957, she married a fellow Foreign Service officer, Elim O'Shaughnessy, which required her to resign from the Service (the rules of the day dictated that no female FSO could be married). She accompanied her husband on postings to Belgrade, where their first two children were born; London, where their last child was born; and Budapest, where Mr. O'Shaughnessy died in 1966.

As Mary O'Shaughnessy, she worked as director of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology conference center in Dedham, Mass., until she married William A. Buell Jr. in 1969. This second marriage to an FSO brought her four stepchildren and took her to Paris, Brussels, Washington and back to Munich.

In 1979, the Buells settled again in Washington, D.C., when he became vice president of Radio Free Europe/

IN MEMORY



Radio Liberty. Mrs. Buell worked for the author and hostess Evangeline Bruce as a researcher and social secretary, and was a founding board member of Sasha Bruce Youthwork.

After she and her husband retired to Middletown, R.I., where he was raised, she became involved with Newport's Redwood Library and St. Columba's Chapel, and with making their house a place that all her family loved. She was widely admired throughout her life for her beauty, style, wit, intelligence and energy. Wherever she went, there was not a museum, ruin, cathedral, castle, garden or play she didn't want to see.

Mary Buell survived her husband, Bill, by only seven months. She left a sister, Diana Rowe; her children, Elise of New York City and Middletown, Nelson of Lake Tahoe, Nev., and Sophie O'Shaughnessy of San Francisco, Calif.; and three of her four stepchildren, Jeanne Rosen of Shutesbury, Mass., William A. Buell III of New York City, and John Buell of New Haven, Conn.; as well as seven step-grandchildren.



Susan Elizabeth Gilmour Callaway, 72, the wife of retired FSO Gil Callaway, died of pneumonia on Dec. 29, 2011, at Sibley Hospital in Washington, D.C. She was a six-year survivor of lung cancer.

Following her early passion for international relations, Susan Callaway earned her bachelor's degree and a master's degree in international affairs from American University. While pursuing graduate studies, she wrote several books on foreign area studies for the U.S. Army.

During her husband's long career in the Foreign Service, Mrs. Callaway

held several positions overseas. She taught at a private university in Caracas, tutored journalists at a major newspaper in Zagreb, continued her studies at Johns Hopkins University in Bologna, and established an SAT prep company in Rome. All the while, she also managed the responsibilities that came with being the spouse of a U.S. diplomat and raised three children.

Upon returning to the United States, she edited the corporate newsletter for *Vie de France*, and then found her next passion advocating for homeless rights in Washington, D.C., at the Community Council for the Homeless. Over eight years, Mrs. Callaway championed a holistic approach to the problem of homelessness, serving as a board member and former development director at CCH at Friendship Place in the District.

Family and friends remember her as a beloved wife, mother, grandmother and sister whose love of life, candor and intellect, guidance and constant support have touched many around the world.

Mrs. Callaway is survived by her husband, Gil, of Chevy Chase, Md.; three children, Catherine of New York City, Matthew (and his wife, Chris) of Reston, Va., and Abigail (and her husband, Chad Charowhas) of Kensington, Md.; three grandchildren, Claire, Ian and Cyrus; a sister, Mary Jane Arnold of Ellicott City, Md.; and a brother, Jim Gilmour (and his wife, Judy) of Swanzy, N.H.



David Herc Cohn, 88, a retired Foreign Service officer, died peacefully on March 1 in Laguna Hills, Calif., where he had been residing since November 2010 with his wife, Rosemarie.

Mr. Cohn was born in Brooklyn, N.Y., on July 29, 1923, the elder son of Nathan Cohn and Blanche Herc Cohn. After serving from 1943 to 1945 with the U.S. Army in India during World War II, he earned a B.A. degree in economics and political science from Dickinson College in 1948.

He did postgraduate work at New York University, the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School and the University of Miami, where he earned an M.A. in public administration and was also an instructor. His master's thesis focused on the integration of African-American officers into the Miami police force.

Beginning his career with the U.S. Department of Commerce in 1951, Mr. Cohn joined the U.S. Foreign Service in 1956. During his long career as an economics officer, he held posts in Istanbul, Paris, Karachi, Kabul and Jakarta. In between overseas appointments, Mr. Cohn assumed various economic and social policy advisory positions at the Department of State in Washington, D.C.

Following retirement, Mr. Cohn settled in New York City. There he served on the vestry and as a warden of All Saints Episcopal Church from 1981 to 1999.

Mr. Cohn's first wife, Verna ("Pete") Peterson, died in 1992. He is survived by his second wife, Rosemarie Baiocchi Cohn, as well as by four stepchildren, four stepgrandsons and several nieces and nephews.



Robert Dodge Davis, 89, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on March 3 in Wooster, Ohio.

Mr. Davis attended the University of Oklahoma and then spent three

IN MEMORY



years (1943-1946) in the U.S. Army as a rifleman and interpreter for the Allied Military Government in Germany and France. He graduated from the University of Oklahoma in 1947, and joined the Foreign Service the same year.

From 1947 to 1957, Mr. Davis served in embassies in Germany, South Africa and Israel. He then took up Soviet area and Russian language studies at Harvard University, where he received his master's degree in public administration.

Between 1960 and 1965, he was posted to Bonn as first secretary and political officer for Berlin and communist bloc affairs. He then served as deputy policy chief at the Voice of America in Washington, D.C., and attended the National War College (Class of 1969).

From 1970 to 1974 he was deputy chief of mission in Honduras; and from 1975 to 1978, he was DCM and political adviser in West Berlin. His last assignment before retiring was as diplomat-in-residence at the College of Wooster in Wooster, Ohio.

Mr. Davis's wife, Marilyn F. Davis, died in March 2002. He is survived by his daughter, Ruth Davis Brown of Wooster, Ohio; two sons, Jonathan of Wooster, and Richardson of Palm Harbor, Fla.; and eight grandchildren.



William Lee Frost, 84, a former Foreign Service officer, died on Sept. 7, 2011, in New York City.

Mr. Frost was born in Larchmont, N.Y., to Charles and Eva Frost. He graduated from Bayside High School and served in the Navy during World War II before attending Harvard College, graduating in 1947. He graduated

from Yale Law School in 1951 and from the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration in 1958.

Joining the State Department Foreign Service in 1952, Mr. Frost served overseas in Belgrade, Salzburg and Bad Godesberg. Because of the illness of his first wife, Judith, he left the Foreign Service in 1959, returning to New York City. There he re-entered legal practice, specializing in management and investments.

He later became president and then chairman of the board of the Lucius N. Littauer Foundation. Under his leadership for three decades, the foundation had a positive impact on hundreds of worthy Jewish, educational and civic causes throughout the world.

Always interested in health issues, Mr. Frost served as a member of the Public Health Council of the New York State Department of Health under Governor Hugh Carey from 1985 to 1987, and as treasurer and director of the New York Heart Association. He was also a trustee of the Brearley School, the Collegiate School, Marlboro College and Radcliffe College.

As a student at Harvard, Mr. Frost had been the founding president of the college's chapter of the Hillel Foundation for Jewish Campus Life. Later, as a graduate, he joined its visiting committee and became honorary curator and president of Judaica at Harvard University Library. He also served as a member of the Visiting Committee to Harvard Divinity School.

From 1994 to 1997, Mr. Frost was chair of the New York State Archives Partnership Trust. He was also the president and a director of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency and a trustee of the PEF Israel Endowment Funds, Inc.

Friends, family and colleagues re-

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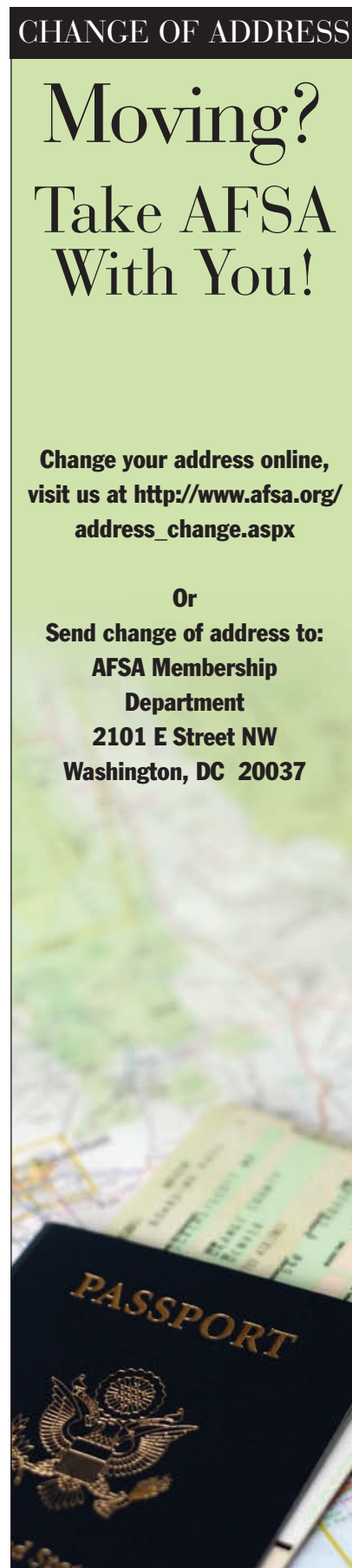
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IN MEMORY



call Mr. Frost's leadership, counsel and friendship. His hobbies included rambling — in the Rockies, around Manhattan and in Scotland — and singing.

Mr. Frost was predeceased by his first wife, and is survived by their daughters Rebecca (and her husband, Mohammad) and Hannah. He is also survived by his wife, Susan, and their children Abigail (and her husband, John) and Robert (and his wife, Navah), and five grandchildren.

In lieu of flowers, donations may be made to one of the institutions mentioned above.



Cecelia Gordon Bowdoin (Hill) Gardner, 91, wife of the late Amba-

sador Robert Charles Hill, died peacefully on April 1 at the Arbor Hospice in Ann Arbor, Mich., following a brief illness. Her youngest son, James Bowdoin Hill, was at her side.

Cecelia Gardner was born on Dec. 7, 1920, in Baltimore, Md., the daughter of Elinore McLane and William Graham Bowdoin Jr. Privately tutored, she spent her childhood first in Baltimore, then in Aiken, S.C., Portland, Maine, and Paris, France.

On Dec. 1, 1945, she married Robert Charles Hill of Littleton, N.H., and served at his side for 33 years at posts in Costa Rica, El Salvador, Mexico, Spain and Argentina, as well as in Washington, D.C. Mr. Hill served as assistant secretary of State for congressional relations

under President Dwight Eisenhower, and assistant secretary of Defense for international security affairs under President Richard Nixon. The couple also kept a home in the White Mountains of New Hampshire throughout their marriage.

During her years abroad, Mrs. Gardner fully engaged herself with the people of the various nations in which they served. She attempted to represent the best qualities of U.S. culture: empathy and sophistication.

Mrs. Gardner was an accomplished mid-Atlantic tennis champion and duplicate bridge player, and an excellent horsewoman. She also held memberships in the Chevy Chase, Elkridge and Sulgrave clubs. Friends and family members recall her as a faithful wife and beloved mother.

Following Ambassador Hill's death in 1978, she was married for 20 years to George Victor Gardner, a Roanoke, Va., attorney. The couple resided in Washington and Naples, Fla. Mr. Gardner died in August 2010.

Mrs. Gardner was predeceased by her twin sister, Anne Graham Bowdoin, in 1921, and by her elder sister, Elinora Bowdoin Bolton, who died on Feb. 7 at the age of 93.

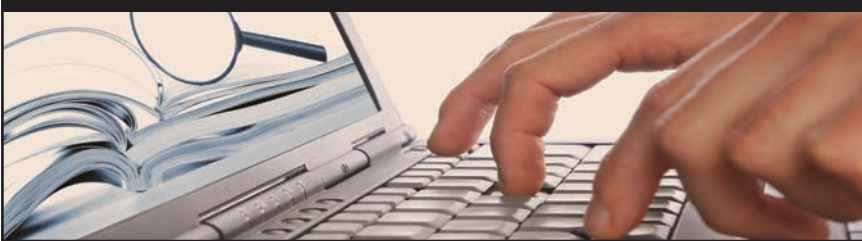
She is survived by her two sons, James Bowdoin Hill (and his wife, Laura) of Ann Arbor, Mich., and William Graham Bowdoin Hill of Richmond, Va.; four grandchildren, Douglas and Sean Hill of Ann Arbor, and Robert and George Hill of Buenos Aires, Argentina; two sisters, Jane Moody of Portland, Ore., and Dana Poole of New York City; a brother, Winthrop Smith of Gorham, Maine; and many nieces and nephews.

Donations in her memory may be made to Old Saint Paul's Church, Baltimore, Md.

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IN MEMORY



Colleen M. Hart, 82, wife of the late FSO Richard R. Hart, died peacefully on April 22 in Sarasota, Fla.

Colleen Hart was born on Dec. 1, 1929, in Stroh-LaGrange, Ind. She married Richard R. Hart in July 1955 and put him through Chinese studies by operating her own beauty salon. Thereafter, she followed him to Washington, D.C., and provided elegant support to further his career as a Foreign Service officer. They served in Japan, Taiwan, Nepal, Hong Kong, Thailand and China.

When Mr. Hart retired from the Foreign Service in 1984, the couple settled in Sarasota. There Mrs. Hart was actively involved with the Sarasota Institute of Life Time Learning, becoming the longest-serving volunteer after 27 fun-filled years. She was also a member and volunteer at the Church of the Palms.

Colleen Hart was predeceased by her husband of 55 years, Richard, in 2010.

She is survived by three children, FSO Amy Vrapmas (and her husband, Cosmas) of Muscat, Oman; Scott Hart (and his wife, Leola) of Leicester, N.C.; Janmarie Chatlosh (and her husband, Jeff) of Florence, S.C.; six grandchildren, Jason Chatlosh (and his wife, Meagan) and Justin Chatlosh of Florence, S.C.; George and Alexandra Vrapmas of Muscat; Brie and Zack Hart of Leicester, N.C.; two sisters, Madeline McKinley (and her husband, William) of Muncie, Ind., and DeVeta Householder of Huntington, Ind.

The family thanks Mrs. Hart's many friends for their warm and generous support over the last few months. Memorial donations can be made in her name to the Sarasota Institute of Life Time Learning (SILL) or the Church of the Palms in Sarasota, Fla.; McLeod

Hospice House in Florence, S.C., or the Cancer Society



Darrell A. Jenks, 54, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on May 14 in Baltimore, Md., after a yearlong struggle with cancer.

Mr. Jenks received his bachelor's degree in French from Reed College in 1979, and went on to earn an M.A. in political science from the University del Zulia in Maracaibo, an M.A. in national security and strategic studies from the Naval War College and, later, a Ph.D. in the ethics of science fiction from Salve Regina University.

In 1981, he entered the Foreign Service. During a 30-year diplomatic career, Mr. Jenks was posted to Belize (where he met his wife, Thelma), Tokyo, Shanghai, Beijing, Maracaibo, Kaohsiung, Brasilia, Seoul and Maysan. His last assignment was as director of the Foreign Service Institute Japanese Language School in Yokohama, from which he retired in 2011.

Fluent in French, Spanish, Portuguese, Mandarin, Taiwanese, Korean and Japanese, he also gained a working knowledge of Arabic during a year leading a Provincial Reconstruction Team in Iraq. He received numerous awards from the State Department, including the Secretary's Award for Excellence in Public Diplomacy.

Colleagues and friends remember Mr. Jenks as a dynamo of spirit and creativity of an especially exploratory and interactive kind. He was a gifted jazz drummer: in addition to a stint in New York City's Loft Scene in the 1970s, he formed bands almost everywhere he went, playing drums with an experimental and polyrhythmic style that mixed well with both progressive and

traditional musicians in Taiwan, China, Brazil and Korea.

One colleague recalls watching a (literally) fiery performance of Mr. Jenks' band Tianchuang (roughly, "Skylight") near an abandoned factory on the outskirts of Beijing that climaxed in the burning of a giant stylized skylight, sending flames and sparks hundreds of feet into the air and leaving the audience stunned. Transformational diplomacy at its most dramatic!

The fiery skylight aptly symbolized the elemental nature of Mr. Jenks' spirit, this colleague recalls. He had the unnerving habit of diving into almost any pool of water he came across: the Amazon, the glowing blue water at the bottom of a copper mine, a black pool at the bottom of a cave, or a river in the Brazilian backwoods in the middle of the night.

In the same spirit, he plunged into cultures — Chinese, Brazilian, Taiwanese, Japanese. For Mr. Jenks, one colleague recalls, there was no such thing as a boring place, or a boring person — he knew that if he persisted, if he went a little deeper, he would find the one thing that made that place, that person, that culture fascinating.

Mr. Jenks is survived by his wife, Thelma, of Baltimore; his daughter Desiree, now an officer in the 82nd Airborne based at Fort Bragg, NC; his son Christopher, also serving in the U.S. Army at Fort Bragg; two brothers, Mark of Kirkland, Wash., and Andrew of Cypress, Calif.; an uncle, Lawrence Hochstein of Las Vegas, Nev.; and his parents, George and Zoya Jenks of Lewisburg, Pa.

Condolences may be sent via the Mitchell-Wiedefeld Funeral Home at www.mwfuneralhome.com/obituaries/Darrell-Jenks/. In lieu of flowers, donations may be made to the Alvin &

IN MEMORY



Lois Lapidus Cancer Institute, c/o The Darrell Jenks Memorial, Sinai Hospital of Baltimore, 2401 W. Belvedere Ave., Baltimore MD 21215.



William J. Kushlis, 69, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on April 6 in Houston, Texas, of acute myeloid leukemia.

Mr. Kushlis joined the Foreign Service in 1970. During a 27-year career, he met all sorts of fascinating people, from presidents and Cabinet ministers to reporters, editors, students, human rights activists and leaders of independence movements.

Mr. Kushlis was posted overseas in Switzerland, the USSR, Greece, Finland, Thailand and the Philippines, and served at the State Department and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. He also served on Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe conflict prevention missions in Estonia and Moldova.

Colleagues and friends recall Mr. Kushlis as an astute political analyst, reporter, team-player, linguist, negotiator and mediator. As political counselor in Helsinki (1988-1992), he supervised and contributed to the reporting on the Baltic independence movements in the years preceding the breakup of the Soviet Union.

He and a colleague had the honor of receiving the official request for U.S. recognition of Estonian independence from Foreign Minister Lennart Meri on Aug. 22, 1991, on the embassy's front steps to relay to Washington.

Throughout his career as a political officer, Mr. Kushlis was frequently lauded for putting disparate pieces together to form a coherent political pic-

ture of rapidly changing events. As officer in charge of Greek affairs at the State Department from 1985 to 1987, he and his colleagues in the Office of Southeast European Affairs received an award for heroism for decisively defusing a potentially disastrous military confrontation between Greece and Turkey.

He was a Pearson Fellow for the late Senator Edward F. Kennedy, D-Mass., from 1984 to 1985. A fluent Russian speaker, Mr. Kushlis concluded his Foreign Service career as a senior foreign policy adviser on cooperative threat reduction with Russia and Belarus in the Office of the Secretary of Defense (1994-1996).

Following his retirement, Mr. Kushlis moved to Albuquerque, N.M., where he was a broker and financial adviser from 1998 to 2006. He loved to travel, ski, swim, watch movies and attend the theater, opera and concerts. He was treasurer of Quintessence, a premier Albuquerque choral group, and a member of the Albuquerque Committee on Foreign Relations, the Santa Fe World Affairs Forum and DACOR.

Mr. Kushlis is survived by his wife, Patricia H. Kushlis, a retired USIA Foreign Service officer whom he met in A-100, of Albuquerque; his son, Christopher J. Kushlis (and wife, Magdalena Polan) of London; two brothers and two sisters.

Contributions in his name may be made to the Santa Fe World Affairs Forum, P.O. Box 31965, Santa Fe NM 87594, to help defray speaker travel expenses, or to the Sisters of the Most Precious Blood, c/o Sister Carmen Schneider, 204 North Main St., O'Fallon MO 63366-2299, for the education of Estonian children with special needs.

Eleanor Hanson Leonard, 90, the wife of retired Foreign Service officer James F. Leonard, died on March 13 at her home in Rosslyn, Va., with her husband at her side.

Eleanor Leonard was born in Washington, D.C., on Oct. 7, 1921, and attended D.C. public schools. After graduating as the valedictorian from Woodrow Wilson High School, she went on to Wellesley College, where she received a bachelor's degree in physics in 1943. In 1942 she took leave from Wellesley to teach meteorology to Army trainees.

In 1943, she married her longtime beau, Arthur Lee Thompson III, whose family owned Thompson's Honor Dairy, one of the largest industrial firms in Washington at that time. Their son "Lee" was born on Oct. 6, 1944. Her husband was killed in the Philippines on the last day of World War II.

Mrs. Leonard became interested in the U.S. Foreign Service and, in 1947, enrolled in a summer course at George Washington University to prepare for the Foreign Service exam. There she met her future husband, James F. Leonard. She passed the Foreign Service exam with high marks, but was refused an appointment on the grounds that as a widow with a small child, she was sure to remarry and the Service's investment in her would be wasted.

Despite this rebuff, she accepted Mr. Leonard's proposal, married and accompanied him on Foreign Service assignments in Damascus, Moscow, Paris, Taichung and Taipei.

Mrs. Leonard learned Russian, French and Chinese during these tours, while assisting her husband in the traditional Foreign Service spouse's duties and bringing up their son and five daughters. She greatly enjoyed a

IN MEMORY



course in haute cuisine at the Cordon Bleu School in Paris and put its lessons to good use in her various homes over the next 50 years, especially in the many elegant events she hosted in connection with her husband's work.

In 1964, the couple returned to Washington, where Mr. Leonard moved through several positions in the State Department, becoming the desk officer for Korea in 1968. He was charged particularly with finding a way to free the crew of the USS *Pueblo*, which had been attacked and captured by the North Koreans.

In late 1968, it was one of Mrs. Leonard's ideas that was shaped into what became known as the Leonard Proposal. In December 1968 it was accepted by the North Korean negotiators at Panmunjom, and the crew was released just before Christmas.

In 1969 the Nixon administration sent Mr. Leonard as head of the U.S. delegation to the Disarmament Conference in Geneva, with Eleanor and children more or less in tow. After three years and two arms control treaties, Mr. Leonard retired from the Foreign Service, and the couple settled in New York City. There he served as president of the United Nations Association of New York for four years before accepting an offer to become deputy permanent representative at the U.N. under Ambassador Andrew Young.

During their New York years, Mrs. Leonard founded an international discussion group for diplomatic wives, making a small crack in the wall of masculine diplomacy. She volunteered with the National Democratic Committee for presidential campaigns in 1968, 1972 and 1976.

When the Carter administration sent Mr. Leonard to Egypt and Israel

in 1977 as deputy special representative under Ambassador Robert Strauss, the couple returned to the Middle East, where they had begun their State Department service some 30 years earlier. They retired in early 1981.

At this point, as her husband recalls, Mrs. Leonard decided that it was "her turn." Drawing on her ability with computers, she found a position in 1984 at the Environmental Protection Agency developing ways to present complex statistics in an intelligible format. After a decade at EPA, Mrs. Leonard started a desktop publishing business in 1996. At the same time, she served as treasurer of the Virginia Native Plant Society's Piedmont chapter, volunteered at several other organizations and welcomed many friends and family at the couple's dream home, which they had built in the wooded hills of Fauquier County.

Family and friends remember Mrs. Leonard as someone who brought the highest standards to every task she undertook. An intellectual with a distinguished sense of style, she provided perfect elegance to the many events she hosted.

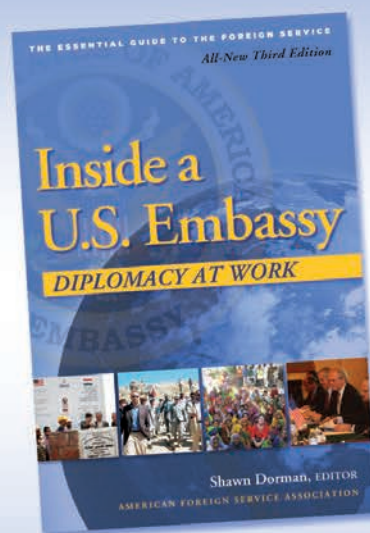
Survivors include her husband of 63 years, James F. Leonard of Arlington County; a son from her first marriage, A. Lee Thompson IV of Potomac, Md.; four daughters from her second marriage, Cindy Leonard of Arlington, Va., Val Leonard of Washington, D.C., Carolyn Leonard of Fairbanks, Alaska, and Pamela Leonard of Arlington, Va.; two sisters; and five grandchildren. A daughter from her second marriage, Diana Leonard, died in 1980.



Grant Victor McClanahan, 93, a retired Foreign Service officer, died

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IN MEMORY



peacefully on April 14 in Washington, D.C., after a brief illness.

Mr. McClanahan was born on Oct. 22, 1919, in Tanta, Egypt, to Drs. Frank and Helen McClanahan, Presbyterian medical missionaries. After high school he left Egypt to attend the Stony Brook School in Long Island, N.Y.

Planning to be an Egyptologist after graduating from Muskingum College in Ohio in 1941, he studied at the University of Chicago and was a guide at the Oriental Institute. He was also president of the eating co-op and active in a pacifist organization, the Fellowship of Reconciliation. In 1949, he received a master's degree from American University.

After Pearl Harbor was bombed, Mr. McClanahan enlisted in the U.S. Navy and served in naval intelligence in Chicago, Egypt and Washington, D.C. Immediately after the war, he decided to take a position in the Department of State, initially in research. He then joined the Foreign Service, serving overseas in Dhahran, London, Paris and Baghdad, retiring in 1968.

In retirement, while living in London and Tuscany, he wrote a book for the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University, *Diplomatic Immunity: Principles, Practices, Problems* (Palgrave MacMillan, 1989). He also contributed a chapter to *Diplomacy Under a Foreign Flag* (Georgetown University Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, 1990), describing his experience closing Embassy Baghdad when the Iraqi government expelled the U.S., British and other Western diplomats during the 1967 Arab-Israeli War.

Mr. McClanahan also enjoyed writing poetry and short stories — among them an account of Sherlock Holmes' missing years, spent (in Grant's telling)

in Egypt. At Ingleside at Rock Creek, where he and his wife, Pauli, resided during the last four years, Mr. McClanahan helped organize a writers' group and found great satisfaction in sharing his stories and poems with other writers there.

He worked for many years with his daughter Jill on his memoirs and papers. Portions of these, covering his early years in Egypt at the time of the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb, were compiled and published by his daughter Gailyn under the title *In an Ancient Land* (Lulu, 2010).

Mr. McClanahan did not consider himself a linguist although he spoke and read Arabic, French, Italian, German, Greek, Latin, Hebrew and Japanese. He also had a lifelong interest in Egyptian hieroglyphics. He was an ardent numismatist and a scholar of classical and Napoleonic history.

In London, he was a member of the Reform Club and Pall Mall for more than 50 years. And in Washington, he was a longtime member of DACOR.

Mr. McClanahan is survived by his wife of 68 years, Pauli; two daughters, Jill Watson of Chevy Chase, Md., and Gailyn Saroyan of Los Angeles, Calif.; and four grandchildren: Strawberry Saroyan and Cream Saroyan in California; Armenak Saroyan in Nevada; and Dr. Ariel McClanahan Watson in Nova Scotia.

As he wished, Mr. McClanahan's ashes will be scattered over the Nile and Danube rivers.



Linda Sue (Howard) Muncy, 63, a career Foreign Service officer, died on Jan. 31 after a sudden illness in Kabul, where she had been serving since January 2011 with her husband,

Don Muncy, an FSO with USAID.

A 1970 graduate of Duke University, Linda Muncy moved to the Washington area to begin her government career following graduation. Following her marriage to Don, then a Marine Corps officer, she moved to Camp Lejeune, N.C. When her husband finished his military tour, the couple returned to the Washington, D.C., area, and both began their civilian government service careers.

Before joining the Foreign Service, Mrs. Muncy worked at the U.S. Civil Service Commission and the U.S. Department of Agriculture. She then served with the Department of State for nearly 27 years. Mrs. Muncy was posted to Quebec, Bangladesh, South Africa and Yemen, in addition to assignments in Washington, D.C.

The call to serve one more overseas tour brought her to Kabul, where she was able to join her husband, already posted there. Her assignment in Afghanistan was to have been her final posting before retirement.

Mrs. Muncy is survived by her husband of 40 years, Don, of Potomac, Md.; her son, Michael, and daughter, Laura, of Rockville, Md.; her father, Jackson Howard of Salisbury, N.C.; and her sister, Margaret of Ellijay, Ga.

In lieu of flowers, the family requests donations to be made in Linda Muncy's name to the American Diabetes Association, PO Box 11454, Alexandria VA 22312. Please view and sign the family guestbook at www.pumphreyfuneralhome.com



Sandy M. Pringle, 90, a retired Foreign Service officer, died peacefully with his son and daughter at his side on Feb. 19, in Spotsylvania, Va.

IN MEMORY



Mr. Pringle was born in New York City, but moved with his family to various cities across the country before graduating from high school in Port Chester, N.Y., in 1939.

On a visit to Mexico sponsored by the Experiment in International Living while he was attending Princeton University, he met his lifelong love, Julia Ryder. Although blind in one eye as the result of a childhood accident, Mr. Pringle tried unsuccessfully to enlist in the Army when World War II broke out; persisting, he was finally inducted at the end of 1942. The Pringles were married in San Francisco in 1944, just before he shipped out to the Philippines.

After the war, the couple returned to Princeton University, where Sandy graduated *summa cum laude* in 1947, and where his son, Harry, was born. Mr. Pringle joined the Foreign Service, and the family moved to Nicaragua, where they lived until 1949, and where their daughter, Julie, was born. Following postings to Peru and Honduras, in 1955 the Pringles returned to Princeton, where Mr. Pringle spent a year of advanced study at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

Following an assignment in Washington, D.C., they were posted to the Netherlands in 1959. The Pringles then moved in 1963 to Montgomery, Ala., where Mr. Pringle studied at the Air War College.

In 1967, after another tour in Washington, they left for their last overseas assignment, in San Jose, where Mr. Pringle served as deputy chief of mission. The couple returned to Washington in 1970, and in 1975 Mr. Pringle retired from a position in the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs.

They then moved to rural Spotsyl-

vania County, finally free to settle down on the 65 acres they loved so much. There Mr. Pringle was able to spend time doing the things he most enjoyed: researching his extensive antique map collection, caring for the family border collies and shelties, and working in the garden and woods on their property. He also became very involved with Christ Episcopal Church, spending countless, rewarding hours on its financial and organizational affairs.

When Mrs. Pringle died in 2007, Mr. Pringle began a new and very challenging chapter in his life, moving to Woodbridge, Va., to be closer to his daughter. In increasingly poor health and with his eyesight diminishing, he nevertheless fiercely maintained his independence and faced each day with remarkable courage and good cheer. He also remained a keen and, at times, acerbic observer of national and international political affairs until just days before his death, relying on National Public Radio to provide him with a window on the world he could not see.

Mr. Pringle is survived by his son, Harry, of Portland, Maine; his daughter, Julie, of Woodbridge; and two grandchildren.



Eugene L. Scassa, 73, a retired Foreign Service officer and former ambassador, died on March 22 in San Antonio, Texas, after battling various health issues. His family was at his side.

A first-generation Italian-American, Mr. Scassa was born in Monaca, Pa., in 1939 to Italian immigrants Carmine and Maria Scassa. He attended Geneva College and served with the U.S. Army in Metz, France, before entering the U.S. Foreign Service. A graduate of the National War College,

he held an honorary doctor of philosophy degree from St. Mary's University.

During a long diplomatic career, he served in positions of increasing responsibility around the world, including Panama, Ecuador, Gabon, Mozambique, Mexico, Zambia, Iceland, Jamaica, Switzerland, Saudi Arabia and Belize. He also served in Washington on three different occasions: as post management officer in the Bureau of African Affairs, division chief and assignments officer for the Middle East and South Asia, and executive director (deputy assistant secretary) of inter-American affairs.

Mr. Scassa volunteered to help in Beirut on two occasions, once following the bombing of the U.S. embassy in 1984 and, again, in the spring of 1985, when TWA Flight 847 was hijacked and Americans taken hostage. He received many Department of State awards for superior performance and was also repeatedly recognized for his work to promote meaningful equal employment opportunities for minorities and women.

President George Herbert Walker Bush nominated Mr. Scassa to be U.S. ambassador to Belize in 1989, and he was confirmed by a unanimous Senate vote. He served in Belize for approximately four years and was then assigned as diplomat-in-residence and visiting professor of international relations at St. Mary's University in San Antonio, Texas. Amb. Scassa also served as a delegate to the 51st United Nations General Assembly and as senior area adviser for Latin America.

Following his retirement from the Foreign Service, Amb. Scassa remained at St. Mary's, taking on temporary assignments for the Department of State in Honduras, Colombia, Chile and Cuba. After a second retirement,



he worked as senior consultant for American College Testing, helping write the Foreign Service Examination.

Amb. Scassa founded the Model Organization of American States in 1995. He remained an active participant in its planning and execution, and held an honorary permanent seat on the organization's steering committee. In 2011, in recognition of his passion and hard work over the previous 16 years, the organization was named for him and is now known as the "Eugene Scassa Model Organization of American States."

Colleagues and friends recall Amb. Scassa as a superb mentor who had a profound impact on students at St. Mary's University. Over the course of 16 years there, he was directly responsible for mentoring and directing 30 alumni active-duty FSOs, 30 alumni in various federal intelligence agencies and 12 alumni involved in international development work.

Amb. Scassa is survived by his wife; his three children, David, Susan, and Eugene; and 13 grandchildren.

In lieu of flowers, memorial gifts may be made in honor of Eugene L. Scassa and the ESMOAS to the St. Mary's University Annual Scholarship Fund, Attn: Ronan McAshan, Advancement Services, One Camino Santa Maria, San Antonio TX 78228-8544, or donate online at <http://donate.stmarytx.edu/online-giving/giftForm>.



Barbara Lindner Wood, 92, the former wife of the late Foreign Service officer Ben Wood, died on April 23 in Ocala, Fla.

Mrs. Wood was born in Ocala to Dr. Eaton George and Justina (Rhody) Lindner. She graduated from Ocala

High School.

As a young woman at a time when, as Mrs. Wood told it, nobody believed a woman had the ability to be a pilot, she learned to fly airplanes from the father of a friend. That changed her life forever, she would say in later years. Already an adventuresome soul, she went on to enjoy unique worldwide experiences.

Mrs. Wood met her future husband, Ben, at Ocala Airports' Army pilot training school. The two wed in Texas and, after the war, moved with their first son to Washington, D.C., where Mr. Wood joined the Foreign Service. She accompanied her husband to Foreign Service postings in the Philippines, Belgium, Vietnam, Cambodia and London. The marriage ended in divorce in the late 1950s.

During the 1960s and 1970s, Mrs. Wood lived in Paris, Washington, D.C., and Sardinia, traveling extensively throughout Europe and Turkey, camping in a signature, customized white Land Rover. In 1980 she settled in Virginia, where she established a garlic farm.

Mrs. Wood wrote about her experiences in *North from Ocala* (Special Publications, Inc., 2000), a memoir that "reads like an adventure story," according to one reviewer. She was the first female pilot in Marion County, and also enjoyed astrology.

Mrs. Wood was preceded in death by her brother, Dr. John D. Lindner, and by her ex-husband, Ben Wood.

She is survived by her sons, Ramsay Wood of London, and Chalmers B. Wood of China; nieces, Anne Foelker of Haymarket, Va., Beverly Lindner of Maui, Hawaii, and Barbara Dusch of Cumming, Ga.; a nephew, John D. Lindner Jr. of Ocala; and a grandson, Tryver Wood. ■



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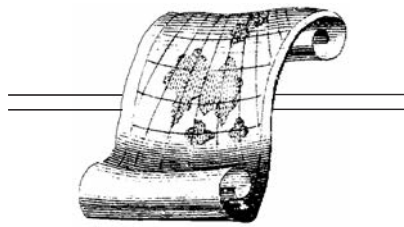


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REFLECTIONS

My Portable Consciences

BY ANNIE PFORZHEIMER

Twenty years ago in South Africa, after reading a newspaper article about a valiant human rights defender who was trying to protect young black gang members targeted for assassination by the police, I picked up the phone and found a way to meet her. We were both in our mid-20s; but unlike me, she had no diplomatic plates on her car. She had been threatened countless times, but never let fear impede her.

Once we traveled to a township cemetery where she walked down a row of headstones introducing me to her friends interred there, one after another, as if we were at a party. She dated someone from another race and faced criticism, yet stayed in the relationship. When I was with her, I wanted to protect her and simultaneously to live through her courage.

In Turkey before and after 9/11, I met lawyers who overcame an arcane, complex legal system to defend free expression and save detainees from torture. One was so brilliant that I worked hard to get him on an international visitors' program with other human rights defenders to travel to the United States for two weeks and see how activists here achieve their goals.

When he returned, he didn't deliver the expected paean to our freedoms when asked about his trip during a dinner party we both attended. Instead, he attacked the blatant racism and horrific state of the U.S. prison system.

*She had been
threatened countless
times, but never let
fear impede her.*

A decade ago I regularly talked with the director of El Salvador's Human Rights Center, who had been close to the Jesuits murdered by the military in 1989. He smiled patiently but skeptically at my talking points. He laughed out loud at my faith that an elite who had stolen its country's wealth for many years was on a slow-but-sure path toward progress and fairness.

Yet he was equally dismissive of the left, and enjoyed skewering their cluelessness and ideological rigidity. During the 2004 presidential race between a neo-Stalinist and a former sportscaster who was wholly owned by the business community, I told him: "I don't know who will win, but I know where you will be in the next administration — in the opposition."

While on assignment in Kabul two years ago, I met regularly with the head of the Independent Human Rights Association. She would ask me to explain what, specifically, justified my optimism that talks with the Taliban would take the concerns of Afghan women and minorities into account.

Why did I think that supporting a

Pashtun-centered national security apparatus would lead to a sustainable peace with other ethnic groups? And when President Hamid Karzai "delivered" on his promises of women's participation by appointing wives of his loyalists, what was gained?

She served me tea and spoke in English perfected by her years in Pakistani refugee camps, where she raised her son singlehandedly and delivered other refugee women's babies. She laughed about once grabbing the president's hand and telling him, "I'm older than you, so you have to listen to me!"

All my portable consciences — these men and women and many others — poke me hard with their sharp elbows and deflate me with sarcasm when I default to clichés, when I don't look hard enough to find the options where justice and American power coincide, when I fail to see the obvious and when I paint too rosy a view.

Thinking of those with no armor against attack and yet possessed of energy, courage and will, I pledge to put down my talking points, sharpen my powers of observation, and try to find the plain language they use in order to say: this is wrong, we can do better, and this is how. ■

Annie Pforzheimer, an FSO for 23 years, is director of the Office of Peace Operations, Sanctions and Counterterrorism in the Bureau of International Organization Affairs.



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