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THE FOREIGN JOURNAL

FOCUS ON PROFESSIONAL ETHICS

Ethics for the Professional Diplomat / 22

A code of ethics is essential to give diplomatic practitioners guidance with respect to personal, as well as official, boundaries. Here are some components of such a code. BY EDWARD MARKS

The Role of Dissent in National Security, Law and Conscience / 27

One of three officers to resign from the Foreign Service a decade ago in protest of the Iraq War revisits the ethical implications of that decision. BY ANN WRIGHT

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Those of us in the Foreign Service must keep our moral and professional compass calibrated to that point where integrity and love of country declare, "No further." BY JOHN BRADY KIESLING

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All government employees should be free to speak their minds as openly as possible without endangering national security—a term regrettably all too often used as an excuse to shut them up. BY JOHN H. BROWN

Loyalty: The Hallmark of the Professional Diplomat / 40

Once a final decision is made by our political masters, it is the responsibility of the professional diplomat to execute it—or step aside and let another do so. BY ROBERT WILLIAM DRY

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FS Heritage: Lucile Atcherson Curtis, the First Female U.S. Diplomat / 44

In 1922, the first female permitted to take the Foreign Service exam passed with the third-highest score that year. But it was only the first of many hurdles she faced.

BY MOLLY M. WOOD

On the cover: "Rooted" by Allison Davis. This graphite pencil drawing was one of Ms. Davis' entries in AFSA's 2013 Art Merit Award Competition. Vice president of the National Art Honor Society at the American International School–Israel, Ms. Davis plans to pursue painting with oils, acrylic and water color, as well as methods of drawing, when she begins her freshman year at Abilene Christian University in the fall. July-August 2013 Volume 90, No. 7-8

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THE FOREIGN JOURNAL

Editor Steven Alan Honley: honley@afsa.org

Senior Editor Susan Brady Maitra: maitra@afsa.org

Associate Editor Shawn Dorman: dorman@afsa.org

AFSA News Editor Donna Ayerst: ayerst@afsa.org

Ad & Circulation Manager Ed Miltenberger: miltenberger@afsa.org

Art Director Caryn Suko Smith

Editorial Intern Jesse Smith

Advertising Intern Andreas Dorner

Editorial Board

James P. Seevers, Chairman Judith Baroody William D. Bent Clayton Bond Gordon S. Brown Stephen W. Buck Ruth M. Hall Richard McKee Jed Meline Gregory L. Naarden Beth Payne

THE MAGAZINE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS

The Foreign Service Journal (ISSN 0146-3543), 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037-2990 is published monthly, with a combined July-August issue, by the American Foreign Service Association (AFSA), a private. nonprofit organization. Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and does not necessarily represent the views of the Journal, the Editorial Board or AFSA, Writer queries and submissions are invited, preferably by e-mail. The Journal is not responsible for unsolicited manuscripts, photos or illustrations. Advertising inquiries are invited. The appearance of advertisements herein does not imply endorsement of the services or goods offered. Journal subscription: AFSA member-\$20, included in annual dues; student-\$30; institution-\$40; others-\$50. For foreign surface mail, add \$18 per year; foreign airmail, \$36 per year. Periodical postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices. Indexed by the Public Affairs Information Services (PAIS).

E-mail: journal@afsa.org Phone: (202) 338-4045 Fax: (202) 338-8244 Web: www.afsa.org/fsj

© American Foreign Service Association, 2013

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

Postmaster: Send address changes to AFSA Attn: Address Change 2101 E Street NW Washington DC 20037-2990



VTACTS



Executive Director lan Houston: houston@afsa.org Executive Assistant to the President Patrick Bradley: bradley@afsa.org

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT Director of Finance Femi Oshobukola: oshobukola@afsa.org Controller Kalpna Srimal: srimal@afsa.org Assistant Controller Cory Nishi: cnishi@afsa.org

LABOR MANAGEMENT General Counsel Sharon Papp: PappS@state.gov **Deputy General Counsel** Zlatana Badrich: BadrichZ@state.gov Labor Management Specialist James Yorke: YorkeJ@state.gov Labor Management Counselor Janet Weber: WeberJ2@state.gov Senior Staff Attorney Neera Parikh: ParikhNA@state.gov Staff Attorney Raeka Safai: SafaiR@state.gov Staff Attorney Andrew Large: LargeA@state.gov Office Manager Christine Warren: WarrenC@state.gov **USAID Senior Labor Management Adviser** Douglas Broome: dbroome@usaid.gov **USAID Staff Assistant** Chioma Dike: cdike@afsa.org MEMBER SERVICES Member Services Director Janet Hedrick: hedrick@afsa.org Member Services Representative Kristy Pomes: pomes@afsa.org Administrative Assistant and Office Manager Ana Lopez: lopez@afsa.org COMMUNICATIONS, MARKETING AND OUTREACH Director of New Media Ásgeir Sigfússon: sigfusson@afsa.org Director of Communications Vacant Special Awards and Outreach Coordinator Perri Green: green@afsa.org Editor/Publisher, FS Books Shawn Dorman: dorman@afsa.org Speakers Bureau Director Thomas Switzer: switzer@afsa.org Web and Graphics Assistant Jeff Lau: lau@afsa.org

PROFESSIONAL PROGRAMS Coordinator, Retiree Counseling and Legislation Bonnie Brown: brown@afsa.org Associate Coordinator, Retiree Counseling and Legislation Matthew Sumrak: sumrak@afsa.org Advocacy Director Javier Cuebas: cuebas@afsa.org Legislative Assistant David Murimi: murimi@afsa.org Scholarship Director Lori Dec: dec@afsa.org Scholarship Assistant Jonathan Crawford: crawford@afsa.org



Passing the Baton

BY SUSAN R. JOHNSON

s I complete my fourth and final year as AFSA president, I have been reflecting on what we have achieved together and on the challenges and opportunities ahead. I do so with a strong sense of the honor it has been to lead AFSA and to represent the Foreign Service. Service on the AFSA Governing Board has been an even more important responsibility than I had anticipated, but it has also been highly satisfying and rewarding.

In carrying out my responsibilities, I have been indebted to current and past board members, committee chairs and members, and AFSA's professional staff for their cooperation and support. I also want to thank the many members who have been regular correspondents, providing information, feedback and good suggestions. Your wealth of professional experience and individual perspectives are inspiring and have helped advance AFSA's fundamental mission: promoting a strong, professional career Foreign Service and thereby strengthening American diplomacy and our nation's interests.

The professional career Foreign Service that I am proud to belong to will celebrate its 90th anniversary next year. That milestone should inspire all of us to reflect upon the history and future of our institu-

tion, as well as the challenges that all foreign affairs agencies face.

Looking through the prism of my four years at AFSA's helm, I see more clearly than ever that those challenges demand a Foreign Service of the highest standards, one equipped to advance American diplomacy and provide the capacity that our Secretaries of State and presidents need.

In that quest, we should always strive to meet the aspirations set forth in the 1980 Foreign Service Act. That landmark legislation stipulates that "a career Foreign Service, characterized by excellence and professionalism, is essential to the national interest" and must be "preserved, strengthened and improved to carry out its mission effectively in response to the complex challenges of modern diplomacy and international relations." It also calls for a Senior Foreign Service "characterized by strong policy formulation capabilities, outstanding leadership qualities, and highly developed functional, foreign language and area expertise."

Toward that end, we need to nurture a culture of excellence and esprit de corps based on shared values and selfconfidence, which are the attributes of a premier diplomatic service.

In my previous columns, I have tried to consistently highlight the issues that shape the Foreign Service and the Department of State, U.S. Agency for International Development, the Foreign Commercial Service and Foreign Agricultural Service, and the International Broadcasting Bureau—and are therefore central to AFSA's agenda.

> I have also called on AFSA to use its voice to identify and advocate for the cultural and organizational changes that will strengthen the Foreign Service and American diplomacy. We must shift from being

reactive to innovative, from resisting change to embracing and shaping it, and from ignoring the need for new approaches to professional education and training to seeking them out and valuing them.

Finally, rather than pretending that they don't exist, we must address institutional weaknesses and deficiencies with resolve and confidence. The Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development process must focus on increasing Foreign Service professionalism and making the Department of State the primary vehicle of American diplomacy. AFSA must be involved in the QDDR process to bring about reform and restructuring grounded in our experience.

With those goals in mind, the current AFSA Governing Board identified four strategic issues in a January letter to Secretary of State John Kerry which are worth recapping here: security/diplomacy and effective risk management and the imperative for continued engagement in the field; strengthening professional education and training in the practice of diplomacy; tangible recognition and fair compensation for the Foreign Service; and institutional reform and restructuring to ensure that the Foreign Service and State are institutions consistently capable of complex diplomacy.

I leave the office of AFSA president with confidence that the incoming board will build on and carry forward what has been achieved. I urge AFSA members, wherever they may be, to come together in support of a strong and revitalized United States Foreign Service.



Susan R. Johnson is the president of the American Foreign Service Association.

LETTERS

The Persistence of Gender Imbalance

Margot Carrington's article, "How Are FS Women at State Faring?", was an excellent addition to your May issue's focus on diversity. The State Department made promoting gender diversity a priority during the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review, but we at home must also model what we teach.

When I came into the Foreign Service, my A-100 class was very evenly balanced for gender. Yet the data indicate that somewhere between entry and the Senior Foreign Service, that balance gets lost.

If the State Department is serious about ensuring diversity at senior levels, it must identify why this is happening and devote the necessary resources to reverse the trend.

Coney Patterson FSO Washington, D.C.

Promoting Transformative Inclusion

I was proud to be among the contributors to the excellent May issue of the *Journal*, which underscored the importance of "transformative inclusion" for confronting challenges to U.S. foreign policy. That term is not mine, but one Ernest J. Wilson III eloquently defines in his own article in that issue, "Diversity and Cultural Competence: Mission-Critical Elements of U.S. Foreign Policy."

Because I hope some of the recommendations I made in my 2010-2011 Una Chapman Cox Sabbatical Fellowship report might be useful in helping us achieve "transformative inclusion," I am pleased that AFSA chose to republish them as part of my article, "How Are FS Women at State Faring?" To fully understand the context, please find the full report online at uccox foundation.org under "Professional Develop-ment."

Let me also take this opportunity to thank the Una Chapman Cox Foundation for its continued support

of the Foreign Service and for promoting a more diverse, and hence stronger,

Foreign Service corps. Margot Carrington FSO Washington, D.C.

Professionalism and Diversity

In his April letter, "Professionalism vs. Diversity?", retired FSO Richard W. Hoover seems to imply that the search for diversity in employment and the desire for professionalism are mutually exclusive undertakings. In one passage, he was quite explicit: "Hiring and promoting people with a view to their gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity and skin color necessarily promote both the exclusion and the non-retention of top talent."

He then goes on to state: "I do not believe that the professional problems raised by the AFSA president are as amenable to structural and training reforms as she goes on to suggest. Besides, why should State be tasked to train up officers in the ways of excellence, discipline and professionalism? Are new FSOs no longer expected to have such qualities?"

I simply must take strong exception to both of Mr. Hoover's positions. As a



veteran of more than 50 years of government service (20 in the Army and 30 in the Foreign Service), I know that professionalism and diversity are not mutually exclusive. To the contrary: When they are handled correctly, they can be mutually reinforcing.

The key is that an institution must recruit for

talent, but in doing so, must reach out broadly across the society it represents. This, unfortunately, is something that the Foreign Service did poorly for a good part of its history; ask any female FSO who just a few decades ago was forced to resign when she got married.

It is his second point, though, with which I most vehemently disagree. The question that should be asked is this: "Why have the Department of State and the Foreign Service not taken the responsibility to train and educate their officers in the ways of excellence, discipline and professionalism?" After all, many other institutions do it.

I would sincerely hope that Mr. Hoover is not suggesting that there is a 'diplomacy' gene that is present in only a narrow segment of the population, and all the institution needs to do is find those people, hire them and then turn them loose. That has never been a recipe for long-term viability or success, and in today's complex world, it's a prescription for disaster.

Is the Foreign Service so different that it can't take a reasonably intelligent, dedicated individual (regardless of gender, ethnicity or other markers) and mold that individual into a professional diplomat through a program of training, education and mentoring? The U.S. Marines do it. IBM did it.

Once we pull our heads out of the sand of the past, when the Foreign Service was overwhelmingly pale, male and Yale, we can do it, as well. Indeed, as the premier foreign affairs arms of our government, the State Department and the Foreign Service *must* do so to serve the long-term interests of the United States and its people.

And yes, we can do it while still representing the diversity that is America.

Charles A. Ray Ambassador, retired North Potomac, Md.

State (not USIA) Visitors

In Allen Hansen's May review of Nicholas Cull's book, *The Decline and Fall of the United States Information Agency*, both the reviewer and the book's author err in describing the International Visitor Program as a U.S. Information Agency program.

It was actually a State Department program. I ought to know, because in the 1970s I was director of the Office of International Visitors in State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs.

Yale Richmond FSO, retired Washington, D.C.

Captive in the Congo

I agree with the main point of Guy W. Farmer's February letter, "A Bad Decision," that it was Ambassador Chris Stevens' own choice to visit Benghazi last September—a choice that had fatal consequences.

I say that as someone who was serving in Stanleyville, in what is now the Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly Zaire), as rebels approached the city in 1964. I had advised the embassy that the only way to protect ourselves and other Americans would be to evacuate. Instead, our ambassador ordered a small number of us to remain.

Rebel forces took over the city and attacked the consulate on Aug. 5, 1964. Although the "simba" attackers could not break down the vault door, they held us captive there for 111 days, during which period we underwent many beatings and threats to our lives. By the time of our Nov. 24, 1964, rescue by a joint U.S.-Belgium parachute mission, we were among a hundred hostages.

Although 20 hostages died in a hail of bullets during the rescue, in a real sense it was "safety in numbers" that saved us. (You'll find more details about this episode in my book, *Captive in the Congo: A Consul's Return to the Heart of Darkness*, Naval Institute Press, 2000.)

Based on that experience, I believe Amb. Stevens would have been better protected in a downtown hotel than an isolated, suburban "consulate."

Michael P.E. Hoyt FSO, retired Santa Fe, N.M.

Double-Talk on Benghazi

Last September I listened closely to President Barack Obama's Rose Garden remarks the day after the Sept. 11, 2012, attack on our facility in Benghazi. I also reread the transcript several times afterward, just as I did as an FSO in Zagreb, Moscow, Warsaw and Brussels, and on the Soviet desk in Washington, whenever I analyzed statements by foreigngovernment officials.

On that occasion Pres. Obama referred 10 times to Benghazi and its perpetrators, giving him 10 chances to label the incident "terrorism," and the attackers "terrorists"—but he never once did so. True, he called the event



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For more information and to see why FEDS Protection is endorsed by the leading federal employee associations, visit us at www.fedsprotection.com or call 866.955.FEDS an "attack" (three times), as well as an "outrageous, shocking attack," "senseless violence," "brutal acts" and "this terrible act," and identified the culprits as "attackers" (twice) and "killers who attacked our people." But he never referred to "terrorism" or "terrorists."

Nonetheless, on May 10 White House spokesman Jay Carney three times assured the press that last September, "The president called it an act of terror." The president himself repeated that claim in a press conference following his May 15 meeting with British Prime Minister David Cameron: "The day after it happened, I acknowledged that this was an act of terrorism."

No matter how many times the presi-

dent and his defenders repeat that claim, it does not make it true. Instead, by declaring, "We reject all efforts to denigrate the religious beliefs of others," Pres. Obama clearly advanced a fable: that the Benghazi attack was the result of a hitherto obscure

video whose producer still languishes in U.S. prison, while already identified and easily identifiable terrorists gleefully stroll the streets and lounge in cafes of the Middle East.

The president's single reference to terror—"No acts of terror will ever shake the resolve of this great nation"—came only after evoking the "memory of the 9/11 [2001] attacks," which are universally recognized as terrorism. But his use of that term cannot retroactively be applied to the Benghazi attack, since he so scrupulously avoided identifying that as terrorism.

John B. Thompson Senior FSO, retired Pompano Beach, Fla.

Beirut, 1983

In his April letter, "More Memories of Reginald Bartholomew," Tim Lawson recalls a truly sad date: Oct. 23, 1983, when 241 Marines were killed in Beirut. He goes on to describe the bomb that blew up the Marine barracks as "the largest non-nuclear explosion ever."

That 1983 terrorist attack was indeed tragic. But so far as I know, it has never been ranked among the world's largest non-nuclear explosions, much less deemed the largest in history.

To keep things in perspective, I would point to some of the mines used by the Allies on the Western Front in

> World War I. The largest of those I have read about used 455 tons of explosives to kill thousands of Germans. Then there is the accidental December 1917 explosion of a munitions ship in Halifax, Nova Scotia, which killed more than 2,000 people. The horrific 1944 Port Chicago, Calif., explosion took some 320 lives, most of

them African-American sailors, while a 1947 ammonium nitrate ship explosion in Texas City, Texas, killed at least 581 people and triggered the first-ever class-action lawsuit against the U.S. government.

In comparison, the 1983 Beirut attack is estimated to have been carried out using the equivalent of six tons of explosives.

Steve Flora FSO, retired Canberra, Australia

Recognizing Sacrifices

When I joined the Foreign Service in 1960, there were 72 names on the AFSA Memorial Plaque. First on the list was



William Palfrey, lost at sea in 1780.

By the time I retired in 1996, the number of names had grown to the point that AFSA had to add a second plaque. Now there is

a third, on which AFSA inscribed eight more names, unveiled at this year's ceremony during Foreign Affairs Day, May 3. That brings the total number to 236, more than triple the number when I began my Foreign Service career.

With so high a toll, it's a pity so few Americans know anything about sacrifices Foreign Service members and their families make to serve our country. Most people in New Mexico, where I live, are amazed when I tell them that there is such a thing as the Foreign Service.

It would be nice if there were some public recognition for the Foreign Service, such as a license plate or other commemorative item.

Judy Chidester FSO, retired Las Cruces, N.M.

The Foreign Service at the Oscars

Thank you to AFSA for putting on a wonderful Foreign Affairs Day memorial plaque service at State. I attended both the State and USAID

memorials, and found them to be moving tributes to our colleagues.

I also would like to take a moment to let you know how impressed I was that "Argo" star and direc-





tor Ben Affleck talked about the Foreign Service at the Oscars. I understand that he did so in response to a question from AFSA News Editor Donna Averst.

I received notes afterward from people who saw that exchange. It seems we get a lot more attention when a movie star talks about what we do.

Great job! Susan Reichle USAID FSO Washington, D.C.

Language-Designated Positions

Regarding AFSA State VP Daniel Hirsch's May AFSA News column, "All Overseas Positions Should Be Language-Designated," I would note that not all Foreign Service staff are created equal. While we may have excellent skills as couriers and nurses and office managers, we may not have that spark that enables us to obtain a 2/2 in Uzbek, Ukrainian, Polish or Mongolian, or even Russian.

Moreover, classifying each position as language-designated locks an employee into a linguistic region. Will you ever get out of Lusophone countries once you speak Portuguese?

While I do not disagree that we should expand the number of languagedesignated positions, I think a sweeping change applying to all positions would be as bad as, if not worse than, the current system.

Llywelyn C. Graeme III **Office Management Specialist** Embassy Kyiv 🔳

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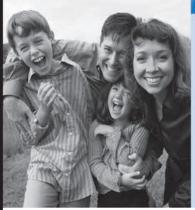
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TALKING POINTS

Honoring Public Diplomacy's Best

Effective public diplomacy requires strategic thinking, creativity, commitment and sound judgment in the use of resources. Each year the Public Diplomacy Alumni Association recognizes the achievements of those PD practitioners, whether overseas or in Washington, D.C., that best exemplify these qualities. Although none of this year's winners were able to attend PDAA's 16th annual awards dinner, held on May 5 in Washington, D.C., their achievements were spotlighted there.

The **public affairs section at Consulate Peshawar** received a group award for its "dedication, courage, creativity, perseverance and unbending professionalism—under challenging and often dangerous circumstances—in building long-lasting ties between the people of Pakistan and the people of the United States."

Despite understaffing and restrictions on their ability to move about outside the consulate, the PAS team managed to expand their all-important outreach work, promote grants programs and other exchanges, cultivate positive and fruitful working relationships with local journalists, expand the consulate's social media reach, and effectively use music diplomacy to deliver strategic messages to key audiences.

The individual awardees are: Shayna Cram, public diplomacy officer; Saif Ullah, public affairs specialist; Salman Wahab, public affairs assistant; Shahbano Durrani, information assistant; Zeeshan Khan, Information Resource Center assistant; Saqib Jan, social media assistant; and Fakhar Fakhruddin, English-language program assistant.

Tashawna Bethea, public affairs officer in Algiers, was recognized for her "exemplary leadership, creativity and professionalism in furthering key embassy policy objectives by using the full range of PD tools—exchanges, English-language programs, the Information

> Resource Center and social media—to broaden relationships between the people of Algeria and the people of the United States."

Nini Forino, now PAO in Hong Kong, was honored for her

work as public diplomacy officer for Korean affairs and the Yeosu Expo coordinator in the State Department's Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs. The award citation hailed Ms. Forino for her "professionalism and dedication...demonstrating leadership, creativity and perseverance in harnessing public and private resources to ensure a vital



PAS Peshawar: (from left) Shahbano Durrani, Saif Ullah, Shayna Cram, Saqib Jan, Fakhruddin Fakhar, Salman Wahab.

and impressive U.S. presence at the expo in Korea."

The Public Diplomacy Alumni Association is a volunteer, nonprofit membership organization that is open to all current and former State Department and U.S. Information Agency employees, as well as broadcasting and other public diplomacy professionals from the public, academic and private sectors. Its mission is to foster understanding, recognition of and support for public diplomacy through educational and social activities.

For more information about PDAA's activities, please visit www.publicdiplo macy.org. You'll also find a complete list of PDAA Alumni Association award winners since 1993 there.

-Steven Alan Honley, Editor

Our New Friend, Burma

O n May 20, President Barack Obama welcomed Burmese President U Thein Sein to the White House, the first head of state from that country to visit Washington since 1966. The meeting—which came only six months after Obama became the first sitting U.S. president ever to visit Myanmar, and less than a year after Derek Mitchell was confirmed as the first U.S. ambassador to the country since 1990—has many speculating on prospects for closer bilateral ties.



Algiers, and Ambassador Henry Ensher.



ECA Assistant Secretary of State Ann Stock, USA Pavilion Spokesperson Philippe Cousteau, former EAP DAS for PD Jennifer Park-Stout, Nini Forino, USA Pavilion CEO Andrew Snowhite, and former EAP A/S Kurt Campbell at the 2012 YEOSU Expo.

In a telling sign of the dramatic improvement in relations, during remarks following their meeting Pres. Obama repeatedly referred to the trou-bled Asian nation as Myanmar, its name since 1989, instead of Burma, State's official designation (which, notwithstanding recent developments, stands).

Washington has already lifted a 1996 ban on U.S. visas for most Burmese officials, including President Thein Sein. Pres. Obama used the visit to signal the potential restoration of USAID projects designed to improve agricultural productivity, and the two countries signed a trade and investment framework agreement the next day.

There has been mixed reaction to these fast-paced developments. Jim Della-Giacoma, of the *Global Observatory*, praised the removal of most sanctions on Burma: "The U.S. will have to stand by Myanmar as it takes steps forward—and back—for years to come." In a *Washington Post* op-ed, former Representative Lee Hamilton and David Williams hail the TIFA but call for making further trade deals contingent on major constitutional and political reform.

In the *Huffington Post*, contributor Nehginpao Kipgen advocates an approach that maximizes Washington's economic, political and strategic interests in the region. As Naypyidaw pursues reform, he says, the United States can step up investment and political ties and exert geopolitical pressure on China.

Still, some worry that the U.S. is moving too fast to fully normalize relations, citing brutal attacks in recent months by Buddhists against Muslim minorities and signs that Myanmar's military is not yet on board with democratization. Joshua Kurlantzick, writing for *Foreign Policy*, urges the international community to "slow the torrent of aid and investment until ethnic tensions have calmed."

The displacement and disenfran-

SITE OF THE MONTH: Long War Journal

S peaking at the National Defense University on May 23, President Barack Obama suggested that the United States has returned to the state of affairs that existed before al-Qaida toppled the World Trade Center, when terrorism was a persistent but not existential danger.

"Our systematic effort to dismantle terrorist organizations must continue," Pres. Obama declared. "But this war, like all wars, must end. That's what history advises. It's what our democracy demands."

For a more pessimistic view, check out *Long War Journal*, a website that describes its mission as "providing original and accurate reporting and analysis of the Long War (also known as the Global War on Terror)." The site's content draws on contributions from embedded reporters, staff writers, guest commentators and news reports, incorporating maps, podcasts and other multimedia formats.

A project of the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, a nonpartisan institution founded by a group of former U.S. officials and supporters shortly after 9/11, the *Long War Journal* publishes five sections daily: Featured Articles, Threat Matrix, Today In, News Links and News Videos.

-Steven Alan Honley, Editor

chisement of the country's minority populations, and a poorly trained and equipped police force, he points out, are not problems that can be solved by diplomacy and international investment. In fact, they are likely to worsen unless Washington and its allies press for meaningful reform.

While the Obama administration's outreach to Myanmar has already proven beneficial to both nations, there is still a long way to go before it becomes a dependable U.S. ally.

-Jesse Smith, Editorial Intern

Global Press Freedom at 10-Year Low

Separate reports from Freedom House and the Committee to Protect Journalists paint a grim portrait of the threats journalists face all over the world.

The criteria the two organizations considered when evaluating the state of press freedom include restrictive laws, censorship, imprisonment, impunity and murders.

Surprisingly, while many of the worst culprits have been plagued by politi-cal violence or are known to regularly impose press suppression, others are largely conflict-free and at least nominally democratic. In Brazil, Russia and India, for instance, incidents in which journalists are murdered with impunity are markedly higher in comparison to other developing and developed nations.

News organizations have also noted that as press coverage increases and becomes more accessible with advances in communications technology, many governments are improving their methods of censorship to counter these developments. Several Asian governments methodically monitor blog activity and social media; some South American states block electoral coverage; and European administrations suffering through the economic crisis prosecute against antagonistic reporting.

The United Nations' Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity, finalized at the end of 2012, is designed to assist governments in drafting laws to protect journalists and to strengthen the U.N.'s ability to evaluate journalist safety. However, as Frank Smyth of the CPJ has reported, "The participation of member-states will be essential to the success of the effort—but gaining their cooperation is not a given."

In many countries, both central governments and allied paramilitary groups have actively targeted reporters for persecution, making 2012 the most dangerous year for journalists worldwide in a decade.

-Jesse Smith, Editorial Intern

Diplomats Offer Online Chats

Two recent online Q&A chats with Foreign Service officers highlight instructive and entertaining ways that the public can learn about real-life diplomacy. In addition to hundreds of Foreign Service blogs, Facebook pages, Twitter accounts, etc., check out your colleagues' personal engagement with members of the vast *Reddit* community and on the site called *Art of Manliness*.

Reddit is a popular social news and entertainment website where users

50 Years Ago

Next month [August 1963] marks the tenth anniversary of the United States Information Agency's debut as an independent U.S. government agency. *The Foreign Service Journal*, speaking on behalf of those members of the American Foreign Service Association who are not themselves part of USIA, takes great pleasure in congratulating our friends and colleagues on this notable occasion.

Millions of words have poured from the presses and through the airwaves during the short but stormy life of USIA, and many of the men and issues which loomed large in the foreground during its infancy can now be seen somewhat more in perspective. The "Spirit of Geneva" has flown and the "Spirit of Bandung" is sorely wounded, while such issues as Hungary, Suez, Quemoy and Matsu are at least temporarily in eclipse. Instead, the hightension words of the early Sixties are Cuba, the Congo, the Plaine des Jarres and outer space. The more the words change, however, the more the problems remain the same, and the need for informed, articulate spokesmen for the views of the United States is as great as ever. ...

On its tenth anniversary, therefore, USIA can look back with satisfaction at 10 years of solid growth. It has labored hard and successfully at its job of keeping open the existing channels of communication with the great world public and seeking unceasingly for new channels, new spokesmen and new ways of making known the views of the United States to the rest of the world. It can also look forward with confidence to the years of challenge that still lie ahead, for there is no shortage of grievous problems on the horizon and beyond it. *—From the editorial, "Coming of Age,"* FSJ, *July 1963.* provide the content, including links to other sources. On the "subreddit" feature, "IAmA" (I am a), people of all kinds introduce themselves and offer to answer questions (part of "AMA," or ask me anything).

Quite a few notable people, including President Barack Obama, have participated in an IAmA session. And this is where we find our anonymous FSO, "I am a United States diplomat," on April 26 taking questions a second time:

"I'm (still) a U.S. diplomat serving overseas. I'm hoping to answer any questions about the U.S. diplomatic corps you might be wondering about.

"Ask me almost anything. I won't comment on certain topics, but I will give honest answers about my profession. My views are my own and do not reflect the view of the Department of State or the U.S. government. To the potential critics, I assure you that I am doing this on my own time (not your taxpayer-funded hours) and on my personal computer."

This FSO offers articulate and thoughtful responses—in 493 back-andforth comments with readers—to a dizzying array of questions beginning with immunity, and including consular issues, foreign assistance misperceptions, political ambassadors, security, family life and back again to immunity. He's careful, but still engaging.

When asked about the most rewarding thing he's done on the job, he writes: "Getting to brief Secretary Clinton on a particular issue during an S visit was pretty cool."

Another recent glimpse inside the Foreign Service career can be found in "So You Want My Job" at *Art of Manliness* (www.artofmanliness.com), which features interviews with "men who are employed in desirable jobs" and asks them "about the reality of their work and

Dear Mr. Secretary:

We urge that a career foreign affairs professional be appointed as the next Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs. Such an appointment would support your efforts fully to integrate public diplomacy into U.S. foreign affairs.

No career professional has served as Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs. Coincidentally or not, today there is a wide consensus that U.S. perspectives are less well understood abroad, and people-to-people exchanges are less robust than they should be. In today's globalizing but still-threatening world, and as our military forces abroad are drawn down, it is more important than ever that America strengthen its "soft power." For this, public diplomacy is an essential and powerful tool.

A career foreign affairs professional, with years of overseas and Washington experience, is more likely to understand the larger world context and how public diplomacy can help achieve America's policy goals. And it is challenging to direct and energize public diplomacy if the leadership has brief tours or vacancies are lengthy. Prior to the incumbent Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, leaving after just over a year in office, the previous four served, on average, nearly two years. By comparison, the previous four Under Secretaries for Political Affairs, all career professionals, served, on average, nearly three-and-one-half years. The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy reports that the position of Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs has been vacant more than 30 percent of the time since it was created in 1999. The position of Under Secretary for Political Affairs has been vacant only 5 percent of that time.

Studies by the Defense Science Board, RAND and other independent groups have found that America's engagement with foreign publics succeeds best when led by experienced officials having the authority to establish priorities, assign responsibilities, transfer funds and concur in senior appointments. Leaders must have direct access to you and the president on critical communication issues as policies are formulated and implemented.

When done well, public diplomacy works. Large numbers of foreign heads of government, legislators and social, economic and political leaders—many of them America's staunch allies and stalwart friends—have participated in U.S. public diplomacy programs. The University of Southern California recently reported that of individuals exposed to U.S. public diplomacy, 79 percent have used what they learned to bring about positive change in their own communities by running for political office, organizing a civil society group, doing volunteer work, and starting a new business or other projects. Fully 94 percent say the exposure has increased their understanding of U.S. foreign policy and America's people, society and values.

The president's and your public engagements are among our country's greatest diplomatic assets. You have over a thousand skilled, culturally aware and language-trained public diplomacy officers ready to leverage advanced technology and person-to-person communications skills in order to change foreign outcomes in America's favor. All they need is truly professional, experienced leadership.

—A May 24 letter to Secretary of State John Kerry, signed by 51 former U.S. ambassadors and senior U.S. government officials with extensive foreign affairs experience, urging the selection of a career foreign affairs professional as the next Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs.

for advice on how men can live their dream." Jobs highlighted apply equally to women, but the site's focus is on "helping men be better husbands, better fathers and better men...to uncover the lost art of manliness."

Here we meet FSO Shawn Kobb, who answers questions about the Foreign Service exams and hiring process, about the challenges and benefits of the job, as well as the misconceptions.

When asked what is the biggest misconception people have about his job

as an FSO, he says the most frustrating thing is "the fact that most Americans don't even know we exist." Also, he adds, "The Foreign Service isn't an intelligence agency, and many people seem to think we're spies for some reason."

"Those that do know we exist think we spend our time going to cocktail receptions and signing treaties," Shawn continues. "There is certainly a little bit of that, but most Foreign Service officers are not assigned to Paris or Geneva. We're in some of the roughest places of the world: Iraq, Afghanistan, Yemen, Sudan, Libya, Papua New Guinea, East Timor. Although we are not engaged in combat, we often serve alongside our military colleagues, and we almost always stay behind after they leave."

Kobb also pitches his own website: www.foreignservicetest.com, where he offers tips on how to join the Foreign Service and pass the tests.

> —Associate Editor Shawn Dorman and Communications Intern Samantha Brew









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Retirement Planning Shortfalls

BY JOHN K. NALAND

survey administered to 200 Foreign Service members at the start of a recent Retirement Planning Seminar at the Foreign Service Institute highlighted both strengths and weaknesses in their retirement planning.

Strengths included the fact that most of the respondents already had at least a basic understanding of 10 key retirement planning topics. But the survey also identified 12 shortfalls in preretirement preparations and knowledge.

This article lists those shortfalls, along with information to help you bridge any similar gaps in your own retirement planning. While this guidance applies to Foreign Service members from all five foreign affairs agencies, employees from outside the Department of State will need to ask their agency's human resources office about agency-specific processing procedures.

Four Gaps in Pre-Retirement Actions

Are Not Contributing Enough to Thrift Savings Plan: Ten percent of those eligible said that they were not contributing enough to their TSP account to obtain the full government match. In addition, 39 percent of the survey Here are some simple steps all FSOs can take to protect and maximize their retirement benefits.

respondents were not contributing the maximum amount.

The TSP is one of three pillars—along with Social Security and a federal annuity—of the retirement financial security of employees hired after 1983. Foreign Service Pension System employees who are not contributing significant amounts to their TSP are not building up that crucial nest egg. They are also missing out on an upfront tax deduction resulting from the fact that TSP contributions are excluded from taxation when they are made and are only taxed upon withdrawal years later. (This is not true of the Roth TSP option, however.)

In addition, FSPS employees who are not contributing at least 5 percent of their salary to TSP are not receiving the maximum agency matching contributions that could significantly boost their financial security in retirement. Foreign Service Retiree and Disability System employees may also make pretax

John K. Naland is the director of the Office of Retirement at the Department of State. A 27-year Foreign Service veteran, his overseas assignments include Colombia, Mexico and Iraq. He has twice served as AFSA president and published more than 80 articles and columns in these pages, including a previous FS Know-How column on this topic, "Assistance after Retirement" (November 2012). TSP contributions, but do not receive matching government contributions.

Have Not Updated Beneficiary Designations: Ten percent of respondents said that they knew that their beneficiary designations were not current for life insurance, lump-sum salary payment, and/or TSP savings. Another 17 percent of respondents were unsure if their beneficiary designations were up-to-date.

Every year, there are cases of death benefits not being paid to the immediate next-of-kin because the employee or annuitant had not updated their beneficiary designations after marriage, divorce or other relationship changes. So please check your Electronic Official Personnel Folder to make sure that your beneficiary forms reflect your current wishes.

The forms are: retirement benefits designation (DS-5002), Federal Employees Government Life Insurance (SF-2823) and unpaid compensation (SF-1152). In addition, check the beneficiary listed on your annual TSP account statement to make sure that your TSP designation (TSP-3) reflects your current wishes.

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The Thrift Savings Plan is one of three pillars—along with Social Security and a federal annuity—of the retirement financial security of employees hired after 1983.

If any forms need updating, Department of State employees should submit new designation forms to the Bureau of Human Resources Service Center at HRSC@state.gov. New TSP-3 forms should be sent to TSP, as explained on the form.

Have Not Obtained Prior Service Credit: Twenty-seven percent of respondents who had federal civilian or military service prior to joining the Department of State had not taken action to increase their Foreign Service retirement annuity by obtaining credit for that service.

In most cases, doing so requires making a deposit to cover the employee retirement contributions (plus interest) that were not made originally. Employees should resolve their prior service issues long before they retire. Delaying increases the interest charges that the employee must pay. To apply, Department of State employees should go to the Employee Benefits Information System on HR Online and use the "HR Link" module.

Do Not Have Estate Planning Documents: Thirty-nine percent of respondents did not have an up-to-date will and/or trust and other estate planning documents, such as a power of attorney.

While all states and the District of Columbia have laws directing the division of assets of people who die without wills, those laws can vary widely. Unless you know the default inheritance laws of your state of residence and are sure they match the division of assets you would want, it is a good idea to execute a will or trust and other estate planning documents.

Eight Gaps in Pre-Retirement Knowledge

Unclear about Impact of Divorce on Retirement Benefits: Nearly half—47 percent—of married respondents had little or no understanding of how their pension and other benefits could be affected by divorce, either before or after retirement.

Federal law has provisions governing the division of Foreign Service retirement annuities between former spouses. Divorce decrees and property settlement agreements can also affect the division of retirement benefits.

Employees who want an analysis of their specific situation may send a copy of any divorce decree and property settlement to the Department of State's Office of Retirement. Either scan and e-mail the documents to HRSC@state. gov, or e-mail that address asking for mailing instructions. HR/RET will provide employees with a divorce determination letter.

Unclear about How Retirement Benefits Are Taxed: Similarly, 46 percent of survey respondents had little or no understanding of how retirement benefits are taxed and what strategies could reduce or defer those tax consequences.

The federal government taxes retirement income from pensions (excluding a portion representing your contributions), Social Security (if the recipient's income from other sources exceeds a base amount) and TSP withdrawals (excluding those from Roth TSP accounts). The only way to reduce the tax bite on pension and Social Security income is to reduce income from other sources in order to drop to a lower tax bracket.

Taxes on TSP withdrawals depend on the amount and timing of withdrawals and can be reduced or entirely deferred until age 70½ by limiting or delaying withdrawals. Roth TSP withdrawals are not subject to taxation as long as vesting requirements are met.

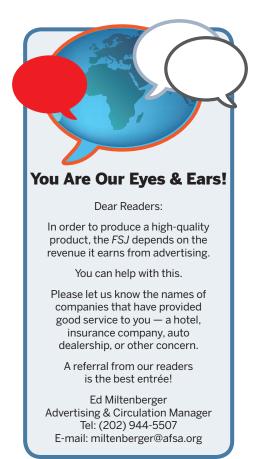
State and local taxation of retirement benefits varies, with some jurisdictions excluding them from taxation. Consult your taxing authority or AFSA's annual tax guide for details.

Unclear about Pros and Cons of Roth TSP: Thirty-seven percent of respondents had little or no understanding of the advantages and disadvantages of contributing to a Roth TSP versus the regular TSP.

The Roth TSP combines many of the benefits of TSP retirement savings with the after-tax benefits of a Roth savings plan. The difference between the Roth TSP and traditional TSP is in its tax treatment. You will not get the benefits of tax-deferred savings (an upfront tax deduction) on Roth contributions as you do with your traditional TSP contributions; however, your Roth savings will grow tax-free. Later, when you withdraw your Roth contributions and associated earnings in retirement, you will pay no income taxes on them, as long as five years have passed since you made your first Roth TSP contribution and you are age 59½ or older, permanently disabled or deceased.

The Roth TSP may be most beneficial to persons facing higher tax rates in retirement, persons wary of future tax rates who wish to protect their investment, and younger enrollees who wish to earn the maximum amount on their compounded contributions tax-free.

Unclear about Options for Survivor Benefits: Thirty-two percent of respondents had little or no understanding of the options and associated costs for electing survivor benefits for



Far too many employees don't know how retirement benefits are taxed and what strategies could reduce or defer those tax consequences.

their spouse, other relative or close acquaintance.

At retirement, an employee enrolled in FSPS may make his or her spouse eligible to receive a survivor annuity equal to 50, 25 or 0 percent of the employee's unreduced base annuity. Selecting one of the latter two options may be done only with the spouse's notarized consent.

The retiree's annuity is reduced by 10 percent if the 50-percent survivor annuity is elected, and is reduced by 5 percent if the 25-percent survivor annuity is elected. The percentages for FSRDS participants are slightly different.

Survivor annuities may also be elected for other relatives, close acquaintances or former spouses. A key consideration is that a survivor's Federal Employees Health Benefits coverage will terminate upon the annuitant's death if no survivor annuity was elected.

Unclear about TSP Withdrawal Options: Thirty-one percent of respondents had little or no understanding of the TSP withdrawal options at retirement.

When you are ready to withdraw your TSP account after retirement, you can choose: (a) a single payment; (b) a series of monthly payments that are either a specific dollar amount or based on your life expectancy; (c) a life annuity; (d) transfer to an IRA; (e) a onetime partial withdrawal; or (f) a combination of the other options.

Unclear about Long-Term Care Options and Their Usefulness: Thirty percent of respondents had little or no understanding of long-term care insurance options and costs, or of how they would cover long-term care expenses absent such insurance.

Long-term care insurance pays for long-term care services at home, in a nursing home or at another long-term care facility. According to the Department of Health and Human Services, at least 70 percent of people over age 65 will require some long-term care services at some point—expenses that most health insurance (including the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program) does not cover.

Thus, employees who are concerned about their long-term finances should weigh the costs and benefits of long-term care insurance. For information on the Federal Long-Term Care Insurance Program, go to www.ltcfeds.com. Several private insurance companies also offer policies.

Unclear about TSP Risk versus Reward: Twenty-nine percent of respondents had little or no understanding of the fact that TSP bond funds that offer the safety of capital preservation may not generate long-term gains that out-pace inflation.

Over short periods of time, stock funds

The only way to reduce the tax bite on pension and Social Security income is to reduce income from other sources in order to drop to a lower tax bracket.

can dramatically underperform bond funds. For example, in 2008 the TSP's C fund fell 36.99 percent, while the TSP's G fund grew 3.75 percent. However, over long periods of time, stock funds outperform bond funds. For example, between 2003 and 2012, the G fund had an average annual return of 3.61 percent, while the C fund had an average annual return of 7.12 percent. Thus, in selecting a TSP portfolio, employees must decide how much risk they are willing to take.

A key consideration is your time horizon. If you will not start withdrawing from your TSP account for many years, or you hope to remain invested in the TSP for several decades after retirement, then you may want to take more risk now in your TSP account to increase the likelihood of generating gains over a period of decades that outpace inflation.

Unclear about Post-Retirement Life Insurance Needs: Twenty-one percent of respondents had little or no understanding of how much life insurance they would need after retirement.

Life insurance needs during and after employment depend on how much money you wish to leave for your survivors (for example, to pay off a mortgage or pay for children's education). Basic coverage under the Federal Employees Group Life Insurance program is automatic unless you decline it or elect additional optional coverage with higher premiums.

To carry any level of FEGLI insurance into retirement, you must have had that same or higher coverage during your last five years of employment. Most employees carry basic FEGLI coverage (which pays approximately one year's base salary) into retirement. That coverage is automatically reduced after age 65 (unless you pay a higher premium to avoid that) until it reaches 25 or 50 percent of its starting level (depending on the option you pay for). Many private insurance companies offer their own plans.

To Learn More

More information on these topics is available at a variety of locations. HR/ RET's Internet site, The Retirement Network (RNet) at ww.RNet.state.gov, offers a wealth of information, including a searchable database of 340 Frequently Asked Questions on Foreign Service retirement issues.

HR/RET's homepage on the Department of State's intranet contains detailed retirement planning information, including copies of HR/RET-issued telegrams. And FSI's Career Transition Center conducts a four-day Retirement Planning Seminar (RV101) with indepth briefings on retirement topics.



AFSA Scholarship AFSA.org/Scholar

> AKA StayAKA.com

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FOCUS PROFESSIONAL ETHICS

PROFESSIONAL DIPLOMAT

A code of ethics is essential to give diplomatic practitioners guidance with respect to personal, as well as official, boundaries. Here are some components of such a code.

BY EDWARD MARKS



iplomats have suffered from bad press for a long time. Back in the 17th century, Sir Henry Wooton famously quipped that a diplomat is "an honest man sent to lie abroad for his country." The profession of diplomacy cannot seem to shake Sir Henry's witticism. Yet the remark also

implied that there were layers of behavior involved, between states or governments with their raisons d'état on the surface, and individual agents or diplomats with their personal ethical concerns just underneath.

Against that backdrop, practitioners of diplomacy have worked hard to make their profession more respectable. In 1716, French diplomat Francois de Callieres published *De la manière de négocier avec les souverains* ("On the Manner of Negotiating with Sovereigns," often translated as "The Practice of Diplomacy"), a seminal text in the development of modern diplomacy and accompanying professional ethics.

In the 19th century, European governments began to take on the form of the modern nation-state. For these states, diplomacy increasingly became a regularized bureaucratic function, moving from personal art to organized profession. Ethical standards began to emerge, as well, drawing both on traditional personal standards of conduct and the rules and regulations essential to modern bureaucracies.

Ethics for Professionals

The belief that civil servants need ethical guidelines arises naturally from their role as professionals who exercise specialized knowledge and skill. As such, they are capable of making judgments, applying their skills and reaching informed decisions in situations that the general public is not qualified to review. How the use of this knowledge should be governed when providing a service to the public can be considered a moral issue, to be managed or regulated by a set of standards, or code of ethics.

Such a code gives officials and practitioners boundaries to stay within in their professional capacities. But no set of guidelines can cover all ethical or moral considerations. As Francis Fukuyama observes in *The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution* (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2011): "In most political hierarchies, principals hold authority and delegate the implementation of their policies to agents, whom they appoint. Many governance dysfunctions arise because the agents have different agendas from the principals."

For all these reasons, a code of ethics is essential to give practitioners guidance with respect to personal, as well as official, boundaries.

Edward Marks spent 40 years in the U.S. Foreign Service, including an assignment as ambassador to Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. Ambassador Marks is the director of the Simons Center for the Study of Interagency Coordination, a Distinguished Senior Fellow at George Mason University, and a director on the board of American Diplomacy magazine, as well as a retiree representative on the AFSA Governing Board and a member of the AFSA Awards and Plaques Committee.

This article was originally developed for and presented at the 2012 Fort Leavenworth Ethics Symposium co-sponsored by the Command and General Staff College Foundation, Inc., and the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College.

Diplomacy Does Not Equal Foreign Policy

It is important to differentiate ethics in diplomacy from ethics in foreign policy, as the word diplomacy has two general meanings. In the policy sense, it refers to "a government's diplomacy;" in the operational sense, it describes the conduct of business between and among governments, carried out through bureaucratic institutions and processes. The former is also more generically called "foreign policy," while the latter is the domain of the foreign policy bureaucracy.

In his 1957 study, *The Foreign Office*, Lord Strange remarks: "The word diplomacy has always been a liability of the thing it represents. Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that by mere chance the dog was given a bad name, which has made it peculiarly liable to be blamed, if not actually hanged, for the sins of its masters. The master is called correctly 'foreign policy.""

Although morality is often a matter of judgment, most commentators would classify governments as essentially amoral in their external behavior. As Strange observes, "Diplomacy as an institution can never have morals markedly superior to those of the governments whose tool it is; though, owing to the force of its corporate traditions, they are likely nowadays to be never worse, and usually rather better."

Despite the distinction between foreign policy and diplomacy, the inevitable, intimate relationship between power politics and the functions of diplomacy means that the two can never be completely separated, at least in the mind of the general public. This has contributed to a popular image of diplomats as untrustworthy double-dealers.

Quotations along those lines are numerous. Here are just a few from Ambassador Charles W. Freeman's *Diplomat's Dictionary* (U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 2010):

- Diplomacy is to do and say the nastiest things in the nicest way. (Proverb)
- *Diplomacy: the patriotic art of lying for one's country.* (Ambrose Bierce)
- Diplomacy is to speak French, to speak nothing, and to speak falsehood. (Ludwig Boerne)

This traditional view of diplomacy has been reinforced by a modern popular attitude that focuses on one particular aspect: its secrecy. Americans, in particular, remain influenced by Woodrow Wilson's famous call for "open diplomacy."

In some respects, the depreciation of diplomacy in the modern world reflects a lack of faith that it can really make a difference. As Hans Morgenthau notes: "There is nothing spectacular, fascinating or inspiring, at least for the people at large, in the business of diplomacy."

Ethics for the Individual Diplomat

While diplomats do many of the same things most bureaucrats do, they also perform, collectively and individually, the additional defining functions of official communicator and interpreter between the external and internal worlds of a given nation-state. This gives diplomacy and diplomats a Janus-like character, since they are responsible not only for transmitting official messages and reporting the responses, but also for describing and interpreting the environment even before the message is prepared, as well as interpreting the responses.

The obligation of the career public servant as an agent is made more complicated in the case of the diplomat because

the agent-principal relationship takes two forms. Internally, within the bureaucracy, the diplomat represents his or her agency. Externally, the diplomat is the agent for the government as a whole. Diplomacy as a government activity is marked by this peculiar attribute.

After firmly presenting his or her own country's views and policies, the truly professional diplomat must then report objectively on the local response.

does not necessarily constitute policy since it is about policy in its formative stage.

As Hannah Gurman says in *The Dissent Papers: The Voices of Diplomats in the Cold War and Beyond* (Columbia University Press, 2012), this conversation is often about "informing and shaping policy through prophetic reporting and analytical writing." Or, to put it another way, it is an *internal* dialogue. Individual messages generally have little standing; it is the totality of diplomatic correspondence which is important.

It is in the performance of this function that the distinction between the master and the agent arises. While the state may act amorally, the agent is required to conduct this internal dialogue to some standard of professional ethics—or betray any pretense of performance as an objective public servant.

> In addition, of course, failure to act to acceptable standards can eventually destroy the diplomatic agent's reputation among his peers and colleagues both of his own county and among foreigners—which will also destroy his ability to function. Only the trustworthy diplomat is useful

to his or her government.

During the McCarthy era, dedicated officers like Jack Service and John Paton Davies were hounded out of the Foreign Service simply for reporting accurately on developments and trends in postwar China. And Wikileaks' release of thousands of confidential documents may have done comparable damage to the ability of U.S. diplomats to gather information, since local contacts are much less likely to speak candidly when they fear being quoted publicly.

Though different in motivation, both these types of threats strike at the very essence of a diplomat's professional ethics: the obligation to report, comment and advise objectively on matters of importance to his or her country.

It is always tempting to prepare a report to satisfy the views of the recipient, or to justify the decisions made or about to be made by headquarters. Indeed, many senior officials, especially political figures, expect this.

Instead, after firmly presenting his or her own country's views and policies externally, the truly professional diplomat must turn around and "report" objectively on the local

Threading the Needle

agent role.

The role of official reporter and observer—the official interpreter of George Kennan's "great external realm"—has always been fundamental to the definition of a diplomat. This has remained true at every stage of the development of communications technology: from the spoken report, handwritten dispatch and telegram or cable, to today's e-mail and encrypted voice conversation.

The job also has an interesting mirror aspect: the diplo-

mats of each country engaged in this activity are simultane-

ously matched by their counterparts from the other country

in the relationship. The general code of ethics for professional

public officials as a class must therefore include an additional

subset of personal diplomatic ethics for this intermediary

The most characteristic manifestation of the diplomat's writing constitutes a form of dialogue or conversation between the diplomat in the field and his or her master back in headquarters. This conversation is, of course, official; but it response—without slanting his or her observations and comments to satisfy the report's recipients.

Don't Rock the Boat?

In their seminal 1953 study, *The Diplomats*, *1919-1939*, Gordon A. Craig and Felix Gilbert decry "the growing tendency of home governments to give attention, and preferment, to those diplomats who reported what their superiors wanted to hear, rather than to those whose analyses of the developing situation has been justified by history." This is a persistent temptation for all governments, but especially in democracies with lively domestic political environments. After all, the careers of the political leadership depend on policy success, or at least avoidance of blame for failure.

Moreover, because political leaders tend to value personal loyalty, career officials who introduce opinions and information at variance with the

official policy line risk adverse consequences.

Another temptation for any diplomat in the field is to gild his or her own lily. (No drafter of a memorandum of conversation has ever reported losing an

As George Kennan puts it, the diplomat's job is to be "the bearer of a view of the outside world."

argument.) And then there is the ever-present threat of "localitis": giving too much weight to the pressures and temptations of the local environment.

The intellectual center of gravity of the diplomat's professional perspective has two dimensions: the need to balance the present against the future, viewing the world objectively from both perspectives; and the need to protect one's credibility as an agent by not uttering falsehoods deliberately. The first half of the equation may seem obvious, though it is often ignored by commentators. As for the second, the distinction between misleading one's interlocutors and not lying to them is subtle, and lost on many.

Self-delusion is dangerous for countries as well as individuals, so the diplomat's job is to introduce into political and policy deliberations the realities of that "vast external realm" which lies outside our borders. As Edmund Burke observed two centuries ago, "Nothing is so fatal to a nation as an extreme of self-partiality, and the total want of consideration of what others will naturally hope or fear." The ability to resist that tendency requires a robust adherence to ethical principles by Foreign Service officers. The ethical quality that stands out in such situations is honesty: the requirement that each diplomat, serving as representative and interpreter, must somehow earn and maintain credibility with two "masters"—each of whom may well see that effort as betrayal.

This is a tricky and dangerous situation for the professional diplomat, as evidenced by the case of Ambassador April Glaspie. Following her instructions in a 1990 meeting with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, she carefully laid out the U.S. position regarding the ongoing Iraqi-Kuwaiti border dispute. When Hussein nonetheless invaded Kuwait soon thereafter, some accused Amb. Glaspie of having given Hussein a "green light" for the invasion by how she phrased her message.

No one who was not there can really say what transpired. But given her professional reputation and her reporting on her demarche, most knowledgeable commentators consider the

> charge unfair and irresponsible. Still, that does not stop the Monday morning quarterbacks and others seeking scapegoats.

Recognizing Dissent

Welcome evidence that proper apprecia-

tion of this ethical dilemma is not yet a lost cause, despite the lingering wounds of the McCarthy era and the persistent demands of party politics, comes from two quarters. In 1968, as the Vietnam War was raging, the American Foreign Service Association began conferring two annual awards to recognize and encourage constructive dissent and risk-taking within the Foreign Service: the **W. Averell Harriman Award** for junior officers (FS-6 through FS-4) and the **William R. Rivkin Award** for mid-level officers (FS-3 through FS-1).

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, with the support of the Delavan Foundation, AFSA created the **F. Allen "Tex" Harris Award** for dissent by Foreign Service specialists. All four of these awards have proven to be helpful to most recipients' careers, not harmful.

Separately, in 1971 the Department of State instituted the Dissent Channel, through which any employee may submit a message to the Secretary on any subject. (That mechanism remains unique, by the way; no other federal department or agency has anything similar.)

The Eternal Dilemma

Diplomacy in modern terms focuses on the political and bureaucratic process and institutions by which political enti-

ties—traditionally nationstates, but also non-state actors and international organizations—establish and manage their official relations. Writing in the May 1961 *Foreign Service Journal* on "Diplomacy as a Profession," George Kennan declared: "This is the classic function of diplomacy: to effect the

Because political leaders tend to value personal loyalty, career officials who introduce opinions and information at variance with the official policy line risk adverse consequences.

communication between one's own government and other governments or individuals abroad, and to do this with maximum accuracy, imagination, tact and good sense."

The diplomat is thus charged with a double task: studying and comprehending the nature of the outside world, and com-

municating with other governments concerning his or her own government's interests and aspirations. As Kennan puts it, the diplomat's job is to be "the bearer of a view of the outside world."

> These sometimes conflicting obligations between the amorality of the state especially when consciously practicing realpolitik—and the professional morality of the diplomatic agent create a murky, ethically ambiguous situation. In a fundamental sense, the professional diplomat cannot effectively

perform the agent's task without acting with at least a modicum of professional ethics.

Ironically, even an immoral government is badly served by an immoral agent. Herein lies the ethical dilemma which often faces the individual diplomat.

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The November 2013 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 2012 or 2013, 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:

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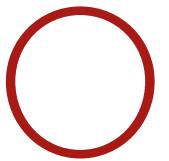
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THE ROLE OF DISSENT IN NATIONAL SECURITY, LAW AND CONSCIENCE

One of three officers to resign from the Foreign Service a decade ago in protest of the Iraq War revisits the ethical implications of that decision.

BY ANN WRIGHT



ver the past decade, spanning two different presidencies, the U.S. government and its individual employees have faced extraordinarily important issues at the intersection of national security, law and conscience. Major American policies promulgated in the name of national security regarding war, invasion and occupation, kidnapping, extraordinary rendition, torture, indefinite detention, curtailment of civil liberties, extrajudicial killings, targeted assassinations and

eavesdropping have all been called into legal question.

For women and men in our government, these ethical issues should create crises of conscience. Public servants face the dilemma of how, within the system, to challenge policies that are ill-considered at best, or illegal at worst. Can one continue working for a government carrying out policies it claims are critical to national security, if one believes those policies constitute moral, ethical or legal failures?

Ann Wright was a Foreign Service officer from 1987 until 2003, when she resigned from the Service in protest of the Iraq War while serving as deputy chief of mission in Ulaanbaatar. She had previously served as DCM in Freetown, Kolonia and (for a short time) Kabul, in addition to assignments in Somalia, Uzbekistan, Krygyzstan, Grenada, Nicaragua and Washington, D.C. She received the State Department's Award for Heroism for her work as chargé d'affaires in leading the evacuation of 2,500 people from Sierra Leone in 1997.

The co-author with Susan Dixon of Dissent: Voices of Conscience (foreword by Daniel Ellsberg: Koa Books, 2008), Ms. Wright spent 13 years in the U.S. Army and 16 years in the Army Reserves, retiring as a colonel, before joining the Foreign Service. From her home in Honolulu, she continues to write and speak out for peace and justice, and has been arrested numerous times all over the world because of her nonviolent protests. These issues transcend administrations. Despite the urging of President Barack Obama to "look forward, not backward" in terms of transparency and accountability for governmental actions, I firmly believe it is imperative to take a look back over the policies of the past 10 years. That is the only way to evaluate how to approach ethical, moral and legal challenges in the future.

Ten years ago, I faced such a dilemma myself. I had been a federal government employee for more than 35 years, first in the U.S. military and then at the Department of State, serving eight presidents going back to Lyndon Johnson. Many of those administrations, of both parties, espoused

I believe it matters that even a handful of U.S. government employees resigned in opposition to Bush administration policy.

controversial policies that I did not agree with. But like many other public servants, I sought to carry out programs and policies with which I concurred, morally and ethically.

The Road to War

In late 2002 and early 2003, I became increasingly concerned about the George W. Bush administration's march to war in Iraq. I had just returned from Afghanistan—having been on the small team that reopened the U.S. embassy in Kabul in December 2001 and remained there until the first permanent embassy staff arrived in April 2002—when I proceeded to my scheduled assignment as deputy chief of mission in Ulaanbaatar.

The war rhetoric from President Bush, Vice President Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice and my boss, Secretary of State Colin Powell, increased weekly, as did my unease. I was unable to figure out how Iraq could still have had weapons of mass destruction after intense U.N. inspections, sanctions, quarantines and blockades for 10 years, the imposition of two no-fly zones and regular U.S. attacks on military and civilian installations there.

On Feb. 5, 2003, I watched live from Mongolia as Secretary of State Powell pitched to the United Nations the "evidence" that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction. His presentation did not convince me, and it did not convince the hundreds of Foreign Service colleagues who got in touch with me later. Nor did it deter the millions of U.S. citizens who marched in the streets, much less the U.N. member-states. They quickly voted against authorizing any military operations against Iraq.

I used the Dissent Channel to express my concerns in a letter

to Secretary Powell in early March 2003, just weeks before the war began. My concerns were dismissed in the response from the department, signed by Policy Planning Director Richard Haass. His response paralleled the daily press guidance from the department, which rehashed the administration's rationale for why Saddam Hussein's regime was dangerous to the international community and should be eliminated.

> After revising many drafts, on March 19, 2003—the eve of the invasion—I sent my letter of resignation to Secretary of State Colin Powell. I became one of only three U.S. government employees, all Foreign Service officers, to resign over the issue. Several other FSOs apparently resigned later for

the same reason, but did not make their resignations public. In addition, an unknown number of FSOs retired from the Service much earlier than they had planned because of their opposition to the war.

However, neither dissent within the government, nor elsewhere, affected the Bush administration's decision to wage war on Iraq.

"Dissent Is Difficult"

A decade later, I still wonder whether the resignation of a senior policymaker might have had an effect on that decision. In a 2006 interview, Sec. Powell's chief of staff, Larry Wilkerson, reflected: "My participation in that presentation at the U.N. constitutes the lowest point in my professional life. I participated in a hoax on the American people, the international community and the United Nations Security Council."

Wilkerson went even further in 2011, when he said that his role in preparing the presentation was "probably the biggest mistake of my life." He regrets both his participation and his decision not to resign over it.

Six years after the Iraq War began, Richard Haass—who had delivered the official response to my Dissent Channel message—described his own reservations about the decision to go to war in a 2009 *Newsweek* article, "The Dilemma of Dissent." In it Haass, now chair of the Council on Foreign Relations, says: "Had I known then what I know now—namely, that there were no weapons of mass destruction and that the intervention would be carried out with a marked absence of good judgment and competence—I would have been inalterably opposed. Still, even then, I leaned against proceeding." Haass added: "Dissent is difficult. It can constitute a real dilemma for the person who disagrees. On one hand, you owe it to your conscience and to your bosses to tell them what they need to hear rather than what they want to hear. Speaking truth to power is actually a form of loyalty. It is the best and at times only way to make sure that government (or any organization) lives up to its potential.

"No matter how good the advice, however, there will be times when it is resented or rejected," Haass concluded. "It may be rebuffed on the merits, or because of politics or personalities. Sometimes, smart people just see things differently. It doesn't matter."

But in issues of war and peace, it does matter—to the thousands who will kill and be killed, or spend the rest of their lives maimed physically or emotionally, due to the decisions of those in power. Can one continue working for a government carrying out policies it claims are critical to national security, if one believes they constitute moral, ethical or legal failures?

It also matters to the rest of the world, symbolically and practically, when the country with the strongest military in the world decides to attack and occupy a small, oil-rich country that had been under extreme sanctions and inspections for 10 years.

And it matters that even a handful of U.S. government employees resigned in opposition to that policy. We became symbols to the rest of the world that not everyone in the U.S. government was willing to go along with a war opposed by the member-states of the United Nations, and by the people who voiced their concerns in the largest stop-the-war marches in history.

The Lessons of History

We now know the lengths to which Bush administration officials went to ensure the silence of those who opposed their policies, by classifying controversial and illegal policies and operations. As a result, anyone trying to challenge those policies in public automatically risked being charged with revealing classified information.

Those brave souls who challenge such policies anyway have seldom fared well. Here is just a partial list of U.S. government

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employees who have experienced retaliation, either for trying to work within the system to end these practices or becoming whistleblowers: Peter Van Buren and Matt Hoh (State); Jesselyn Radack and Thomas Tamm (Justice); Mike Gorman, Coleen Rowley and Sibel Edmonds (FBI); Bunnatine Greenhouse, Commander Matthew Diaz, Specialist Joe Darby and Specialist Samuel Provence (Defense); John Kiriakou (CIA); and Russell Tice and Thomas Drake (National Security Agency).

One can add to this list Katharine Gun and Craig Murray, both British whistleblowers, and Danish Major Frank Grevil, all of whom were accused of criminal acts. Murray was fired from his job, Grevil was court-martialed, and Gun was threatened with prosecution in civilian court, though the British government dropped the charges against her the night before the trial.

In addition, Private First Class Bradley Manning was courtmartialed in June for releasing classified cables from both Defense and State that have rounded out our knowledge of U.S. involvement in Afghanistan, Iraq and many other countries. While I recognize that many *Journal* readers may be extremely concerned about his disclosure of a large volume



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There is no doubt that dissent may cut short your government career. But living dishonestly may cause you a lifetime of anxiety and grief.

of classified information, and do not see him as a dissenter, I see Manning's actions as similar to those of *Pentagon Papers* whistleblower Daniel Ellsberg, who believed Americans had the right to know the secret history of their government's involvement in Vietnam.

The point of my including Manning in this list is that in each case, the government's response appears to be disproportionate retaliation that does not take into account the rationale for disclosing the information (whether classified or unclassified): a government coverup of malfeasance.

Moreover, many inside and outside the government note the lack of investigation, much less prosecution, of senior officials (across all administrations) who leak classified information to advance official policy. In contrast, Uncle Sam seems eager to go after anyone who reveals classified information that documents criminal activity committed by government officials.

Sadly, despite its pledges to be open and transparent, the Obama administration has continued in its predecessor's footsteps. For example, it refuses to make public the memoranda that authorize the assassination by drone of American citizens and the rationale for its "signature" assassination program targeting Afghans, Pakistanis, Yemenis and Somalis.

Despite efforts to cover up the truth, we now know a great deal about the machinations that led up to the Iraq War—both through the Downing Street memos and the huge cache of documents released through Wikileaks (although I understand that U.S. government employees have been told not to look at the Wikileaks cables).

We know the pervasive untruths told by senior government officials to take the nation into war, as well as the protection of criminal acts committed by government officials: kidnapping, torture, eavesdropping and assassination. Whether such measures were authorized via secret memoranda or by legislation that attempted to retroactively legalize previously illegal acts, the truth has now been exposed.

Of special note, this past March the bipartisan Constitution Project released a report documenting the torture of prisoners detained by the United States. One of America's most experienced ambassadors, Thomas Pickering, summarized the damage done by those policies in an April 16 *Washington Post* op-ed: "By authorizing and permitting torture in response to a global terrorist threat, U.S. leaders committed a grave error that has undermined our values, principles and moral stature; eroded our global influence; and placed our soldiers, diplomats and intelligence officers in even greater jeopardy."

Yet whistleblowers who revealed the torture program years earlier have lost their jobs and even gone to jail.

Let Your Conscience Be Your Guide

In the decade since our resignations, John Brown, Brady Kiesling and I have spoken to thousands of groups, both in the United States and all over the world, about our decisions to resign from the Foreign Service. We are treated with great respect for that decision precisely because resignation on principle from the United States government is so rare.

I have worked with many veterans and their families, and have traveled to countries to meet with families uprooted and destroyed by U.S. wars. I have visited Iraqi refugees in Jordan and Syria, and interviewed victims of torture in U.S. prisons in Iraq. I have met with families of prisoners who have been released from Guantanamo and with families of prisoners who have been cleared for release years ago, but are still held by the United States. And I have met in Pakistan and Afghanistan with families of victims of U.S. drones.

I've also met hundreds of U.S. military personnel who did not have the luxury of resigning to protest war policies they decided were wrong. The consciences of these men and women serving in Iraq or Afghanistan would not allow them to continue killing others in wars they believed were based on lies. Many of them have gone to prison for their decisions to refuse to go along with policies they oppose.

Their statements leave no doubt of the severe conflict they experienced after volunteering to join an organization implementing policies that were fundamentally wrong—and knowing that refusal to help carry them out could mean jail time.

That, of course, is the great dilemma inherent in confronting policies that one disagrees with—particularly when the policies concern life and death. There is no doubt that dissent may cut short your government career. But living dishonestly may cause you a lifetime of anxiety and grief.

Ultimately, the nagging feeling you have in your stomach that something is profoundly wrong is a much better guide than the comments of senior government officials on whether policies are right or wrong, legal or illegal.





MY RESIGNATION IN RETROSPECT

Those of us in the Foreign Service must keep our moral and professional compass calibrated to that point where integrity and love of country declare, "No further."

BY JOHN BRADY KIESLING

n the process of justifying to foreigners the policies of a moralizing, occasionally overbearing superpower, U.S. diplomats develop formidable powers of rationalization. Our understanding of our Foreign Service oath harmonizes elegantly with our professional ambitions and personal convenience.

But what happens when suddenly it doesn't when we can no longer rationalize away some fundamental analytical or moral intuition we have? Then we confront the fundamental career decision of whether to carry out a bad policy, obstruct it from within or resign.

My moral intuition tells me that I did not violate my oath as a Foreign Service officer by abandoning the modestly important post of political counselor at Embassy Athens at a critical time for U.S. global interests. My wife can confirm that I still flagellate myself, decades after, for other things I said and did, or failed to say and do, as an FSO. But I have never flagellated myself over my decision to resign in February 2003 as the Iraq War loomed.

Ten years later, I am still proud of the resignation letter I leaked to the *New York Times*. I am ashamed only that I did not have the forethought and ruthlessness to make my resignation a more effective policy tool.

John Brady Kiesling entered the Foreign Service in 1983, serving in Tel Aviv, Casablanca, Washington, Yerevan and Athens (twice, the second time as political counselor). He resigned from the Service in February 2003 in protest of the impending war with Iraq. Now a writer and lecturer, he is the author of Diplomacy Lessons: Realism for an Unloved Superpower (Potomac Books, 2007).

My Decision-Making Process

To be persuasive, one of my ambassadors taught me, you need to come up with a minimum of three reasons why your chosen decision is the right one. Here are some of mine:

Point One: When a Foreign Service officer can no longer well and faithfully perform his or her duties, resignation is the honorable course. I was a good analyst, able to read between the lines of a National Intelligence Estimate or my own efficiency report. I had taken justifiable pride in what the U.S. government was doing and my role in doing it. But by mid-2002 I no longer did. Diplomats have a duty to their country to be competent. I could no longer competently represent President George W. Bush and his administration's policies to the world.

Point Two: By November 2002, the faithful performance of

diplomatic duties in Greece was of no importance to anyone who mattered in Washington. On the contrary, the political agenda of the White House was incompatible with the honest assessment of costs and benefits—in this case, of the Iraq War—that is a diplomat's basic duty to provide.

When a Foreign Service officer can no longer well and faithfully perform his or her duties, resignation is the honorable course.

• If our goal was instead to readjust the regional balance of military power in favor of Israel and Saudi Arabia, who would counterbalance Iran once we had taken out Saddam Hussein?

You and I know the answers to all these questions in hindsight, of course. But they were knowable and known in 2002. As the U.S. government's expert professionals, we had a duty to provide those correct answers and insist on them.

Supporting and Defending the Constitution

Some may say that the wisdom or folly of a president's policy is above our pay grade as FSOs. I would disagree. The Nuremberg war crimes trials established that certain orders are intrinsically unlawful, and officers and officials have a duty under international law to recognize and disobey such orders, despite any oath of obedience they have sworn.

> Foreign Service officers—unlike a handful of CIA colleagues who led death squads and torture teams—dodged the clearly illegal orders. But we did implement policies that undermined the economic security and basic freedoms of the American people. Our oath of office puts

our official duties last and defending the U.S. Constitution first, for good reason. America's external threats can be managed, if we choose, with our civil rights intact and with a national security establishment much smaller and cheaper than the one we pay for currently. The darker threat we face comes precisely from the politicians and government officials

The so-called Global War on Terror was first and foremost an assault on the U.S. Constitution. After 9/11, most Americans embraced the massive intrusion of executive power into our homes and correspondence, drone-sanitized death squads and, most recently, the useless lockdown of a whole city.

who serve their personal ends by preying on the public's fear.

Foreign Service officers serving in the many countries around the world where the state wields arbitrary power learn to value the rule of law, by talking to activists whose friends are in jail or have become unrecognizable corpses dumped by the side of the road. We are also the first to pay the price when U.S. policy, or a perception of it, outrages the sensibilities of ordinary foreigners and leads to violence. As public servants living under the constant threat of terrorism, our views on the

Point Three: By the fall of 2002, the Bush administration had convinced me of its inability to answer fundamental questions of national interest:

• Was there truly an imminent military threat to the United States or its allies that justified a war the Iraqis themselves were desperate to avoid?

• Were the arguments we could present for that war adequate to protect the hard-won, fraying legitimacy of U.S. leadership of the international community?

• To the extent our motives were humanitarian, would military intervention to decapitate a blood-drenched dictatorship preserve more lives than it destroyed?

• Could we replace Saddam Hussein with an Iraqi government willing to take our orders and legitimate enough to implement them? Would we not be stuck with a permanent, costly U.S. military presence that delegitimized any Iraqi government we installed?

• Was there any successful model we could point to for democratizing a bitterly divided tribal society with no tradition of representative government? tradeoff between freedom and security are inherently worth hearing. And our unique experiential baseline gives us standing to challenge disgraces like Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib as directly harmful to the safety of the American people.

Some Advice for Future Dissenters

No one should dismiss resignation as a tactic because of my own limited impact. Obviously, an unknown political counselor in Athens had no hope of steering America clear of

the Iraq quagmire. The State Department, however, could have done so, given sufficient unity, the courage of its expertise, commitment to the oath we all swore, and leaders willing to sacrifice their careers to their country's good.

A very public resignation from the Foreign Service has

two goals. First, on the internal level, it dramatizes for wavering colleagues the stakes for American national interests and can be a catalyst for the department-wide soul-searching that inspires known, credible leaders to take a stand. And on the public level, the vote of no confidence sent by resignations of career officials increases the political cost of foolish or crimi-

My only regret is that I did not have the forethought and ruthlessness to make my resignation a more effective policy tool.

The post-resignation book tour: Brady Kiesling signs *Diplomacy Lessons* at Olsen's in Alexandria, Va.

nal policies, potentially deterring future abuses.

I had the wrong personality to pursue these attainable goals with the necessary single-mindedness. In particular, I was too squeamish to taint with my own disloyalty the one unforgivable bureaucratic sin—colleagues who shared my analysis but had hefty mortgage and tuition obligations. All the same, I offer the following advice to future dissenters.

First, when the national interest

calls for resignations, it is our duty to involve as large and credible a group of colleagues as possible. In this age of social media, that task is much easier than a decade ago.

Dissent cannot be kept secret from our superiors, and should not be. Indeed, rumors of a looming bureaucratic uprising might cow our political masters when the reality of one would not.

Second, my resignation letter was a communications success because I struck the right emotional tone. I was not, however, as clear, explicit and quotable as I should have been on why the Iraq War would be so costly to Americans. So don't take your main point for granted. Write, wait, reread; solicit

> input from loyal friends; and continue refining your message until it cannot possibly be misunderstood.

Third, the impact of a resignation depends on perceived standing and sacrifice. An excellent reason to work hard and well in difficult assignments over decades is to build

a résumé that validates your expertise and your sacrifice. My analysis of the folly of the impending invasion of Iraq was sound, but my standing was marginal (so my admirers routinely promoted me to ambassador). Ann Wright's dissent, because her curriculum vitae included both a Foreign Service tour in Kabul and the rank of colonel in the U.S. Army Reserve,





Diplomacy

Lessons

better accommodated the public's desire for heroes. (That said, paper credentials such as Superior Honor awards have more impact on the public imagination than we may realize.)

Fourth, the corollary to this principle is that the more politically potent your message, the more strenuously critics will look for material with which to discredit the messenger. The State Department behaved quite well in its public portrayal of our resignations, but it helped that our closets seem to have contained no frightful skeletons. When the White House feels seriously threatened, any lapse from the rigorous personal integrity of the ideal diplomat will be used against you mercilessly.

Fifth, the public responds warmly to sacrifice, but it must be real sacrifice or it doesn't count. Rather than jump ship to a rival political party, disarm cynicism by spending time in the wilderness, ideally with the specter of famine draped companionably on your shoulder.

Finally, keep faith in the meaning of your deed. A new and excellent life awaits you, provided you take the message of

your resignation as seriously as fellow idealists demand. I lost my sense of the importance of my gesture far too soon.

My Best Decision

I would resign better next time, but with resignation there is no next time. Never mind. A heartwarming number of people still come forward even now to thank me, perhaps because at a dark hour, my gesture seemed a welcome reaffirmation that our system was capable of better things. If that were the only result, my resignation would still be the best decision I have ever made. I encourage young people to take the Foreign Service exam, partly because so few other careers include the right to such a life-transforming last resort.

Diplomats rationalize well and faithfully, serving America well and faithfully in the process. But as we grow in experience and influence, we must keep our moral and professional compass calibrated to that point—usually, but not always, comfortably remote—where integrity and love of country declare, "No further."



SOME THOUGHTS ON DISSENT

All government employees should be free to speak their minds as openly as possible without endangering national security—a term regrettably all too often used as an excuse to shut them up.

BY JOHN H. BROWN

hough dissent is sometimes thought of as un-American, it dates back to the very founding of our country. As President Dwight Eisenhower observed, "Here in America we are descended in blood and in spirit from revolutionists and rebels—men and women who dare to dissent from accepted doctrine. As their heirs, may

we never confuse honest dissent with disloyal subversion." Indeed, throughout our history dissent has been seen as an expression of the best of the "American mind," the term used by Jefferson regarding the Declaration of Independence.

Still, not everybody agrees that challenging government policy is laudable. Richard Perle, a cheerleader for the war in Iraq, once warned: "We may be so eager to protect the right to dissent that we lose sight of the difference between dissent and subversion."

Because dissent is essentially a matter of individual choice and conscience, formulating detailed standards for its application within a hierarchical bureaucracy like the State Department is an inherently challenging task.

Make Love, Not War

Dissent tends to reflect unique personal experiences. In my own case, the influence of my father, John L. Brown, a diplomat and poet during the anti-establishment spirit of the 1960s, shaped my eventual decision to leave the Foreign Service in 2003.

His career with the U.S. Information Agency (1950-1968) molded how I saw the Foreign Service: as a way to share ideas about America with the best and brightest in other countries and to learn more about their own language, culture and politics. My father made it clear that his most important work took place outside the embassy's walls, as he met people who were

John H. Brown, a public diplomacy officer, joined the Foreign Service in 1981 and was promoted into the Senior Foreign Service in 1997. He served in London, Prague, Krakow, Kiev, Belgrade, Moscow and Washington, D.C., before resigning in protest of the Iraq War in 2003. In addition to publishing John Brown's Public Diplomacy Press and Blog Review, he teaches a graduate-level course at Georgetown University, "Propaganda and U.S. Foreign Policy: A Historical Overview," and is a consultant to the Open World Leadership Center Trust Fund program. making a difference in their societies.

As my father memorably put it in an article about cultural diplomacy in the June 1964 issue of *The Foreign Service Journal:* "The [cultural affairs officer] soon comes to realize that his job is really a form of lovemaking, and that making love is never really successful unless both partners are participating."

His diplomatic career was not one long love-in, however. In a recent article for the *Journal of Belgian History* ("Taking off the Soft Power Lens: The United States Information Service in Cold War Belgium, 1950-1958"), Frank Gerits recalls that while my father was posted in Mexico, "a colleague threatened to punch him on the nose."

While I am not sure the degree to which my father's opposition to the Vietnam War underlay his decision to leave

the Foreign Service in 1968, I know he was glad to return to academic life.

For most of my own time in the Foreign Service (1981-2003), I enjoyed my work and had no intention of leaving. It certainly helped that most of the countries where I served, mainly in Central and Eastern Europe, had populations that were generally pro-American despite their leaders' constant criticism of the United States.

True, the degree of admiration varied from country to country during that period. In Poland and Czechoslovakia, many people saw America as a kind of paradise—the exact opposite of the Soviet Union they despised. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, where I served from 1993 to 1995 (even though the United States did not officially recognize its government), and the Russian Federation, where I was cultural affairs officer in Moscow from 1998 to 2001, were less positive about Washington. But as a rule, I seldom faced open hostility toward the United States anywhere.

Because dissent is essentially a matter

of individual choice and conscience,

formulating detailed standards for

its application within a hierarchical

bureaucracy like the State Department

is an inherently challenging task.

As a press and cultural officer involved in arranging official media and social events, I felt my priority was not to debate the intricacies of policy but—aside from carrying out public diplomacy programs and staying in touch with local contacts—to get the logistical details right: making sure microphones for press conferences worked, providing timely transcripts of statements by U.S. officials, having the right people on the guest list for a lunch at the ambassador's residence, and so forth. Not glamorous work, to be sure, but satisfying.

I should note that I had few, if any, moral qualms about exercising "message control" while serving overseas. I did my best to present American policy to local newspapers, radio and television as rapidly and coherently as possible, and did not feel it was appropriate for mission personnel to volunteer their personal opinions about policy with local media—either off or on the record. While I was handling media matters for Embassy Belgrade during the delicate negotiations leading up to the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords, I was keenly aware that a single misspoken, "leaked" word, especially if attributed to anyone in the embassy, could derail the fragile, unofficial agreements being reached behind closed doors. The mission had to speak with one official voice.

Throughout my career I agreed wholeheartedly with this view, even though I know it sounds rather doctrinaire now, in the age of Twitter.

The Seeds of Dissent

In 2001, I returned to Washington as a faculty adviser at Georgetown University, where I taught courses on public and cultural diplomacy. Suddenly, after many years overseas engaged in work that took far more than eight hours a Throughout my 22-year Foreign Service career, I did my best to present American policy accurately to local media, whether I agreed with it or not.

day, I again had time to read in depth and reflect on the role of America—and its diplomats—in the new, post-Cold War world of the 21st century.

In preparation for my courses, I came across a passage from Jacques Ellul's 1973 book, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*. It reminded me of the dangers of a "public diplomat" becoming a crude propagandist:

"Even in the actual contact of human relations, at meetings, in door-to-door visits, the propagandist is...nothing else and nothing more than a representative of the organization—or, rather, a delegated fraction of it. ... His words are no longer human words but technically calculated words. ... In the very act of pretending to speak as man to man, the propagandist is reaching the summit of his mendacity and falsifications."

The more I learned about President George W. Bush's plans regarding Iraq, the more I was appalled. His administration failed to explain why the United States was invading a Middle Eastern nation that, no matter how despicable its regime, had never attacked us.

The whole enterprise seemed senseless to me—as it did, I believe, to most of the world. So I left the Foreign Service shortly before the March 2003 invasion, and set forth my reasons in an e-mail to Secretary of State Colin Powell that I later shared with the media. I was sad to abandon a profession I loved, but relieved no longer to be part of an unjustified, and unexplained, military adventure that was a catastrophe for the U.S. and its public diplomacy.

Dissent from Policy

Let me now turn to the perplexing question of deciding how and when to dissent from policy, while staying within the system. Perhaps the best way for me to provide a tentative answer is to cite my May 2012 review (in the online journal

> American Diplomacy) of Hannah Gurman's The Dissent Papers: The Voices of Diplomats in the Cold War and Beyond (Columbia University Press, 2012).

The key point of this scholar's monograph, which is well-researched and largely devoid of academic jargon, is that the

"voices" of dissenting U.S. diplomats, expressed by the written word, have been all too often ignored or dismissed by formulators of foreign policy in the nation's capital, to the detriment of America's national interests.

The individuals on Gurman's roster of Foggy Bottom naysayers share some characteristics. First, in an often isolationist country marked by a "long history of antipathy toward traditional diplomacy," these dissenting diplomats, like their more conformist State Department colleagues, were the object of hostility from the White House and Congress.

Second, the dissidents were paid by an organization that did not, as a rule, encourage dissent or independent thinking. In the United States, dissenting diplomats—when no longer numbered among those in seats of power—are, as Gurman puts it, "transformed from false prophets of the U.S. foreign policy establishment into true prophets of the nation's foreign policy."

Also worth pointing out: The subjects of Gurman's study, as she notes, were "not necessarily and absolutely wise." More important, from her perspective, the dissenters can't be reduced to modern-day successors of John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness. Rather, they were skeptical about "the predictability of foreign affairs and about the possibility of knowledge more generally."

I also agree with Gurman's view that the State Depart-

I was sad to abandon a profession I loved, but relieved no longer to be part of a military adventure that was a catastrophe for the U.S. and its public diplomacy.

ment Dissent Channel is basically a fraud. As she states, "The mechanism does more to pacify than empower dissenters."

Dissent as Steam Valve

Gurman cites a group of reformers during the 1980s, known as "the Sages," who declared that the channel was "merely a management tool for letting the system vent bottled-up pressures...without affording these dissenting voices a real impact on policy."

"The metaphor of a steam valve," Gurman adds, "is apt. The system will allow internal dissenters to let off steam, provided that it doesn't seep out of Foggy Bottom."

I thought that resignation, rather than going through the Dissent Channel, was the most effective way to publicize my dissent and give it an impact—not only within State but, more importantly, throughout the world. Ten years on, I still think that leaving the Foreign Service was the best way to express my dissent in a significant way.

I'd like to close with two thoughts. First, let me express my admiration for former FSO Peter Van Buren, whose blog named for his 2011 book, *We Meant Well: How I Helped Lose the Battle for the Hearts and Minds of the Iraqi People*—documents his struggle with the State Department over his use of the Internet to express his personal opinions. Unlike me, he did not resign from the Service, but instead challenged the department's procedures for dealing with social media. He deserves praise for this.

Second, I would note that deciding how "free" diplomats should be in sharing their personal views on foreign policy questions in cyberspace is a thorny issue (which the must-read blog *DiploPundit* deals with superbly). Though it has legal implications that exceed my competence to evaluate professionally, I think all government employees should be allowed to speak their minds as openly as possible without endangering national security—a term regrettably all too often used as an excuse to shut them up.



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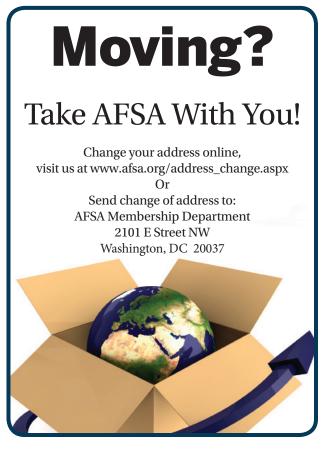
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LOYALTY: THE HALLMARK OF THE PROFESSIONAL DIPLOMAT

Once a final decision is made by our political masters, it is the responsibility of the professional diplomat to execute it—or step aside and let another do so.

BY ROBERT WILLIAM DRY



iplomatic literature—from Machiavelli's advice to his prince to that of contemporary ambassadors recounting their experiences for the benefit of new Foreign Service officers—doesn't spell out codes of conduct for practitioners. But such sources do offer valuable insights into the

attributes of the ideal diplomat.

A common theme in the literature is that the purpose of a diplomat is to pursue, with every fiber of his or her being, "the national interest." Defining that term can be tricky, it is safe to say. But particularly for any diplomat serving at an embassy or consulate (as opposed to those based at international or intergovernmental organizations), veering from the official policy of their countries continues to be the equivalent of professional suicide. (However, I certainly do not mean to suggest that sending an appropriate, constructive Dissent Channel message is a bad idea.)

I offer the following reflections on loyalty in diplomacy,

Robert William Dry, an FSO from 1981 to 2010, serves on AFSA's Professionalism and Ethics Committee. He is an adjunct professor at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs, and at New York University's Wilf Family Department of Politics. which I consider valid for American diplomats of any rank. After all, every member of the Foreign Service takes the same oath, works together toward a common goal and is subject to the same high expectation of trustworthiness.

Loyalty to Country

Kishan Rana, a retired Indian ambassador, is a prolific author of books about diplomacy. His considerable diplomatic experience includes stints in the United States, where he had a chance to observe not only American diplomats, but also Americans and their culture. He now serves on the faculty of DiploFoundation, a European-based institute devoted to teaching diplomatic skills.

Rana includes a short segment on ethics in his book, *The* 21st-Century Ambassador: A Practitioner's Guide (Bloomsbury Academic, 2011). In it, he approvingly quotes Sir Harold Nicolson's classic 1939 work, *Diplomacy*:

"The professional diplomatist is governed by several different, and at times conflicting, loyalties. He owes a loyalty to his own sovereign, government minister and foreign office; he owes loyalty to his own staff; he owes a form of loyalty to the diplomatic body in the capital where he resides; he owes loyalty to the local expatriate community and to its commercial interests; and he owes another form of loyalty to the government to which he is accredited and to the minister with whom he negotiates."

In Rana's view, such ties should be considered the "profes-

mats work to advance issues for the greater good—even if they encroach on their respective countries' sovereignty.

Loyalty to the International System

Although "My country, right or wrong" has been the watchword of the professional diplomat ever since the era of Richelieu, it may no longer have the same resonance in some countries. For instance, while the authors of most of the essays Martin Florian Herz has compiled in *The Modern Ambassador: The Challenge and the Search* (Georgetown University Press, 1983) seem to subscribe to a strict interpretation of loyalty, Hideo Kitahara, a former Japanese ambassador, has this to say:

"Ambassadors [i.e., diplomats] must certainly strive to promote their country's national interests, but should not follow narrowly nationalistic impulses to which people are subject who have not made international relations their career. A good ambassador must be a patriot—that goes without saying; but he must always bear in mind that every country is part of an international system, and that the future of the world depends on at least a tolerably good functioning of that system."

Kitahara arrives at that conclusion after describing how during his own lifetime the world had changed dramatically, requiring diplomacy to adapt. For that reason, he identifies the key attribute of an ambassador as "broadmindedness," which he defines as the ability to appreciate cultural diversity and to use it to suggest effective approaches for attaining diplomatic objectives.

The issue of loyalty to one's own values can be particularly challenging for diplomats.

sional obligations" of any diplomat, which do not rise to the level of loyalties. Still, he acknowledges, ambiguity about these differences can arise when a diplomat works for an epistemic community like the United Nations or other multilateral and intergovernmental bodies—that is, a transnational network of knowledge-based experts who help decision-makers define the problems they face, identify various policy solutions and assess the policy outcomes.

He cites the cases of national diplomats working to promote the European Union or negotiating binding, multilateral environmental agreements. In such situations, he notes, diploIn other words, Kitahara is of the school that sees modern ambassadors as being part of the policymaking process, not merely executing directives.

Loyalty to the Sovereign

Many of the essays in *The Modern Ambassador* discuss the perennial question of the loyalty of diplomats to their own governments. This has been a large issue in the United States from its earliest days. Politicians often look askance at our diplomatic corps, somehow deeming Foreign Service personnel "unpatriotic" when they advise new administrations about

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles asked Foreign Service personnel to exercise not merely loyalty to the new administration, but "positive loyalty."

how foreign governments might react to U.S. positions.

In my own A-100 course, back in 1981, I remember a White House political appointee lecturing us on this very issue. He said something like, "You Foreign Service people are great at telling us what another country thinks about our policies, but you are terrible at selling our policies abroad."

In his foreword to *The Modern Ambassador*, Dean Krogh of the Georgetown School of Foreign Service observes: "New administrations frequently distrust the professionals in foreign affairs whom they have inherited to carry forward the new policies that they wish to institute." By way of example, Krogh mentions that Secretary of State John Foster Dulles asked Foreign Service personnel to exercise not merely loyalty to the new administration, but "positive loyalty."

Krogh adds: "It is natural that every new government should seek, among the professionals it inherits and among people outside, individuals who it believes will be particularly attuned to the new policy approaches and with whom it thus feels especially comfortable." But he contrasts this with the situation found in many other foreign ministries: "While most other countries have found their bureaucracies quite adaptable, in the United States it usually takes a long time before incoming administrations discover that most professionals do not wear ideological blinders."

A forceful and articulate advocate for a professional Foreign Service with fewer high-ranking political-appointee ambassadors, Ambassador Malcolm Toon also contributed an essay to *The Modern Ambassador*. In it, he, too, challenges the claim that political appointees are more reliable implementers of policy than Foreign Service professionals.

Toon argues that when the State Department appears to work at cross purposes with the White House, it is not an attempt to frustrate the latter's policies. Rather, "A Foreign Service officer has an intellectual obligation to fight within the inner councils of government for policies he believes to be right, even if his recommendations go counter to the administration's views."

But once the president makes a policy decision, Toon avers, "all Foreign Service officers must comply. If they feel they can't, they must resign. In my experience, noncompliance with settled administration policy is rare."

He then hammers this point home: "The claim that politicos are more reliable than professionals is not only self-serving. It is unfair, unfounded in fact and an insult to the Foreign Service. The career Foreign Service is professionally committed to president and country."

Loyalty to Oneself

The issue of loyalty to one's own values can be particularly challenging for diplomats. Some individuals may rationalize that if their country asks them to do something, their job is to do it—no questions asked. But for others, it can be simply impossible to reconcile their own views with those of the state. Humans have consciences; states do not.

Mindful of this balancing act, AFSA recognizes "constructive dissent" by FSOs through four annual awards. In addition, the State Department offers a Dissent Channel, to which officers occasionally resort to generate greater scrutiny of policy issues. This mechanism not only gives a voice to those seeking high-level review of their individual perspectives, but protects them from retribution for doing so.

However, if such a review fails to budge the system from its previous position, as often happens, the dissenter (a most pejorative term, it seems to me) is left with only two options: accepting the policy as is, or leaving the position that would require implementation of the policy.

Three Foreign Service officers who used the Dissent Channel to oppose the 2003 invasion of Iraq later resigned from the Service. (All three have contributed articles to this issue of the *Journal*.) One of them, John Brady Kiesling, sent his letter of resignation, addressed to then-Secretary of State Colin Powell, to the *New York Times*. In it, he argued he had a duty to dissent.

Reflecting on that decision in *Diplomacy Lessons: Realism* for an Unloved Superpower (Potomac Books, 2007), Kiesling quotes from his letter: "The policies we are now asked to advance are incompatible not only with American values, but also American interests." He added that he was "resigning

The purpose of a diplomat is to pursue, with every fiber of his or her being, "the national interest."

because I have tried and failed to reconcile my conscience with my ability to represent the current U.S. administration."

To Thine Own Self Be True

In *Positive Diplomacy* (St. Martin's Press, 1997), a former British diplomat, Sir Peter Marshall, offers useful advice for all aspiring diplomats. It is worth quoting the passage at length:

"Polonius is not generally regarded as the hero of Shakespeare's 'Hamlet.' But the 'few precepts' which he offered to his departing son Laertes bear examination. Their peroration is comprehensive: 'This above all, to thine own self be true, and it must follow, as the night the day, thou canst not then be false to any man.' There is no better watchword for a diplomat. Being true to one's self is the guarantee of integrity which validates and enhances one's powers of advocacy. It is the characteristic which in the end carries most weight."

Marshall continues: "Earlier in these lectures I referred to the tendency of experts on diplomacy to draw up long and narcissistic lists of the essential qualities of diplomats. These lists can be usefully pruned. But there is one quality which cannot be omitted: integrity. It has been rightly said that there is no greater diplomatic asset available to a government than the 'word of an honest man' (or woman).

"Word' does not signify simply the utterances of the speaker. It also includes the character and commitment which lie behind them. The whole is greater than the sum of the parts. 'Word' expresses the great sum of human aspiration and effort. In our profession it is harnessed to the world's greatest task: building a just, prosperous and sustainable peace."

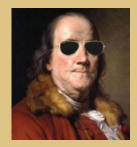
The Diplomat's Dilemma

During my Foreign Service career, I never saw a colleague take an action or argue a point to a foreign government that was out of line with administration policy. But time and again I have witnessed Foreign Service personnel challenge policies as they are being formulated in the corridors of Washington, either via cables or secure phone lines. I cannot help but consider such acts to be signs of a healthy, indeed vibrant, national diplomatic institution. Those of us in the Foreign Service will be well advised to bear in mind that the view from the field and the view back at headquarters are often sharply different, as are the priorities at each end. Indeed, the diplomat's dilemma is that no matter how well he or she knows the host country and what policies make sense in that environment, the same is not necessarily true for what is going on back in Washington.

For that reason (among others), as Malcolm Toon rightly points out, once a final decision is made by our political masters, it is the responsibility of the professional diplomat to execute it—or step aside and let another do so.

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FEATURE FS HERITAGE

LUCILE ATCHERSON CURTIS: THE FIRST FEMALE U.S. DIPLOMAT

In 1922, the first female permitted to take the Foreign Service exam passed with the third-highest score that year. But it was only the first of many hurdles she faced.

BY MOLLY M. WOOD



s late as 1924, State Department officials charged with recruiting, examining and evaluating applicants to the U.S. Foreign Service remained convinced that women were "not fitted to discharge the exacting and peculiar duties of a Foreign Service officer." While the State Department had, for several

decades, employed women in clerical positions "with great success," its leadership had nonetheless concluded that they were unsuited for professional diplomatic or consular work.

After the passage of the 19th Amendment granting women the right to vote in 1920, however, women's groups began lobbying actively in Washington for greater access to government positions. On a case-by-case basis, State Department officials allowed a small number of women to take the Foreign Service examination.

Lucile Atcherson was the first to pass both the written and oral exams. On Dec. 5, 1922, the U.S. Senate confirmed her appointment, and she was assigned to the State Department's Latin American Division in Washington, D.C.

Early Life, Education and Woman Suffrage

Atcherson was born in Columbus, Ohio, on Oct. 11, 1894. She attended the prestigious Columbus School for Girls and finished her course of study at the age of 14. One of the headmistresses at the Columbus School suggested that she attend Smith College. It was expensive for the family, and a long way from home, but her parents accepted the recommendation.

Thinking back on those years, Atcherson, who was considerably younger than most of the other students, recalled being homesick much of the time, but also felt that the experience at Smith "opened, in a new way," the world to her. There she studied economics, French, German, Latin, political science and sociology, among other subjects.

After graduating in 1913, at age 19, she returned to her family home in Columbus, admitting, "I didn't know what in the world I was going to do." Initially she considered nursing, but her father insisted that she was still too young to attend nursing school.

Then, shortly after her return to Columbus, she received a call from the wife of an Oberlin College professor, Mrs. Albert S. Wolfe. Wolfe was working with other local women for woman suffrage, and had co-founded the Franklin County (Ohio) Woman Suffrage Organization.

The established women of the Franklin County organization were on the lookout for younger women to engage in their work. Seeing a notice in the newspaper about Atcherson's recent graduation from Smith College, they surmised that she might be looking for something to do. Atcherson had been exposed to the woman suffrage movement while at Smith, though she had not been especially active. However, she agreed to volunteer at the Suffrage Association in Columbus in the summer of 1913.

Some of the contacts she made there would aid her immensely when she began lobbying for a Foreign Service appointment in the early 1920s. She later observed of her suffrage work that she had appreciated being in all "kinds of circles where there are all kinds of women." Like so many of her peers, Atcherson benefitted from extensive woman-towoman networking.



Lucile Atcherson, the first female FSO, December 1922.

War in Europe

Frederick W. Atcherson tolerated his daughter's work for the suffrage organization, up to a point. But when he concluded that she was becoming too involved, he decided to distract her by arranging a five-month European tour for Atcherson and her mother, even though it was a financial strain for the family. Her father's strategy backfired, however. Not only

Molly M. Wood is a professor of history at Wittenberg University in Springfield, Ohio, and a past president of the Ohio Academy of History. Her many articles about the history of the U.S. Foreign Service include "Diplomacy and Gossip: Information-Gathering in the U.S. Foreign Service, 1900-1940," which will be published in the forthcoming book, When Private Talk Goes Public: Gossip in United States History; and "Commanding Beauty' and 'Gentle Charm': American Women and Gender in the Early Twentieth Century Foreign Service" (Diplomatic History, June 2007). Her article in the June 2005 issue of the Journal of Women's History, "Diplomatic Wives: The Politics of Domesticity and 'the Social Game' in the U.S. Foreign Service, 1905-1941," was reprinted in 2007 in Ten Best American History Essays. She is currently completing a book manuscript, The Women and Men of the U.S. Foreign Service, 1890-1940: A Social and Cultural History of Diplomatic Representation.

This article is based on the recently opened Lucile Atcherson Curtis Papers at The Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America in the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University. A Schlesinger Library Research Grant funded her initial research in this collection, and she wishes to acknowledge the Schlesinger Library for permission to quote from those papers.

Working with officers at the U.S. consulate in Paris, Atcherson wondered: "What are these young men doing that I couldn't do?"

did she resume her work with the Franklin County Suffrage Association in the spring of 1914, this time as a paid employee and organizer, but she began looking for another opportunity to leave home to travel overseas.

After World War I broke out, American women began spearheading ever-growing numbers of relief organizations for European refugees. Atcherson saw in this work a way to return to Europe, and to do something useful. Through a connection with the rector of a local church, she made contact with Anne Morgan, daughter of financier J.P. Morgan, and others who had formed the American Fund for French Wounded, headquartered in New York City.

Both Atcherson and her mother became involved with AFFW duties in Columbus, and Atcherson eventually traveled to New York to meet Morgan. In 1917, Morgan sent her to France, covering all her expenses, to take on additional responsibilities near the war zone.

There Atcherson worked for a year with Morgan and others at the village of Blérancourt, where the AFFW had established an outpost for civilian and refugee relief. She was in charge of organizing the donations coming from the United States and then readying them for redistribution to the locals and refugees who streamed into the area.

After a year at Blérancourt, Anne Morgan split from the AFFW to form a new organization, the American Committee for a Devastated France. Atcherson chose to go with Morgan to the new organization, and Morgan sent her to the ACDF Paris Depot, where she worked more directly with organizing the many volunteers who came through Paris to work. "I dealt with people," she later recalled. "I got to love that job; it was really fascinating. I saw all the new workers."

Atcherson thrived on her new level of responsibility. "Being in charge of one branch of the organization," she wrote to her mother, "had made me want to make good more than ever, and I am trying just as hard as I can." By 1921, however, the reconstruction work was starting to wind down for the American women, and it had become monotonous for Atcherson. The ACDF would continue working in France until 1923; but by 1921, she had become restless again, wondering what to do next. She resigned from the ACDF in May 1921, and sailed for home.

Joining the Foreign Service

The 19th Amendment had been ratified in 1920, so there was no suffrage job waiting for Atcherson back in Columbus. She later remarked of this time in her life: "I knew I was going to want a job one of these days, and what would I ever find, in the first place, that was as exciting as the Nineteenth Amendment had been. ... I was looking for a place to land."

Atcherson had been giving her future much thought, so when she returned to the United States, she went directly to Washington, D.C., to look up some of the men she had met and worked with while in Paris, including some young officers at the American consulate. They had socialized as part of the American wartime expatriate community, and often worked together on issues concerning war relief and recovery. (Atcherson apparently lent her typewriter for their use since it was in better shape than the one at the consulate.) She wondered, "What are these young men doing that I couldn't do?"

In the meantime, rumors had begun circulating that the newly appointed American ambassador to Paris, fellow Ohioan Myron Herrick, was going to ask Atcherson to be his private secretary, or that he would personally arrange for her to be appointed to the American embassy in Paris. Atcherson later insisted that "I was never going to be anybody's private secretary."

Instead, she pursued her contacts at the State Department, calling on several of her friends from Paris, including Tracy Lay and DeWitt Poole, to see what they might think about her "doing the kind of job they were doing." Lay explained the Foreign Service examination process to her and told her that she would have to study international law, world history and two languages to pass the tests. He recommended some books for her to use to study and advised her to go to a university history department for further resources and instruction.

While in Washington, she also went to see some of her former contacts from her suffrage work, including the influential Ohio native and activist Harriet Taylor Upton. Upton was acting as an adviser to President Warren G. Harding on matters relating to women, now recognized as a potentially powerful new voting bloc.

When Atcherson told her about the Foreign Service, an incredulous Upton asked: "You said there's never been a woman in that Service?" Atcherson replied: "No, there's never been one." Upton said: "Oh, that's not a bad idea." Upton indicated that she would support Atcherson's efforts to find out more about the process of appointment and would speak with the president about it.

Atcherson, meanwhile, had officially contacted the State Department, and received permission to take the 1922 Foreign Service exam. She tried to enroll in a well-known "cram course" for applicants in the Washington area. The instructor initially refused to enroll a woman in his class, but agreed to take her on as a private student.

While Atcherson prepared for the rigorous exam, others lobbied on her behalf. Letters poured in to the White House and to Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes from women's groups all over the country. Both Harding and Hughes, attuned to these appeals, generally conceded that women should be considered eligible for the Service, but Atcherson would have to show herself capable of passing the examination in order to be considered for appointment.

When she passed—with the third-highest score that year the U.S. Senate moved quickly to confirm her appointment as a Foreign Service officer, Class VIII. An eager Atcherson immediately traveled to Washington, D.C., to take up the appointment. She later characterized her reception by officials at the State Department: "They were suave, courtly, courteous, pleasant and agreeable, but absolutely devastated that this woman had turned up so fast."

Atcherson went to work in the Division of Latin American Affairs, where she did research for the head of the division, Dana Munro, who was writing a book on Central America. When her work for Munro ended, more time passed with no word of an assignment to the field, and she began to feel adrift, consigned to the "off jobs" while languishing in the halls of the State Department instead of working at an overseas mission. Others who had passed the 1922 exams were receiving their postings to the field, and by early 1924, Atcherson was frustrated enough to decide that if the department refused to assign her overseas, she "wasn't going to wait forever." She would resign.

Switzerland

But she did not want to give up after making it this far. She encouraged women's groups and others to continue to pressure the administration on her behalf, and took her case for the value of women diplomats to the public during numerous speaking engagements. Women, she explained, "could do much to cement international friendship," especially in European capitals such as Paris, "where so many American women are congregated for the By early 1924, Atcherson was frustrated enough to decide that if the department refused to assign her overseas, she "wasn't going to wait forever."

purposes of study, for art, music and so on."

As an example she cited the "twelve hundred women [who] visit Paris each year," whose problems "could be much better handled by a woman at the embassy." For instance, she said, "Very frequently, women present themselves at the embassy door with problems for whose solution they wish the advice of another woman. They don't want to tell their troubles to a man, however sympathetic and capable he may be." She believed it should be "natural" that female diplomats would "assist in collecting, writing up and transmitting to the authorities in Washington" information about legislation "concerning the welfare of women and children" in foreign countries.

Still, she waited for an overseas assignment. When asked later about this difficult time, Atcherson was both diplomatic and reflective about her male colleagues. "They were perhaps a little short-sighted," she acknowledged; yet, "these were not unkind, ungenerous men." Instead, she concluded, "they lacked imagination about where women could be." Finally, the newly formed Foreign Service Personnel Board settled on an appointment for Atcherson, to Bern, Switzerland, where officials concluded that "women are most active outside the home" and therefore "the [female] official might attract no particular notice."

That appointment was made, however, over the strenuous objections of the American minister, career diplomat Hugh Gibson. Gibson worried about how a woman would handle the "personal contact" work of "diplomatic protocol" and the work that depended on "what they do when out of the office" rather than "what they do at their desks." How, he wondered, would Atcherson compensate for being excluded from "the club life of [male] secretaries," where "friendships are made over wine and cigars"?

Joseph Grew, chief of the Foreign Service Personnel Board, tried to reassure his friend and colleague that Atcherson would undoubtedly "settle into her niche with the least possible splash, and that she will probably prove to be a quiet, dignified and hard-working member of your staff." She encouraged women's groups and others to continue to pressure the administration on her behalf, and took her case for the value of women diplomats to the public.

Grew also tried to prepare Atcherson for the assignment. When he met with her before she left Washington, he advised her to take a chaperone with her to Bern. But Atcherson demurred: "I lived in France, most of the time in the wicked city of Paris, four-and-onehalf years by myself. I didn't have a chaperone there. ... You know I worked up at the front in France. I really think I can protect myself from the Swiss."

Atcherson arrived in Bern in the summer of 1925 and was welcomed at her new post. "The Swiss were very kind to me," she recalled. "They never made me feel [like] an outcast. ... They treated me just like any other colleague." Her relationship with Gibson was cordial and professional, but mostly distant. During much of her assignment in Bern, the minister was in Geneva attending a League of Nations disarmament conference.

When Gibson also required First Secretary Alan Winslow to accompany him to Geneva, Atcherson was left in charge of the legation. She was nervous at first, but was determined that she would "do my best not to disturb them." She had learned that a previous secretary, who had been left in charge when both Winslow and Gibson were away, had "called them for instructions and advice all the time and that they were bothered almost to death." Atcherson was determined to make a better impression.

She developed more confidence once she observed that "the people here seemed extremely amused that I am left in charge, and rather glad, too, which I think is nice of them." She also believed that the State Department's willingness to "leave a woman in charge of its affairs in Switzerland, even if only for a few weeks," only "helps to prove my own point that a woman can do diplomatic work; and moreover, it proves that I can do it."

Meanwhile, Atcherson received the news that a second woman, Pattie Field, had passed the 1925 Foreign Service examination, "with flying colors." She seemed relieved that another woman would be entering the Service. "It was discouraging to think that after so much effort to open the door for women in a new field, none had proved herself qualified to enter," she wrote to her family. "I feel that now the task is almost done; a little field work, and it will be really over; for with another woman, I think the department is really committed to equality of opportunity for women as a policy."

Time passed pleasantly in Bern, a quiet post, and Atcherson enjoyed a full social life and satisfactory working conditions. Except for occasional busy periods when everyone else was away, Atcherson spent much of her time reading French and German newspapers, reporting on local political conditions, dealing with regular passport work and taking care of routine legation correspondence.

Her duties also included, as they did for any Foreign Service officer, the "social work" associated with diplomatic representation: the teas, golf outings, dinners and parties, as well as calls on and from colleagues at other legations, the local elite and the American expatriate community. In the midst of this social whirl, Atcherson met Dr. George Morris Curtis, a young surgeon from Chicago doing a two-year postgraduate medical tour of Europe to observe the latest surgical techniques. By early 1927, they were making plans for the future.

Resignation and Marriage

By this time Atcherson had become increasingly frustrated because the Personnel Board repeatedly passed her over for promotion. In 1927 the board transferred her to the U.S. legation in Panama City. By the time she sailed for Panama, Atcherson and Curtis had decided to marry, and she made plans for her resignation and return to the United States. She later admitted that she would have liked to remain in the diplomatic service, but there was no way to reconcile marriage to Curtis, a surgeon in Chicago, with life abroad in the Foreign Service.

Atcherson was eager to start her new life with Curtis, but she was also determined to delay her resignation until the department announced the next round of promotions. So she bided her time in Panama for a few months. She wanted to earn the promotion she believed she deserved, and to show that it was possible for a woman to succeed in the Foreign Service.

Shortly after receiving the disappointing news that the Personnel Board had once again failed to recommend her for promotion, however, she submitted her resignation to the State Department on Sept. 19, 1927. Several weeks later, she announced her engagement to Curtis. They were married on Jan. 16, 1928.

While raising two daughters, Lucile Atcherson Curtis engaged in numerous philanthropic activities. The State Department honored her for her achievements in 1978, eight years before she died in Columbus, Ohio, on May 9, 1986, at the age of 91.

AFSA NEWS THE OFFICIAL RECORD OF THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

Presenting the 2013 AFSA Merit Award Winners

BY LORI DEC, SCHOLARSHIP DIRECTOR



On May 3, local Academic Merit Award winners jump for joy after receiving their Merit Award certificates during a ceremony at AFSA. (L to R) Elisabeth Merten, Calder Hannan, David Ernyey, Garrett Healy, Lee-Ellen Myles, Mirelle "Mimi" Verdonk, Aubrey Wahl and David Banks.

AFSA is proud to announce the 21 Foreign Service high school seniors who were selected as the winners of the 2013 AFSA Merit Awards Competition. These onetime-only awards, totaling \$41,500, were conferred on Washington, D.C.-area winners on May 3. AFSA congratulates these students for their academic and artistic achievements.

Winners receive \$2,000 awards and Honorable Mention winners receive \$1,000 awards. The best essay award winner and the community service award winner each receive \$750. 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, 67 students competed for the 16 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. Among the Academic Merit Award applicants, Brett Fouss was selected as best essay winner, and Elisabeth Merten was selected as community service winner.

Sixteen students submitted art merit applications under one of the following categories: visual arts, musical arts, performing arts or creative writing. Art applicants were judged on their art submissions. two letters of recommendation and an essay. Pallas Riedler was selected as the Art Merit Award winner for her musical arts (piano) submissions. Alicia De Jong and Meredith Hilton were selected as the Art Merit Honorable Mention Award winners for their visual art submissions and creative writing submission, respectivelv.

Nine academic merit named scholarships have been established to date. These awards were bestowed on the highestscoring students: Calder Hannan received the John

CALENDAR

7/4/2013 Independence Day: AFSA Offices Closed

7/10/2013 12:00 - 2:00 PM AFSA Governing Board Meeting

7/11/2013 2:00 - 3:30 PM AFSA Book Notes: "50 Years in USAID"

7/15/2013 New AFSA Governing Board Assumes Office

7/24/2013 2:00 - 3:30 PM Benefits Seminar: Divorce in the Foreign Service

> 8/7/2013 12:00 - 2:00 PM AFSA Governing Board Meeting

8/28/2013 3:00 - 4:30 PM Annual Adair Memorial Lecture: Ambassador John Campbell

and Priscilla Becker Family Award; Meredith Hilton and Lee-Ellen Myles received the Carefirst BlueCross BlueShield Awards; Dorothy Jones and Pallas Riedler Awards continued on page 55 STATE VP VOICE | BY DANIEL HIRSCH

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

On Becoming Foreign Service Policymakers

Sometime in the past two years AFSA added a disclaimer to the VP columns, stating that the views described therein were solely those of the writer. I think it fair to end my term by taking advantage of that disclaimer to voice my own opinion on an issue other AFSA Governing Board members have addressed differently.

In my opinion, the biggest impediment to a greater foreign policy leadership role for the Foreign Service is not competition from the Civil Service or political appointees, but the shortage of FS members qualified to make policy, rather than expertly carry it out.

Our Values

The values advanced by our meritocracy do not produce enough FS members with the skill sets to recognize the larger issues for our country, define and shape those issues as "requirements" and identify—in an integrated interagency context-the agents, processes and resources necessary to meet those requirements. We must be as knowledgeable about our government's policymaking structure as we are about foreign affairs, the issue of the day or the cultural fine points of our country of assignment.

When there are not enough FS members to do those things, someone else has to do them. That will either be a Civil Service member who has developed a deep understanding of the organization or government through years of Washington service, or it will be an appointee who has the trust, for whatever reason, of the highest-level officials. It may be shortsighted of the organization to put its own need for operational effectiveness ahead of our need to develop qualifications, but it is neither surprising nor conspiratorial. FS members are as much to blame as any other factor.

Outside Influences

Certainly, outside influences have played their roles. Years of suboptimal hiring rates did not allow a training float, while resource issues resulted in just-in-time training over employee development. Wartime politics, partisan politics and the greater familiarity of some members of Congress with the military shifted some roles. Different administrations emphasized different planning tools, which affected the way some FS members view planning in general. And for the past decade, the needs of Afghanistan, Iraq and Pakistan have forced many upper and upper-mid-level FS members to focus on issues other than their own professional development.

Assignment Process

Career development officers are frequently unable to

provide real developmental counseling, while the bureau assignment process focuses primarily on putting people into positions for which they are already fully qualified. Through a combination of understaffing, underfunding and failure to recognize the need to develop leadership skills as a key part of the FS member skillset, the Foreign Service (including some in positions with the authority to ameliorate the issues) has lagged in its collective responsibility to develop future leaders.

Realistically, our own habits have worsened the problem. Many of us bid on positions where we will further refine skills we already possess, and view training or a Washington assignment as a detour rather than a stepping stone. We pride ourselves on the depth, rather than the breadth, of our subject-matter expertise. We choose posts based on personal preference, family or financial needs, with little thought to whether they will teach us the skills we will need to climb the ladder and assume leadership roles.

Significant Strides

The good news is that things have begun to change. With AFSA's support, the department has made significant strides in offering training in leadership, supervision and personnel development. The promotion precepts negotiated with AFSA have begun to reward the necessary skill sets. But change will be slow, as it always is.

AFSA NEWS

Each evaluation season. I am amazed by the number of FS employees who complain about taking time out of their important work to evaluate the performance of their subordinates. I am also dismayed by the number of courses or conferences canceled by the department due to insufficient enrollmenteither because employees don't want to attend, or their posts/supervisors/bureaus can't afford to give them the time to learn something new. If we don't think about our own professional development, or that of our most talented subordinates, who will? So who is really to blame if lacking enough FS members with the skill sets needed to formulate policy—our agency fills vacancies with others who possess those skills?

Honor to Serve

It has been an honor and a privilege serving the Foreign Service for the past 30 years, and as your AFSA State vice president for the past four years. It is my most fervent hope that the next AFSA Governing Board will focus, as I have tried to do, on ways to make FS members better supervisors, managers, planners and leaders. We have the other skills covered.





RETIREE VP VOICE | BY MEG GILROY

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

Déjà Vu All Over Again

To be perfectly honest, when I retired at the end of 2009, service on the AFSA Governing Board was not among the top 10 things to be accomplished in the coming years. Reflecting on my tenure, first as an appointed, and later as an elected member of the Governing Board, I realize how rich and rewarding—and frustrating—the past three years have been.

It has been an honor to work with my Foreign Service colleagues on the board, the Professionalism and Ethics Committee, and AFSA's professional staff. I have learned a great deal about how helpful AFSA can be when a retiree or grieving spouse of a retiree needs help with navigating the department's RNet or recorded telephone menus.

While I did not have the opportunity to travel during my tenure as retiree VP, I did get to know many retired AFSA members virtually particularly those who offer their time and considerable energies to organizing regional foreign affairs groups and promoting the Foreign Service far outside the Beltway.

My moments of frustration have come from an overwhelming sense of "déjà vu all over again." Reading the farewell columns of my distinguished predecessors, Bob Houdek and Bill Farrand (and, I suspect, the distinguished predecessors of those fine gentlemen), I see we have been addressing the same issues over and over for the past few years.

Part of this is due to human nature: we each hear what we want to hear; we believe that people will act in certain ways; and find it hard to believe or even accept when they say or do something that we did not expect.

Full Coverage of AFSA's Dissent and Performance Awards Will Appear in the September Issue of The Foreign Service Journal

Results of AFSA's 2013-2015 Governing Board Election

The AFSA Committee on Elections is pleased to announce the results of the 2013-2015 AFSA Governing Board election.

Board Officer Positions

President: Robert Silverman Treasurer: Charles A. Ford Secretary: Robert F. Ritchie Retiree Vice President: Lawrence Cohen State Vice President: Matthew Asada USAID Vice President: Sharon Wayne FCS Vice President: Steve Morrison FAS Vice President: David Mergen

Board Constituency Representatives

Retiree Representatives: Marshall Adair, Tex Harris, David Greenlee, Edward Marks

State Representatives: Clayton Bond, Everett "Alex" Copher, Todd Crawford, Chuck Fee, Ken Kero-Mentz, Elise Mellinger, Nancy Rios-Brooks, Sue Saarnio, Michael D. Thomas, Lillian Wahl-Tuco, David Zwach

USAID Representatives: Jason Singer, Second Rep to be determined

FCS Representative: Barbara Lapini

FAS Representative: Rachel Nelson

IBB Representative: Andre de Nesnera

APHIS Representative: No eligible write-ins. The new Governing Board will appoint an eligible APHIS Representative.

Congratulations to all those who were elected, and to those who demonstrated their dedication to AFSA by declaring as candidates.

AFSA and Santa Fe Retirees Co-Sponsor Symposium

BY PATRICIA KUSHLIS, PRESIDENT, SANTA FE WORLD AFFAIRS FORUM

On April 8 and 9, the Santa Fe World Affairs Forum's annual symposium explored "Living in Challenging Times: The U.S. and East Asia" at St. John's College in Santa Fe, N. M.

Two years ago, the Obama administration announced a "pivot" or repositioning of military forces and diplomatic resources from the Middle East to Asia. This represented a shift of emphasis from a troubled region that has consumed almost all of America's attention for the past decade, to the most economically dynamic region in the world.

Of course, the Middle East will continue to consume American interest and resources for a variety of reasons for some time to come, but U.S. neglect of the Far East, and especially in light of China's phenomenal rise, has begun to change.

This year's sold-out event, opened by St. John's College President Michael Peters and Forum President Patricia Kushlis, began with an overview of the region by William Itoh, a former U.S. ambassador to Thailand. This was followed by a review of U.S.-North Asian relations presented by Chris Nelson, vice president of Samuels International and author of the widely read *Nelson Report* blog.

Professor Suisheng Zhao,



University of New Mexico scholars (L to R) Joseph Giannoto, Nicholas Padilla and Noelle Jeffrey attend the Santa Fe World Affairs Forum's symposium, courtesy of support from AFSA.

director of the Center for U.S.-China Cooperation, part of the Josef Korbel School at the University of Denver, addressed the topic, "A Rising China Seeking Its Rightful Place," analyzing the intense debate going on within Chinese foreign policy circles today.

Dennis Blasko, author of "The Chinese Army Today: Tradition and Transformation for the 21st Century," (Routledge, 2005), then described the role of, and funding for, the People's Liberation Army. The symposium concluded with a "last thoughts" overview by the speakers.

Now nearly a decade old, SFWAF is dedicated to exploring current foreign policy issues affecting the U.S. through small-group, expert-led sessions for members. Its annual symposium is open to anyone interested in foreign affairs.

In addition to AFSA members, the nonprofit organization is comprised of former Fulbright scholars and professors, Peace Corps Volunteers, retired military personnel, university professors and business people, as well as other professionals concerned about our country's direction, activities and presence abroad.

For the past two years, the Forum's programs and symposia have been held at St. John's College in Santa Fe, N. M.

This year SFWAF expanded its number of cosponsoring and partner organizations for the symposium, reaching beyond New Mexico. We are most grateful to AFSA for becoming a cosponsor for the first time helping to cover transportation for one speaker, and underwriting the attendance of three University of New Mexico students majoring in economics or international studies.

For additional information on the Santa Fe World Affairs Forum and its programs, please visit us at www.sfwaf. org or e-mail waforum@ gmail.com.

FSYF Family Welcome Back Picnic

On Sunday, Sept. 15, at 4 p.m. at Nottaway Park, Vienna, Va. The Foreign Service Youth Foundation's picnic honors FS families who are returning from overseas. Make new friends,

connect with old friends and welcome home your colleagues. ALL U.S. FS families are welcome. RSVP to fsyf@fsyf.org before Sept. 9.

BOOK NOTES PROGRAM

"Master Class: Living Longer, Stronger and Happier"

BY MATTHEW SUMRAK, ASSOCIATE COORDINATOR FOR RETIREES

On May 22, the AFSA Book Notes Program welcomed author Peter Spiers and his new book, "Master Class: Living Longer, Stronger and Happier." Spiers is a senior vice president at Road Scholar, a Boston-based nonprofit organization dedicated to educational travel. AFSA has offered Road Scholar programs since 1996.

His father, Ronald Spiers, served as ambassador to Turkey, Pakistan and the Bahamas. Spending his childhood in the Foreign Service and the work of his parents helped to shape and influence his life, Spiers told the large audience gathered at AFSA.

So what is the secret to living longer, stronger, and happier? According to Spiers, the secret is having an active lifestyle that blends moving, thinking, socializing and creating. Through inspirational stories from active seniors. supported by the latest research in the fields of psychology and neuroscience, "Master Class" shows how to build an enriching lifestyle on a foundation of favorite activities. Spiers provides easy-to-follow charts that allow the reader to break out of their daily routines by filling the gaps with a selection from 25 "master activities."



(L to R) AFSA FCS VP Keith Curtis, author Peter Spiers and AFSA Executive Director Ian Houston at Book Notes.

such as learning a musical instrument, playing tennis or volunteering.

Road Scholar participants follow many of Spiers' suggestions for an enriched lifestyle, and are active in communities throughout the U.S. and more than 150 countries worldwide. They offer over 6,500 programs, with activity levels ranging from easy to challenging.

Questions and comments from the audience reflected their excitement and motivation to put Spiers words into action. He ended his presentation with one last question for the audience, "When was the last time you tried something new for the first time?"

To view the event online, please see www.afsa.org/ AFSAVideos.aspx. For more on Road Scholar programs and educational adventures see www.roadscholar.org.

The next Book Notes Program will present "50 Years in USAID" on July 11, 2 to 3:30 P.M. at AFSA. RSVP events@afsa.org.

AFSA Proudly Announces the Recipients of the 2013 AFSA Awards

The Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy Award

Ambassador George W. Landau

CONSTRUCTIVE DISSENT

The William R. Rivkin Award

Theodore Lyng

The W. Averell Harriman Award

James T. Rider

EXEMPLARY PERFORMANCE

The Avis Bohlen Award Leah Evans, Embassy Kyiv

The Nelson B. Delavan Award

Mikkela Thompson, Embassy Dhaka Runner up:

Karen Landherr, Embassy Khartoum

The M. Juanita Guess Award

Elizabeth Jenkins, Embassy Caracas

and

Jessica McVay, Embassy Khartoum

AFSA Merit Award Winners

1. David Banks – son of Jared Banks (State) and Laura Banks; graduated from Colonel Zadok Magruder High School, Rockville, Md.; attending Brigham Young University, majoring in pre-medicine. Recognized as the Donald S. Memorial and Maria Giuseppa Spigler Scholar.

2. Jacob Bills – son of Thomas Bills (State) and Rebecca Bills; graduated from Jakarta International School, Jakarta, Indonesia; attending Brigham Young University, majoring in international relations.

3. Scott Connuck – son of Bruce Connuck (State) and Shirley Connuck; graduated from George Mason High School, Falls Church, Va.; attending the University of Virginia, majoring in political science and environmental policy.

4. David Ernyey – son of Alexander Ernyey and Helen Lovejoy (State); graduated from George C. Marshall High School in Falls Church, Va.; attending The College of William and Mary, majoring in anthropology and history.

5. Brett Fouss – son of Jamie Fouss (State) and Esmeeh Fouss; graduated from the American International School of Dhaka, Bangledesh; attending Tufts University, majoring in international relations. Recognized as the Joanna and Robert Martin Scholar and AFSA's "Best Essay Award" winner for "Some Nails, Some Tape." See page 56.

6. Phoebe Galt – daughter of Jennifer Galt (State) and Frederick Galt ; graduated from the American International School of Guangzhou, China; attending The College of William and Mary, major undeclared.

7. Calder Hannan – son of Robert Hannan Jr. (State) and Lorrie Clark-Hannan; graduated from George Mason High School, Falls Church, Va.; attending the University of Virginia, majoring in physics and music. Recognized as the John and Priscalla Becker Family Scholar.

8. **Garrett Healy** – son of Kevin Healy and Sarah-Ann Lynch (USAID); graduated from the Winston Churchill High School, Potomac, Md.; attending the University of Chicago, majoring in neuroscience. 9. Natalie Hernandez – daughter of Mauricio Hernandez and Sally Sternal (State); graduated from St. Andrew's School, Nassau, Bahamas; attending the University of Pennsylvania, majoring in international relations. Recognized as the Joanna and Robert Martin Scholar.

10. Meredith Hilton – daughter of Robert Hilton (State) and Olivia Hilton (State); graduated from the National Cathedral School for Girls, Washington, D.C.; attending Columbia University, majoring in physics. Recognized as a Carefirst BlueCross BlueShield Federal Employee Program Scholar and the AFSA Art Merit Honorable Mention award winner for her poem, "Aisha," and short story, "Gaia."

11. Dorothy Jones – daughter of Amb.Stuart Jones (State) and Barbara Jones (State-Civil Service); graduated from Phillips Academy Andover, Mass.; attending Duke University, majoring in chemistry. Recognized as the Turner C. Cameron Memorial Scholar.

12. Elisabeth Merten – daughter of Amb. Kenneth Merten (State) and Susan Merten; graduated from Episcopal High School, Alexandria, Va.; attending the University of Virginia, majoring in public policy. Recognized as the John C. Leary Memorial Scholar and AFSA's Community Service Award winner.

13. Lee-Ellen Myles – daughter of Stanley Myles (State) and Amb. Marianne Myles (State); graduated from Poolesville High School, Poolesville, Md.; attending the University of Maryland, College Park, major undeclared. Recognized as a Carefirst BlueCross BlueShield Federal Employee Program Scholar.

14. Pallas Catenella Riedler – daughter of Tim Riedler (USAID) and Yung Mi Choi; graduated from Stanford University Online High School in Stanford, Calif.; attending Wellesley College, majoring in music and English. Recognized as the Turner C. Cameron Memorial Scholar and the AFSA Art Merit Winner for her piano performances of Chopin's "Revolutionary" Etude and Beethoven's "Pathetique" Sonata.

















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15. Tanya Smith-Sreen – daughter of John Smith-Sreen (USAID) and Poonam Smith-Sreen (USAID); graduated from the International School of Kenya, Nairobi, Kenya; attending American University, majoring in international service.

16. Mireille "Mimi" Verdonk – daughter of Ron Verdonk (FAS) and Sheri Verdonk; graduated from Montgomery Blair High School, Silver Spring, Md.; attending the University of Maryland, College Park, majoring in economics.

Academic Merit Award Honorable Mention Award Winners

Bobby Hollingsworth – son of Louis Robert Hollingsworth III (State) and Kathryn Hollingsworth; graduated from Lake Braddock Secondary School, Burke, Va.; attending Virginia Tech, majoring in chemical engineering.

Shannon Lee Sullivan – daughter of Bruce Sullivan (State) and Kerryn Sullivan (State); graduated from the QSI International School of Chengdu, China; attending Wellesley College, majoring in international relations.

Aubrey Wahl – son of Curt Wahl (State, Civil Service) and Ana Baide (State); graduated from Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School in Bethesda, Md.; attending Yale University, majoring in engineering.

Sally Watts – daughter of Robert Watts (State) and Linda Recht (State); graduated from W.T. Woodson High School in Annandale, Va.; attending The College of William and Mary, majoring in government and environmental policy.

Art Merit Award Winner

Pallas Catenella Riedler – see description under the "AFSA Academic Merit Award Winners" listing.

Art Merit Award Honorable Award Winners

Alicia De Jong – daughter of Albert De Jong (State) and Helene De Jong; graduated from Lyford Cay International School, Nassau, Bahamas; attending Calvin College, majoring in secondary education.

Meredith Hilton – see description under the "AFSA Academic Merit Award Winners" listing.

Best Essay Award Winner

Brett Fouss – see description under the "AFSA Academic Merit Award Winners" listing. Essay on page 56.

Community Service Award Winner

Elisabeth Merten – see description under the "AFSA Academic Merit Award Winners" listing.

Awards

Continued from page 49

received the Turner C. Cameron Memorial Awards; Elisabeth Merten received the John C. Leary Memorial Award; Brett Fouss and Natalie Hernandez received the Joanna and Robert Martin Awards; and David Banks received the Donald S. Memorial and Maria Giuseppa Spigler Award.

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

2013 AFSA Merit Awards: Best Essay Winner

Some Nails, Some Tape

BY BRETT FOUSS

A handful of nails in my mouth, I repeated to myself: "Don't swallow." The last thing that the rickshaw pullers needed was an American kid with a punctured stomach. Carefully, I spat one nail out into my fingers, aligning it in the upper left corner of the tape with one hand while gripping the hammer firmly in the other.

Whack!

The nail sunk halfway into the aluminum casing of the rickshaw with a satisfying thud; I gave it another clean stroke to pound it home. I worked the way the mechanics at the rickshaw garage had taught me: keep your ammunition in your mouth for maximum efficiency, use two fingers to secure the nail and two hammer strokes to drive it in.

My fascination with rickshaws began the moment I stepped out of the Dhaka airport to meet the dizzying armada of traffic, people and dust. Oh, how the colorful painted skeletons of the rickshaws stood out: blurs of

PMA Funds AFSA Scholarship



Ambassador Lange Schermerhorn, AFSA Scholarship Committee chairperson, accepts a \$2,500 check from Public Members Association of the Foreign Service President Dr. Granville Sawyer Jr. AFSA will award the scholarship for the 2013-2014 year to an AFSA member's child enrolled in an undergraduate course of study leading to a career in the Foreign Service.

pink, blue and yellow weaving past potholes and honking horns! I see rickshaw pullers as the bloodstream of Bangladeshi culture, transporting millions around the busy city, allowing it to function. With straining backs and determined rhythm, rickshaw pullers shuttle me home from school, their kind eyes and white smiles concealing their hard work. Without rickshaws, my home would lose the perfect chaos that infects me every time I step into the streets.

Riding home one night, I felt extremely unsafe and vulnerable to the speeding cars that swerved around me. At night, rickshaws become completely invisible. That night, I recognized an instant, yet pivotal improvement to the safety of rickshaw pullers and their patrons.

A week later, three friends and I set out into our community armed with hammers, nails and reflective tape. The rickshaw pullers were extremely eager for us to attach reflectors to their rickshaws. As word spread, a line of twenty soon formed. Working over the course of five trips, we attacked more than 200 rickshaws, my hammer skills becoming more adept with every one.

For me, the Rickshaw Project is service in its truest form. The best service is done in small, specific, yet innovative ways. Like a bird escaping from a cage, the final rickshaw pedaled away, carrying the last piece of evidence of our hard work.

The next morning, the rickshaw-pullers awoke to find no perfect world. I'll never know how many lives our reflectors saved. But every time I see a rickshaw pass by, bearing a reflector that I hammered in, I am reminded why service is so important to me. Maybe in ten years, it will become standard practice to install reflectors on rickshaws. Maybe I did make the rickshaw pullers' jobs a little easier. Maybe I did save a life or two. The possibility, not measurability, of positive change is what drives me. In the end, some nails and some tape can make a huge difference.



Brett Fouss is the son of Jamie Fouss (State) and Esmeeh Fouss. He graduated from the American International School in Dhaka, Bangledesh and will be attending Tufts University, majoring in international relations. He is the Joanna and Robert Martin Scholar and AFSA's Best Essay Award winner.

2013 George F. Kennan Award Winner

BY PERRI GREEN, COORDINATOR FOR SPECIAL AWARDS AND OUTREACH

Each year, AFSA participates in the graduation ceremonies awarding the George F. Kennan Strategic Writing Award at the National War College at Fort Lesley J. McNair in Washington, D.C. Daniel Hirsch, AFSA Governing Board vice president for State, presented this year's award to Christina Higgins at the ceremony on June 7.

Christina, a member of AFSA, joined the Foreign Service in 1999 as a public diplomacy officer. She has served in Angola, France, Senegal and Jerusalem, as well as in several human resources positions in Washington and was the office director for Africa in the Bureau of International Information Programs.

Christina summed up her experience, "Attending the National War College this year has afforded me a valuable opportunity to dive deep on national security issues. I wanted to take full advantage of the extraordinary experience and resources to prepare for my onward assignment as Deputy Chief of Mission in Djibouti. Therefore, to better understand the region, I wrote papers on Djibouti, Yemen and a longer essay on Somali statebuilding.

"I am honored to have been recognized by AFSA for my thoughts on Somalia and U.S.-Somalia policy. My paper explores what lessons might be learned about effective state-building from the relatively stable Somaliland and more challenging security environment in other parts of Somalia.

"Drawing on the research and writings of Somali experts and conflict resolution professionals. I argue that peace efforts in Somalia have been hindered by the insistence of the international community to build a national government before ending community-level armed conflict.

"I recommend a greater emphasis in policy and resources on first achieving negotiated and detailed cease-fire and security agreements at local levels, before attempting more ambitious state-building at the federal level. The problem is essentially one of proper sequencing.

"I would like to share my award with all my government colleagues working on the "New Deal" for Somalia. May all combined efforts indeed seize this window of opportunity to bring peace and stability to the people of Somalia."

Christina is finishing her training assignment as a member of the National War College Class of 2013. She will enjoy a year with the Board of Examiners before heading out to Djibouti as Deputy Chief of Mission in summer 2014.



AFSA State VP Daniel Hirsch presents the George Kennan Writing Award to Christina Higgins, while Acting National War College Commandant Ambassador James Foley awards the Excellence in Writing certificate.

Amb. John Campbell to Deliver Adair Lecture

The seventh annual Caroline and Ambassador Charles Adair Memorial Lecture, which traditionally kicks off the academic year at the American University's School of International Service, will take place on Wednesday, Aug. 28 at 3:00 p.m. This year's speaker is Ambassador John Campbell.

The lecture is generously funded by Marshall Adair (a former AFSA president and newly-elected retiree rep on the AFSA Governing Board) through a perpetual gift to the association's Fund for American Diplomacy. The lectures are designed to expose students to individuals who have spent their careers practicing diplomacy.

Amb. Campbell is a veteran diplomat who spent much of his career in Africa. He will speak on the "Challenges Facing U.S. Diplomacy in Africa in the New Century." Currently the Ralph Bunche Senior Fellow for Africa policy studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, he served as ambassador to Nigeria from 2004 to 2007.

The Adair Lecture will take place at the Kaye Memorial Chapel on the AU campus. For additional information, please contact AFSA Speakers Bureau Director Tom Switzer at switzer@afsa.org or (202) 944-5501.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE FAMILY Sponsors: Supporting New Arrivals Right from the Get-Go

BY MICHELE HOPPER

A familiar Foreign Service scenario: arriving at a strange airport at 11 p.m. with no one to pick you up; opening the door to your completely unfamiliar new home and discovering the fridge has 6 eggs, a loaf of bread and a plate of brownies to satisfy your family of five for 24 hours; finding the welcome kit safely packed in boxes at 3 a.m. after 36 hours of travel.

It doesn't have to be this way. A good sponsor can change this all too common scenario with thoughtful preparation. As you may have experienced, first impressions of your new home and ideas about the community are made in the wee hours after landing.

• The most important first step: volunteer to sponsor. If you have been at post 6 months or more, you are ready to share the knowledge you have gained about your post. Sponsor a new arrival that matches your family dynamic or someone who will live near you—both options have benefits.

• Once you know who you will be sponsoring, reach out to them right away, providing them with your personal e-mail address. Answer their questions, but also ask them about any needs or special circumstances. Offer support right from the get-go. Reply



Take the new arrivals for a walk to a local shopping street or neighborhood.

to their queries in a timely manner with a calm and supportive voice.

• New arrivals can be anxious, so avoid sharing dirty laundry, spreading rumors or bemoaning something that is out of anyone's control. Be blunt about the air pollution, and suggest ways to deal with it. Be fair about the crazy drivers, while giving tips on how best to manage the roads. Temper your suggestions with reasonable expectations and refrain from using the words "always, never, everyone, or no one."

• Offer any assistance you can from post. Do they have something they'd like to send ahead? Kids especially love to find familiar toys or snacks waiting in a new home. Keep sponsorship in the back of your mind during your regular errands, especially at the grocery store.

Speaking of groceries,

stock in enough of the basics (and any items your new arrivals have asked for) to last three days times the number of people arriving. This is important. Food is a stressor when there isn't enough to tame a jetlagged starving toddler, teenager or adult! A good lasagna or other prepared meal is always appreciated (ask if anyone has food allergies). It is not your job to foot the food bill, so be sure to discuss repayment or if they want to set an expenditure limit before buying anything on their behalf.

• Do a walk-through of their new home a day or two before they arrive. Do the keys work? Is the water distiller working? Does the alarm function? Ensure that the welcome kit is fully unpacked and ready for use, the beds are made and supplies are laid in. If a pet will be arriving, don't forget the cat litter and food.

• Leave a list of phone numbers with yours at the top. Include the embassy, Post One, health unit, local clinic, vet, hair salon or barber, school and motor pool.

• Leave some delivery menus, invite them to your home for dinner (if you are up for it, invite a couple of others, including the AFSA post rep), or plan to take them out.

• Offer to keep them busy and help them through jetlag. A walk around the neighborhood, a visit to the local market, shopping mall, or school helps them to get their bearings, with the added benefit of keeping them awake.

• And lastly, consider arrival day. Will they arrive a day before a long weekend when the city shuts down? Would they appreciate some DVDs, books or board games?

Yes, it takes a little time to be a sponsor, but don't be daunted. A good sponsor can help to ease arrivals into their new surroundings and create a positive first impression, something every post can be proud of.

Michele Hopper, an Army brat and FS spouse, has served in the Philippines, Togo, India and currently Jordan. Mom to four and co-community liaison officer at post, she understands the importance of having—and being—a great sponsor.

FSYF 2013 Contest and Award Winners

Every year, the Foreign Service Youth Foundation organizes several contests for Foreign Service youth of all ages. Internationally mobile kids and teens-otherwise known as Global Nomads or Third Culture Kids—have a unique perspective on the world around them.

The contests offer FS youth an opportunity to share their talents and express themselves as artists, writers, videographers and global citizens.

A panel of judges repre-

senting FSYF selects the winners, and corporate sponsors provide the prize money.

FSYF COMMUNITY

SERVICE AWARD Jonathan Schwan Emily Larsen

FSYF ART

CONTEST 5 to 8 years-old 1st place: Sabra Elizabeth Goveia 2nd place: Melody Reynolds 3rd place: Sophie Nave

9 to 12 years-old

1st place: Ethan Banerjee 2nd place: Caitlin Chaisson 3rd place: Emily Rose Allen

13 to 18 years-old

1st place: Helen Reynolds 2nd place: Avery Coble **3rd place: Emily Williams**

FSYF ESSAY CONTEST

Middle School 1st place: Krishna Srini 2nd place: Dhara Srini 3rd place: Thomas Green

High School

1st place: Ashley Wee Miller 2nd place: Andrea Salazar 3rd place: Natalie Hernandez

KID VID CONTEST

1st Place (tie): Baku and Maputo 2nd Place (tie): Shenyang and Kuala Lumpur 3rd Place: Frankfurt

Winners will be honored at FSYF's Youth Awards Ceremony on July 19 at AFSA Headquarters, 2101 E St., NW, Washington, D.C.



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AFSA welcomes David N. Murimi as our new legislative assistant. As part of the advocacy department, David has hit the ground running, taking part in meetings with Senate staff.



David graduated from Louisiana Tech University in 2007. He followed his passion for government and

politics to Washington, D.C., where he spent three years working as a legislative correspondent and as a legislative assistant to Rep. Robert "Marion" Berry, D-Ark. His congressional experience is a testament to his ability to work across party lines, having also served as aide to Rep. Rodney Alexander, R-La.

David can be reached at murimi@afsa.org or (202) 338-4045, ext. 515.



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Statecraft Pays Off

The Reagan-Gorbachev Arms Control Breakthrough: The Treaty Eliminating Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force (INF) Missiles David T. Jones, editor, Vellum, 2012, \$28, paperback, 412 pages. Reviewed by DougLAS KINNEY

The six contributors to *The Reagan-Gorbachev Arms Control Breakthrough*, who all worked on the INF Treaty, have collectively given us an insightful overview of how a seminal moment in the annals of arms control came to fruition with the 1987 treaty, which for the first time eliminated an entire class of nuclear delivery vehicles.

As explained in this collection, skillfully compiled and edited by retired Senior Foreign Service officer David T. Jones, the story of the INF Treaty really begins during the 1970s, when Moscow unilaterally deployed SS-20 missiles in Warsaw Pact countries. The move was intended to cow Western Europe into effective neutrality.

To counter that deployment, NATO introduced INF missiles of its own. It then immediately sought agreement to phase out *all* ground-launched missiles with ranges of between 500 and 5,500 kilometers (roughly 300-3,300 miles). The positioning of these countervailing systems no doubt raised the strategic temperature in Europe, but the offer of a way out was adroitly presented and produced asymmetrical reductions, with more than 1,800 Soviet missiles and about 800 U.S. systems ultimately destroyed.

How did the West orchestrate this diplomatic success? These essayists cite many different overlapping factors, which might be summed up as persistence, principled positions, power, political adroitness (including constant consultation with NATO allies and Congress), political courage and pluck. Moreover, the West was matched by a more enlightened Kremlin under Mikhail Gorbachev, one that faced a six-



Breakthrough The Treaty Eliminating Intermediate-Range Naclear Force (INP) Massiles DAVID T. JONES Editor

reinforce norms and agreements (even implicit ones) about restraint and rules of the game still conveys leverage.

Strength helps, as do principle and nuance. As Goethe observed, boldness has genius, power and magic in it.

The difficulty of hammering out interagency policy posi-

tions is not always a bad thing. Force of arms underpinning long-term thinking, persistence and principled positions generates maximum synergy and leverage from our military, intelligence and diplomatic assets.

In short, diplomacy works. So, too, does pushing back against deliberate disinformation. At one point, the U.S. delegation offered its Soviet counterparts a briefing on where precisely their Transporter Erector Launchers were deployed. Moscow declined, but the message got through. As that episode suggests, the American team shared a mix of ironic purposefulness and humor—a genuine survival skill that kept everyone sane during the interminable negotiations in Geneva. That humor is interlaced through the book, keeping the INF tale from ever getting dry.

Those who worked on different stages of the INF process recently gathered for conferences and a dinner celebrating the 25th anniversary of the treaty. It was a sobering reminder of how much was at stake, as well as a humbling display of the stunning array of talent across the many elements of the national security community devoted to managing this massive, existential threat.

Today, it is no doubt difficult for most of us to *feel* (not simply know intellectually) just how frigid the Cold War was, and to recall how many people in

minute Pershing II flight time to Moscow and mounting socioeconomic pressures to retrench.

The strategy worked precisely because it was a narrow pursuit of limited means toward limited ends in a largely bipolar world. It was, to cite a very American concept, "doable."

Jones' account reminds us that the difficulty of hammering out interagency policy positions is not always a bad thing.

Impressive as it was in its own right, however, the true significance of the INF Treaty is that it paved the way for the continued "builddown" of thermonuclear stockpiles. Over the past quartercentury, the United States has moved from about 30,000 deployed nuclear warheads to roughly 5,000. Mutual drawdowns have enhanced stability at the superpower level and bolstered arguments for less proliferation by other nuclear powers, both declared and undeclared.

Breakthrough lays out a splendid example of a purposeful, muscular national security policy that pairs arms deployment with a willingness to negotiate reductions. As such, it is a bracing reminder that statecraft pays. Intentionality pays. And forging coalitions that Europe and elsewhere aspired to nothing more than enduring it. Some of them pretended weaponry was irrelevant, or sought more weapons; many people on all sides feared apocalyptic miscalculation or apocalyptic calculation. For much of that period, it was nearly impossible to envision any clear path toward stability without compromises on the essentials.

Breakthrough reminds us of those challenges and the role the INF Treaty played in meeting them.

Douglas Kinney is a retired Foreign Service officer. The views expressed here are those of the author only and do not reflect the views of the Department of State or the U.S. government.

Soft Power in Action

Against the Odds: Health and Hope in South Africa

Herb and Joy Kaiser, CreateSpace, 2013, \$27, paperback, 196 pages. **Reviewed by Bob Houdek**

As if the title of this book were not clear enough, the foreword by South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the introduction by Max Price, vice chancellor of the University of Cape Town and former dean of the medical school of the University of Witwatersrand, signal the reader up front that this is not just another retirement memoir. Rather, it tells the story of Herb and Joy Kaiser, whose remarkable vision, dedication and commitment made possible the education of a generation of black medical practitioners in South Africa.

Herb Kaiser's last Foreign Service assignment was in Cape Town during the 1980s, at the height of the apartheid era. When he came down with a serious illness there, he received some of the

finest medical care available anywhere in the world. Yet the couple's African staff could not even obtain basic medical care. Recognition of that distressing contrast spurred their

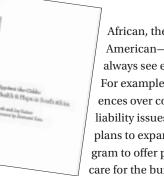
remarkable quest to close the gap by founding an organization in 1985 that they named Medical Education for South African Blacks.

The MESAB project constitutes a paradigm of what all FSOs should strive for in their careers. As the Kaisers explain, a practical problem spurred them to act: the lack of medical practitioners serving the black community. They then formulated strategies to overcome strong resistance on two fronts. The first, emanating from reactionary forces in the white community, was foreseeable. But the second, driven by those who prioritized ousting the apartheid regime over fostering incremental change, was harder to resist.

The Kaisers can take pride in having fostered the education of more than 10.000 South African health care providers.

Fundraising is essential to successful philanthropy, and the authors' incisive account of all the hard work, networking and follow-up required to get MESAB up and running will be instructive for anyone motivated to pursue similar good works. (The Kaisers are donating all proceeds from the sale of their book to the UmThombo Youth Development Foundation.)

There were bumps along the way, to be sure; two separate boards-one South



African, the other American-did not always see eye to eye. For example, differences over cost and liability issues scotched plans to expand the program to offer palliative care for the burgeoning South African population

afflicted by HIV/AIDS.

The end of the MESAB saga was bittersweet. By 2007, 70 percent of students in South African medical schools were black. A commissioned evaluation concluded that MESAB had done its job and could close down. And so it did.

Still, the Kaisers can take pride in having fostered the education of more than 10,000 health care providers, who are now treating the needs of all South Africans, black and white alike. And in the process, they illustrated the best of American "soft power."

Though self-published, this book puts to shame most major publishing house products. Its layout, maps, photos and graphics make it an enjoyable, easy read, while extensive footnotes, source citations and a detailed index greatly enhance its substance.

For those who wonder what life might be like after the Foreign Service, this book should provide inspiration. As the Kaisers' example proves, the skills FSOs acquire and hone overseas can lead to great things! 🔳

Bob Houdek served as chief of mission in Eritrea, Ethiopia and Uganda, deputy assistant secretary for African affairs, and national intelligence officer for Africa, among many other assignments during his 35-year Foreign Service career. He is currently a retiree representative on the AFSA Governing Board.

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LOCAL LENS

BY JEFF YOUNG 💻 BOGOR, INDONESIA



he mountainous Puncak region two hours south of Jakarta has historically provided a welcome respite from the heat and hubbub of daily life in Indonesia's capital. As at this roadside market near Bogor, vendors hawk a huge and colorful variety of fresh fruits and vegetables, as well as goods of all types, to weekend vacationers beside the roads that wind their way along these temperate slopes.

Jeff Young is an EFM working as a professional adjudicator specialist in the consular section at Embassy Jakarta, where his wife, FSO Sylvie Young, is an assistant cultural affairs officer. It is their first tour as a Foreign Service family, and their 15-year-old daughter is thoroughly enjoying the experience. Jeff took this photo in September 2012 with a Canon PowerShot SX130IS.

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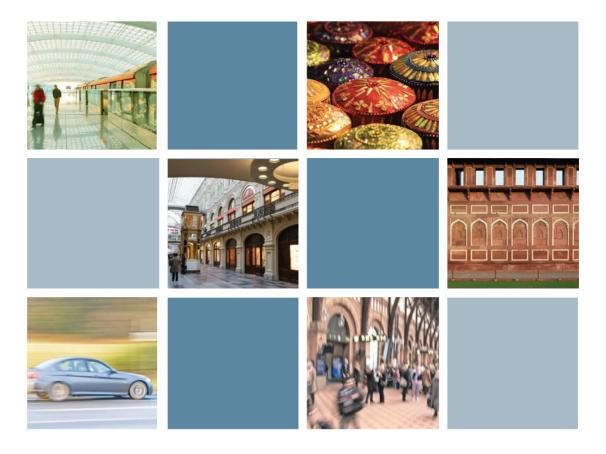
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