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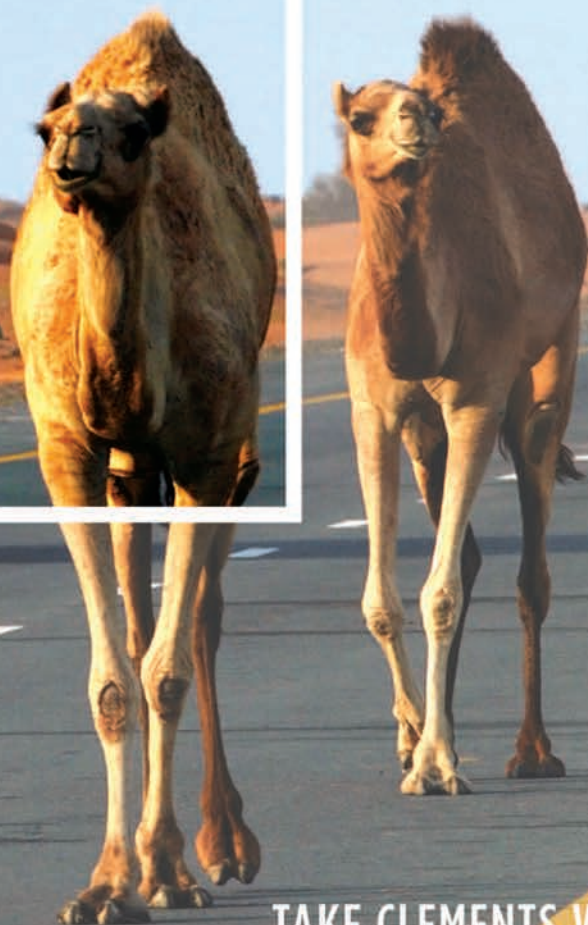
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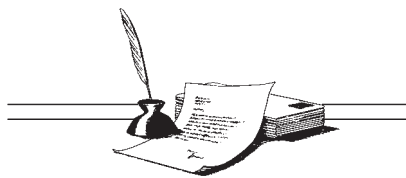
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LETTERS

Exchanges as Strategic Policy

Of the eight fascinating articles in the December *Journal* pertaining to the breakup of the Soviet Union, I found the most instructive one to be Yale Richmond's "Cultural Diplomacy in the Cold War." In it, Richmond concludes that the 30 preceding years of U.S.-Soviet academic and cultural exchanges proved vital in bringing an end to the Soviet Union.

Particularly noteworthy is his quote from Oleg Kalugin, former KGB officer and head of Soviet counterintelligence, who said that "Exchanges ... played a tremendous role in the erosion of the Soviet system." As Richmond points out, Kalugin was among the first group of Soviet academic exchangees to the United States, arriving in 1958.

Having served in Soviet-era Moscow, Kyiv and Warsaw, and in post-Soviet Minsk and Chisinau, I had ample opportunity to observe the effects of such exchanges. Richmond is completely correct in his conclusions, but I would go one step further: academic and cultural exchanges demonstrated the superiority of strategic policies over tactical ones.

AFSA President Susan Johnson's President's Views column appears in the Annual Report this month.



A classic example of a tactical approach backfiring was the one advanced by Zbigniew Brzezinski, who persuaded President Jimmy Carter to punish the Soviet Union after its December 1979 invasion of Afghanistan. Among other measures, the Carter administration reduced the official U.S. presence in the USSR, recalling the advance party that had been on the ground in Kyiv for two years preparing to open a consulate general there. If Washington had really wanted to punish the Soviets, we would have *expanded* our diplomatic presence, especially outside Moscow and Leningrad.

Another mindless tactic from the same period was the U.S. boycott of the 1980 Summer Olympics in Moscow. This led to retaliation by the Soviets and their East European clients (except Romania), who refused to attend the 1984 Los Angeles Summer Games. These U.S.-initiated, reciprocal actions cut off vital people-to-people contacts, significantly harming the broader and more important strategic policy of fostering academic and cultural exchanges.

Sadly, as Jack Harrod — a retired USIA Senior Foreign Service Information Officer, Soviet and East European expert, and friend — puts it: "USIA was at times at least capable of thinking and acting strategically, whereas State always acts only tactically."

Fast-forwarding to current events, we find State continuing its tactical paradigm in the post-Soviet region, this time with President Alexander Lukashenko's Belarus. With 17 years of costly tactical policies and programs under its belt and nothing to show for it, one might think that State would, at last, consider strategic approaches of the kind that Yale Richmond so eloquently describes in the Soviet context. If for no other reason, severe and continuing budgetary strictures demand the best possible use of scarce resources.

*David Swartz
Ambassador to Belarus,
1992-1994
FSO, retired
Nappanee, Ind.*

The Interagency Process

I read Susan Johnson's January President's View column ("Marine Corps Culture and Institutional Success: Lessons for the FSO?") with great interest. I would like to be included in any discussions that AFSA might organize to strengthen the voice of the Foreign Service in national security affairs.

Since retiring at the end of 2009, I have served as a subject matter expert in courses relating to reconstruction, stabilization, conflict prevention and response at the National Foreign Affairs Training Center. I have also served as an adviser to the U.S. Marine Corps University Command and Staff



College in Quantico, Va., and as an adjunct professor at George Mason University. As an FSO, I led a Provincial Reconstruction Team in Iraq for 13 months, and as a member of a Joint Defense/State inspection team I inspected eight PRTs in Afghanistan.

In each instance where Foreign Service officers were deployed, I detected conflicts between their assigned roles and the roles they were forced to play in the interagency setting. I found this to be particularly true with PRTs where the military, nongovernment organizations and contractors proscribed the roles that FSOs could perform.

The issue of interagency coordination is a major discussion point in all of the classes at NFATC, Quantico and George Mason where cooperation between agencies is needed to accomplish an overall mission. Classroom discussions focus on the various cultures found inside government agencies and how the agencies often work at cross-purposes because of their cultures and leadership. If the conflicts are not rectified, it could lead to difficult and dangerous situations in the field.

Last May, I was an adviser to the graduating class at the Marine Corps University Command and Staff College. The graduation exercise involved the fictitious deployment of a Marine force to assist a foreign nation in stabilizing its internal governmental functions and to recover from a natural disaster. I was struck by the total lack of understanding, on the part of the civilian and military students, about the roles FSOs and the State Department should play in these types of situations.

As the U.S. role in the world changes to meet current and future emergencies and conflicts, the indispensable role of the Foreign Service

must be better explained to the other agencies. In addition, employees of other governmental agencies must be better educated about the roles and capabilities their own agencies offer in these situations.

John M. Jones
Ambassador, retired
Alexandria, Va.

The FS Profile

As a former FSO currently working with a private foundation at Fort Leavenworth, I found that George Lambrakis' letter in the December issue, "Organizational Personality and Management," reflects many of my own experiences in bridging the cultural gap that often divides FSOs and military officers.

As a political adviser at U.S. Strategic Command, I was amused by the rigidity of rank that extended to by-name, rank-based seating assignments at staff meetings. Then, after retiring, I spent several years working interagency issues at Fort McNair in Washington, D.C. There I saw how the military's precise planning culture often collided with the more relaxed approach practiced at many civilian agencies.

Years earlier, while a student at the National War College, I had attempted to describe the differences in organizational personality between the Foreign Service and the military in a paper I wrote using the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator as the basis for my analysis.

Based on data furnished by the State Department, I was able to describe an MBTI profile of the Foreign Service that was different, not better, than that of our military colleagues. The Foreign Service Institute found the paper worthwhile enough to use in its classrooms for a number of years.

Recently, I sought the department's assistance in obtaining current MBTI data to update the now 25-year-old paper, but was rebuffed. I was told that the State Department no longer maintains the basic data and that it would not share them with me in any event.

I have long suspected that the MBTI profile of the Foreign Service has changed over the intervening years. The fact that the department seems disinterested in introspection and self-analysis seems to prove the point.

Ted Strickler
FSO, retired
Simons Center for the
Study of Interagency
Cooperation
Fort Leavenworth, Kan.

Beirut, 1983

Marvin Kalb was incorrect to assert before an AFSA audience that President Ronald Reagan "did nothing" after Islamic fanatics blew up the U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut in October 1983 (January *AFSA News*, p. 58).

In fact, Reagan immediately authorized a contingency plan to intervene on the island of Grenada, where a rival faction of the radical New Jewel Movement had just staged a sanguinary coup, seemingly thereby endangering a number of American students. The successful intervention took place on Oct. 25, 1983, against token resistance by some Grenadians, and more serious opposition from armed Cuban workmen engaged in construction of a strategically useful airport.

The result was establishment of a more representative government on the island and the expulsion of the Cubans, including a military contingent inserted by Fidel Castro, who had correctly anticipated Reagan's response.

In truth, Pres. Reagan didn't want



anything that smacked of defeat. He wisely refrained from a response in Lebanon, instead re-establishing his credentials by judicious use of force on more favorable terrain closer to home. This was the first and only time U.S. forces met Cubans in direct combat, and the encounter resulted in a setback so embarrassing for Castro that it exacerbated Soviet-Cuban relations.

*Kenneth N. Skoug Jr.
FSO, retired
Alexandria, Va.*

Lee vs. Grant

I was surprised that Jon P. Dorschner, having been at West Point for two years, should make an extremely superficial comparison between Robert E. Lee and Ulysses S. Grant in his November 2011 Speaking Out column (“Why the Foreign Service Should Be More Like the Army”).

Though I am certainly not enamored of the cause Lee served from 1861 to 1865, to use him as an example of someone who had too much ego — and “was defeated ... because he (Lee) did not understand ‘modern war’” — I found amazing.

Lee’s defeat was more due to a lack of resources (materiel and manpower), combined with poor political support and, later, personal medical problems than by “a lack of understanding” of his profession. After studying the Civil War for many years, I think it is the very rare historian who would argue that Lee’s talents as a field commander and strategist did not extend the life of the Confederacy for considerably longer than it would have otherwise existed.

The devotion shown to Lee by those serving in his army, from generals to privates, also contradicts the label of “egotism” applied to him by Mr. Dorschner. An episode during the

1864 Battle of the Wilderness in Virginia, as described in a National Park Service brochure, illustrates this.

In the midst of a particularly horrific phase of the battle, when it appeared the Confederate line might break, “Gen. Lee attempted to lead the Texas Brigade forward. The Texans implored Lee to go to the rear so he would not be killed. Soon, dozens of Texans were urging Lee to go back. Lee either ignored their pleas or in the noise of battle did not hear them.

“Finally, a staff officer grabbed the reins of Lee’s horse and led the horse and general to safety behind the lines. The ‘Lee to the Rear’ incident became one of the most famous events of the war. The Texans then proceeded forward, losing 500 of 800 men in the charge.”

Soldiers do not typically show such concern for officers who are “egotistical tools.”

*Stephen B. Flora
FSO, retired
Canberra, Australia*

Sochi, Russia

In the December article, “Setting Up Shop in the Newly Independent States,” Mike Tulley writes about the time he “spent 24 hours on the tarmac in Sochi, Georgia, with Jim Paravonian and about 100 inebriated Georgian friends.”

That must have been some layover, for Sochi is in Russia! While it is historically Georgian, Sochi was last part of Georgia in the 15th century, except for a brief annexation by the Democratic Republic of Georgia (1918-1919).

*Jonathan Kulick
Adviser
Office of the State
Minister of Georgia for
Reintegration ■*



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CYBERNOTES

Give Peace a Chance

At the end of a year that saw rapidly escalating concern over Iran, and in particular the prospect that Tehran may develop a nuclear weapon, two retired ambassadors issued salutary appeals to policymakers and the public to reject the drumbeat for military action in favor of diplomacy.

In November, retired ambassadors William H. Luers and Thomas R. Pickering spoke out about a House of Representatives bill that would outlaw any American contact with an Iranian official. "Besides raising serious constitutional issues over the separation of powers, this preposterous law would make it illegal for the U.S. to know its enemy," they argued.

"Successive U.S. administrations have put off learning about Iran and having direct contacts with its officials for more than 30 years. The Iranian leadership has been complicit in this dangerous game of avoiding contact" (www.thedailybeast.com).

The veteran diplomats returned to the fray with a Dec. 30 Washington Post op-ed, "Military Action Isn't the Only Solution to Iran" (www.washingtonpost.com). After noting that "The American people hear from government officials and presidential candidates nearly every day about military action against Iran," Luers and Pickering ask: "Have we forgotten what Iraq and the United States have been through since 2002? Were it not for

Walter Pincus' excellent piece on the president's daily national security session ["Daily Intelligence Briefings Yield Clues to a President's Approach on Foreign Policy," *The Fed Page*, Jan. 17] pointed out that "there is no one in each morning's 30-to-45-minute session who has spent a career living and breathing foreign affairs." This absence introduces an obvious weakness in the policy process.

In the State Department, traditionally the lead formulator of foreign policy, the Foreign Service is loaded with senior officers who have spent their careers "living and breathing foreign affairs." Why not designate, say, State's under secretary for political affairs (normally a Foreign Service officer) to attend the president's daily sessions?

— Letter from retired FSO George McFarland, in the Jan. 22 *Washington Post* (www.washingtonpost.com).

that ill-begotten war, thousands of Americans (and Iraqis) might still be living. America would be a trillion dollars richer and still be the proud, respected and economically healthy nation the world had known."

They continue: "Military action is becoming the seemingly fail-safe solution for the United States to deal with real and imagined security problems. The uncertain and intellectually demanding ways of diplomacy are seen as 'unmanly' and tedious — likely to involve compromise or even 'appeasement.'" Yet "history teaches that engagement and diplomacy pay dividends that military threats do not. Deployment of military force can bring the immediate illusion of 'success,' but always results in unforeseen consequences and collateral damage that complicate further the achievement of America's main objectives."

Pickering and Luers conclude with this recommendation: "Multiple, creative efforts to engage Iran's leaders and provide a dignified exit from the corner in which the world community has placed them could achieve more durable solutions at a far lower cost. It is a lesson that those urging military action against Iran have failed to learn." But fortunately, it is not too late to try diplomacy.

William Luers served as U.S. ambassador to Czechoslovakia from 1983 to 1986 and was president of the United Nations Association from 1999 to 2009. Thomas Pickering, under secretary of State for political affairs during the first Clinton administration, also served as U.S. ambassador to Jordan, Nigeria, India, El Salvador, the United Nations and the Russian Federation.

The two men are members of the



SITE OF THE MONTH: www.thehungersite.com

We featured *TheHungerSite.com*, which focuses the power of the Internet on the eradication of world hunger, as our Site of the Month in the January 2011 edition of Cybernotes. But given this issue's focus topic, it seems only appropriate to spotlight it again.

Since its launch in June 1999, the site has established itself as a leader in on-line activism. More than 300 million people from around the world have donated more than 808 million cups of staple food by clicking on the yellow "Click Here to Give — It's Free" button. (Though you can only donate once a day from any single computer, you can access the site from home and work to double your contribution if you wish.)

The donations are paid for by site sponsors and distributed to those in need by Mercy Corps (www.mercycorps.org); Feeding America (www.feedingharvest.org), formerly America's Second Harvest; and Millennium Promise (www.millenniumpromise.org). As the site notes, 100 percent of sponsor advertising fees goes to the site's charitable partners to aid hungry people all over the world, including the United States.

As a bonus, *The Hunger Site* acts as a portal to seven sister sites, which generates donations to fight breast cancer, promote child health and literacy, feed and assist homeless and hungry veterans, treat children with autism and raise awareness of the issue, protect rainforests and support animal rescue initiatives, respectively. (Icons for each site are prominently displayed at the top of *The Hunger Site* homepage.)

Visitors can help even more by shopping for items displayed on each of the eight sites. Each online store offers a wide array of fair-traded, handcrafted items from around the world.

— *Steven Alan Honley, Editor*

Iran Project (www.iranproject.org), an unofficial initiative that has been suggesting diplomatic strategies and encouraging direct U.S.-Iran discussions for nearly a decade. For the past three years, the Iran Project has proposed specific ways to contain Iran's nuclear program and wall it off from developing weapons, and to engage Iran in a dialogue on other regional issues.

— *Susan Brady Maitra, Senior Editor*

An Ounce of Prevention

The Center for Preventive Action, part of the Council on Foreign Relations, recently released the results of

its fourth annual preventive priorities survey. It lists 30 potential international conflicts that could erupt during 2012 (www.cfr.org/conflict-prevention), grouped into three tiers of diminishing severity in terms of their effect on U.S. interests.

At the top are potential conflicts that would directly affect the U.S., such as intensification of the European sovereign debt crisis, a cyberattack on U.S. infrastructure and an Iranian nuclear crisis. Other contingencies in this first tier include a large-scale attack on U.S. soil or a treaty ally, a North Korean crisis, political instability in Saudi Arabia, and increased turmoil in Mexico due to drug trafficking.



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CYBERNOTES



50 Years Ago...

“Prime Minister assured me his remarks intended for domestic ears and not, repeat not, with intention of affecting progress of current negotiations.” *Translation: Keep cool.*

“Department informed that Abernathy McGonigle, prominent businessman and member of several citizen’s action committees, planning trip to your area. Posts on attached schedule should extend...” *Translation: Friend of administration.*

“Assignment selected with view to Jones’ particular talents; needs imaginative officer able to meet challenging conditions at...” *Translation: Only slot open.*

“...are factors indicating likelihood of such a move. On other hand, usually reliable sources in position to know have indicated to Embassy that...” *Translation: Your guess is as good as ours!*

— “Paraphrase,” from “Washington Letter” by Gwen Barrows, *FSJ*, March 1962.



Some notable possibilities in the second, less dire tier include growing sectarian strains and renewed violence in Iraq (which appear to be well under way), and the eruption of hostilities in the South China Sea as a result of competing territorial claims.

Paul B. Stares, the director of the Center for Preventive Action and the General John W. Vessey Senior Fellow for Conflict Prevention, and Micah Zenko, a Council on Foreign Relations fellow for conflict prevention, jointly conducted the survey.

As they point out, “The United States has a dismal record of forecasting instability and conflicts. Presently there is no systematic U.S. government process linking forecasting to contingency planning. This survey is intended to meet that need.”

The CPA was set up to educate American and international leaders about the threat violent clashes pose to American interests. It pursues this goal by engaging U.S. officials and the news media in prevention efforts, building networks with international organizations and policymakers, and issuing special reports such as this.

— *David J. Barton,*
Editorial Intern

Other Than That, Mrs. Lincoln...

On Jan. 11, the World Economic Forum (www.weforum.org) released a strikingly gloomy report on the eve of its annual gathering of business leaders, policymakers and academics in Davos, Switzerland.

Conducted by the WEF’s Center for Global Competitiveness and Performance, the Global Competitiveness Report 2011-2012 identifies severe income disparity and chronic fiscal imbalance as the top risks facing business leaders and policymakers. It predicts that this will remain true not only in 2012, but for the next decade.

After warning that failure to address these twin problems could bring about a “dystopian future for much of humanity,” the report notes that the Internet can magnify and spread the effects of disasters, both natural and manmade.

One contributor to the report, Erwann O. Michel-Kerjan, managing director of the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania, notes that this trend is “one of the flip sides of globalization. A local event can become a global event much more quickly.”

— *Steven Alan Honley, Editor* ■



SPEAKING OUT

How Data Visualization Can Change Diplomacy

BY CHRIS BRONK AND SCOTT SMITH

In the latest installment of the State Department's Tech@State conference series, nearly 300 people from a range of technology and foreign affairs fields converged at the Kennedy Center on Sept. 22 and 23, 2011, for a discussion of how information relevant to foreign affairs may best be portrayed visually. Organized by the State Department's Office of eDiplomacy, the event brought together visualization technologists, social scientists, representatives of nongovernmental organizations and foreign affairs professionals.

Kerri-Ann Jones, assistant secretary of State for oceans and international environmental and scientific affairs, who holds a Ph.D. in molecular biophysics and biochemistry, opened the conference by telling the audience this:

"From the perspective of a scientist, it is important to be able to present data and findings to public audiences and to our peers. Pictures and charts are, of course, a big help in this. Data visualization is something more [that] is being used effectively in so many arenas already.

"It is being used in disaster response and coordination, strengthening the ability of communities to respond. It is helping information become more transparent and accessible to society in general. It is allowing donors to see how their money is

To use smart power to advance U.S. foreign policy interests in a complex world, State must literally see the world differently.

being used in projects ranging from disaster relief to climate change. Data visualization shows progress being made, bumps along the road and pledges being fulfilled."

To meet the challenge of using data visualization to achieve greater effectiveness in diplomatic work, here are two important questions for the State Department to consider: How do we evolve beyond text-only formats, to be able to see the world in increasingly rich and vivid detail? And how can policymakers process enormous quantities of data in meaningful ways to better inform policy decisions?

Data Visualization and Foreign Affairs

To use smart power to advance U.S. foreign policy interests in a complex world, the State Department needs to harness technology to provide greater clarity, detail and focus on a myriad of difficult questions. In

other words, State must literally see the world differently.

For this to happen, foreign affairs professionals must become comfortable with new technologies and methodologies in an information environment characterized by a rapidly increasing pace, volume and complexity. Faced with a deluge of information, we must not insulate ourselves from the world, but use technology more effectively to cope with complexity, see subjects in new ways, and find better solutions to hard problems.

The State Department needs to jump, and not timidly, from a reliance on text and documents to an embrace of a much richer media and information world.

It is helpful to realize that the field of knowledge management is built on the idea that information is distilled from raw data, and from information comes knowledge. That knowledge then leads to understanding and is the key element of decision-making.

Historically, information was often scarce or inadequate, and the primary challenge was gathering it. Perhaps as a result, we assume that the greater the quantity of accurate information, the better for decision-makers.

But too much information, coming too fast, can overwhelm cognition and lead to indecision. As a result, we may not focus on what matters most, may skip analysis, or be tempted to choke



off the flow of information altogether.

We can head off such problems by filtering and managing the flow of information to make it meaningful, so we can apply it to making sounder decisions and achieving better outcomes. In particular, graphic and video images can make ideas more engaging and persuasive than text or data alone.

**Open Data:
From Graphs to Platforms**

Consider the figure French engineer Charles Joseph Minard drew for his study of Napoleon’s 1812-1813 campaign in Russia (see below). Visualization pioneer Edward Tufte has called this diagram, which shows the original size of Napoleon’s army in beige and its size during the retreat from Moscow in black, perhaps the most effective visual diagram ever constructed. Combining geography, force size and temperature (on the separate scale below the map), it explains in a single picture the disaster

**Platforms that support
data interaction
encourage users
to explore and use the
data to extract their own
meaning or conclusions.**

that was the French campaign to invade Russia.

News publications have been using catchy info graphics for just that purpose for years now. Their widespread availability helps us see meaning we might otherwise miss in data on sports, business, crime and other topics.

While seeing data represented as

images can be helpful, such images — like prose — often incorporate the interests or biases of those creating them. Potentially more powerful is the ability to interact with and manipulate visual representations of data. Such tools could empower decision-makers to pull together data reflecting diverse phenomena and to see complex relationships between and among geography, finance, politics and other factors. Platforms could also bring together multiple applications or sources into a single interface or “mash-up.”

Platforms that support data interaction encourage users to explore and use the data to extract their own meaning or conclusions.

The OECD Better Life Initiative is just such a platform at a multilateral level, with information about countries that are members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (see p. 13). This initiative contributes to numerous U.S. foreign policy goals, from promoting more

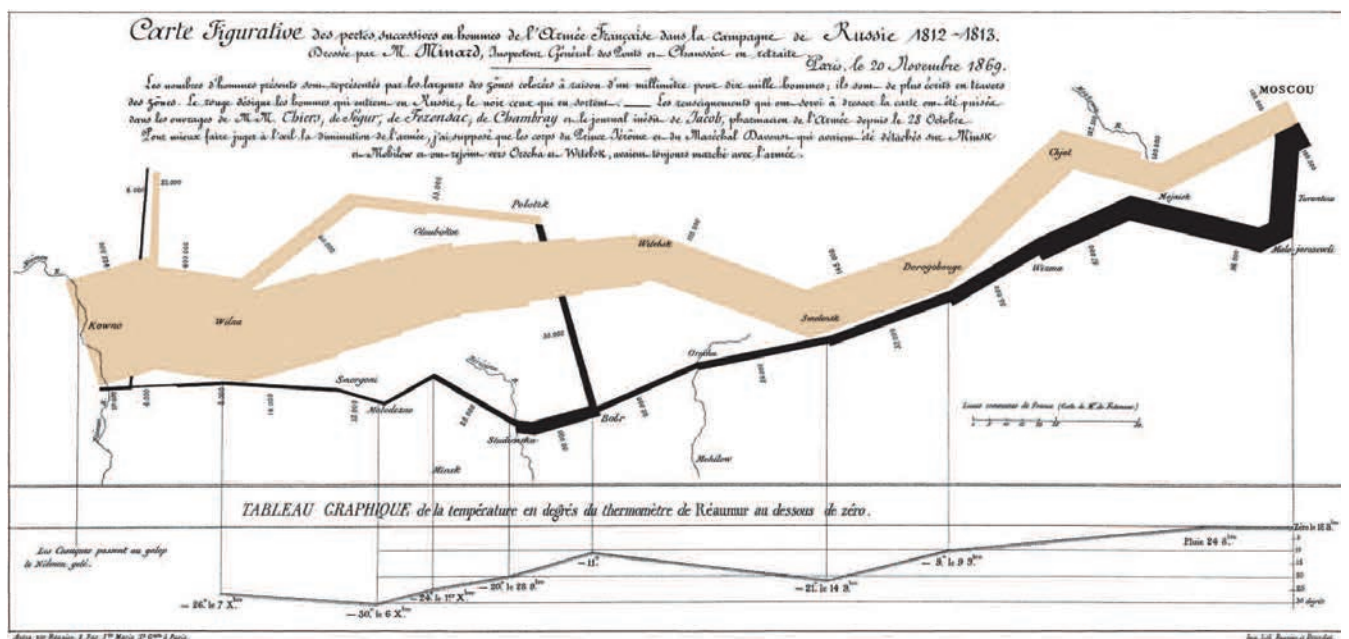
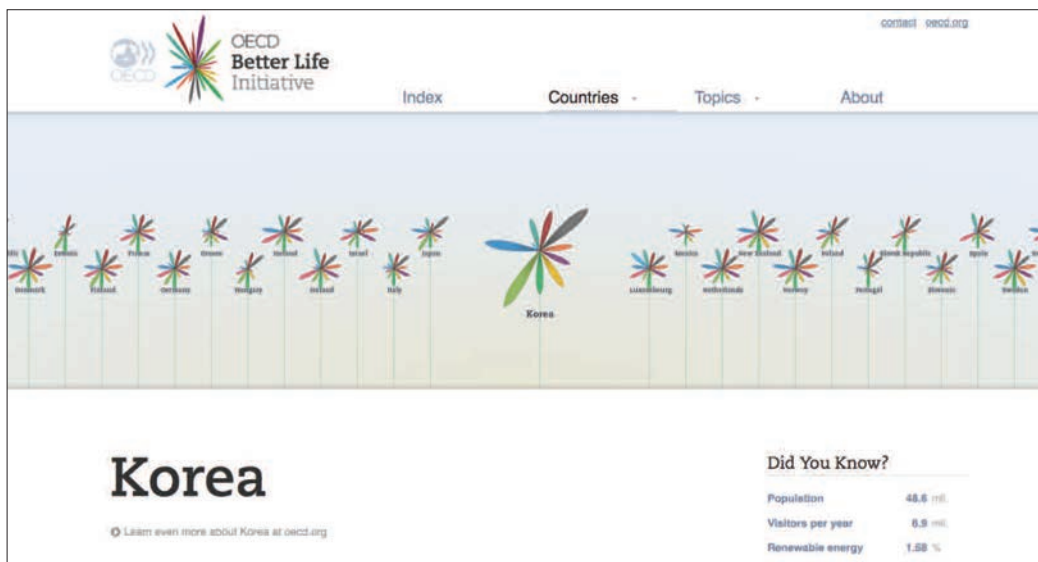


Figure depicting the size of the French Army before and after Napoleon’s Moscow campaign, 1812-1813.



transparent public policies to encouraging more consistent and transparent international marketplaces.

Such transparency, however, also drives competition among countries to achieve more effective policy environments in order to attract investment and business activity. This competition, in turn, rewards those countries that embrace these new technologies and use them to capture, utilize and display their data.



OECD's national well-being visualization.

Visualization needn't be the creation of highly specific technical artistry, however. It is desirable for the process to flow down to workers who typically work with word processing and spreadsheet applications. To note just one of the many online tools freely available to the public, IBM's Many Eyes can support data visualization with any dataset and requires no software download. It also allows users to rapidly import data from a spreadsheet, database or other digital file format.

One can easily map a single parameter for geographic context — as shown in the diagram at right with Standard & Poor's sovereign debt ratings — or layer multiple parameters to explore more complex relationships.

For a public institution like the State Department, there are two broad applications for data visualization. First and foremost, it has great potential to ad-

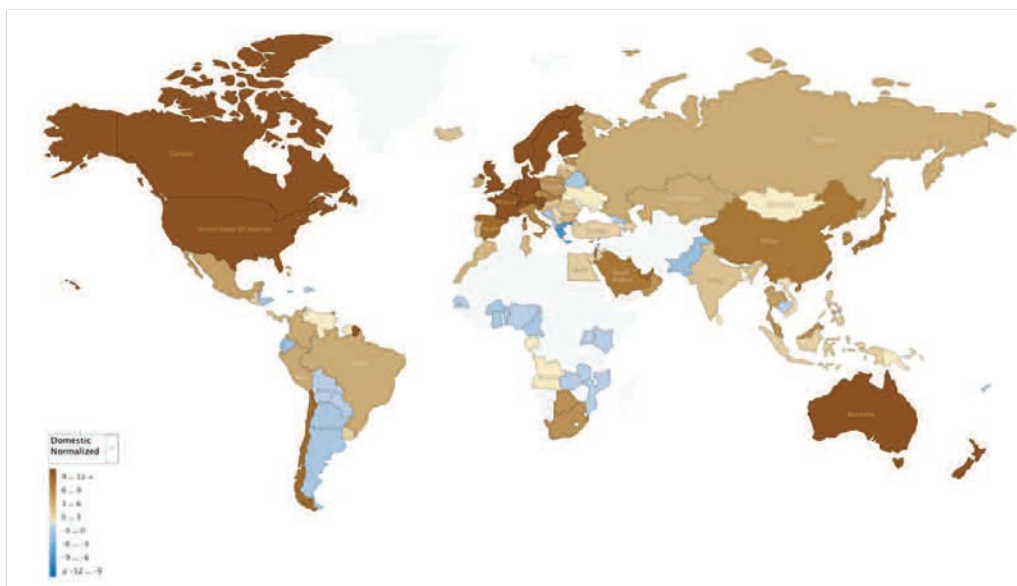
vance mission objectives. But we should also consider its role in changing public expectations of government and the importance of disseminating government data in an open and transparent way for the general public to interact with and use.

This dual-hatted approach reflects an Obama administration priority outlined in the Data.gov Initiative. It also

positions State for a leadership role in a growing, international, open government movement. Such disciplines may well improve the credibility and effectiveness of our international messaging and policy advocacy.

Visualizing Data at State

The Department of State has long been a vast producer, consumer and



IBM Many Eyes visualization of sovereign debt ratings, August 2011.

SPEAKING OUT



Frequency diagram of tags in 60 unclassified cables identified by the search terms “science” and “diplomacy” gathered between August 2010 and August 2011.

repository of information, much of which appears in unstructured text, e-mails, memoranda, cables and other documents. Trying to cope with the flurry of messages from Versailles at the conclusion of World War I, the State Department adopted a system of

metadata, known as TAGS, to assist in quick delivery of messages to the relevant recipients.

Today, that system still serves as a taxonomy for filing and archiving, and it also functions as a basis for rudimentary analysis. The diagram above

shows a word cloud depicting the frequency of tag use in a set of 60 cables generated by a search for “science” and “diplomacy.”

Considering that TAGS were introduced nearly a century ago, the system has aged well. Still, as knowledge workers in an information economy and as man-

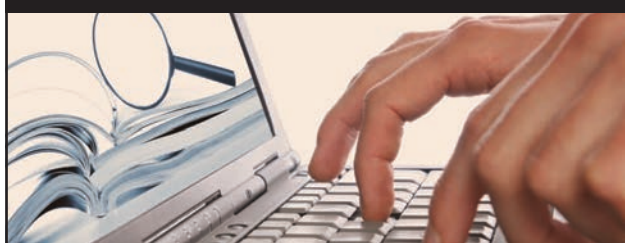
agers of State’s knowledge assets, we should look to do better, and not wait for some catastrophe to force change.

Technologies currently in use in the State Department serve those who already know what they are searching for. In contrast, visualization opens up

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1. FSI’s Transition Center
2. U.S. Department of State Overseas Briefing Center (OBC)
3. Security Overseas Seminars: PSOS, ASOS, SAA, SOS, SOS
4. Transition Center Training home page for eligible family members and members of household (MOH)
5. International Jobs - Working Overseas
6. Country Information (Bidding Resources)
7. Transition Center Courses
8. Preparing to Go Overseas
9. Pets and International Travel
10. Foreign Service Assignment Notebook: What Do I Do Now?
11. U.S. Department of State Career Transition Center (CTC)
12. Personal Post Insights
13. Elementary School Stuff
14. Arrange Medical Clearance and Immunizations
15. High Stress Assignment Outbrief Program



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new ways to manage knowledge, by seeing phenomena as connections, patterns and trends, rather than as documents or pieces of information. It's a movement from "I know what I'm looking for" to "I need to see what I *should* be looking for" — a rather different approach to problem-solving.

In science and engineering, visualizing has become a fundamental aid to asking the right questions, helping us to address the age-old problem that "we do not know what we do not know." To quote Lewis Platt, former CEO of Hewlett Packard: "If HP knew what HP knows, it would be three times as profitable."

Exploration of the applications and mechanics of how State could use data visualization in practice is better left to

Today's information environment is characterized by rapidly increasing pace, volume and complexity.

another paper. But as the government invests in using such tools to enhance defense and intelligence missions, should we not consider what advantages we might gain from applying

them to our diplomatic and development goals? And can we really afford to keep relying on documents and textual narrative as our knowledge paradigm, rather than adopting new technologies to pursue our national interests?

What Next?

Here are three broad ways in which data visualization could benefit State:

- Deriving more value from data in order to better formulate foreign policy;
- Understanding data better in order to operate more efficiently and effectively; and
- Supplementing public diplomacy to communicate more effectively.

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Recognizing that these trends are global and being driven by forces outside the department, there is no need for State to invent or own such technologies. That is good news, for that will greatly reduce the costs and progress need not be held to the pace of government.

The opportunity and the challenge for foreign affairs agencies like State will be to find new ways to collaborate with academia, nongovernmental organizations, industry and foreign partners, and to commit to keeping information open to the maximum extent possible.

Institutionally, these methodologies offer inexpensive ways to respond to growing pressures to be more ef-

fective with limited resources. Bureaus may incorporate visualizations to formulate better policies, implement them more effectively or present them more compellingly. State's leadership should encourage adoption and development of such practices.

At the same time, success in any reasonable time frame will require these technologies to be embraced by State employees, democratizing visualization. Workers need to be able to integrate internal and external data sources, and for this they will need to access emerging external data aggregation and social media tools, with the latest browsers, from their desktops.

Making employees more capable will make the Department of State

(and the other foreign affairs agencies) more capable. ■

Chris Bronk is a fellow in Rice University's James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, and also teaches in Rice's computer science department. A Foreign Service officer from 2002 to 2006, he served in the Office of eDiplomacy from 2005 to 2006, where he participated in the development of Diplopedia.

Scott Smith, a career FSO, serves as chief of the Diplomatic Innovation Division in the Office of eDiplomacy. Since joining the State Department in 1985, he has served overseas in Tokyo, Singapore, Fukuoka, Amman, Ankara and Beirut.

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FEED THE FUTURE: MAKING A REAL DIFFERENCE



Lillian C. deValcourt-Ayala

LESS THAN THREE YEARS AFTER ITS INCEPTION, THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S NEW RESPONSE TO FOOD INSECURITY IS ALREADY CHANGING MILLIONS OF LIVES.

BY PAUL WEISENFELD

Anyone who doubts the urgency and value of achieving global food security should meet Aisha, a young mother who had to walk, un nourished, for several days to reach a therapeutic feeding camp in Ethiopia last summer. She barely made it, and might have given up had it not been for her year-old daughter — who, by the time they arrived, weighed just a third of what a healthy child her age should.

Heart-wrenching as her story is, Aisha is just one of millions at risk in the Horn of Africa due to a regional drought. The



KENDRA HELMER

John Atis, regional director for a USAID-supported program, at the Wynne Farm, a mountaintop training facility for farmers in Kenscoff, Haiti.

effects of the resulting famine have been devastating, forcing thousands of families to flee their homes and their countries in search of food. Some mothers have been unable to carry all of their children on the long and arduous trek, while many who do complete the difficult journey are so weak and undernourished that they are unlikely to survive.

Such tragedies constantly remind me how difficult it can be to explain to my own young daughter what I do as head of USAID's Bureau for Food Security. So I've started to tell her that in development, we're really in the business of selling optimism. We have to believe deep down that positive change is possible, even in the face of seemingly insurmountable obstacles. And sometimes we have to change the way we work across the "relief to development"

Paul Weisenfeld currently heads the U.S. Agency for International Development's Bureau for Food Security. A minister counselor in the Senior Foreign Service, he previously served as senior deputy assistant administrator of the Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean, coordinator of the USAID Haiti Task Team following the January 2010 earthquake in that country, and mission director in Peru and Zimbabwe, among other assignments.

continuum to make a lasting difference in people's lives.

With this insight in mind, President Barack Obama announced a new modus operandi for combating global hunger during the 2009 Group of Eight summit in L'Aquila, Italy. There he and fellow leaders of the world's leading economies committed to "act with the scale and urgency needed to achieve sustainable global food security."

This new initiative, which came to be called Feed the Future, is a multiagency effort to address the root causes of poverty and hunger that limit the potential of hundreds of millions of people around the world. The U.S. Agency for International Development plays a lead role in implementing the

program, in concert with our partners at the State Department, Department of Agriculture, Peace Corps, Millennium Challenge Corporation, Treasury Department, Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, Overseas Private Investment Corporation and U.S. African Development Foundation.

While some cases of food insecurity may be sporadic or temporary, as many as 925 million people — nearly one-seventh of the world's population — experience chronic hunger day after day, all year long. To help ease this suffering, Feed the Future has set an ambitious goal. By leveraging more than \$70 million in private investment for agriculture and spurring \$2.8 billion in increased agricultural sector growth, we plan to help an estimated 18 million vulnerable women, children and family members — mostly smallholder farmers — escape poverty and hunger.

Why the focus on agriculture to drive economic growth? Because an estimated three-quarters of the world's poor live in rural areas, where farming can be a key economic driver. Recent studies also establish that growth in agriculture is, on average, at least twice as effective in reducing poverty as growth in other sectors.

Over the coming years, we believe investments in agriculture will be one of the fundamental forces transforming

FOCUS

the developing world and eradicating poverty and hunger — just as agricultural-led growth transformed the lives of a billion people during the Green Revolution that started in the late 1960s.

Quality — Not Just Quantity

As Aisha's story illustrates, the impact of hunger hits women and children, who are often the most vulnerable, hardest. Nearly 200 million children under age 5 are undernourished, and more than 500 million women are anemic.

Improved nutrition is a critical driver for both economic growth and poverty reduction. Good nutrition early in life unlocks human and economic capacity through improved learning and productivity, and contributes to a robust, capable work force. It also promotes gender equality and opportunities for women and girls, and lessens susceptibility

*Nearly a billion
people around the world
experience chronic hunger,
day after day,
all year long.*

to deadly diseases.

Mindful of this, Feed the Future is working hand-in-glove with the Global Health Initiative to identify and strengthen linkages between agriculture and nutrition. On a programmatic level, we are implementing both Feed the Future and Global Health Initiative activities in the same geographic zones to maximize results.

We support the globally recognized, multi-stakeholder Scaling Up Nutrition movement and its key interventions, such as increasing the focus on boosting nutrition, particularly during the 1,000 days between a woman's pregnancy and her child's second birthday — which, research shows, is the critical period to have a lasting impact on nutritional outcomes.

In Nepal, for example, we're working with Save the Children and several local partners to raise the nutritional

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ISAAC THENDU

Paul Weisenfeld (center, blue cap) visits the Garissa Livestock Market in Kenya, a Feed the Future focus country.

status of women and children under 2 years of age in up to 25 districts. We are doing so by improving dietary quality and diversity, offering greater access to health services and promoting health-seeking behaviors.

As we work to enhance global food security and improve nutrition, President Obama has also directed us to get better results for every taxpayer dollar invested. Thus, we are not only increasing overall investments in agriculture and nutrition, but are focusing those funds more efficiently.

Bang for the Buck

Toward that end, a key component of Feed the Future is targeted assistance. Rather than investing in everything everywhere, we collaborate with partner countries and other donors in specific regions that have the best chance of flourishing. We also support the development of crops — across the entire chain from farm to table — that have the greatest potential to alleviate poverty and reduce undernutrition.

In Ghana, for example, we are putting 80 percent of Feed the Future resources into the northern part of the country, where analysis indicates productivity can be

most readily increased. For the same reason, we are focusing on four specific agricultural products — rice, maize, soya and fish — with the greatest potential impact on the lives of the poor.

Critical to achieving success is a comprehensive approach that focuses on how countries can effectively increase their own production, marketing and nutrition programs, so they do not have to rely on food aid in the future. For this reason, we are helping countries to develop their own plans and increase their funding — in many cases, more than doubling their individual commitments to agriculture.

We have significantly advanced country-owned plans and used them as a basis to develop multiyear strategies with

24 bilateral and regional U.S. government missions to align U.S. investments in support of these plans. Feed the Future strategies are country-owned and country-led because we know that progress depends on inclusive leadership, the commitment of political leaders, and the quality of systems in developing countries. With a combination of good governance and development investments, far-reaching, sustainable outcomes are achievable.

We are also working with other donors and private-sector partners to leverage our dollars and ensure that all actors are aligned with country-led strategies. Working together to support the same strategic goals, we can have an impact at a scale that can transform food-insecure countries into dynamic economies that can generate more income and feed their people.

A perfect example is Tanzania, where we're partnering with the World Bank and companies such as Yara, under the leadership of the host government, to support development of the Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania. Eighty percent of Feed the Future investments in Tanzania are focused on the SAGCOT, which President Jakaya Kikwete initiated. This public-private partnership

aims to boost agricultural productivity, both in Tanzania and the wider region, by promoting clusters of profitable agricultural farming and services businesses. This approach should have major benefits for smallholder farmers and local communities.

Many critics of development efforts do not realize that food security is about much more than food.

It is deeply and inextricably linked to economic, environmental and human security. Over the past decade, we've seen that access to food, particularly as affected by prices, can ignite volatility. For example, as world food prices spiked in 2007 and 2008, we saw riots or demonstrations erupt in more than 30 countries.

By helping to sustainably feed communities in developing countries, Feed the Future is building a foundation to head off crises that have the potential to lead to human conflict — thereby enhancing our own national security. Furthermore, helping countries grow their economies lifts people out of poverty and builds the markets of tomorrow.

Laying the Groundwork for Success

To promote greater global involvement in food security, the United States is one of the five inaugural donors supporting the Global Agriculture and Food Security Program, along with Canada, Spain, South Korea and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. This is an innovative, multi-donor trust fund that has, as of this writing, awarded \$481 million to 12 low-income countries, eight of which are also Feed the Future focus countries.

In addition to a public-sector funding stream, GAFSP also uses private-sector support to increase the commercial potential of small and medium-sized agribusinesses and individual farmers, by bringing them into local, national and global value chains.

Mindful of the vital role that women play in agriculture and nutrition, Feed the Future recently launched a fund to advance innovative approaches to promoting gender equality in agriculture and land use, and to integrate gender effectively into agricultural development and food security programs. We also created the Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index, an innovation that will allow us to determine whether our programs are having two major effects: improving gender equality and empowering

Investments in agriculture are helping to transform the developing world, eradicating poverty and hunger.

women by measuring changes in their control of assets and household-level decision-making.

Harnessing agricultural science and technology is essential to reaching Feed the Future's objectives, for supplying sufficient food for the world's growing population will require an estimated 70-percent increase in agricultural production by 2050. Under Feed the

Future, we have already more than doubled our research investments, from \$50 million in 2008 to \$120 million in 2011.

We have also better aligned all U.S. government agency research programs to create synergies, and generated new relationships with the private sector. In one major push, USAID is partnering with USDA to focus on high-impact research to combat wheat rust, a major threat to wheat production worldwide, and aflatoxin, a toxic fungus that infects many crops and causes illness.

Despite the complexity and enduring nature of these challenges, those of us working in development know that they are not impossible to overcome. We have the tools and the technology. As President John F. Kennedy, reflecting on the reasons for our engagement in foreign assistance, said 50 years ago: "Our problems are manmade; therefore they can be solved by man."

A Call to Action

I started my career in international development more than 20 years ago. Over the years, I have been involved in issues ranging from democracy and human rights to health, counternarcotics and disaster recovery. These are all important components of bettering people's lives, and achieving our economic development goals for the world's poor and hungry requires that we address all of them.

But our renewed commitment to food security allows us to engage in an area in which the international community has underinvested for decades, and which can permanently transform the lives of hundreds of millions of rural poor. We have been called to action not only by Pres. Obama and the world's top leaders, but through the cries of millions of people around the world who go to bed with empty stomachs each night and have limited opportunities to improve their lives.

Now is the time to feed the future. ■

FEEDING THE OTHER KOREA

W

FEW AMERICANS HAVE EVER VISITED PYONGYANG, LET ALONE LIVED AND WORKED THERE. HERE IS A FIRST-PERSON ACCOUNT BY ONE WHO DID.

BY RICHARD RAGAN

We have all experienced the confused feeling that washes over us in the initial few seconds after waking up from a dream, right? Complete bewilderment is followed by a surge of relief that you've somehow narrowly escaped an unbelievable situation.

As the only official American living in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea from 2004 to 2005, I wrestled almost daily with this fuzziness. I was there as the United Nations World Food Program representative, in charge of the largest feeding operation in the world.

Considered the more successful of the two Koreas during the early postwar period, the North went into a steep decline following the collapse of the Soviet Union. Because it mainly produced poor-quality finished goods for communist markets, its already limited manufacturing

trade base evaporated. The country did, however, possess a range of raw materials that were in demand, so it traded ferrous metals, labor and other finished industrial products for cereals.

Only a small portion of the mountainous country is considered arable, so North Korea has regularly faced food production deficits. This makes access to external cereal sources, principally China and the Soviet Union, essential. So once Pyongyang lost its Russian patron in the early 1990s, the situation rapidly began to deteriorate.

Into the Hermit Kingdom

My relationship with the "Hermit Kingdom" actually began in 1995. That was in the midst of a particularly tense period in U.S.-DPRK relations, when Pyongyang's efforts to develop nuclear weapons accelerated.

The greatest hope for slowing their progress was an instrument called the Agreed Framework, signed on Oct. 21, 1994 — just a few months after Kim Il Sung, the nation's founder, had died. The agreement laid out a step-by-step path toward normalization of relations between Washington and Pyongyang, but the pace of implementation soon slowed.

Then, early in 1995, reports began to emerge that North Korea faced a new crisis. Reliable information was

Richard Ragan is currently the United Nations World Food Program representative in Tanzania and has served in the same capacity in Zambia, Nepal and North Korea. Prior to joining the U.N., he worked for Representative Les Aspin, D-Wis. During the Clinton administration he served successively in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, on the National Security Council staff and as USAID's deputy assistant administrator for humanitarian assistance.

sketchy and verifiable data was even more difficult to attain, but anecdotal evidence was starting to mount that the ultra-secretive country was staring down the barrel of a full-blown famine. Making matters worse, summer floods, which some observers described as reaching biblical proportions, pounded the country.

For the first time, the DPRK had to consider making a serious public appeal for outside support. There had been overtures to the United Nations in 1991 and 1994, but those discussions broke down over the World Food Program's strict requirements for transparency — and also, some claim, because President Kim Il Sung personally refused to accept outside help.

This attitude was a foreseeable result of the country's principal political belief, "Juche," which loosely translates as "self-reliance." The ideology, which gradually emerged over time, has three main principles: political independence, economic self-sustenance and military self-reliance. Any overt support from the outside, particularly from countries North Korea considered unfriendly, would undermine Juche and was therefore unacceptable.

It is quite possible that had Kim Il Sung survived longer, the famine could have grown much worse. But as power shifted from father to son, and the sheer magnitude of the disaster became clearer, Kim Jong Il's government began to seriously consider accepting our assistance.

Assessing the Disaster

As a director for democracy, human rights and humanitarian affairs at the National Security Council, I traveled to Pyongyang during the winter of 1995 with a team of experts to assess the extent of the humanitarian crisis and discuss the possibility of American aid. Led by Len Rogers from the U.S. Agency for International Development, our delegation included Senate Foreign Relations committee staffer Munro Richardson and several other officials.

What struck me most about the briefings we received before departing was how little anyone really seemed to know about North Korea. I still remember one Korea watcher telling us to look for fresh graves facing south or toward mountains for an indication of how widespread the famine was. But never during my two years in North Korea did I see any evidence of mass gravesites.

What struck me most about the briefings we received before departing was how little anyone really seemed to know about North Korea.

Two USAID officials, Jon Brause and Dave Hagen, had already traveled to Pyongyang to set the stage for our visit. Their efforts to facilitate our mission proved invaluable, and both went on to contribute greatly to U.S. humanitarian efforts there.

At the time, all journeys to Pyongyang originated in Beijing, where Air Koryo, the national

airline, operated twice-weekly flights. Blacklisted from operating out of Western Europe, the carrier had a dismal reputation. But it was our only option. Looking out the window of the Illyushin Il-62 we were taking, I made myself ignore the bald spots on the tires. It didn't help that the plane's interior reminded me of pictures I'd seen of my grandparents' cross-continental trips back in the 1950s.

On our arrival in Pyongyang, we were whisked away into rounds of meetings, most of which focused on our proposed itinerary. Though our trip was highly orchestrated, we saw enough to make clear that the country faced a huge problem. The full extent of the 1995 famine may never be known, but it appears that between as many as 3.5 million people perished. That would put North Korea just behind China in terms of 20th-century famine-related deaths. And taking into account the fact that the DPRK's population is a fraction of its neighbor's, it would rank number one.

In response, the United Nations, with strong American support, initiated one of its largest humanitarian operations in its history. Japan and South Korea, also considered enemies by North Korea, soon joined the United States as the largest contributors to the U.N. relief effort.

My Second Stint in Pyongyang

Nearly a decade later, in 2004, I found myself back in North Korea, this time as the World Food Program country representative. Managing a program that I'd helped create, we were tasked with feeding 6.5 million people, nearly a third of the country. This time around, however, I had something else to worry about: my wife and 1-year-old daughter accompanied me, making us the first American family ever to reside in North Korea.

Our apartment was in a lime-green high-rise building, one of several occupied by most of the roughly 250 other foreigners in the capital. Most ambassadors lived inside

their embassy compounds. The Germans, British, and Swedes were the only Western governments represented, with the Swedish ambassador carrying out consular duties for the United States.

The accommodations were reasonably comfortable and our movements around the city relatively free. (On my first trip to Pyongyang in 1995, “unaccompanied” movements were restricted to the main street in front of our hotel.) Still, my wife was regularly escorted out of shops and told the establishments were closed to foreigners. Yet while private markets supposedly didn’t exist anywhere in North Korea, she regularly visited a large one downtown.

Running a huge food aid program is inherently challenging, but conditions in North Korea made things exponentially more difficult. For one thing, the effects of previous famines were still visible all around us. Children born in the mid-1990s were significantly smaller than normal due to poor nutrition in their critical first years.

A decade before, I’d pushed the United Nations to negotiate various operational criteria before rendering assistance to the DPRK: random access to beneficiaries, unplanned monitoring missions and the hiring of both English- and Korean-speakers. Now, as the person in charge of executing these tasks, they proved to be even harder than I’d imagined.

Managing six field-based offices and four port areas, WFP was by far the largest international presence in the country. Staff mobility outside of Pyongyang was severely constrained, with field visits being negotiated as much as an entire month in advance. This meant, of course, that most of the monitoring visits could be staged. Unlike Pyongyang-based staff, those living in the field could only leave their compounds when accompanied by a North Korean liaison officer. Moreover, staff members were subjected to very long periods of isolation, particularly in the more remote offices.

One afternoon I got a call from a staff member living in Ryanggang, our most secluded office in the northwestern part of the country. He reported that a foreigner had just joined him in his compound. North Korean border officials had arrested this visitor, a British man who had mistakenly crossed the border in an effort to walk around Mount Baekdusan. (Apparently he’d been using a map that

Running a huge food aid program is inherently challenging, but conditions in North Korea made things exponentially more difficult.

showed the mountain as being located entirely in China.)

As one can imagine, my staff and the Brit were both happy to find each other. Ultimately, he was quietly released, unharmed, with our help.

How did WFP’s program work? Food would land in one of the major ports, or in some cases arrive by rail from China. At the point of discharge, we would check to make sure the scheduled amounts were accounted for and in good condition. After the inspections, the food would be turned over to the Public Distribution System for delivery to those districts hit hardest by the famine. The next time WFP staff saw the food was during monitoring missions.

Getting the Job Done

The amount of food we were donating was immense: roughly 40 to 60 cargo vessels’ worth per year. Moving that much food around is no easy task. Due to the limitations on access, we concentrated our monitoring efforts on schools, orphanages and hospitals. We were not able to monitor the delivery of every bag of food, but by concentrating on institutions, we stood a better chance of determining whether the most vulnerable members of society were receiving food.

We also operated several food processing factories that produced enriched foods: blended food for infants, enriched biscuits and fortified noodles. At the height of operations, WFP managed six such facilities in the DPRK.

Aside from the nutritional benefits of the enriched foods, those products were also seen as less likely to be diverted. While there were repeated claims that the regime distributed aid based on internal political priorities, we never saw any evidence of widespread misuse.

WFP’s international staff of 56 people made up just under half of the 126 U.N. and nongovernmental organization relief staff in North Korea. Our large international work force and significant field presence, I believe, offered us a unique perspective. While I’m certainly not completely sure that everything went as planned, I am confident that our food aid went to people who needed it.

Working conditions for relief operations in North Korea have improved dramatically over the past several years, giving the World Food Program and its donors a much higher

level of operational confidence. DPRK authorities recently agreed to a set of monitoring principles that are the most stringent of any during our 15 years of working in the country. The terms provide for unprecedented access to markets, random access to homes and institutions, and the employment of Korean-speakers on WFP's international staff, things all previously forbidden.

Conditions Today

Under the WFP's "no access, no food" policy, we are able to monitor food supplies as they arrive, move through warehouses, are transported to final distribution points and get into the hands of recipients. Our staff there includes Korean-speaking food aid monitors, something previously not allowed.

Another significant improvement is that WFP field of-

Our primary mission is to save lives, but I'm hopeful that we're also paving the way for the country's peaceful engagement.

fices in Hamhung, Wonsan and Chongjin are now connected by fiber-optic cable, allowing full data connectivity and the use of WFP's food commodity tracking software.

In addition to feeding millions of North Koreans, the United Nations' long, consistent engagement has produced a variety of intangible benefits. Perhaps the most important of these is the fact that

DPRK officials have been forced to comply with a wide range of international norms in order to receive outside assistance.

As North Korean society begins to open up, this body of experience may prove to be invaluable. So while our primary mission there is to save lives, I'm hopeful that the United Nations is also laying the groundwork for the DPRK's next phase: peaceful engagement with the rest of the world. ■

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HEADING OFF THE COMING FOOD REVOLUTIONS

R

apidly rising food prices do not automatically cause social and political upheaval. But when combined with anger over other issues such as corruption or injustice, such increases can be the match that lights a dry forest. And in some cases, when food crises get out of control and famines break out, they can cause coups and revolutions. For example, during the Great Sahelian Famine of the early 1970s, 11 of the 13 countries that suffered widespread deaths faced coups or coup attempts; most notably Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia.

Similarly, the doubling of grain prices between 2006 and mid-2008 set off violent protests in more than 30 developing countries, and led to the ouster of Haitian Prime Minister Jacques Edouard Alexis in April 2008. Rapidly rising food prices also drove last year's Middle Eastern and North African uprisings, often referred to as the Arab Spring, at least as much as demands for political reform.

Consider Egypt, which subsidizes the price of bread. That policy has protected the urban poor from acute hunger, but the inability to afford most other foods has forced many of them to survive mainly on bread. (The price of tomatoes, another staple of the country's diet, shot up sixfold in 2010 alone.) So it should come as no surprise that State Department surveys last year found that half of the Egyptian population felt acute economic insecurity.

THE BEST WAY TO BREAK THE LINK BETWEEN FOOD PRICE INCREASES AND ABSOLUTE POVERTY IS THROUGH LONG-TERM DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS.

BY ANDREW S. NATSIOS

Last year, food prices jumped dramatically in northern Sudan as production of sorghum, one of the country's staple grains, fell by half. This spike has already stirred popular unrest in Khartoum and could lead (among many other grievances) to political upheaval there.

While international food prices fell briefly in late 2008 due to the global economic slowdown, they resumed their upward march in 2009 and 2010, reaching a new peak early last year. Such increases may slow again in 2012 as farmers connected to international markets increase production to take advantage of higher prices, but market volatility is likely to be with us in future years.

The broad escalation in global food prices since 2003 represents the confluence of several factors. Remarkable economic growth in China and India, among other developing economies, has led to burgeoning middle classes and a correspondingly heightened demand for animal protein in the family food basket. And since an appetite for meat requires additional grain production to feed animal herds and poultry flocks, prices for grain have risen, as well.

According to the International Food Policy Research Institute, the decision of the United States to subsidize, and the European Union to mandate, the grain-based production of ethanol for use in biofuels caused up to 30 percent of the increase in average grain prices between 2000 and

2008. Rising oil prices have forced some smallholder farmers to cut back on planting crops because they can no longer afford to buy fertilizer, which is closely correlated with the price of oil. Approximately 15 percent of the increase in food production prices is due to higher energy and fertilizer costs.

Price Volatility and Unrest

Between 2006 and 2008, the World Bank tracked the reactions of 58 countries to food price volatility and found that 48 of them imposed price controls, consumer subsidies, export restrictions or higher tariffs. Half of the sample group, 29 countries, responded by sharply curbing food exports. This lowered prices for their own citizens but drove them up elsewhere.

While restricting food exports affords temporary relief to domestic consumers, particularly urban-dwellers, it adversely affects farmers, who must sell their stock at lower prices, and trading partners, especially net importers, through higher prices. The anticipation of shortages caused by export restrictions can also lead to hoarding around the

world by farmers, traders and even consumers. Such hoarding offers short-term relief, but compounds the problem by reducing production incentives, potentially encouraging increased smuggling and corruption.

If food prices continue to increase even after governments take such steps, this tends to have political consequences. These vary widely because, as the old saying goes, all politics is local. But here are four key factors to watch:

- the rapidity and steepness of food price increases
- the level and extent of absolute poverty before price increases occur
- the existence of functioning information feedback mechanisms so political leaders can get data easily when there is a food crisis in their country
- the ability of the international humanitarian system to respond to sharp price hikes as soon as possible.

Generally speaking, societal reaction will be sharpest in countries with large urban populations that are connected to international food markets, which quickly feel the effects of price increases. In extreme cases, anger over food shortages can foment electoral upheavals, coups and popular uprisings.

The Origins of Famine

This effect is particularly strong when widespread food shortages deteriorate into full-fledged famines, of course. Nobel Prize-winning economist Amartya Sen opens *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation* (Oxford University Press, 1983), his celebrated statement of exchange entitlement theory, with this definition of the phenomenon: “Starvation is the characteristic of some people not having enough food to eat. It is not the characteristic of there being not enough to eat. While the latter can be a cause of the former, it is but one of many possible causes.”

Famines occur when large numbers of people in a country or region suffer a rapid, substantial reduction in caloric intake, causing widespread death. The phenomenon is seldom caused simply by shortages of supplies, but rather by the inability of large groups of people to obtain food, most often due to extreme poverty.

Absolute poverty increases the vulnerability of people to price shocks that lead to famine because they lack the means to absorb reductions in their income or increases in prices. The world’s poorest people spend up to 70 percent of family income to buy food, so even small changes in the economic balance between their income, assets, the

Andrew S. Natsios served as director of the U.S. Agency for International Development’s Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance from 1989 to 1991, assistant administrator of the Bureau for Food and Humanitarian Assistance (now the Bureau of Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance) from 1991 to 1993, and USAID Administrator from 2001 to 2006. Vice president of World Vision, the largest faith-based nongovernmental organization in the world, from 1993 to 1998, Ambassador Natsios later served as the U.S. special envoy to Sudan from October 2006 to December 2007.

Since 2006, Amb. Natsios has been a professor in the practice of diplomacy at Georgetown University’s Walsh School of Foreign Service, and is also a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute. He is the author of numerous articles on foreign policy and humanitarian emergencies, as well as three books: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse (Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1997), The Great North Korean Famine (U.S. Institute of Peace, 2001) and Sudan, South Sudan, and Darfur: What Everyone Needs to Know (Oxford University Press 2012). This article is an updated and abridged version of one he wrote with Kelly Doley, titled “The Coming Food Coups,” which the Washington Quarterly published in January 2008.

value of their labor, and the price of food can prove disastrous.

The recent worldwide increase in food prices and resultant crises exemplify the point. While famine is typically understood as a supply-driven phenomenon that occurs when some shock reduces food production, the current global food price increases are primarily a result of long-term, demand-driven trends — not a reduction in aggregate food supply.

These price increases primarily affect urban consumers, who depend on markets for food. While full-fledged famines have historically been more common in rural areas, some of those who die of hunger in cities are actually internally displaced persons, who have migrated from rural to urban areas in search for food or employment.

Food crises can mutate into famines when prices rise or incomes fall too rapidly and steeply for those living in absolute poverty to absorb the shock. Those who can afford sustenance even at higher prices enjoy continued access, though they may reduce their daily nutritional intake or consume more low-cost, low-calorie foods, as people suffering from the current price increases appear to be doing in many countries.

Like food distress generally, famine is not a single event, but unfolds over time, often years. Insidiously, it may not cause any widespread mortality for a year or two, until disease induced by acute malnutrition and weakened immune systems begins taking a massive toll.

Compounding the toll of famines, epidemics may break out when refugees leave their homes en masse in search of food, exposing themselves to new environments to which their immune systems are unaccustomed.

Coping Mechanisms

Those most vulnerable in a food crisis or famine employ various coping mechanisms to survive. Such mechanisms have predictive value, meaning that their presence in a society may indicate an incipient famine or food crisis. While at least 14 such mechanisms may manifest themselves during the various stages of a famine, three of them have dire political and security consequences.

First, in most famines, precautionary and speculative withholding of food stocks — hoarding — exacerbates

Rapidly rising food prices drove the Arab Spring at least as much as did demands for political reform.

food supply problems. For example, during the 1974 Bangladesh famine, newspaper reports of expected crop damage from severe flooding led to widespread hoarding. This drove markets to anticipate shortages, doubling the price of grain between February and June of that year. Famine then ensued as the poor were priced out of the market.

When prices increase, large farmers withhold surplus crops in hopes of further price increases, while small shareholders store food to hedge against soaring market prices. If the price increases are a result of supply failure and individuals are unable to meet their subsistence needs, prices may increase even further.

When hungry people discover warehouses of hoarded grain during a famine, they frequently take matters into their own hands and loot the supplies, increasing civil unrest.

Another coping mechanism, which is economically and politically destabilizing, is migration away from the epicenter of food shortages. Teenage boys and men with families are typically the first to migrate in the pre-famine phase, often flocking to urban areas in search of work to support their families. If conditions worsen and famine ensues, entire families often follow, as happened in Somalia 20 years ago and again in 2010 and 2011.

Even if the displaced reach refugee camps, they typically find abysmal sanitary conditions. Poor, unaccompanied women are subject to physical and sexual violence, and traditional family ties break down. Warlords have taken control of many camps, where they recruit unemployed, angry and hungry young men for their armies and militias. Such influxes are also politically destabilizing for host countries, which is why the Kenyan government recently sent troops into Somalia to try to open up supply lines to feed people there — leaving its military seriously bogged down.

To cite another example, the Iraqi insurgency that began in 2004 was partially fueled by migration of destitute young men from rural areas, where the agricultural economy had collapsed even before the war began. Most of these men were living on the streets of large cities and were easily recruited into militias.

Similarly, the United Nations mission in Afghanistan reports that a sharp hike in food prices in 2008 con-

tributed to an increase in the number of Taliban recruits.

A third coping mechanism is theft. Amartya Sen notes that a dramatic increase in criminality occurs during famines as men, particularly those with weapons, steal food to survive. The North Korean famine of the mid-1990s led to so widespread an increase in theft and criminality that the regime instituted public hangings as a deterrent measure. While harsh, such a reaction bears out the reality that increased criminality that goes unpunished and uncontrolled erodes the state's legitimacy. This is even more true in fragile and failed states.

Managing Food Price Volatility

To address these risks and minimize the chances that food shortages will become famines, donor aid agencies and developing countries should implement a four-pronged strategy to manage future price volatility, in cooperation with the other donor governments, World Bank and United Nations agencies.

- *First, donor governments and developing countries alike should invest in agricultural development programs.* Boosting agricultural productivity in fragile and failed states will help insulate them from price shocks. President Barack Obama's Feed the Future initiative is one example of what donor governments can do through their aid programs to increase food production.

Similarly, they should support World Bank President Robert Zoellick's \$1.2 billion plan to use grants and loans to support agricultural development in countries most affected by the sharp price increases. This initiative follows in the footsteps of the Green Revolution, which a generation ago tripled crop yields in Asia, saved more than a billion lives and kept 16 million square miles of forest from being cut down.

Specifically, donor governments and international institutions should invest more in improved drought-resistant grain varieties, including those born of research into genetically modified organisms and seeds that are more resistant to insects and disease. Reducing the vulnerability of African farmers to crop losses will help bring a new Green Revolution to a continent that is particularly vulnerable to food insecurity.

Donor governments and international institutions

Famine is not a single event, but unfolds insidiously over months or years.

should also launch a concerted effort to counter the anti-biotech campaigns being conducted by advocacy groups. Such campaigns have already delayed, if not paralyzed, the large-scale dissemination of genetically modified seed varieties where they are most needed to address crippling food shortages.

Because these programs will take 20 years to mature and produce sustainable results, they cannot be expected to alleviate severe food insecurity over the short term. The Green Revolution helped win the Cold War, but it took three decades to implement.

- *Second, improve the international humanitarian response to rapid increases in food prices.* This can be done through new policy tools, new, market-based approaches and improvements in existing tools.

One system that can serve as a model is the U.S. Agency for International Development's Famine Early Warning Systems Network. FEWSNET collaborates with international, regional and national partners to provide early warning and vulnerability information on food security issues in 25 high-risk countries.

The \$1.2 billion food aid budget used to address famines and other emergencies under U.S. law should be more flexible. Currently, the budget is used primarily to purchase U.S. food to distribute abroad, an approach that is inefficient and costly. More than 20 percent of food aid is used for shipping costs, and another 45 percent goes for logistics, overhead and distribution costs. Even at that, it takes four months to order, purchase, ship and distribute food aid abroad.

President George W. Bush's 2004 proposal to reform the U.S. government's food aid program, which would have dedicated 25 percent of the USAID Food for Peace aid budget to purchase local production, was simple and makes eminent economic sense. It would reduce delays in the delivery of U.S. purchased food and logistical risks, in addition to saving transport costs. But lamentably, the idea went nowhere, as Congress continues to resist giving USAID flexibility in allocating food aid resources because of pressure from the farm lobby and shipping interests.

- *Third, employ emergency market interventions when food prices rise too rapidly and too steeply to be managed.* This is now possible through an innovative \$300 million food intervention account run by USAID's Food for Peace

Office, which the foreign affairs committees of Congress approved because the respective agriculture committees stonewalled reforms to permit local purchases using food aid. This account can be used for local purchases of food, cash vouchers for the poor to buy food locally, and market interventions to mitigate price increases.

Building on this model, if family incomes decline in a fragile or failed state where a large portion of the population is already impoverished, market interventions should be considered as a way of mitigating the effects of the price increases. (Of course, this should only be done in emergencies, because keeping prices low will discourage farmers from producing more food.) Auctioning off food aid in such countries will help stabilize local prices, drawing hoarded food into markets. The resulting drop in prices would then give more of the population access to food markets.

Free food distribution should be the last, not the first, option aid agencies consider.

• *Fourth, eliminate lavish U.S. government subsidies to convert grain into biofuels such as ethanol.* Toward this end, policymakers should distinguish between biofuels produced from corn and those produced from sugar cane and other non-grain crops, which are not essential to food security. For instance, import tariffs on ethanol currently prohibit the entrance of Brazilian, sugar cane-based ethanol into the American market, even though it is much more energy-efficient than the corn-based ethanol produced here. Such trade-distorting mechanisms amount to a staggering \$7 billion a year.

Finally, the U.S. government should rescind its own subsidies for rice, corn, wheat and other grains, and press other countries to repeal theirs as well. Export restrictions being implemented around the world might be entirely rational responses at the country level, but their combined effect raises food prices. According to the International Food Policy Research Institute, export restrictions have adverse effects on net food importing countries. They also send perverse signals to farmers that their markets are artificially small, limiting production.

While price controls temporarily reduce prices for consumers, they also reduce the revenue that farmers receive for their agricultural products. As a result, they serve as a disincentive for farmers to produce more food at times when it is most needed. Developing countries with some institutional capacity should therefore also consider implementing conditional cash transfer schemes to provide

short-term aid to poor farmers. Mexico's PROCAMPO program is one successful example of this approach.

Averting the Worst Consequences

The link between food price increases and absolute poverty cannot be emphasized enough. The best way to break that link is through long-term development programs, with a 20-year time horizon, that stimulate economic growth. More funding should be put into USAID economic growth programs proven to work. In addition, more resources should go to democracy and governance programs, which build strong institutions with functioning accountability and feedback mechanisms in developing countries, particularly in fragile and failed states.

However, these programs cannot produce the kind of sustainable results over the short term demanded by Congress, the White House, the U.S. national security apparatus and what I call the Counter-Bureaucracy — the group of federal and congressional agencies that regulate and control the bureaucracy: the State Department's Director of Foreign Assistance and Office of the Inspector General, the Government Accountability Office, the Office of Management and Budget, and congressional oversight committees.

One reason the 30-year effort that sustained the Green Revolution — which produced its most dramatic results in the noncommunist countries that bordered Mao Tse-tung's China — was so successful is that USAID had much greater flexibility in those days over the use of foreign aid dollars. The agency was relatively independent from diplomatic and national defense pressures, and the counter-bureaucracy had not yet been invented.

If the global economy does not significantly improve (or fall into another recession, as the World Bank warns may take place in 2012) and unemployment rates continue to rise in poor countries that lack effective safety nets, then the confluence of high urbanization rates, high food prices and widespread unemployment could have potentially devastating political and security consequences.

Donor governments should respond to the current global spike in food prices for purely humanitarian and ethical reasons. But when governments cannot keep their own populations from starving in a famine, that failure may cause massive social and political upheaval. ■

CATALYZING U.S. LEADERSHIP ON HUNGER

U.S. FUNDING FOR GLOBAL FOOD SECURITY IS UNDER THREAT EVEN THOUGH STARVATION CONTINUES TO KILL THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE EVERY DAY.

By DAVID BECKMANN

It was a political development that seemed to come out of left field. In the summer of 2011, just as grim details about the famine in the Horn of Africa began to show up on newsfeeds in industrialized countries, the U.S. House of Representatives voted to make significant cuts to international food aid funding. Perhaps even more surprising was the sizable contingent of House members, 25 percent, who voted to eliminate all funding to provide basic food rations to some of the poorest people in the world.

It's an understatement to say that the past year has been an eventful one in the U.S. Congress and in national politics generally, full of deals, brinkmanship, rhetoric and rumors. At Bread for the World, the grassroots hunger advocacy organization of which I am president, we keep reminding ourselves to keep our eyes on the prize: ending the widespread but unnecessary human suffering that hunger inflicts.

Along with other nongovernmental advocacy groups, we have been urging the 112th Congress to adopt legislation that protects and strengthens what the United States is al-

ready doing to address the root causes of hunger — and to break new ground. For instance, funding under Public Law 480 (Food for Peace) literally saves lives. Its impact is much more immediate and direct than much of our other federal spending.

Hunger Is Not Subtle

The most recent famine in Somalia and throughout the Horn of Africa was caused by human beings more than by impersonal forces like drought. Such tragedies make it abundantly clear, if anyone needs reminding, that it is essential to maintain a strong global capacity to supply prompt, effective emergency humanitarian assistance. The kind of hunger that babies are enduring in Somalia is not subtle. Nor are votes to zero out hunger programs. So this is not the time for advocates on behalf of the hungry to be subtle, either.

In March 2011, I joined Tony Hall of the Alliance to End Hunger, Jim Wallis of Sojourners, Ruth Messinger of the American Jewish World Service, and Ritu Sharma of Women Thrive Worldwide in an extended fast to call attention to the budget threats. Many other concerned individuals, including 14 members of Congress, participated in part or all of the fast.

After the fast ended at Easter, faith leaders from diverse

The Rev. David Beckmann is president of Bread for the World, a nonprofit advocacy organization dedicated to ending hunger.

Christian traditions came together to call for a “Circle of Protection” from budget cuts around programs that serve hungry and poor people. More than 60 national church leaders and thousands of other individuals have now signed the Circle of Protection statement. I also participated in discussions with President Barack Obama and top leaders from both parties in Congress on why these programs deserve protection.

What is needed is a program to achieve lasting solutions — progress that is sustainable because it addresses the causes of hunger rather than just its symptoms. Poverty-focused development assistance supports efforts to build resilience among poor people. And, as we point out, preventing hunger and malnutrition is far less costly than emergency assistance, both in terms of money and human lives.

For instance, the U.S. Feed the Future initiative focuses on such important but long-neglected areas as agriculture, rural infrastructure and rural development. The rationale is straightforward: families are less vulnerable to hunger and poverty when they have viable strategies to grow sufficient nutritious food and to earn enough money to provide for their basic needs and a “Plan B” when things go wrong.

Death by a Thousand Cuts

There are, of course, compelling moral reasons to help hungry people, but we also marshal logical arguments and hard data. For example, proponents of cuts to food security assistance generally argue that the United States needs to reduce its budget deficit. Yet the facts show that development assistance did not cause, and cannot fix, the deficit.

Nor does even the argument that “every little bit helps” in balancing the budget hold water. The 17-percent cut to food aid for Fiscal Year 2011 would have paid for basic rations for millions of people. Yet its dollar amount was \$354 million (or less than half a billion dollars), a pittance compared to the 2011 U.S. budget deficit of \$1.7 trillion. These numbers show that the cut did not contribute in any meaningful way to improving the U.S. fiscal situation. So its impact could not possibly have justified cutting food rations for refugees and schoolchildren.

Our efforts have met with some success. P.L. 480 food

The kind of hunger that babies are enduring in Somalia is not subtle. Nor are votes to zero out hunger programs.

aid survived the many attempts to eliminate it and was funded at \$1.466 billion in the FY 2012 budget, slightly lower than its 2011 appropriation of \$1.497 billion. Unfortunately, total poverty-focused U.S. development assistance fell by 7 percent during FY 2011, with some programs suffering much larger cuts. But in the Fiscal Year 2012 omnibus appropriations bill ap-

proved by the House and Senate, poverty-focused development assistance fared well, with proposed funding of \$21.3 billion, only a fraction below the FY 2011 level of \$21.4 billion.

As Congress began its work on FY 2012 appropriations, more than 120 organizations, both secular and faith-based, signed a letter urging Congress to protect the international affairs account, particularly poverty-focused development assistance, from disproportionate cuts.

Why We Are Hopeful

Threats to funding for food security strike a discordant note, both because starvation continues to kill thousands in the Horn of Africa and because, for several years now, the United States has been a global leader on efforts to reduce hunger.

There is, in fact, a strong track record of progress against global hunger, one reason we maintain that it can be eliminated. Over the past 40 years, the global rate of hunger has been cut in half. Only about one-sixth of the world's population currently suffers from chronic malnutrition, compared with one third of the human race barely a generation ago.

During the past few years, however, progress has been stalled by a constellation of new and old problems, from the more frequent droughts associated with climate change and dramatic volatility in the prices of staple food crops to neglect of rural areas and gender discrimination.

Yet despite these setbacks, U.S. leadership has championed efforts to build global political will and generate momentum to do more to reduce hunger.

For instance, the United States responded promptly to the 2007-2008 global food price crisis, which pushed an additional 100 million people into hunger. Grasping the essential point about that crisis — that it stemmed from several interconnected factors, some of which were beyond

the control of any one nation — American leaders proposed longer-term, multilateral solutions, focusing particularly on agriculture and nutrition.

At a 2009 meeting of the Group of Eight developed countries in L'Aquila, Italy, the United States proposed and secured approval for a global initiative to strengthen the agriculture sector in developing countries, particularly by helping smallholder farmers improve their productivity. The initial commitment was to raise \$22 billion over three years.

Feed the Future is the American contribution to the L'Aquila initiative. The World Bank coordinates the Global Agriculture and Food Security Program, which has also begun to carry out L'Aquila projects.

Not only is U.S. leadership on such initiatives important, but our funding has a multiplier effect: other donors are more likely to contribute if the United States does. U.S. Agency for International Development Administrator Rajiv Shah estimates that, overall, every dollar of U.S. aid brings in an additional four dollars from other donors. If America maintains and strengthens its leadership role, the world can make lasting progress against hunger.

Joining Forces with Other Advocates

New knowledge about the best ways to improve nutrition among pregnant women and children younger than 2 — and confirmation of its critical importance — led Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton and her Irish counterpart to launch the 1,000 Days Partnership in September 2010. The idea is to work for 1,000 days to improve nutrition among children in that “window of opportunity” between pregnancy and the age of 2. The damage caused by malnutrition during this period is irreversible — but it is also preventable.

Scaling Up Nutrition, a global movement led by developing countries to improve nutrition for babies and toddlers, is a related initiative. In June 2011, the Bread for the World Institute and Concern Worldwide hosted a meeting in Washington, D.C., to boost support for SUN's efforts to build political will, develop workable strategies to solve nutrition problems, and identify ways to overcome barriers to further progress.

Many nutrition practitioners in low-income countries attended the Washington meeting, which coincided with Bread for the World's biannual National Gathering. A

***The facts show that
development assistance
did not cause, and
cannot fix, the deficit.***

group of 19 leaders of national organizations representing the women of different Christian denominations came away motivated to organize U.S. women of faith to help achieve the nutrition goals set by SUN and 1,000 Days.

We have also stepped up advocacy for greater aid effectiveness and supporting administration efforts already under way. Our members wrote to their elected representatives as part of a 2011 campaign for foreign assistance reform. As part of the Modernizing Foreign Assistance Network, our goals include a stronger focus on reducing poverty, clearer accountability for spending and its results, a transformed U.S. development agency, and assistance that meets the needs and wants of local people in developing countries.

Promising Reforms

Besides launching initiatives such as Feed the Future and the 1,000 Days Partnership, the Obama administration conducted a whole-of-government review of development that resulted in the release of the president's Policy Directive on Development in September 2010. That directive calls for elevating development as a foreign policy consideration, strengthening the focus on sustainable development outcomes, and taking other steps to make the United States a more effective partner in support of development.

A few months later, in December 2010, the State Department and USAID released recommendations from their joint Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review. USAID has already begun to implement a package of improvements, known as “USAID Forward,” which include a new “Country Development Cooperation Strategy” aimed at improving development results at the country level.

USAID has also set up a public Web site, the Foreign Assistance Dashboard (<http://foreignassistance.gov/>), to synthesize publicly available State Department and USAID budget data. There are plans to expand it to cover all U.S. foreign assistance programs. These reforms will bolster the goals outlined at the U.N. Fourth High-Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness, held from Nov. 28 to Dec. 1, 2011, in Busan, South Korea.

We anticipate that 2012 will be another eventful year as we and our allies work to defend, expand and improve programs that help reduce hunger and extreme poverty. ■

AFSA'S SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM: A PROUD HISTORY

SINCE ITS BEGINNINGS IN 1926, AFSA'S SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM HAS GROWN TO PROVIDE BOTH MERIT AWARDS AND FINANCIAL-NEED SCHOLARSHIPS TO ABOUT 100 SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF FOREIGN SERVICE MEMBERS ANNUALLY.

BY AMBASSADOR C. EDWARD DILLERY

In 1926, Mrs. Elizabeth T. Harriman expressed her desire to establish a memorial in honor of her son, Oliver Bishop Harriman, who had died suddenly while serving as chargé d'affaires in Copenhagen. Working with Under Secretary of State Joseph C. Grew, AFSA formed a committee, and Mrs. Harriman made a gift of \$25,000 to provide for yearly scholarships for a son or daughter of a Foreign Service officer. The Oliver Bishop Harriman Scholarship has been awarded every year since 1927.

Today, the Harriman Scholarship is one of more than 70 perpetual named scholarships in the AFSA Scholarship Program, which confers both Merit Awards and Financial Need Scholarships. During the 2011-2012 academic year, the association provided aid to 96 students totaling \$223,400. The program also assists the DACOR Education Committee and a few other institutions in administering their scholarship programs. This excellent progress has been steered by AFSA's Scholarship Committee.

C. Edward Dillery served as ambassador to Fiji from 1984 to 1987. During a distinguished 38-year Foreign Service career, he also served in Japan, Belgium, Vietnam, England, Cyprus and Washington, D.C. He served as AFSA retiree vice president from 1991 to 1993 and as chairman of the Scholarship Committee from 1997 to 2012.

For more detailed information on the AFSA Scholarship Program, including its management, rules for participating and the management of the fund, go to www.afsa.org/scholarship or contact AFSA Scholarship Director Lori Dec at dec@afsa.org or (202) 944-5504.

For the past 15 years — since 1997, when Ambassador Willard DePree resigned as chair of the Scholarship Committee and asked if I would like to replace him — I have had the honor of continuing the committee's work. For me, the most satisfying aspect of that task has been meeting and communicating with the outstanding high school students and college undergraduates whom our program helps. The pictures of the AFSA Merit Award winners and AFSA Financial Aid Scholarship recipients in the January and July-August issues of the *Foreign Service Journal*, respectively, speak for themselves.

As I leave the position, I would like to share some of the history of this exemplary program and give some insight into the recent work of the committee that manages it.

It's Official!

In 1932, the AFSA Board of Directors voted to grant \$150,000 to officially establish the American Foreign Service Association Scholarship Program. The *Foreign Service Journal* followed with a similar donation in 1936, and for almost 10 years the Harriman Scholarship and these new funds were granted annually to six or seven Foreign Service students. In 1945, Assistant Secretary of State William B. Benton donated a check he had received for writing an article to the scholarship program. He followed this with additional donations, and other members of the Foreign Service joined in with contributions.

The program received a special boost in 1961, when the Association of American Foreign Service Women (now the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide) provided new scholarships from a portion of the proceeds of

their first annual book sale — a practice that still continues today. AAFSW now also sponsors scholarships under the AFSA Financial Aid Scholarship Program.

Over the years, many other persons and groups wishing to recognize Foreign Service personnel who have died or who have had a special concern for the Foreign Service have made gifts to the scholarship program, and each scholarship that is established is unique.

For example, the Public Members Association of the Foreign Service — whose members serve as public members of selection boards, promotion panels and inspection teams for Foreign Service personnel — established a scholarship that is awarded to a college junior or senior planning to enter the Foreign Service as a career. It has made a contribution to the scholarship fund every year since 1992.

In the last several years, the Scholarship Fund has been the beneficiary of several large bequests. The program also receives donations through the Combined Federal Campaign and the AFSA Scholarship Fund's Annual Appeal, as well as from AFSA members who choose to contribute when they renew their membership.

Recognizing Financial Need and Merit

The financial aid program is designed to help families cover higher education costs. AFSA employs a formula to assess need that is used by many U.S. educational institutions, in which family and student asset and income along with other data are factored into the equation. Applicants must be full-time students and maintain a grade point average of 2.0.

Under this program, AFSA has in recent years provided aid to between 50 and 70 Foreign Service dependents annually in amounts ranging from \$1,000 to \$4,000. We recognize that this does not come close to covering the current costs of university and college, but we are sanguine that it helps. The grants can be given each year for four years of college. There can be multiple awards to a family, up to a total of \$10,000 per year.

In 1976, AFSA and AAFSW decided jointly to establish a distinct, competitive merit awards program for outstanding high school seniors. At its inception, this program provided awards for academic accomplishment; awards for achievement in the arts and community service were added to the program during the 1990s.

The application process for the Merit Award program is similar to that for college admission. The elements consid-

ered are GPA, standardized test scores, activities, and community service. Applicants for the Art Merit Award submit graphic art, creative writing, dance, and music entries. Applicants for the Academic Merit Award must also submit an essay on a topic related to their life as Foreign Service dependents, and each year a "best essay" winner is chosen.

Each year we receive about 90 academic and art merit applications and grant about 25 awards. These awards are not considered scholarships, but rather recognize superior performance.

Merit awards confer \$2,000 for a full award and \$1,000 for an honorable mention. One of my greatest pleasures has been to assist the AFSA president in presenting these awards to winners in the Washington,

D.C., area on Foreign Affairs Day each year.

The Scholarship Fund Portfolio

The AFSA Scholarship Fund's portfolio is held in stocks, bonds, notes and cash. As of the end of 2011, total assets were almost \$5 million. The Scholarship Fund is an IRS Section 501 (c) (3), tax-exempt entity that is separate from AFSA. The association's Finance and Audit Committee oversees the management of the AFSA Scholarship Fund endowment and shares information on this with the Scholarship Committee. The portfolio is managed by the brokerage firm Convergent Wealth Advisors.



Zachary Charles receives his Academic Merit Award from AFSA President John Naland and Amb. C. Edward Dillery in 2009.

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The scholarship program is funded by taking 5 percent of the average five-year balance of the portfolio as of Dec. 31 of each year to provide for the scholarships and for administrative costs, a practice that is well within the industry standard for this type of fund.

In 2008, the Scholarship Fund donated \$37,500 to the Fallen Diplomats Scholarship Fund, which is administered by the Federal Employees Assistance and Education Fund to help provide scholarships to the eight children who lost a Foreign Service parent to terrorism between 1998 and 2003.

Also in 2008, the AFSA Governing Board approved a renovation to the AFSA headquarters building, which involved a loan of \$1.2 million from the Scholarship Fund to be paid back over 10 years. I am glad to report that AFSA has been repaying the loan in fine fashion.

The Scholarship Fund is an IRS Section 501 (c) (3), tax-exempt entity that is separate from AFSA.

A Vital Committee

The Scholarship Committee, which manages the overall program, is composed of representatives from all of the Foreign Service agencies, as well as from DACOR, AAFSW and the AFSA Governing Board. Its most important work is to take the annual sum approved by the AFSA Governing Board, and determine the number and amount of scholarships to be

awarded. The committee strives to maximize the financial aid grants to the neediest of applicants. It also understands the importance of recognizing merit, and tries to balance the two programs.

Each year the committee also reviews the administration of the merit and financial aid programs. With the need-based awards, usually only small tweaks may be needed. But the committee works continually to make the merit awards as fair a competition as possible between students from widely different high schools — ranging from overseas institutions that sometimes provide instruction in a language other than English and home-schooled students to those at some of the large, excellent schools in the Washington, D.C., area.

Committee members and other volunteers serve as judges for the competition, a time-consuming but

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Amb C. Edward Dillery accepts a scholarship donation from Nick Frankhouser, Scholarship Chairman of the Public Members Association of the Foreign Service.

very satisfying effort. Each judge has at least 20 applications to consider, and the process is completed in two stages.

In recent years, the committee has also dealt with a number of broader issues. Until 2010, AFSA did not have a formal policy on handling bequests and other substantial contributions. That year, the committee formulated and the Governing Board approved a new policy, which embodies a more professional approach that helps donors understand the kind of scholarship gifts that are accepted and how they will be used.

AFSA also recently adjusted its awarding policy for the perpetual named scholarships. Each year, the committee determines the recipients for these scholarships, which are given for both financial aid and merit awards. The interchange between the donors and the recipients is most rewarding, as winners receive biographical information to understand their donors' Foreign Service connection and donors receive student thank-you letters. Many form an even stronger tie, exchanging correspondence and meeting in person.

Finally, the committee helps scholarship program staff with individual cases. On the financial aid side, students may change universities, drop out of programs, or have unexpected family issues. Often, such situations could mean that an otherwise quali-

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the Benjamin Franklin State Dining Room.
Reservations are first-come, first-served.
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The AFSA Memorial Plaque Ceremony takes place during Foreign Affairs Day in the C Street Lobby.

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Amb. C. Edward Dillery with AFSA President Susan Johnson at the January Governing Board meeting, where he was honored for his 15 years as the AFSA Scholarship Committee chairman.

fied student would lose a grant, but the committee tries to find creative ways to continue the support for such students within AFSA policies. On the merit program side, sometimes parents simply don't understand why their outstanding child has not received an award. The chair of the committee takes the responsibility of explaining the situation to the parents in such cases.

Speaking Personally

Participation in the committee for the past 15 years has been very rewarding for me. I have found it particularly gratifying when, as has happened on several occasions, parents and former recipients comment on the importance of our committee's work.

But perhaps the most satisfying aspect is to be one of the judges for the Merit Awards and read the applicants' essays. Their stories of growing up overseas, doing community service in underdeveloped areas, their churches and other organizations, and their travels in foreign countries are all gripping, real and well-written.

Many of the applicants have helped children in the countries where their parents are stationed, volunteering in



2007 Art Merit winner Erica Wickman plays her clarinet at the AFSA Scholarship Reception and Ceremony.

orphanages or in other ways, and share heart-warming stories. The judging process makes clear what an outstanding group the applicants are: capable, serious and dedicated to their education and to their communities.

In closing, allow me to express my thanks to the several AFSA presidents and governing boards during my tenure, to all the members of the committee over the years, to the volunteers who have participated in the judging of merit awards and, especially, to AFSA's superb Scholarship Director, Lori Dec.

Because each scholarship or award case has its special elements, Lori's work is highly complex. It requires attention to detail and a thorough understanding of family situations and the financial aid practices of many universities. She is ably assisted by Jonathan Crawford, AFSA's part-time scholarship assistant.

There have been many developments in the scholarship program since 1997. Most satisfying is the fact that AFSA has bestowed \$1,538,840 in aid to 1,264 students during that period. Also noteworthy is that the value of the AFSA Scholarship Endowment has increased from about \$3.7 million to almost \$5 million.

I am honored to have been part of those developments and to have had a hand in helping further the education of Foreign Service dependents. I congratulate Ambassador Lange Schermerhorn on her assumption of the duties of the chair of the Scholarship Committee, and sincerely hope she enjoys it as much as I have. ■



Examples of visual arts submissions from winners in past years: the photography is by Sophia Hubler in 2011, the painting is by Joseph Kenny in 2009, and the ceramic bowl is by Odette Brock in 2003.



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Amplifying the Voice of the Foreign Service

BY AFSA PRESIDENT SUSAN R. JOHNSON

Highlights of AFSA's past year include the election of the 2011-2013 Governing Board; success in retaining 16.52 percent Overseas Comparability Pay; strong advocacy for the international affairs budget in coordination with other supporters of diplomacy and development; continued efforts to raise the profile of the American Foreign Service Association and what we do to advance and protect U.S. interests around the world; and sustained growth in membership, bringing us near the 16,000 mark.

The new AFSA Governing Board, comprising both re-elected members of the 2009-2011 board and new members from all constituencies, took office in July. Combining continuity with fresh ideas and energy, the board held a strategic planning retreat to identify five strategic priorities: governance; core advo-

cacy; image and outreach; professionalism and effectiveness; and membership and development. I reported on the results of those discussions, which also included AFSA professional staff, in my November and December "President's Views" columns.

The 2011 Annual Report is designed to inform you about some of our key activities in the five priority areas.

Governance and Internal Operations. The goal of our focus on governance is to increase AFSA's effectiveness and efficiency by clarifying the role and responsibility of the Governing Board and its individual board members, as well as the relationship of the board to professional staff; streamlining processes and formalizing standard operating procedures; and aligning programs, services and resources with our strategic priorities.

With this overarching goal in mind, AFSA:

- Hired new professional staff
- Created new staff teams to pursue key goals
- Addressed IT weaknesses and introduced new technologies
- Enhanced financial management and budget development
- Continued capital investments in our building and equipment

These and many other changes build on the operational improvements AFSA initiated in 2010. In 2012, we will examine how we can strengthen internal governance by pursuing bylaw reform and overhauling committee structures, making better use of professional expertise and advisers, reviewing and updating the AFSA post representative system and organizing our domestic members for more effective advocacy.

Core Advocacy. AFSA is committed to improving the reach and the effectiveness of our advocacy for the Foreign Service and for diplomacy and development. In 2011 we:

- Averted severe cuts to State Department and Foreign Operations budgets.



Then-Deputy Secretary of State James B. Steinberg and AFSA President Susan R. Johnson head for AFSA's annual Memorial Plaque Ceremony held on Foreign Affairs Day, May 6.

DONNA AYERST

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- Preserved Overseas Comparability Pay at 16.52 percent for 2012

- Engaged with management for effective QDDR implementation in a way that strengthens the Foreign Service

- Protected USAID operating expenses against House-proposed cuts

- Aligned USAID entry-level starting salaries more closely with those at State

- Supported successful efforts to boost Foreign Commercial Service funding

- Acted early to pave the way for passage of the Civilian Service Recognition Act, which authorizes the provision of American flags for members of the Civil Service and Foreign Service killed in the line of duty

- Supported passage of the Foreign Service Death Gratuity Act, which increases life insurance benefits for FS personnel killed in war zones

- Increased Labor Management office staffing to aid in handling more than 400 individual requests for assistance a week and processing more than 200 cases pending in various agency offices or before the Foreign Service Grievance Board

- Certified 40 percent more post representatives in 2011 than in 2010.

Image and Outreach. 2011 was AFSA's busiest outreach year ever, with significantly more events, communications with members and online engagement. Important in their own right, such activities support the vision of increased membership participation and feedback, higher voter turnout and increased retiree membership. Toward that end, we:

- Launched AFSA's new Web site in February

- Expanded our use of social media outlets such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube

- Recognized pioneering diplomat Ambassador Rozanne Ridgway for her lifetime of service and many other outstanding Foreign Service personnel and community members at AFSA's annual Awards Ceremony

- Produced 20 programs focusing on foreign policy, bread-and-butter issues and diplomatic history, including AFSA Book Notes programs, expert panel discussions and historical commemorations

- Provided more than 500 Foreign Service speakers nationwide, reaching more than 30,000 people, including the 5th annual Marshall Adair Family Lecture at American University in which Ambassador Nicholas Burns addressed "The Challenges Facing Today's Foreign Service"

- Attracted wide media coverage of AFSA's "30th An-

niversary of the Release of the Iran Hostages" program in January and the "Rally to Serve America"

- Appeared on NPR's Kojo Nnamdi program in September, focused on Foreign Service issues

- Published the third edition of *Inside a U.S. Embassy: Diplomacy at Work*, by our FS Books division, which has already sold more than 12,000 copies

- Engaged more than 500 students and young professionals in FS Books and career events.

Professionalism and Effectiveness. The Governing Board envisioned an AFSA consultative role with FSI, greater recognition of the importance of continuing professional education and training, a sustained and adequate training float, greater management commitment to hiring retired FS personnel rather than contractors, and a revitalized dissent program embracing more active-duty professional writing for publication. Among initiatives in 2011, we:

- Advocated for institutionalization of a greater commitment by State and the other foreign affairs agencies to the professional development of our active-duty members, both in terms of 21st-century issues and tradecraft

- Participated with the American Academy of Diplomacy and the Stimson Center in funding and preparing the report, "Forging a 21st-Century Diplomatic Service for the United States through Professional Education and Training"

- Made several appearances before the Senate and House Government Oversight Committees to emphasize the importance of investing in professional education and training for Foreign Service employees

- Explored professional issues facing the Foreign Service through the "President's Views" columns: "Diplomacy after 9/11," "Ambassadors as the Linchpins of Field Diplomacy" "Revolutions Test Diplomacy," "WikiLeaks and Diplomacy" and "Time for a Foreign Service Reserve Corps"

- Called for reinstitution of the Open Forum.

Membership and Development. Membership dues make up the key portion of AFSA's revenues; we are developing other sources as well. AFSA continues to work to recruit and retain active-duty and retiree members from all constituencies. In 2011, we:

- Hosted more recruitment events than ever before

- Introduced online fundraising in addition to our regular mail-based solicitations

- Forged relationships with Booz Allen Hamilton and Semester at Sea in support of our National High School Essay Contest; and a new lecture series on the future of diplomacy and development, funded by Booz Allen Hamilton.

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- Disbursed scholarship assistance to nearly 100 students, worth a record amount of approximately \$223,000
- Continued our strong legislative advocacy to ensure that FS annuitants continue to receive the benefits they have earned
- Provided counseling and assistance to more than 300 individual retirees
- Retooled our bimonthly *AFSA Newsletter for Retirees* and *Members in Transition* to explain retirement benefits, department policies and the impact of the debt-reduction process on annuities and benefits, and expanded its distribution to active-duty members. ■

The Memorial Plaques

■ BY PERRI GREEN, SPECIAL AWARDS
AND OUTREACH COORDINATOR

The first AFSA Memorial Plaque was unveiled in 1933 by Secretary of State Henry Stimson. Today, two plaques grace the C Street lobby of the State Department, honoring 236 members of the Foreign Service who have died in the line of duty. In 2011, the name of Eugene F. Sullivan, a USAID Foreign Service officer who died of blackwater fever in Ethiopia in 1972, was added during a ceremony held on May 6, Foreign Affairs Day. Then-Deputy Secretary of State James B. Steinberg and AFSA President Susan Johnson presided over the ceremony, witnessed by 26 members of Mr. Sullivan's family and many others.



Labor Management: Advocating for Our Members

■ BY SHARON PAPP, AFSA GENERAL COUNSEL

With the increase in total numbers of Foreign Service members, AFSA's Labor Management Office has seen a commensurate increase in workload — in the number of grievances, discipline, Equal Employment Opportunity cases, security clearance cases, assignment restrictions, requests for assistance during investigations by the Diplomatic Security Bureau and Office of the Inspector General, and general inquiries from members about conditions of service.

To strengthen our ability to respond quickly to members' concerns, we welcomed Janet Weber to the office as labor management counselor in March of 2011. We also increased the number of labor management attorneys from four to five, hiring Andrew Large.

Our office dealt with a bewildering variety of bread-and-butter issues over the course of the year. The labor management staff received between 400 and 450 requests for assistance each week, and the staff is presently working on approximately 200 active cases that are pending in various agency offices or before the Grievance Board. There are several matters of general importance that stand out.

In 2011, the State Department proposed disciplinary action against a handful of employees for off-duty conduct that it had not sought to regulate in the past (i.e., extramarital affairs between consenting adults). The department has never sent out a cable or department notice advising employees that, depending on the number of partners, it views such behavior as "notoriously disgraceful conduct" that may subject the employee to discipline.

AFSA has expressed its concern to the department regarding the lack of notice to employees and the tenuous connection between this off-duty conduct and the employee's job, and we are assisting a number of employees who are challenging such disciplinary actions.

Improper Rule Changes

During 2011, we encountered a number of instances in which the department had made improper changes to the

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regulations for domestic and overseas assignment travel, and we successfully protested these events. First, without consultation, the department introduced a requirement for a continued service agreement before employees could be issued travel orders to proceed to an overseas post. This is not required under the travel regulations, and AFSA was successful in getting the requirement rescinded.

We also successfully reversed a ruling under which the department implemented a change to the rules that prevented the award of a residence transaction allowance to Foreign Service employees transferring domestically. We also protested a decision to disallow payment of per diem under some circumstances during the 10 days before departure for an overseas assignment.

AFSA has expressed concern for a number of years that the career paths for some Foreign Service specialists do not allow for professional development or provide reasonable promotion opportunities. While our initial concerns were over the diplomatic courier skill code, others, such as security technical specialists, are also affected. As a result of AFSA's advocacy, the department has embarked on a thorough review of the 20 specialist skill codes. This includes a review of the career development path documentation for each skill code.

We have pointed out the need to augment Foreign Service overseas staffing in several ways. As a result, the department has hired more security protective specialists (for personnel protection in high-threat countries) and consular specialists (to handle the burgeoning demand for non-immigrant visas in China and Brazil) on Limited Non-Career Appointments. At the same time, the department is seeking to expand opportunities for Civil Service employees to gain developmental experience overseas.

AFSA has expressed to management its concerns about the proliferation of such programs, and our strong opposition to any initiative that would harm the career Foreign Service. Simultaneously we are reaching out to these LNA employees who, for the duration of their limited appointments, are members of our bargaining unit.

DS Concerns

In late 2010, AFSA had filed an institutional grievance against the State Department when the Bureau of Diplomatic Security changed the conditions of employment for DS members without providing the requisite notice and an opportunity to AFSA to bargain. Specifically, DS decided to stop

paying Law Enforcement Availability Pay to DS agents whose credentials or clearance was temporarily suspended during an investigation, even though such agents had received LEAP in the past. As part of a settlement agreement, in early 2011, the parties met to discuss changes to the Foreign Affairs Manual, and DS agreed to come back to AFSA with such changes. Unfortunately, we have heard nothing further from DS on the subject, and several agents have lost thousands of dollars due to delays in reinstating them to full duty. AFSA helped several of these agents file grievances.

This matter illustrates a wider concern over the way DS has been dealing with other matters affecting agents who are removed from full duty. These include the lack of written procedures relating to suspension and reinstatement of an agent's credentials and weapon, as well as the lack of procedures relating to an agent's return

to full duty. We have continued to press DS on these matters throughout 2011, and will redouble our efforts in 2012.

IBB Practices

During 2011, we protested the International Broadcasting Bureau's practice of categorizing some overseas positions as Civil Service positions. This is not the practice in the State Department or in USAID and, while it may not be contrary to the letter of the law, it is clearly contrary to the sense of Congress, as expressed in the 1980 Foreign Service Act. We met with management to discuss our concerns, seeking agreement for the question of the categorization of overseas positions to be considered by the Board of the Foreign Service. The issue remains active. We did, however, sign off on the IBB's revision of its Manual of Operations, 11 years after the IBB became an independent bureau.

In previous years, we reported on the successful outcome of a grievance concerning the review for performance pay of newly promoted Senior Foreign Service members in 2007 and 2008. As a result, newly promoted SFS members will be reviewed for performance pay so long as they have an EER covering the period ending April 15, without regard for the date the president attested their promotions.

In 2011, the calculations to recompense successful grievants for lost pay and interest were finally completed, with all of the 67 affected members fully compensated. Some 57 members received pay increases and a total of \$515,000 in performance cash awards, and a further 11 members received a pay increase without a cash award. ■

As a result of AFSA's advocacy, the department has embarked on a thorough review of the 20 specialist skill codes.

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Legislative Affairs: The Fight Continues

■ BY EDWARD DICKENS, DIRECTOR OF POLICY, AND CLINT LOHSE, LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS ASSISTANT

A FSA is more active than ever in advocating our top policy priorities. In 2011, we expanded our policy and legislative team and now have two full-time staff dedicated to engaging with Congress, the State Department and the federal government. Ed Dickens, AFSA's policy director, is a retired FSO with 22 years of experience with the State Department and U.S. Agency for International Development. Clint Lohse, AFSA's legislative assistant, came to us after five years as a staffer in the U.S. Senate.

Congress and Foreign Affairs

This has been a difficult and frustrating year, marked by deep disagreements in Congress over spending priorities and much else. The political climate in Congress creates constraints and challenges for all federal agencies, departments and programs. The federal deficit and debt have shaped nearly every policy question before Congress this year and led to heightened scrutiny of the federal budget. Although several members of the House and Senate have called for deep cuts to the foreign affairs budget, AFSA is proud to have spoken up in strong support of funding for diplomacy and development.

AFSA is proud to have spoken up in strong support of funding for diplomacy and development.

The FY 2012 Budget

Happily, Congress passed an omnibus Fiscal Year 2012 appropriations bill in December, funding the government for another year and averting a shutdown. International affairs spending was cut, but not as sharply as had been feared. Overseas Comparability Pay was preserved at 16.52 percent through September 2012. The threat to eliminate OCP for personnel serving overseas was real but did not materialize. While we are pleased that the current level has been preserved, we remain vigilant and committed to seeking full implementation of OCP at the Washington, D.C., rate.

The omnibus measure provided \$42.1 billion in base funding for State & Foreign Operations, which is \$6 billion below 2011 funding and \$8.7 billion below the president's request. That figure is a negotiated compromise between higher funding in an earlier Senate version and a draft ver-

sion in the House containing much deeper cuts. Reflecting the difficult fiscal and political climate, that spending level represents an approximately 5-percent decrease from FY 11 and a 14-percent cut from FY 10, at a time when investments in diplomacy and development are more critical than ever.

The bill contained a total of \$13.2 billion in funding for operational costs for the State Department and approximately \$1.3 billion for USAID's operating expenses. The final number for USAID OE was below the request, but far above a House-proposed cut that would have imperiled several initiatives.

A separate appropriations bill signed into law in November funded the Foreign Commercial Service at \$270 million and the Foreign Agricultural Service at \$176 million. The Foreign Commercial Service appropriation was above what it might otherwise have been, and AFSA was directly engaged in that outcome.

As AFSA has contributed to the larger debate on foreign affairs spending, we have focused on the "people" side of the budget and on efforts to protect essential Foreign Service accounts, including resources for more and better professional education and training enabled by an adequate "training float."

AFSA on Capitol Hill

AFSA is building on its positive reputation as an educational and practical resource for legislators and their staff. During the past year, AFSA has enhanced and strengthened collaboration and cooperation between our in-house legislative team and AFSA's bipartisan political action committee. AFSA's leadership have met with, among others, Senator Lindsey Graham, R-S.C., ranking member of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on State and Foreign Operations; Senator Patrick Leahy, D-Vt., chairman of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on State and Foreign Operations; Senator Daniel Inouye, D-Hawaii, chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee; Representative Nita Lowey, D-N.Y., ranking member of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on State and Foreign Operations; and Representative Kay Granger, R-Texas, chair of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on State and Foreign Oper-

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ations. AFSA also participated in a host of staff-level meetings and sent numerous letters.

The association's political action committee is a key component of AFSA's legislative strategy. It donates equally to Republicans and Democrats, focusing on members of the appropriations and foreign relations committees. AFSA-PAC Treasurer Thomas Boyatt and members of the PAC board, as well as AFSA President Susan Johnson, Executive Director Ian Houston and AFSA staff, have attended a number of events and meetings where they were able to directly engage with members of Congress on AFSA's top priorities.

AFSA was a proud supporter of the Civilian Service

Recognition Act, which passed both houses of Congress this year and was signed into law by President Barack Obama at the end of December. This legislation authorizes federal departments and agencies to present American flags for members of the Civil Service and Foreign Service who are killed in the line of duty. We also support the Foreign Service Death Gratuity Act, to provide increased life insurance benefits for Foreign Service officers killed in war zones.

This year, AFSA forged closer relations with Pearson Fellows on Capitol Hill. In 2012, we look forward to working closely with the Pearson program, gathering important information and perspectives on legislative activities and conveying critical concerns to Congress. ■

Outreach and Public Affairs: Explaining Diplomacy

■ BY ÁSGEIR SIGFÚSSON, MARKETING AND OUTREACH MANAGER; TOM SWITZER, DIRECTOR OF COMMUNICATIONS; AND DONNA AYERST, AFSA NEWS EDITOR

One of the AFSA Governing Board's main pillars is expanded and improved outreach to all of AFSA's audiences — members, the general public, students, congressional interlocutors and others. To that end, AFSA engaged in more outreach activities in 2011 than any previous year. As a result, more people visited AFSA and attended AFSA-sponsored events nationwide than ever before.

AFSA Events

In our second year of offering regular events geared toward public education and professional development, we were able to organize some truly outstanding programs. Chief among them were two events that bookended 2011 — the 30th-anniversary celebration of the release of the Iran hostages in January and the December panel discussion on the 20th anniversary of the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Hundreds of AFSA members and others attended those two events, each of which not only highlighted a historically important occasion, but offered fascinating insights into the practice of on-the-ground diplomacy.

We were also proud to present seven authors in our AFSA Book Notes series: Jane Loeffler, Ambassador Edmund Hull, Andrew Bacevich, Patricia McArdle, Ambassador Peter Tomson and the father-daughter team of Marvin and Deborah Kalb. The Book Notes programs are intended to introduce

books of professional and historical interest to our members and the public.

We also offered a number of speaker programs and panel discussions during the year tied to *Foreign Service Journal* focus topics: the role of multilateral diplomacy, women in security and development, work-life balance in the Foreign Service, and economic and commercial diplomacy.

Toward the end of the year, AFSA was honored to receive a generous donation from global consulting firm Booz Allen Hamilton to endow a new speaker series entitled "A New Frontier in Diplomacy and Development: People and Programs." Our first event under this sponsorship took place in September and offered a close look at the Foreign Service 10 years after the 9/11 attacks and their impact on the conduct of diplomacy and development. We look forward to many additional programs in this new series over the coming year.

All of these programs are offered under the umbrella of our 501(c)(3) charitable organization, the Fund for American Diplomacy, and are made possible by your contributions. You can learn more and make a secure online donation at www.afsa.org/fad.

AFSA News

In 2011, *AFSA News* increased its coverage of AFSA's awards for constructive dissent. In addition to profiles of the winners and heavy photographic coverage of the awards cer-

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emony, a steady stream of articles written by past dissent award winners appeared from month to month.

Columns written by AFSA's VP representatives from the foreign affairs agencies continued to provide our members with critical information on the state of their agencies, in addition to the overall issues facing the Foreign Service.

In April, AFSA hired Donna Ayerst as editor of *AFSA News*. Along with the *Foreign Service Journal*, *AFSA News* staff participated in the selection of a design firm to redesign both publications, a process we anticipate completing in 2012.

With an increase in the number of events AFSA presents, *AFSA News* saw an increase in the number of pages dedicated to event coverage. Articles and photographs provided members with a lively and robust display of the informative and well-attended programs.

In 2012, *AFSA News* is looking forward to an increase in articles covering Foreign Service life and welcomes submissions from FS employees, family members and retirees. For more information please contact Editor Donna Ayerst at ayerst@afsa.org with submissions or queries.

Online Presence

We expanded our digital *Foreign Service Journal* archives, which now extend back to January 2003. In 2012, expansion is planned back to 2000.

We continued our foray into the world of social media, as well. The AFSA Facebook page (www.facebook.com/afsa page) is nearing 3,000 fans and is updated multiple times a week. Similarly, our Twitter feed (www.twitter.com/afsatweets) is steadily gaining followers. Finally, our YouTube page (www.youtube.com/afsatube) includes recordings of AFSA events.

Facebook pages for *Inside a U.S. Embassy* and the *Foreign*

Service Journal broaden AFSA's reach still further. Those pages have more than 2,000 friends together. We hope you will follow AFSA in all these forums so that you can keep up with our activities.

Road Scholar

Now in their 16th year, AFSA's Road Scholar (formerly Elderhostel) programs continued to bring information about the Foreign Service and foreign policy to hundreds of senior Americans. In 2011, we offered courses in St. Petersburg, Fla.; Tucson, Ariz.; Chautauqua, N.Y.; and Washington, D.C. All of these programs featured active-duty and retired Foreign Service employees discussing current foreign policy issues — ranging from the Arab Spring to global terrorism — with attendees. It is a tremendously worthwhile outreach effort that creates awareness of the Foreign Service, diplomacy and development among the American public.

We introduced some new program themes in 2011, including a very timely program focusing on North Africa and the Middle East. Offered for the first time in November, it drew a maximum capacity enrollment of 50 participants.

Speakers Program

One of AFSA's most effective outreach components is our national Speakers Program. In 2011, Foreign Service speakers addressed the vital importance of U.S. diplomacy before more than 30,000 academic and professional attendees in 42 states and Washington, D.C. AFSA's speaker corps includes more than 450 retired and active-duty Foreign Service officers, including 75 former ambassadors, many of whom continue to be actively involved in international affairs as consultants, businesspeople, authors and teachers.



Ambassador R. Nicholas Burns and Marshall Adair (center, L and R) join students from the American University School of International Service after Amb. Burns presented the fifth annual Caroline and Ambassador Charles Adair Memorial Lecture on Aug. 31.

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DIANE VOGEL

(L to R) Tom Switzer, director of communications; Ian Houston, executive director; Susan Johnson, president; Kojo Nnamdi, WAMU host; and Matthew Asada, AFSA Governing Board member and FS officer, in WAMU studios, discuss life in the Foreign Service since 9/11.

Providing historical perspectives and personal experiences, AFSA's speakers give audiences the opportunity to consider the complex international order of the 21st century, including the fact that many Foreign Service officers now serve in dangerous conflict areas around the globe. Audiences included members from world affairs councils, think-tanks, civic organizations, town meeting participants, and students from high schools, universities and adult education programs.

In February, Ambassador Ronald Neumann presented a talk to more than 300 individuals at the Lyndon Baines Johnson School at the University of Texas, Austin. Amb. Neumann, who recently served as U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan, clearly explained and warned of the critical necessity of sustaining resources for U.S. diplomacy and development despite the cur-

rent budgetary climate. He provided his audience with "insider" viewpoints on the political and military challenges NATO forces face in stabilizing the country.

Speakers addressed many other topics, consistently stressing the vital role the Foreign Service plays in advancing America's security, economic and development interests around the globe. Audiences were urged to contact their members of Congress to request increased funding for diplomatic readiness and development programs. AFSA's book, *Inside a U.S. Embassy*, was highlighted as a further resource on how our Foreign Service works.

Media

AFSA expanded its media outreach in 2011, preparing 41 press releases for nationwide news outlets. We placed, either directly or through AFSA retirees, 31 letters to the editor, op-ed columns, fact sheets and articles advocating increased public and congressional support for U.S. diplomacy in media including *Federal Times*, *Washington Post*, *Congressional Quarterly*, *Roll Call*, CNN and the Associated Press.

In September, AFSA President Susan Johnson, Governing Board member Matthew Asada and AFSA staff were interviewed on NPR's "Kojo Nnamdi Show" to discuss a potential government shutdown and other Foreign Service-related topics.

The annual Memorial Plaque Ceremony, held at the State Department as part of Foreign Affairs Day, received solid treatment via some 11 media entities nationwide. ■

AFSA On the Web

■ BY ÁSGEIR SIGFÚSSON, MARKETING AND OUTREACH MANAGER

AFSA officially launched its new Web site on Feb. 28, 2011, bringing innovations and easier access to our members. The new features were one-click address updates, easier navigability, clearer menu options, social media integration and online donation capability. While that alone would have represented a banner year for AFSA on the Web, we are not stopping there. We have big plans for 2012, with some great new ways for members to connect with AFSA.

In conjunction with the new Web site, we launched a new platform for our AFSAnet e-mail messages. It allows us to send messages in HTML format, making them much easier to read. We can embed images, videos and links to

enhance our messaging. And we can target our messages to a specific group within our ranks of members. This ensures that we don't overload our members' inboxes with messages that are not pertinent. In 2011, we sent more than 80 AFSAnet messages, some to our entire membership and others to targeted populations.

The most popular pages on our Web site remained largely the same: the *Foreign Service Journal*, the National High School Essay Contest, AFSA scholarships, member guidance, *Inside a U.S. Embassy*, retiree services and our membership section. A new entry into 2011's top 10 most-visited pages was our Foreign Service blogs page, which we update regularly based on feedback from the field.

Finally, we added Web and IT Assistant Jeff Lau to our team. His technical and graphic skills have greatly improved the look of the AFSA Web site, as well as our online and hard-copy promotional materials. ■

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AFSA Awards: A Unique Tradition

■ BY *PERRI GREEN, SPECIAL AWARDS AND OUTREACH COORDINATOR*

Each year, AFSA recognizes Foreign Service members with two distinct sets of awards — for constructive dissent and for exemplary performance — and also honors one individual for his or her outstanding contributions to American diplomacy over a lifetime. Our annual awards ceremony took place in the State Department's Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception room on June 23, 2011.

This year Ambassador Rozanne L. 'Roz' Ridgway was honored with the prestigious Lifetime Contribution to American Diplomacy Award. She was introduced by then-Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Ambassador Bill Burns, who noted that her many career highlights include her role as top negotiator in all five U.S.-Soviet summits during the 1980s. Amb. Ridgway accepted her award to loud applause, generously acknowledging her mentors, colleagues and her husband, Captain Theodore E. Deming, USCG retired.

Three Foreign Service members received Constructive Dissent Awards: Maurizio Visani (the F. Allen "Tex" Harris Award for an FS specialist); Joel Ehrendreich (the William R. Rivkin Award for a mid-level officer); and James Bayuk (the Christian A. Herter Award for a senior-level officer).

AFSA's Constructive Dissent Awards are unique. They recognize members of the Foreign Service who have had the courage and integrity to stand up and disagree with a policy or management issue within the system, offering constructive alternatives, knowing it may not always be the most popular course of action. This year, the fourth constructive dissent award, the W. Averell Harriman Award for a junior-level officer, was not given.

At the same ceremony, AFSA also presented awards for exemplary performance to Foreign Service employees and family members. Marie Farrar and Charla Chaudhry each received the Avis Bohlen Award for an FS family member; Michael L. Vining received the M. Juanita Guess Award for a Community Liaison Officer; Ann E. Rehme was honored with the Nelson B. Delavan Award for a Foreign Service Office Management Specialist; and Lawrence A. Fields was named AFSA Post Representative of the Year.

The awards ceremony was attended by many guests and dignitaries, all of whom enthusiastically cheered the awardees.



AFSA President Susan Johnson welcomes a capacity crowd to the Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room for AFSA's annual Awards Ceremony for Dissent and Performance on June 23.

DONNA AYERST

Past recipients of the Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy Award Frank Carlucci, Tom Boyatt and Bruce Laingen were in the front row. Speaking from the audience, Secretary of Transportation Ray LaHood spotlighted AFSA's dissent award program, emphasizing its importance and the vital role that each of the dissent award winners plays as a model for others.

During the year, AFSA presented other awards, including the Sinclair Language Awards that honor FS foreign language students for outstanding accomplishments in the study of a difficult language and its associated culture. This award benefits from a bequest made by Matilda W. Sinclair, a former Foreign Service officer.

The 2011 winners were: Daniel Heath Bailey for Latvian; Eric M. Frater for Vietnamese; Melanie Harris Higgins for Indonesian; Bradley Hurst for Hungarian; Andrew J. Partin for Georgian; Daniel Rakove for Mongolian; Stuart Madgett Smith for Greek; Thomas Venner for Tagalog; and Vaida Vidugiris for Greek.

AFSA also sponsors the George Kennan Writing Award, given each year to honor the best paper written by a State Department employee enrolled at the National War College. This year's winner was Todd C. Holmstrom. ■

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National High School Essay Contest: New Support

■ BY PERRI GREEN, SPECIAL AWARDS AND OUTREACH COORDINATOR

On Aug. 9, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton presented AFSA's 2011 National High School Essay Contest first-place award to Grant Jirka, a rising senior at Columbus High School in Columbus, Neb. He also received \$2,500, a trip with his parents to Washington, D.C. to meet Secretary Clinton and 10 copies of *Inside a U.S. Embassy* for his school's library.

Students were asked to analyze and explain how Foreign Service employees promote U.S. national interests by participating in the resolution of today's major international issues. The 2011 contest generated more than 300 submissions from high school students nationwide.



Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton congratulates AFSA's National High School Essay Contest winner, Grant Jirka.

The goal of AFSA's High School Essay Contest, now entering its 13th year, is to stimulate interest and understanding of the United States Foreign Service.

In 2011, the essay contest garnered generous financial support from Booz Allen Hamilton, and the Institute for Shipboard Education offered an additional prize of an academic voyage on University of Virginia's Semester at Sea, which will be awarded for the first time to the 2012 winner.

To read 2011's winning essay and contest rules, please go to www.afsa.org/essaycontest. This year's contest

deadline is April 15. (Children of Booz Allen Hamilton, Semester at Sea and Foreign Service employees are not eligible to enter.) ■

AFSA Scholarship Program: Successful Growth

■ BY LORI DEC, SCHOLARSHIP DIRECTOR

The AFSA Scholarship Program enjoyed another year of successful growth that included a number of highlights. First, to better reflect its mission, the AFSA Committee on Education was renamed the AFSA Scholarship Committee.

This year, the Academic and Art Merit Award prize money was increased by 8 percent, and a total of \$44,000 was bestowed in Merit Awards to 28 Foreign Service high school seniors. The Foreign Service Youth Foundation sponsored a one-time-only Academic Merit Award.

Need-based, financial aid scholarships were bestowed on 68 undergraduate children of Foreign Service employees, totaling \$179,400 in the 2011-2012 school year.

Working with the College Board and overseas Foreign Service families, AFSA also provided guidance on how to best complete the PROFILE, the financial aid instrument some-

times used to ascertain a family's financial situation in paying for college, to ensure that FS families are treated fairly.

This year, Mr. Norton Bell, Mrs. Tapley Bennett, Mr. Stephen Hubler, Mr. Eric D.K. Melby and Ambassador Rozanne Ridgeway all made additional contributions to scholarships established in their names or in the name of a loved one.

Finally, the committee welcomed several new members and bid farewell to others. State Department AFSA Representative Jenae Johnson, FAS AFSA Representative Mark Petry and American Associates of the Foreign Service Worldwide Representative Anne Cekuta joined the AFSA Scholarship Committee in 2011, while Yvette Malcioln, USAID AFSA Representative, rejoined. Carol Sutherland retired and resigned her position as State Department AFSA Representative. ■

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FSBooks: Expanding Outreach

■ BY SHAWN DORMAN, EDITOR/
PUBLISHER FS BOOKS

The all-new and much expanded third edition of *Inside a U.S. Embassy* was published in April 2011 by Foreign Service Books, a division of AFSA. The book is distributed by Potomac/Books International. With the subtitle “Diplomacy at Work,” the new edition of AFSA’s popular introduction to the Foreign Service continues to be a unique resource, describing in detail and in person the work of the Foreign Service through the perspectives of the practitioners.

The 2011 edition includes profiles, day-in-the-life chronicles and stories from more than 80 members of the Foreign Service community, as well as a guide to the hiring process and sections on the country team, bidding, spouse employment and other topics related to the Foreign Service career.

The previous and new editions have been purchased by hundreds of libraries and university career centers, and the book has been adopted for more than 50 university courses. *Inside a U.S. Embassy* is used by the military for various training courses, by the State Department recruitment division for outreach and by Foreign Service candidates.

Inside a U.S. Embassy remains a key outreach tool for AFSA, illuminating a career that is still mysterious to most Americans and also introducing public audiences to the association. FSBooks events in 2011 reached hundreds of students and young professionals. AFSA also continued its partnership with the Foreign Policy Association University in 2011, hosting Foreign Service career seminars in New York City and Washington, D.C.

AFSA staff gave Foreign Service career/*Inside a U.S. Embassy* presentations at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, The George Washington University’s Elliott School of International Relations, Georgetown University’s School of Foreign Service, Boston University, The Fletcher School at Tufts University and for visiting students from the University of Pittsburgh’s Graduate School of Public and International Affairs.

In addition, we held book events at Arlington Public Library, Embassy Jakarta and Embassy Dili, and displayed the book at conferences including the National Conference of Social Studies Teachers and the National Conference for College Women Student Leaders.

Of the initial print run of 15,000 books for the 2011 edition, more than 12,000 had sold by the end of the year. In September, we launched a digital version for the Kindle, Nook and Android platforms. The 2005 digital edition is still selling well. ■



FSJ: Highlights and Accomplishments

■ BY STEVEN ALAN HONLEY, EDITOR

The most popular issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* during 2011, judging from online hits, letters to the editor and other feedback, was May’s “Work-Life Balance: Handling the Ups and Downs of FS Life.” Soon after its release, it was the subject of Joe Davidson’s “Federal Diary” column in the *Washington Post*, complete with an eye-catching inset of the cover.

Another 2011 highlight was our December issue, marking the 20th anniversary of the dissolution of the Soviet Union. We spotlighted the unique, indispensable role the Foreign Service played in anticipating that world-changing event, reporting on its unfolding and aftermath, and advising U.S. policymakers. Our coverage included an interview with former President George H.W. Bush, an article by former Secretary of State

George Shultz, and numerous contributions by other experts.

Both issues were also the inspiration for AFSA panel discussions. Other focus topics explored in such events last year were the economic/commercial function (February); “Power and Peacebuilding: Why Women’s Involvement Matters” (April); and the 10th anniversary of the 9/11 attacks (September).

While the magazine’s organization and contents have evolved substantially in recent years, its current format dates back to 1994. Mindful of this, AFSA has engaged a design firm and expects to unveil a new look in 2012.

The *Journal* has continued to upgrade its online presence, with all issues from 2003 to the present now available online. This has enabled us to attract more unique visitors and exceed by a substantial margin our target for online advertising this year. ■

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Retiree Services: A Broad Agenda

■ *By BONNIE BROWN, COORDINATOR FOR RETIREE COUNSELING AND LEGISLATION*

The past year was dominated by concern over how to counter a rash of congressional proposals aimed at severely reducing or eliminating federal benefits as a means of reducing the federal deficit. Despite a difficult political environment, AFSA continued to work hard to protect its members' earned benefits.

Over the past year, AFSA worked as a member of the Federal and Postal Union Coalition (comprising more than two dozen federal organizations) to send a barrage of letters to major decisionmakers — members of Congress, the Office of Management and Budget, and the White House — during all significant stages of debt reduction discussions.

AFSA provided retiree members with assistance and counseling in more than 300 cases, including workmen's compensation claims resulting from exposure to Agent Orange during the Vietnam War, survivor annuities, Medicare and Federal Employees Health Benefits coordination, and department services.

Retiree VP Bob Houdek and AFSA retiree Governing Board representatives also worked actively and successfully to increase retiree membership.

Retiree Services continued to publish the bimonthly *AFSA Newsletter for Retirees and Members in Transition*, which provides members with concise information on department policies, explanations of benefits and news on the debt-reduction process. We also regularly updated the Retiree Web page on AFSA's Web site, further giving members access to essential information.

Early in the year, AFSA President Susan Johnson and Retiree Coordinator Bonnie Brown traveled to Florida to speak at a meeting of the Foreign Service Retirees of Florida.

In November, AFSA held a reception to honor retired FSO James Iso, who had just received the Congressional Gold Medal for his service in World War II. Mr. Iso is a Japanese-American who, along with his family, was sent to an internment camp after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. After leaving the camp, Mr. Iso enlisted in the Military Intelligence Service, where he served with great distinction. Following the war, he served in the Foreign Agricultural Service until his retirement.

In 2012, Retiree Services will inaugurate the AFSA Memorial Marker Program, which has been developed to give appropriate recognition to the careers of Foreign Service personnel and their family members.



DONNA AYERST

Newly retired employees gather at AFSA's reception, held at the close of the Foreign Service Institute's retirement seminars.



DONNA AYERST

Congressional Gold Medal awardee and retired Foreign Service officer James Iso with Bonnie Brown, AFSA's coordinator for retiree affairs, at AFSA's reception honoring Mr. Iso on Nov. 3.



DONNA AYERST

Recent retirees enjoy AFSA's reception honoring their service.

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State Department: Challenges, Distractions And Achievements

■ BY DANIEL HIRSCH, AFSA STATE DEPARTMENT VP

This past year was full of challenges, distractions, frustrations, delays, changes and small victories. The Arab Spring, a horrendous earthquake and tsunami (and questions of nuclear safety) in Japan, terror attacks in Norway and Moscow, flooding in Thailand and other events proved, yet again, that even traditionally safe and pleasant posts can become dangerous or difficult overnight.

The departure of the military from Iraq and ramp-up of military action in Afghanistan added new layers of danger to those already-difficult posts. WikiLeaks and a theft of computer equipment by a contractor of the Office of Medical Services caused concerns about the security of sensitive personal information.

In Washington, the Foreign Service faced what I consider to be the worst antigovernment sentiment I have seen in my career — much of it unfairly directed against federal employees. Bipartisan efforts to reduce the federal budget were derailed by partisan brinksmanship, which threatened, twice, to shut down the government. New members of Congress brought new agendas, differing foreign policy views and a number of misconceptions about who we are and what we do.

Against this backdrop, the State Department unveiled the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review, a “new way of doing business,” with broad implications for the department’s organization, human resources practices and expectations of employees. The ongoing implementation of QDDR recommendations subsumed a number of AFSA initiatives, some of which will be incorporated as new procedures and organizational structures are developed. Important among these, we hope, will be improvements to the career paths of certain specialists and greater opportunities for training for all FS employees.

Responding to outside factors, the department also created new Limited Non-Career Appointment categories, bringing different kinds of temporary FS employees into our service. AFSA sought to define and limit these categories, and ensure that they do not become back-door hiring mechanisms into Foreign Service careers.

A significant amount of AFSA’s time was spent on the Hill, educating new lawmakers about the Foreign Service, defending past gains in implementing Overseas Compara-

bility Pay, and expressing our support for budget elements related to our salaries, our safety and our ability to perform our mission worldwide.

With State interlocutors, we discussed the safety of overseas housing; the security of posts in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan; creation of an alternative dispute resolution program; changes to federal travel regulations; opportunities for employees with disabilities; standardized operating procedures for suspension and restoration of special agent credentials; the elimination of time-in-class for diplomatic couriers; the career path for security technical specialists; training and out-of-cone opportunities for specialists; instituting per diem for career rovers; and defining emergency action procedures for pets, among other items. Some of these discussions have yielded results, while others are still pending, such as completion of reviews related to the implementation of the QDDR.

A list of AFSA’s accomplishments for the year would have to begin with the fact that we managed to preserve the 16 percent of OCP that had been implemented earlier. While not ideal, this was a significant feat under the circumstances. Many AFSA members helped in this effort by contributing their ideas and writing to their representatives in Congress.

I would like to think that AFSA’s “Rally to Serve” played



A crowd of federal employees gather to support AFSA’s “Rally to Serve,” protesting a possible government shutdown, which garnered heavy media coverage.

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a small role, as well. Held on April 8, on the eve of an imminent government shutdown, AFSA's demonstration brought together several hundred Foreign Service and Civil Service employees in the only demonstration of its kind in Washington. As a result, the FS, along with our CS colleagues, became the "face of the federal employee" in media across the U.S.

Other selected achievements, more or less in chronological order, included:

- Incorporating the suggestions of several hundred members into an improved version of e-performance. With two exceptions, all AFSA-suggested improvements were adopted, making e-performance easier to use.
- Creating a special category of exchange visitor, hosted by State's Bureau of Human Resources, making non-U.S. citizen, same-sex domestic partners of members of the Foreign Service eligible to come to the United States during their partners' domestic assignments.

- Negotiating a change to Foreign Affairs Manual regulations, so children studying or residing away from post can travel to meet with parents at an intermediate location other than the post under certain circumstances.

- Extending the DS-5055 EER form for all tenured employees, affording them greater input into their EERs.
- Collaborating with the Foreign Service Institute to produce three new courses for supervisors that, we hope, will reduce improprieties and grievances related to the performance evaluation process.
- Creating the Secretary's Expeditionary Service Award, in response to AFSA's suggestion that State create the equivalent of a campaign medal for those who have served in war-zone assignments.
- Influencing the department to rescind a directive related to continued service agreements, which would have required employees to repay training and other costs whenever they left a post early. ■

FCS: Ending on a Positive Note

■ *By KEITH CURTIS, AFSA FCS VP*

For the Foreign Commercial Service, 2011 proved to be another tough year, with budget concerns dominating. We faced post closures, downsizing and extremely limited international travel. Roadblocks caused by partisan politics forced AFSA FCS to work hard to mitigate the worst aspects of these onslaughts. Our biggest effort was put into working the Hill and the administration to gain greater recognition, while pushing the necessity and importance of budget increases.

In a surprising turnaround, aided by the effective use of AFSA's tools — AFSA-PAC and help from our stakeholders, led by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce — we were successful in securing an increase in our annual budget, even as many government agencies suffered decreases. The extra \$10 million was mostly due to the direct intervention of the House Appropriations Committee and its chairman, Frank Wolf, R-Va., — a true friend of FCS. The additional funds allowed us to reinstate employee awards, a canceled program AFSA fought for.

We should take great satisfaction from the fact that many significant allies weighed in on our behalf, including the District Export Councils, National Association of Manufacturers, Business Council on International Understanding and

the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Our FCS leadership — Assistant Secretary for Trade Promotion and Director General of the U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service Suresh Kumar and Deputy Director General Ambassador Charles A. Ford — had to fight to make sure the funding that Congress intended for us reaches the FCS.

We started the year with a big boost from President Barack Obama, with the promise of an effective trade reorganization. We spent considerable time chasing down that rabbit (meeting with the Office of Management and Budget four times), but what had been advertised as a major initiative ended up as just another Web site. However, there are rumors that something more substantial may yet happen, so we will continue to track developments, though the odds are against any trade reorganization happening in an election year.

Meanwhile, the substantial work that needs to be done to protect our rights, promotion potential and future organization in the midst of downsizing and regionalization continues. Regionalization will bring much change and our budget woes will continue, but we can take heart that we have many friends who believe in our mission. We have a leadership who fight hard for us internally, has always been open and attentive to AFSA's concerns, and keeps the welfare of our organization first in their minds. ■

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USAID: Promoting Your Interests

■ *By FRANCISCO ZAMORA, AFSA USAID VP*

AFSA USAID saw a significant increase in action in 2011 as a result of new employees hired through the Development Leadership Initiative program. Thankfully, the agency has added more than 800 new DLI positions to build up our understaffed, direct-hire Foreign Service force. Although this is short of the plan to double USAID's Foreign Service ranks from approximately 1,200 to 2,400 FSOs over a four- to five-year period — a plan agreed to by Congress — we find ourselves more than halfway there. Further increases in staff will, of course, depend on future federal budgets, which are now severely restricted.

Working with other AFSA member agencies, we have successfully protected previous gains in Overseas Comparability Pay. For now, OCP remains close to 16 percent, but our goal is to match the full locality pay for Washington, D.C.

Lobbying efforts on the Hill included AFSA's well-publicized rallies — shown on local and national news outlets — to protest possible government shutdowns and to protect foreign affairs funding.

While AFSA USAID spends much of its time with members requiring personal, one-on-one assistance, we are also intensely involved in monitoring the functions and policies within the agency in areas such as bureau and mission reorganizations, teleworking, assignments, performance board reviews of employee evaluations, disciplinary actions, retirement procedures, safety, security and staffing issues.

Even in areas that are non-negotiable, the new, presidentially mandated Labor Management Forum allows AFSA to be informed and consulted on issues affecting employees.

We look forward to continuing to represent your interests in 2012. ■

FAS: A Year of Transition and Challenges

■ *By DAVID MERGEN, AFSA FAS VP*

In 2011, AFSA FAS Vice President Henry Schmick moved on to a well-deserved assignment as head of the FAS office in Guatemala and I returned from Argentina to take over as AFSA Vice President for the Foreign Agricultural Service. Andrew Burst was elected as the new representative for FAS.

The agency has continued to face challenges. According to the annual "Best Places to Work in the Federal Government" report, published by the Partnership for Public Service, FAS's ranking fell to 233 (out of 241 agencies). Since the survey results were made public, there has been a major change in upper management, with career FSO Sue Heinen taking over as acting administrator. She has made it clear that she will be focusing more on the traditional function of FAS as a trade agency, which should help to relieve some of the confusion in recent years over the role of FAS.

We also face challenges specific to the FS. In recent years. For instance, FAS downsized our Senior Foreign Service. In our up-or-out system, this means that more people at all

levels face involuntary separation. By the end of 2015, a quarter of the 170 FSOs in FAS face the possibility of involuntary separation due to time-in-class or time-in-service restrictions. While some may be given promotions, most will not.

This will have a major impact on a relatively small agency, since we already have a shortage of officers to fill overseas positions at the FS-1 and FS-2 levels. FAS has filled these gaps by having SFS officers do downward stretches to cover some of the FS-1 positions and mandating upward stretches for lower-level officers (36 percent of the FS-1 positions overseas are filled by FS-2 officers). However, this is not a viable long-term solution.

AFSA has stepped up lobbying on behalf of the Foreign Service, with new resources added to our congressional liaison staff. This proved critical in maintaining current Overseas Comparability Pay in the face of efforts by Congress to cut the budget by reducing pay to federal employees. ■

AFSA has stepped up lobbying on behalf of the Foreign Service, with new resources added to our congressional liaison staff.

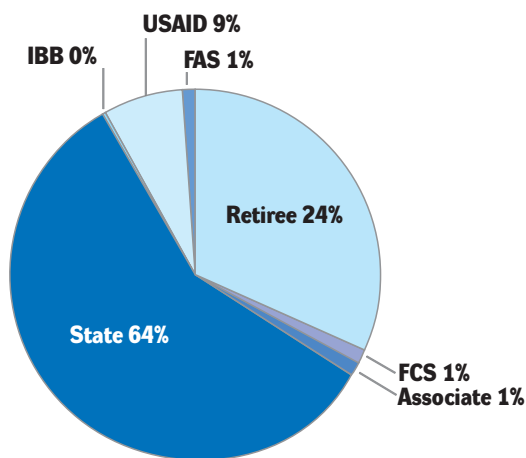
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Member Services: Our Numbers Are Growing

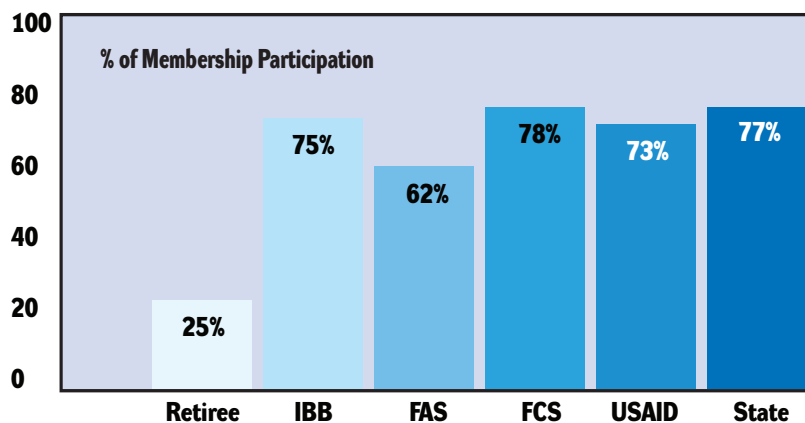
■ By JANET HEDRICK, DIRECTOR, MEMBER SERVICES

A FSA demonstrates its commitment to its members by providing exceptional service, safeguarding member interests and advocating for a better-supported Foreign Service. Our success has been reflected over the year in rising membership numbers. AFSAs ranks increased by 3.25 percent in 2011, to a record total of 15,939 members.

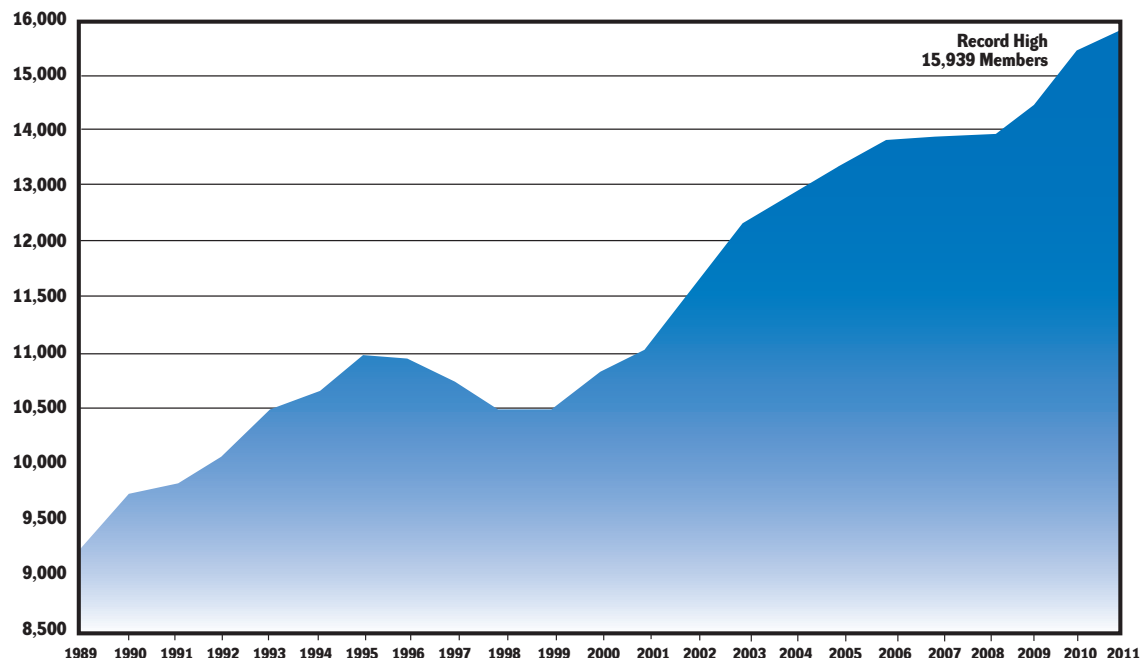
**Membership by Constituency
December 2011**



**Membership Participation by Constituency
December 2011**



Total Membership 1989 to 2011



ANNUAL REPORT

Benefits of AFSA Membership

Labor Management Relations: AFSA negotiates the regulations affecting employees' careers. We work to make the Foreign Service a better place in which to work, live and raise a family. Our network of AFSA post representatives provides on-site assistance to overseas members.

Legal Services: We offer free legal advice and representation on employment issues, including security and OIG investigations, discipline cases and security clearance proceedings.

Congressional Advocacy: AFSA is your advocate before Congress on issues affecting the careers of active-duty members and the annuities of retired members.

Ombudsman: We work to resolve member problems with pay, allowances, claims, annuities, health care and many other issues.

Voice of the Foreign Service: As the professional association of the Foreign Service since 1924, AFSA works to strengthen our profession and is ever vigilant for threats to the career Foreign Service.

Grievance Representation: AFSA's legal staff provides hands-on assistance with grievance proceedings when your rights are violated.

Outreach: AFSA communicates the views of the Foreign Service on professional issues to the news media and directly to the general public.

Foreign Service Journal: Our monthly magazine offers provocative articles that will keep you current on developments in the foreign affairs profession.

AFSA News: AFSA's monthly newsletter, inside the *Foreign Service Journal*, highlights issues affecting your daily life.

AFSA Web Site: Our online member area includes a member directory and member forums.

AFSANet: Regular e-mail updates keep you current on issues of importance to the Foreign Service community.

Insurance Programs: You can choose among competitively priced insurance programs designed for the Foreign Service community, including professional liability, long-term care, accident, dental and personal property/transit.

AFSA Scholarships: Approximately 100 merit-based and financial-need scholarships are granted every year to Foreign Service family members. Since 1926, AFSA has awarded nearly \$5,000,000 in scholarships.

AFSA Awards: This unique program honors constructive dissent and outstanding performance.

AFSA Newsletter for Retirees and Members in



DONNA AVERST

AFSA Staff Attorney Andrew Large (2nd from left) discusses benefits of AFSA membership with recently-hired Foreign Service Specialists at an AFSA luncheon in May.



DONNA AVERST

AFSA Member Services Director Janet Hedrick explains how to fill out the AFSA membership forms.

Transition: A bimonthly newsletter for retirees and those considering retirement.

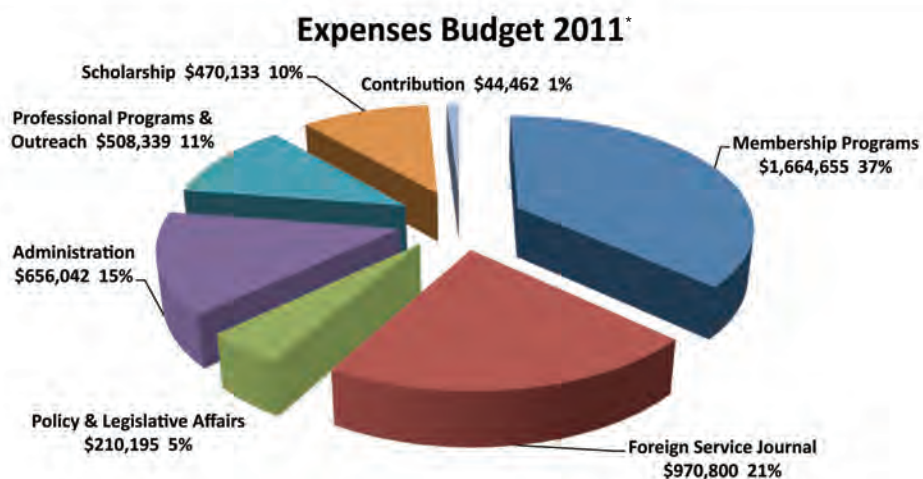
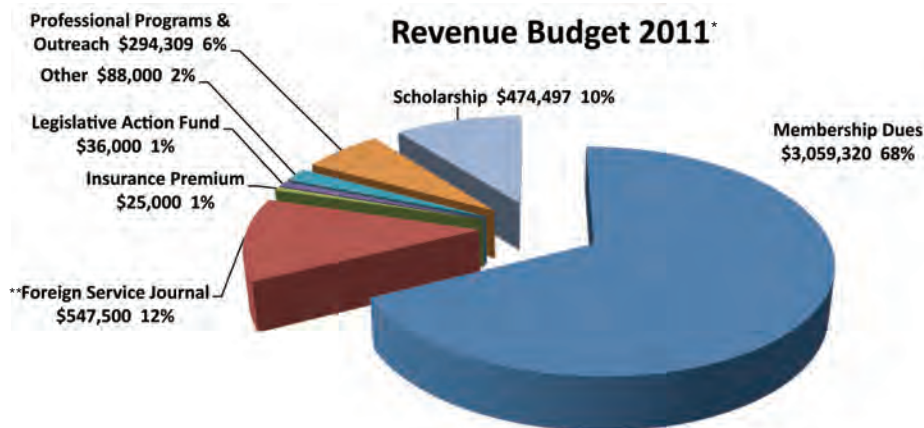
Directory of Retired Members: This invaluable annual listing, by state, of contact information for retired members is provided to all retired AFSA members.

Discounts: AFSA members are eligible for special discounts on subscriptions to major foreign affairs journals. AFSA is also very pleased to have a new partnership with Zipcar, the world's largest car-sharing and car club service. Members receive a significant reduction in annual fees and hourly rates.

Esprit de Corps: We work to build a sense of common cause and professional pride among all Foreign Service members: active-duty and retired; generalists and specialists; entry-level, mid-level and senior.

AFSA Memorial Plaques: Established in 1933, and maintained by AFSA, these plaques in the Truman Building lobby honor members of the Foreign Service who lost their lives overseas in the line of duty. ■

2011 ANNUAL REPORT



*Audited Financial Statements for 2011 will be available AFSA Web Site at www.afsa.org.

** This figure does not include the portion of membership dues allocated to production of the Foreign Service Journal.

AFSA By the Numbers

16	public events at AFSA
75	percent of overseas posts with an AFSA representative
80	AFSANets sent in 2011
257	members participating in the AFSA-sponsored Zipcar Program
568	FS community members who are lifetime members of AFSA
650	attendees at Road Scholar programs
1,100	RSVPs to AFSA events
1,556	children of FS employees have received Scholarship Aid since 1991
1,979	members participating in one or more of the AFSA-sponsored insurance programs
15,939	individual AFSA members
\$44,000	AFSA Academic and Art Merit Awards bestowed on 28 FS students
\$179,400	bestowed on 68 Foreign Service students in AFSA Financial Aid Scholarships
198,738	visits to the AFSA Web site
685,872	individual page views on the AFSA Web site
\$3,318,049	awarded in AFSA Scholarship Aid to 1,556 children since 1991

ANNUAL REPORT

AFSA Board of Governors



Front row, left to right: Robert Houdek, Keith Curtis, AFSA President Susan Johnson, Daniel Hirsch, Francisco Zamora, David Mergen. Back row, left to right: Stephen Morrison, Edward Marks, Matthew Asada, Elise Mellinger, Mary Glantz (resigned), Hugh Neighbor, Kimberly Krhounek, Andrew Burst, Susan Shultz (resigned), Michael Henning, David Zwach, Kenneth Kero-Mentz, Joyce Namde, William Bent, Grace Choi and Les Hickman. Not pictured: Iris Young, Meg Gilroy, Andrew Winter, Molly Williamson and Andre De Nesnera.

Foreign Service Journal Editorial Board



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ANNUAL REPORT 2011



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Not pictured: Web and IT Assistant Jeff Lau.



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Scholarship Assistant Jonathan Crawford and Scholarship Director Lori Dec.



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Left to right: Executive Assistant to the President Patrick Bradley and USAID Staff Assistant Stefan Geyer.

PHOTOS BY DONNA AYERST

Sec. Clinton to Raise the Profile of Civilian Work in Iraq

BY SUSAN MAITRA, FSJ SENIOR EDITOR

In response to a question from AFSA President Susan Johnson at the Jan. 26 State Department Town Hall meeting, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton said she would work with President Barack Obama to spotlight the fact that though the U.S. military presence in Iraq has ended, thousands of men and women from the State Department, USAID and other foreign affairs agencies continue to work there under dangerous conditions to help build a stable and democratic nation.

Johnson cited the president's Jan. 24 State of the Union address, in which he appropriately honored the accomplishments and sacrifice of members of the American military who served in Operation Iraqi Freedom, and asked: "What are your ideas and thoughts on what the State Department can do to ensure that the American people remember and better appreciate that we all — the men and women of the State Department and our other foreign affairs agencies — are still there, are still in harm's way, are still taking care of business and advancing the interests of the United States?"

"That is a very fair question," Sec. Clinton responded, as heads nodded throughout the jam-packed Dean Acheson

Auditorium. "This is the largest post-conflict operation the State Department has ever tried to lead and manage. It's hard. Many of you have spent time trying to help us with this transition."

"But I think when I see the president tomorrow, I will mention to him the importance of also having presidential attention to our members on the civilian side of the ledger who are still in Iraq and who are facing threats and dangers," Sec. Clinton stated. "He is very mindful of that, very grateful for it, and I think will look for an opportunity to raise it to a higher level of visibility," she added.

Sec. Clinton thanked AFSA for raising this point, adding that AFSA has been a "good partner" in all of this work, and that she continues to appreciate its support and constructive criticism.

In prefacing her question, Johnson had conveyed AFSA's regard for the Secretary's leadership in initiating the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review process and her "inspiring advocacy for all of us to embrace change and see what we can do to make our agencies more effective," prompting hearty concurrence from the audience. ■

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



Inside a U.S. Embassy Continues College Tour

On Friday, Jan. 20, FS Books Publisher Shawn Dorman and Marketing and Outreach Manager Ásgeir Sigfússon visited the University of Pennsylvania to introduce AFSA's book, *Inside a U.S. Embassy: Diplomacy at Work*, to Penn students, and to discuss a career in the Foreign Service. The visit was organized in collaboration with Penn's International Relations program.

More than 40 students attended the discussion, keeping the two busy fielding questions after Ms. Dorman's presentation. Many of the students seemed genuinely interested in the Foreign Service as a career choice and appreciated the opportunity to speak with Dorman, a former FSO. Two of the students had already taken the Foreign Service exam.

The visit is part of a concerted effort on AFSA's behalf to reach out to college audiences to introduce students to the Foreign Service and the five foreign affairs agencies. To date, AFSA staff have given presentations at Georgetown University, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, The George Washington University, Boston University and Tufts University. We continue to welcome opportunities to visit additional schools around the country.

Tax Guide Correction

The Tax Guide found in the February issue of *AFSA News* cites the wrong form number for Schedule D. Please note that the correct number for the new form is 8949, NOT 8959.

We apologize for any inconvenience caused.

Save the Date: May 4th Is Foreign Affairs Day

This year's annual Foreign Affairs Day homecoming for State Department retirees will take place on Friday, May 4, and will feature a morning of discussions, followed by a luncheon in the Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room. Those on the FAD mailing list will receive an invitation by mail in March. Please return the RSVP card and, if attending the luncheon, send the card and payment to: Foreign Affairs Day, P.O. Box 58018, Washington DC 20037. The luncheon will be limited to 250 participants.

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



Thank You, Ambassador Dillery

AFSA extends its deep appreciation and gratitude to Ambassador C. Edward Dillery for his dedicated service to the association. In January, Amb. Dillery stepped down as chairman of the AFSA Scholarship Committee after 14 years of service. (Please see Amb. Dillery's article on the AFSA Scholarship Program on page 34.)

Over the course of a 38-year career in the Foreign Service, Amb. Dillery served in Japan, Belgium, Vietnam, England, Cyprus and Washington, D.C., before being appointed U.S. ambassador to Fiji (1984-1987). After retiring, he served for two years as the AFSA vice president for retirees and taught several AFSA-sponsored Elderhostel (now Road Scholar) courses before taking up the Scholarship Committee chairmanship in 1997.

Flannery Scholarship Established for 2012-2013

Mrs. Laurence Flannery has established The Terence Flannery Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship in honor of her late husband. The 2012-2013 scholarship is a one-time-only, need-based award that will be given to the child of a Foreign Service employee to assist in meeting his or her undergraduate college expenses. Mr. Flannery joined the Foreign Commercial Service in 1984. His first overseas posting was Paris, where Mrs. Flannery continues to reside. In 1997, Mr. Flannery retired from the Foreign Service, and resumed a private-sector career in Paris and Brussels. He passed away in 2009.

For information on AFSA Scholarships, please contact Scholarship Director Lori Dec at dec@afsa.org or (202) 944-5504.

New Scholarship Committee Chair

During its January meeting, the AFSA Scholarship Committee selected Ambassador Lange Schermerhorn as the new chair. Amb. Schermerhorn entered the Foreign Service in 1966 and retired in 2001 after 35 years of service. She was deputy chief of mission in Belgium and served as ambassador to Djibouti (1998-2000), among many other assignments. Amb. Schermerhorn has served as treasurer of Diplomatic and Consular Officers Retired and as a member of DACOR's education committee. She has also served on the Foreign Service Journal Editorial Board. AFSA is proud to welcome Amb. Schermerhorn as chairwoman of the AFSA Scholarship Committee.

Upcoming AFSA Events

Member of Congress: On Thursday, March 8, at 4 p.m., AFSA will welcome Rep. Chris Van Hollen, D-Md., to discuss the congressional climate for the upcoming foreign affairs budget cycle. Having grown up as a Foreign Service child, the congressman will also talk about his personal connection to the Foreign Service. Rep. Van Hollen has been a tremendous supporter of the Foreign Service on Capitol Hill, and we look forward to hearing his views. This event is part of our Booz Allen Hamilton-sponsored lecture series, "A New Frontier in Diplomacy and Development: People and Programs."

AFSA Book Notes: On Monday, March 19 at 2 p.m., we will present the first AFSA Book Notes selection of 2012. The book is *China Hand: An Autobiography*, by John Paton Davies Jr. At the height of the McCarthyite hysteria of the 1950s, Davies, a career diplomat, was summoned to the State Department one morning and fired. His offense? During World War II, he advised the U.S. government of his belief that Communist Chinese forces were poised to take over the country — which they ultimately did in 1949. Davies and thousands of others became the victims of a political maelstrom that engulfed the country and deprived the United States of the wisdom and guidance of an entire generation of East Asian diplomats and scholars.

Mr. Davies died in 1999; Patricia Davies, his daughter, will discuss the book and her father's career. She will be accompanied by Todd Purdum, national editor at *Vanity Fair*, who wrote the foreword to the book. Copies will be available for purchase.

Both events will take place at AFSA, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. We request that anyone interested in attending RSVP to events@afsa.org.

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AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



April is Foreign Service Family Month at AFSA

Family Member Employment: AFSA will be dedicating the month of April to spotlighting issues facing Foreign Service family members. To frame the discussion, that month's *Foreign Service Journal* will focus on FS family member employment issues and AFSA's efforts to address them. Although our emphasis will be on best practices and tips, we expect to present the full spectrum of experiences family members face regarding employment, including the problems and frustrations that often come with the territory. Frequent contributor Shawn Zeller, a journalist at *Congressional Quarterly*, has written an in-depth investigative article exploring the issue, drawing heavily on input from our members. Thanks to all who shared their stories and lessons learned. The issue will also feature several first-person accounts from the field.

Third Culture Kids: In April, we will offer two events with a Foreign Service family emphasis. On Monday, April 2, at 11:30 a.m., we are proud to present a panel discussion on Third Cul-

ture Kids, highlighting the Foreign Service experience. Panelists Rebecca Grappo, Ruth Van Reken, Julia Simens and Rebecca Oden, all experts who have studied TCKs from discrete viewpoints, will devote particular attention to the question of emotional resilience, asking what enables some kids to adapt well to Foreign Service life while others struggle. The discussion will take place at AFSA-HQ, 2101 E Street, NW, Washington, D.C., and all are invited. Please RSVP to events@afsa.org.

Health Benefits: On Monday, April 23, we will shift our attention to the other end of the age spectrum with a presentation on a common problem facing seniors and retirees: coordinating Federal Employee Health Benefits with individual Medicare benefits. The American Foreign Service Protective Association's Paula Jakub will be our featured speaker and will be on hand to answer all of your questions. This event will also take place at AFSA-HQ and begins at 2 p.m. Please RSVP to events@afsa.org.

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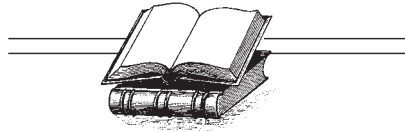
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BOOKS

A Tandem Couple

State vs. Defense: The Battle to Define America's Empire

Stephen Glain, Crown Publishers, 2011, \$26, hardcover, 485 pages.

REVIEWED BY WILLIAM D. BENT

Is American foreign policy becoming too militaristic? The last decade has witnessed a blurring of the roles of the Foreign Service and the U.S. military in Iraq and Afghanistan, among other locales. Even casual observers can't miss this trend, whether they're reading recent articles in the *Foreign Service Journal* or viewing the ubiquitous pictures of helmeted, flak jacket-clad FS personnel on Facebook or blogs.

Finding the proper balance between diplomacy and force has become a particularly pressing challenge since 9/11, one that makes Stephen Glain's *State vs. Defense: The Battle to Define America's Empire* a worthy addition to any foreign affairs practitioner's bookshelf.

The author's prose is crisp and lively, and I found myself absorbed in his sometimes novelistic treatment of the heroes, villains and fools of U.S. foreign policy since World War II. Using examples from the early days of the Cold War to the 2003 invasion of

This book illuminates the perils of employing the wrong combination of strength and diplomacy to promote U.S. interests.

Iraq and its aftermath, Glain weaves a narrative showing how the American national security complex has built a legacy of "fraud, falsehood and deception" in a relentless pursuit of its self-serving interests. He also does an excellent job of citing specific examples to support his thesis that "the Pentagon has all but eclipsed the State Department at the center of U.S. foreign policy."

Glain's highly personal account begins with vignettes about growing up near Camp Pendleton and frequently draws on his experiences as a foreign correspondent. Reflecting on his lifelong personal and professional dealings with military personnel, he concludes that their "growing prevalence relative to their civilian counterparts was more consistent with an empire than a republic."

Otherwise, for all its virtues *State vs. Defense* is hardly original. While

Glain quotes 39 individuals he has interviewed over the course of his career, these sources don't reveal much new. Similarly, much of his subject matter has already been covered by such luminaries as George Kennan and David Halberstam.

The book's title, evoking a tug of war between the Pentagon and Foggy Bottom for control of U.S. foreign policy, is a bit misleading, as well. While it suggests a boring tome full of bureaucratic disputes over budgets, replete with graphs and figures, this book centers on the personalities involved in shaping postwar U.S. foreign policy.

Furthermore, some of Glain's villains never worked for DOD, while a few of his heroes — George Marshall and Dwight Eisenhower, for example — were military men by training. His comparison of Colin Powell and Madeleine Albright illustrates another difficulty in typecasting. Glain hails Powell, a general, as a hero, particularly in comparison with his predecessor, whom Glain views as a hawk even though she was an academic.

Nor do all the author's points hit their mark. For example, emphasizing the fact that President Lyndon Johnson appointed Walt Rostow as national security adviser on April 1, 1966 — April Fool's Day — is gratuitous and petty.

Glain also makes some glaring er-



rors, such as his assertion that President Harry Truman was handily defeated in the 1952 election by Republican candidate Dwight Eisenhower. In fact, the Democratic nominee was Adlai Stevenson.

Glain also does not seem to grasp the role a Foreign Service director general plays within State's personnel system. Still, these mistakes don't seriously weaken the impact of the book.

Former Secretary of State George Shultz recently reminded us in these very pages that "strength works in tandem with diplomacy" (*FSJ*, December 2011, p. 23). As the United States strives to find the right balance between those two approaches to international relations, this book usefully illuminates the perils and conse-

quences of employing the wrong combination.

William D. Bent, a Foreign Service officer since 1992, is currently chief of post operations in the Office of Visa Services. A State representative on the AFSA Governing Board, he serves as liaison to the Foreign Service Journal Editorial Board.

A Handy Overview

The National Security Enterprise: Navigating the Labyrinth

Roger Z. George and Harvey Rishikof, editors, Georgetown University Press, 2011, \$32.95, paperback, 367 pages.

REVIEWED BY LEON WEINTRAUB

If embassy resources can spring for just one publication in these austere budgetary times, I can think of no finer purchase than *The National Security Enterprise*. The book is replete with nuggets of information about virtually every agency involved in U.S. foreign policy, as well as solid veins of analytical ore for everyone from junior officers to career ambassadors.

Following a foreword by former National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, editors Roger George and Harvey Rishikof explain what they mean by "the national security enterprise." They then turn to a stellar group of contributors to describe each component of that entity, starting (appropriately) with an overview of State by retired Ambassador Marc Grossman, who is now U.S. special envoy to Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Even those Foreign Service per-

sonnel who frequently interact with other agencies will learn a great deal in this volume. For instance, the chapter on the Office of the Secretary of Defense explains the still-unfolding influence of the 1986 Goldwater-Nichols Act, and recounts how the Pentagon deliberately refused to use the interagency process in planning for the 2003 invasion and reconstruction of Iraq.

When Condoleezza Rice, then national security adviser, re-established an Executive Steering Group in July 2003 to coordinate interagency activity, OSD sent only lower-ranked officials to the table. That ploy prevented any meaningful coordination in such critical areas as electricity supplies, security for humanitarian aid missions, translators for U.S. troops, and the detailing of skilled specialists to the Coalition Provisional Authority from other agencies.

Other contributors describe the struggle to establish an effective Directorate of National Intelligence; the evolving role of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, as it pivots to deal with counterintelligence and terrorism with the same vigor that it historically dealt with law enforcement; and the struggle to create an effective Department of Homeland Security by integrating several autonomous, high-profile entities while subject to 86 congressional oversight committees.

The chapter on Congress tells a story that most of us already know, but the details of its struggles with the executive branch over the past decade are still illuminating. At a minimum, they suggest that former Senator Arlen Specter was right to predict in 2008 that "historians will look back at the period from 9/11 to the present as an era of unbridled executive power



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and congressional ineffectiveness.”

The Supreme Court is discussed in connection with issues of domestic surveillance and conditions for detainees being held (and possibly tried) at Guantanamo. Case studies in the section on lobbyists include the embargo on Cuba, the enlargement of NATO to include Poland, trade agreements and many other issues.

Think-tanks are credited for their contributions to the policy process, but are also described frankly as “holding pens for those who would serve at the most senior levels of government.” And the media chapter discusses Washington-based correspondents, foreign correspondents and war correspondents, and delves into the issues created by the “embedding” of jour-

Even those Foreign Service personnel who frequently interact with other agencies will learn a great deal in this volume.

nalists in military units.

Those of us at State should pay particular heed to the book’s call for “changing the mission and necessarily

the culture of the State Department so that FSOs view their role as problem-solvers as much as negotiators.”

As a parting shot, the final chapter offers what the editors call the mandarin algorithm of power: $J = FTEs + \$$. In other words, legal jurisdiction over a function or task [J] = the number of full-time equivalent employees + money.

Always a good equation to keep in mind!

Leon Weintraub, a Foreign Service officer from 1975 to 2004, served in South America, Africa, the Middle East, Europe and Washington, D.C. He is currently director of the University of Wisconsin’s Washington Semester in International Affairs program.



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Cuba: The Audacious Revolution

George Gedda, CreateSpace, 2011,
\$12.98/paperback, \$4.99/Kindle
Edition, 362 pages.

REVIEWED BY JOHN MAISTO

Longtime readers of the *Foreign Service Journal* will instantly recognize George Gedda's name, both for his decades as the State Department correspondent for the Associated Press and his frequent articles in the *FSJ*. Several of them concerned Cuba, a country he has visited 31 times since 1974.

Add to that firsthand experience

Gedda's old-fashioned, source-focused journalism and lively, reader-friendly prose, and the result is *Cuba: The Audacious Revolution*. Anyone who wants to understand this country that has challenged the United States for half a century should acquire it right away.

Gedda's analysis of the history of the U.S.-Cuba relationship, which draws on his many contacts at State, is thorough. Still, a brief explanation of how U.S. imperialism from the Spanish-American War until the New Deal helped foment Cuban nationalism would have usefully framed that discussion.

Using quotes from Fidel Castro's speeches over the years, Gedda documents how Castro skillfully conducted the "Audacious Revolution." He also

explains how Castro continues to hold sway long after leaving the Cuban presidency. And his account of Havana's skillful use of medical diplomacy and soft power around the world is a story that most Americans have never heard.

The author pulls no punches in describing how Cubans have coped with \$1/day wages, rationing, corruption at all levels, the tough post-Soviet economy, the weapons culture, neighborhood defense committees and shortages of medicines (despite health care that is good overall).

But he is also careful to give the revolution its due, citing health and education statistics with appropriate context. That said, it would have been instructive to add, perhaps in a footnote, the fact that other countries in the

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BOOKS

region, such as Chile, Brazil, Peru and Mexico, have also reduced poverty significantly without following the Cuban model.

Though Gedda covers the basics very well, the book thins in the later chapters. He should have devoted more space to the Cuban diaspora in Florida and its large impact in Washington. I would also have liked to see more discussion of the country's successes in the arts and sports, such as the impact of Cubans on major league baseball. At the same time, his comparison of Cuban non-commercial baseball (played like U.S. college ball) with how we and the rest of the world do it is fun even if you're not a fan.

Overall, the book's balanced, nuanced approach probably will not sat-

isfy anyone whose views of Cuba are either black or white. But few if any analysts can match Gedda in his array of sources, or the humanity and sensitivity he brings to the subject.

If *Cuba: The Audacious Revolution* has one overarching theme, it would be the lasting effects of what has happened during the past 50 years of bilateral relations. As Gedda reminds us, we must remember the lessons of history as we deal with the present and prepare for the future. (It calls to mind the dictum regarding U.S.-Mexican relations: "Mexicans never forget history and Americans never remember it.")

His people-focused approach, coupled with descriptions of how the Cuban system works (and doesn't) and explanation of the large issues con-

fronting the country makes *Cuba: The Audacious Revolution* a great introduction to Cuba for non-experts. Yet it is also filled with stories and insights for specialists to ponder. In short, it is a fascinating book about this fascinating, if vexing country. ■

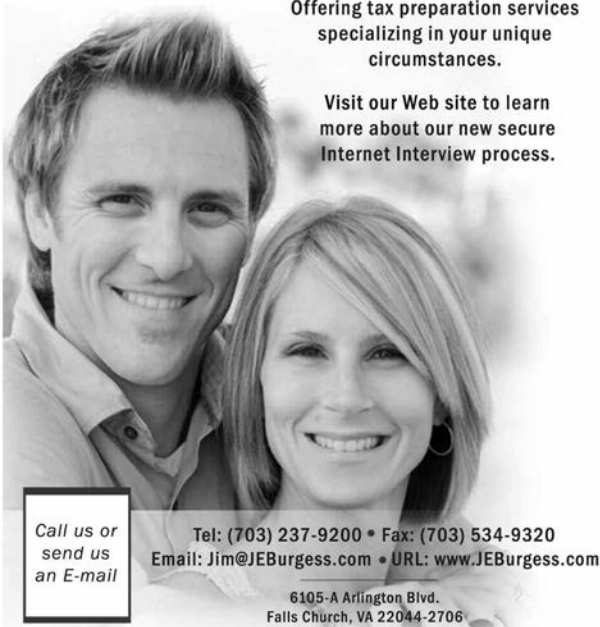
John Maisto is a retired Senior Foreign Service officer who served as U.S. ambassador to Nicaragua, Venezuela and the Organization of American States, and as senior Western Hemisphere director at the National Security Council, among many other postings.

He currently consults, speaks, writes, is on the boards of two international student exchange organizations and chairs the Board of Advisers of the American Committees on Foreign Relations.

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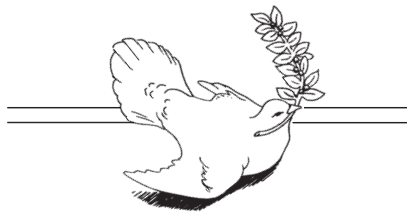
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IN MEMORY

Calvin C. Berlin, 86, a retired Foreign Service officer, died of heart failure on Oct. 15, 2011, at his home in Lafayette, Ind.

Mr. Berlin was born on March 4, 1925, in Homeworth, Ohio. He served in the United States Army in Europe from 1943 to 1946. He earned a B.A. from the University of Mount Union (formerly Mount Union College) in 1950 and a Ph.D. in history from Indiana University in 1956. He taught history at Bridgewater College in Virginia and then Wittenberg University in Ohio before becoming a diplomat.

Mr. Berlin joined the State Department Foreign Service in 1959. His overseas assignments included Naples, Port-of-Spain, Buenos Aires, Santiago, Recife, Rio de Janeiro, London and Mexico City. He retired in 1985 as a career minister in the Foreign Commercial Service.

After retiring from the Foreign Service, Mr. Berlin worked as an international trade consultant in Europe for the state of Indiana, spending three years in London and Amsterdam. He then taught international business at Ball State University for three years and worked as a trade consultant for American Electric Power for eight years.

Mr. Berlin is survived by his wife of 63 years, Carolyn (Buchman), of Lafayette, Ind.; four children, Anne Painter of Lafayette, Ind., Robert of Atlanta,

Ga., Marilyn of Indianapolis, Ind., and Cynthia of La Crosse, Wisc.; eight grandchildren; and three great-granddaughters.



Richard Garon “Dick” Johnson, 90, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Nov. 19 of natural causes at his home in Potomac, Md.

Mr. Johnson was a native of New Haven, Conn. His interest in diplomacy was piqued at high school in Port Washington, N.Y., during a talk given there by State Department official Wilbur Carr. Johnson resolved to become a diplomat and began studying German.

From 1943 to 1945 he served in Army counterintelligence in Europe, and in 1946 graduated from Yale University (Class of '44). He completed postgraduate studies at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in 1947, and joined the Foreign Service the same year.

During a 34-year Foreign Service career, he served in Italy, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Algeria and France. He was consul general in Asmara and DCM in Sofia, Brussels (NATO) and Stockholm. In Washington, he served as deputy director of East Europe and Yugoslav affairs. He was at the NATO Defense College in Paris in 1964 and

was Diplomat-in-Residence at the State University of New York in 1970-1971.

Mr. Johnson received a State Department Superior Honor Award for his work in Algiers during Algeria's quest for independence in the 1960s.

Following retirement in 1981, Mr. Johnson continued his lifelong interest in diplomacy and foreign affairs, participating in State Department declassification operations until 2000. With the nomadic Foreign Service life behind him, his home in Potomac became a family base where he pursued his passion for reading, music, keeping up with world affairs, playing golf and traveling with friends.

Family and friends remember Mr. Johnson's enduring interest in learning about and reaching out to other cultures — a quality he imparted to his two children, both of whom followed him into diplomatic careers. They also recall his simple dignity, refreshing sense of humor, strong work ethic and deep pride in his country.

Mr. Johnson is survived by his wife of 64 years, Adaline Rockwell Johnson, of Potomac; their children, Susan R. Johnson of Washington, D.C., president of the American Foreign Service Association, and Richard G. Johnson Jr. of Geneva, Switzerland; and three granddaughters, Morgane, Marianne and Una.

IN MEMORY



Clyde Lester Jones, 68, a retired Foreign Service officer, died unexpectedly of a heart attack on Aug. 13, 2011, at his home in Colorado Springs, Colo.

Born on June 2, 1943, at Ancon, Canal Zone, Panama, Mr. Jones grew up in Dillsboro, Ind., and attended the University of Cincinnati as an art major while in the Naval Reserves. Called up for active duty, he served with COM-MIDEASTFOR and at Dhahran Air Force Base as a radioman.

He joined the State Department as a communications specialist in 1967 and was posted to Bonn, Geneva and Algiers. Then, taking a year's leave, Mr. Jones returned to school, graduating summa cum laude from Southern Illinois University with a bachelor's degree in mass communications.

On return to the State Department, Mr. Jones took the Mustang conversion exam to become an FSO and subsequently served as a consular officer in Djibouti (when that embassy was first established), Cali, Zurich, Guatemala City, Stuttgart, Hong Kong, Lahore and Chennai. Throughout his years overseas, he was an enthusiastic amateur magician and took part in all aspects of community theater.

After retiring from the Foreign Service in 2002, Mr. Jones immersed himself in the world of Web design, quietly perfecting it into an art form that attracted fans all over the world.

He leaves his former spouse, Constance Colding Jones, a recently retired FSO of Washington, D.C.; his daughter Catherine Elizabeth Kyle (and her husband, Christopher) of Colorado Springs, Colo.; his son Paul Anthony Jones (and his wife, Jennifer) of Pulaski, Tenn.; and five grandchildren; as well as brothers James, Thomas and David.

Please contribute your memories of Mr. Jones at www.dignitymemorial.com.

Gruen Eugene "Gene" Martin, 68, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Nov. 9, 2011, in the arms of his beloved wife of 43 years, Joyce Listerman.

The younger son of John Clough and Eva Gruen Martin, Mr. Martin grew up in Andhra Pradesh, India. He graduated from The Peddie School in Heightstown, N.J., and from Kalamazoo College in Michigan. After graduate work at Syracuse University, he entered the Foreign Service in 1966.

During 34 years as a diplomat, he served in Hong Kong, Burma, Taiwan, the Philippines, China and Washington, D.C. Among assignments in Washington, he was the executive assistant to the Deputy Secretary of State and to the assistant secretary of State for East Asian & Pacific affairs, as well as an American Political Science Association Congressional Fellow. He retired in 2000 as deputy chief of mission in Beijing, after serving as DCM in Manila, and consul general in Guangzhou.

Following retirement from the Foreign Service, Mr. Martin taught China and Northeast Asia area studies at the Foreign Service Institute. He subsequently joined the United States Institute of Peace as executive director of the Philippine Facilitation Project, which sought to promote peace talks between the Philippine government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front in Mindanao.

From 2008 to 2009, Mr. Martin was director of the Washington office of the Johns Hopkins-Nanjing University Center for Chinese and American Studies in China. And for 10 years, from 2000 to 2011, he taught an annual course on China for graduate students from Syracuse University's Maxwell School. He was also a visiting scholar in

Southeast Asian studies at the School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University, as well as a frequent lecturer on East and Southeast Asian issues.

Mr. Martin was an elder of the National Presbyterian Church and a member of the Cosmos Club, DACOR and WIFA.

In addition to his wife, Joyce Listerman, Mr. Martin is survived by his son Gavin, daughter-in-law Laurie, and grandchildren Madeline and Graham of Ashburn, Va.; his daughter Lindsey Hudson, son-in-law Christopher, and grandchildren Natalie, James and Elizabeth of Chanhassen, Minn.; his daughter Lauren Holden, son-in-law Hale, and grandson Eaton of New York City; and his brother Louis Edwin and sister-in-law Katherine.

In lieu of flowers, contributions in honor of Mr. Martin may be made to NPC, USIP Endowment, 2301 Constitution Ave. NW, Washington DC 20037, or to a charity of one's choice.



Ronald Oppen, 79, a retired FSO, died early in the morning of Dec. 1 after a brief illness, surrounded by loved ones.

Born on May 16, 1932, in Queens, N.Y., he was the son of the late Mary Savage but spent the majority of his childhood with his uncle and aunt, the late Leo and Lilly O'Connell.

Mr. Oppen served in the U.S. Marine Corps from 1950 to 1958. He graduated with a B.A. in philosophy from the University of Miami in 1956.

Mr. Oppen's career path attested to his wide variety of interests. He was a cameraman and reporter for WTVJ-TV in Miami, Fla., for 10 years.

Mr. Oppen joined the Foreign Serv-

IN MEMORY



ice in 1967, serving until 1987. During his 20-year diplomatic career he was assigned to Venezuela, Romania, Italy, Sri Lanka, West Berlin and Washington, D.C.

On retiring from the Foreign Service, he began a third career in the Office of International Programs and Development for the State University of New York. After 10 years in that capacity, he retired again, and subsequently devoted his time to various boards and organizations, including the Aging Services Foundation of Greene County, the Mid-Hudson Library System Board and the Haines Falls Free Library Board.

Mr. Oppen is survived by his wife of 43 years, Pamela Jaekel Oppen; his two children, Jessica Oppen of Boulder, Colo., and Max Oppen of Hunter, N.Y.; his sister Joyce Dyer of New York, N.Y.; his cousins Nancy Worssam of Seattle, Wash., and June Andersen of Chicago, Ill.

Mr. Oppen was predeceased by his sister, Yvonne Golding.

Donations may be made in his name to Doctors Without Borders at www.doctorswithoutborders.org or 1 (888) 392-0392.



Catherine “Kay” Peaslee, 89, widow of the late FSO Alexander (“Sandy”) Peaslee, passed away at Westminster Village North in Indianapolis, Ind., on Jan. 10.

Mrs. Peaslee graduated cum laude in 1944 from Miami University. There she met her husband while they were both members of the political club. After graduation, she was an intern with the National Institute of Public Affairs and served in the office of Representative Jerry Voorhis, D-Calif. She

was subsequently employed as a research assistant for the Senate Postwar Committee and by columnist Walter Lippmann.

Later, in 1963, Mrs. Peaslee earned an M.A. from George Washington University in political science. She lectured at National Taiwan University, Dalhousie University, and Mt. St. Vincent University, and taught at Mount Vernon Academy, Georgetown University, Yorktown University and George Mason University. At various times, she taught literature, history, government and international affairs.

Mrs. Peaslee accompanied her husband, Alexander, who joined the Foreign Service in 1946, on his first tour, to Shanghai. In 1949 she was evacuated with their two young daughters, Sarah and Ann, to Joliet, Ill., to live with her parents while her husband spent many months as an involuntary guest of the Chinese Communists. Once he was released, Mrs. Peaslee and the girls rejoined him at his next posting, Brazil. A third daughter, Peg, was born in Hong Kong, and the family also spent time in Taiwan and Canada.

While in Hong Kong, the couple opposed a State Department edict prohibiting criticism of U.S. foreign policy on the grounds that department personnel needed to be free to report whether policy initiatives were having the intended effect. This landed Mr. Peaslee on the enemies list of Sen. Joseph McCarthy, R-Wis. After the birth of their fourth daughter, Elizabeth, Mrs. Peaslee accompanied her husband to his last Foreign Service posting, as consul general in Halifax.

The couple settled in Charlottesville in 1967, when Mr. Peaslee retired from the Foreign Service and entered law school at the University of Virginia.

There they were staunch supporters of Common Cause and the Democratic Party. Mrs. Peaslee helped establish the Memorial Planning Society of the Piedmont and the Funeral Information Society of the Piedmont to help families who had been charged exorbitant rates for funeral services.

She served on the boards of the Salvation Army, Downtown Charlottesville, Inc., the League of Women Voters, and the National Organization for Women local branch, which named her Woman of the Year in 1995.

From 1978 until she sold the business in 1988, Mrs. Peaslee was publisher and editor of the *Charlottesville Observer*, through which she and her husband fearlessly pursued the cause of open government.

Mrs. Peaslee produced a prize-winning documentary on the housing shortage in the area and hosted the local radio station's public affairs program, “Community Conversation.” She served on boards of the North Downtown Residents Association and the McGuffey Homeowners' Association. An active member of the McGuffey Readers, a book discussion group, she also volunteered with the Albemarle County Historical Association.

She received fellowships from the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities in 1990 and the Virginia Center for the Creative Arts in 2000 to pursue work on a biography of the Virginia novelist Ellen Glasgow.

Mrs. Peaslee lived a full life of committed service to mankind on a big-picture as well as a personal level, even home-schooling two grandsons. She lobbied the Virginia General Assembly for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, attended Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s historic march on

IN MEMORY



Washington, was an ardent opponent of segregation and endeavored to advance education.

She was raised Catholic but attended Unitarian-Universalist churches for decades, and later settled comfortably into a Friends (Quaker) service. She was an avid traveler into her 80s, venturing to France and Prague. She relocated to Indianapolis in April 2010.

Mrs. Peaslee was preceded in death by her husband in 1996. She is survived by four daughters, grandchildren, a great-granddaughter, nieces, her cat Yang Wei Fei, many friends and admirers, and sons-in-law Eric Wertman of Macungie, Pa., Dan Church of Bethlehem, Pa., Bill Davis of Charlottesville, Va., who provided much-appreciated in-home care.

Memorial contributions may be made to NPR, Westminster Village North, Indianapolis IN 46236, or Seasons Hospice, Indianapolis IN 46237.



Robert P. Smith, 82, a retired career FSO and three-time ambassador, died on Jan. 20 at his home in Missoula, Mont., from complications of chronic obstructive pulmonary disease.

Mr. Smith was born on March 5, 1929, in Joplin, Mo. He met his wife, Irene, while attending Texas Christian University, and they were married in Fort Worth, Texas, in August 1953. He received his B.A. in 1954 and his M.A. in 1955 from TCU. Mr. Smith served with the U.S. Marine Corps from 1946

to 1949 and from 1950 to 1952, reaching the rank of captain. In 1951 and 1952 he served as an infantry officer and platoon leader with the First Marine Division in Korea.

Joining the Foreign Service in 1955, Mr. Smith was assigned to the State Department as a press officer. He then served as a consular officer in Lahore (1956-1958). In 1959, he was assigned as economic officer and, later, political officer in Beirut.

Mr. Smith took African area studies at Northwestern University under the auspices of the Foreign Service Institute from 1961 to 1962, and was then assigned to Enugu, Nigeria, as consul and principal officer from 1962 to 1965. He returned to the State Department to become officer-in-charge of Ghana-



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IN MEMORY



ian affairs from 1965 to 1966, and from 1966 to 1969 was officer-in-charge of Nigerian affairs and deputy director for West African affairs. In 1967 he received the Meritorious Honor Award.

Mr. Smith attended the National War College from 1969 to 1970. Then, from 1970 to 1974, he served as minister-counselor and deputy chief of mission in Pretoria. On June 12, 1974, President Richard Nixon named Mr. Smith U.S. ambassador to Malta. From 1976 to 1979 he was ambassador to Ghana, and from 1979 to 1981 he served as ambassador to Liberia. On retiring in 1981, Ambassador Smith returned to his home in McLean, Va.

From 1981 to 1985, Amb. Smith was the president and CEO of the African Wildlife Foundation, which had projects in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Rwanda. In 1989, he returned to the State Department and worked on a part-time basis in the Office of Asylum Affairs until 1998. A long struggle with multiple sclerosis and COPD limited his physical activities in retirement, but he remained active as a volunteer teacher of English as a Second Language and as a member of Columbia Baptist Church in Falls Church, Va.

At his death, Amb. Smith was surrounded by his family. Having moved to Missoula in December 2010 to live with his daughter, Karen Martin, he spent his last year enveloped in family love, enjoying the Missoula Symphony, trying new restaurants, visiting the library and relishing the beauty of Montana.

Family members and former colleagues remember Amb. Smith fondly. As one former associate recalled, "Bob was one of the giants of our calling and

for so many of us a personal friend and inspiration in a world that badly needs such anchors of decency and kindness." Said his daughter Karen: "Dad was a brilliant, accomplished man who was also a devoted husband and a loving father and proud grandfather."

Survivors include his wife of 58 years, Irene, of Missoula; four children, Michael B. Smith (and his wife, Debbie) of Belgrade, Mont.; Steven P. Smith (and his wife, Alayne) of Lancaster, N.H.; Karen S. Martin of Missoula; David R. Smith (and his wife, Tracy) of Overland Park, Kan.; seven grandchildren; and a sister, Emma Louise McEver of Oklahoma City, Okla.



Marion Lipsis Tiger, 92, widow of retired FSO M. Gordon Tiger, died on Nov. 19, 2011, in Fredericksburg, Va.

Born in Chicago, Ill., on May 28, 1919, she was the daughter of the late Arthur Lipsis and Alma Schreiber. Mrs. Tiger began a long career in advertising, art editing and publicity management in Chicago. During World War II she worked for the Red Cross. She accompanied her husband to his Foreign Service posts in Tehran, New Delhi and Karachi. During her years abroad, she helped manage the art collection at Embassy New Delhi and edited local publications.

In 1978, at age 59, she received a bachelor's degree in mass communications from American University. She operated a photography darkroom and antique printing press from her home, and was a talented illustrator and cartoonist. She wrote and produced the 40th-anniversary publication for her community, Hollin Hills,

in Alexandria, Va., and volunteered in the graphic arts department of the National Museum of American History.

Mrs. Tiger was preceded in death by her husband of 61 years, M. Gordon Tiger, and her brother Robert.

She is survived by two daughters, Judith Tiger of Washington, D.C., and Rebecca Gregson (and her husband, Christopher Martin Gregson) of Fredericksburg, Va.; and two grandsons, Robert Gordon Gregson of New York City and Edward Cowling Gregson of Richmond, Va.

In lieu of flowers, the family requests donations be made to the Alzheimers Association or Mary Washington Hospice.



Anthony H. Wirtz, 84, a retired FSO with USAID, died on Jan. 23 in Boulder City, Nev.

Born on May 20, 1927, in Wilkes Barre, Pa., Mr. Wirtz was raised in the Chicago area. He enlisted in the U.S. Army at age 17 and served at the end of World War II in Berlin. After graduating from the University of Notre Dame in 1951, he worked in federal management positions for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Bureau of Aeronautics, the Bureau of Naval Weapons and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He joined the Army Reserves during the Berlin call-up of 1961, eventually retiring with the rank of lieutenant colonel.

In 1965, Mr. Wirtz joined USAID and was placed in charge of community relations and technical assistance for 12 provinces in South Vietnam. His subsequent Foreign Service postings were Vientiane, Islamabad and Nouakchott. He retired from USAID in 1981 and settled in Boulder City,

IN MEMORY



Nev., where he owned businesses in real estate, insurance and financial planning, as well as a long-running H&R Block franchise.

Mr. Wirtz was deeply involved in community affairs in Boulder City and the Las Vegas metro region. He helped with the establishment of the Southern Nevada Veteran Memorial Cemetery and the Nevada State Veteran Home in Boulder City. A supporter of the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, he set up and endowed the Walter Nowak Prize in chemistry, an annual scholarship for aspiring chemistry students.

Mr Wirtz was a member of the St. Andrew Catholic Community, the Knights of Columbus, the Reserve Officers' Association, AFSA, the Boulder City Museum and Historical Association and the Searchlight Museum Guild. He was treasurer of the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association. He financially supported Catholic missions in Botswana, Thailand and Mongolia, visiting several of them.

Mr. Wirtz is survived by his wife of 44 years, Rosalie, of Boulder City; a daughter, Rosette McClave and son-in-law Scott McClave of Huntington Beach, Calif.; a son, Patrick of Boulder City; and four grandchildren, Katie, Andrew, Piper, and Jack.

There is a Web memorial for Mr. Wirtz at www.dignitymemorial.com.



Robert J. Wozniak Sr., 76, a retired FSO with the U.S. Information Agency, died on Nov. 13, 2011, at Sibley Memorial Hospital in Washington, D.C., due to complications related to his treatment for cancer.

A native of Grand Rapids, Mich., Mr. Wozniak served in the Navy in the

early 1950s and graduated from the University of Chicago in 1960 on the G.I. Bill. After college, he worked as a reporter for the Grand Rapids Press, the Associated Press Detroit Bureau and the *Kalamazoo Gazette*.

Mr. Wozniak joined the United States Information Agency in 1963. During a three-decade Foreign Service career, he principally performed public information and cultural relations duties in Greece, Cyprus, Syria, Morocco and at NATO headquarters in Brussels. He held a senior management position at Voice of America immediately prior to his retirement in 1996, and then served as distinguished diplomat-in-residence at American University's Center for Global Peace for several years.

A longstanding interest in antiquities led Mr. Wozniak to serve on the

Board of Trustees of the Cyprus American Archeology Research Institute during retirement. From 1999 to 2007, he served as chairman of the AFSA Elections Committee.

Mr. Wozniak's first marriage, to Kathryn Gilbert, ended in divorce.

He is survived by his wife of 32 years, Farida El Samman Wozniak of Washington, D.C.; two children from his first marriage, daughter Lisa (and her husband, Kenneth Simon) of Ypsilanti, Mich., and son Robert Jr. (and his wife, Camille Bowman) of Oak Park, Ill.; two children from his second marriage, son Farid and daughter Leila, both of Washington, D.C.; brothers Donald (and his wife, Diane) of Grand Rapids, Mich., and Richard (and his wife, Michele) of Oak Park, Ill.; and grandchildren Zach and Ben Simon and Lily and Ryan Wozniak. ■



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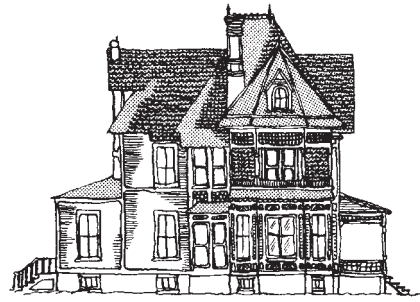
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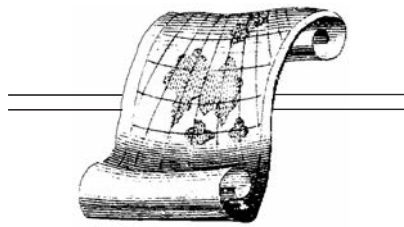
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REFLECTIONS

Touchdown in Kazan

BY GEORGE WILCOX

In 1997, near the end of our Foreign Service tours in Tashkent, my wife and I booked a one-stop flight to St. Petersburg for a vacation.

Our first inkling that this was going to be a unique experience occurred as we were boarding the plane. Our fellow passengers stormed the plane like a herd of stampeding cattle, many of them carrying one or two buckets of freshly picked berries and other kinds of fruits.

Once we boarded, many of them placed their fruitful bounty up against passenger windows, in the aisles beside their seats, and even onto the seats themselves, fastening two or three buckets into place with one seat-belt.

After about a three-hour flight, we touched down in Kazan, Tatarstan, an autonomous republic that was our point of entry into the Russian Federation. Prior to the breakup of the Soviet Union a few short years before, this would have been a strictly domestic affair — no customs check, no passports stamped, etc. And as we soon discovered, the local authorities were still operating on that assumption.

When we entered the terminal to complete immigration formalities, we looked for the diplomatic line. After all, there had always been one when we had traveled to other former Soviet republics — but not here.

Meanwhile, everyone else was running as fast as possible to the one immigration counter that was staffed, as

Meanwhile, everyone else was running as fast as possible to the one immigration counter that was staffed, as if mobbing a rock star.



if mobbing a rock star. People were pushing each other, throwing elbows and otherwise trying to position themselves as near to the front of the “line” as possible.

That left us dead last, lingering on the periphery, wondering what was going on. We walked over to an airport official and told him we were diplomats, then asked where the diplomatic line was. All we got was a blank stare.

More than an hour later, we finally made it to the passport desk, the last ones to do so. The agent looked long and hard at our diplomatic passports and at the diplomatic visas we had gotten previously. Then, after looking long and hard at us, he asked: “You are diplomats?” When we confirmed it, he quickly stamped our passports and waved us through to the departure lounge.

After perhaps half an hour of waiting there, a pleasant female official

came up to us and said, “Come, we go now to the plane.” No one else got up or made a move as we followed her out of the hall and onto a large airport bus. We were the only two passengers on a bus built for 50, which took us the half-mile to our plane, still waiting on the tarmac.

We were escorted off the bus and up the stairs to the plane, then on to our seats. For 15 more minutes we sat there, alone, waiting and wondering what was going on.

Finally, three busloads of passengers were herded up the stairs to join us. Within half an hour we had taken off and were on our way once again to St. Petersburg.

We’ve never been quite sure what happened back in Kazan, but we guess that initially the airport officials had no idea how to treat diplomats. Later, having had some time to think things over, they must have decided that it would be prudent to give us the red-carpet treatment — just in case treating us poorly (as they had initially done) might somehow come back to haunt them, with potentially negative repercussions.

Whatever the explanation, it was the only time during our 18 years in the Foreign Service that we ever got ambassadorial treatment! ■

George Wilcox, a retired USIA Foreign Service officer, served in Tashkent from 1995 to 1997 as the first Regional English Language Officer for Central Asia.

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