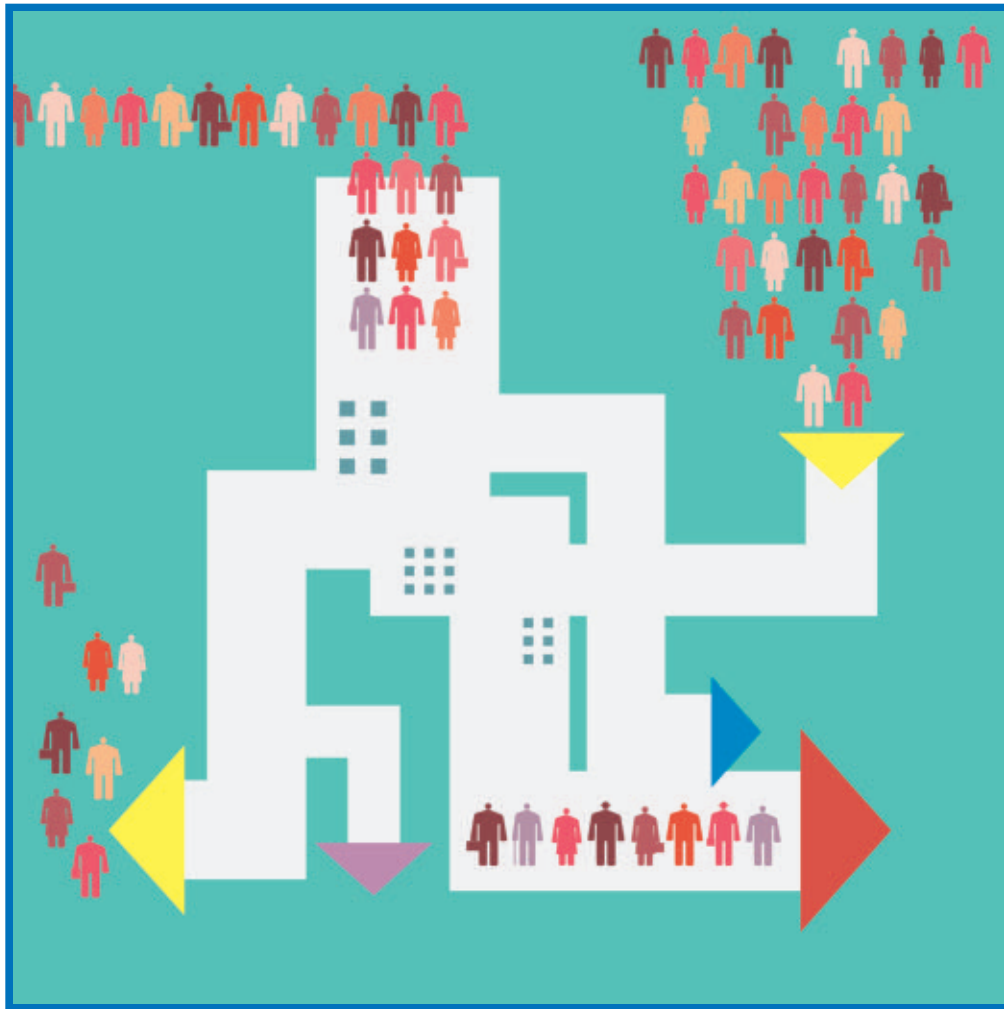


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Calling All Foreign Service Authors!

The November 2010 issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* will include a list of recently published books written by Foreign Service-affiliated authors.

FS authors whose books have been published in 2009 or 2010, and have not been featured in the roundup, are invited to send a copy of the book, along with a press release or backgrounder on the book and author to:

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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Seeing Diplomacy As a Profession

BY SUSAN R. JOHNSON

Do you consider the Foreign Service to be a diplomatic service? Is it a profession, or just a job that anyone interested in travel and international affairs can dabble in for a few years before moving on — or back — to business, nonprofits, teaching or politics? And if you do think it is a profession, is it one you and the public can define, believe in and be proud of?



Our military and intelligence services long ago recognized the need for high-quality professional education (as opposed to short-term training) to produce skilled practitioners and leaders, and have invested heavily in providing it. With that history in mind, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates and Admiral Mike Mullen, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, among others, have spoken out repeatedly about the need for our nation to invest more resources in civilian foreign affairs agencies, such as the State Department and U.S. Agency for International Development.

Recently, 50 senior retired military leaders signed a letter to members of Congress in which they supported President Barack Obama's FY 2011 International Affairs Budget request. In particular, they endorsed its commitment to begin reversing the chronic un-

derfunding and understaffing of America's civilian foreign affairs institutions.

But are we clear about what foundational professional education and what sort of short-term training are needed to build the skills, expertise and sense of "corporateness" America's diplomats and development

*The first step is to
define our profession.*

professionals require? Would being certified and perceived as professionals — like doctors, lawyers or teachers — make a difference?

Former Deputy Secretary of State John Negroponte, the first speaker in AFSA's new lecture series, "Promoting Excellence in Diplomacy," emphasized the critical need for foreign-language proficiency and the ability to understand and operate in other cultures. Accordingly, the greatest challenge for the Foreign Service is "recruiting, training, deploying, retaining and retraining officers" with the skills needed to carry out America's foreign policy.

A little more than 50 years ago, Samuel Huntington made the case for military "officership" as a profession in his book, *The Soldier and the State*. He defined a military professional as someone with the intellectual skills and pro-

fessional responsibility to carry out the "management of violence."

Huntington acknowledged diplomatic service as a profession possessing "a high degree of specialization of labor and responsibilities ... which renders a collective service to society as a whole." But he left the definition of the profession, and its professional education and certification requirements, up to the diplomats to determine.

AFSA believes that it is time to take up this task. We need to put forward a definition of our profession for scrutiny and debate, as a first step toward devising an effective approach to in-service training.

Toward that end, the American Academy of Diplomacy has launched a comprehensive study to address professional education, training, and developmental assignments needed to produce a high-value cadre of diplomatic service professionals with the knowledge and skills needed to meet present needs and future evolving requirements.

AFSA, along with the Cox and Delavan Foundations, is funding this study and will participate in the work of the AAD Advisory Group that will provide overall guidance and policy direction.

AFSA wants to provide a channel for active-duty perspectives and input to this project, and we are exploring a variety of ways to do this. If you are interested in these issues, please be in touch with us at President@afsa.org. ■

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



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LETTERS

Now *That's* Funny

The cartoon in the January *FSJ*, “The Three-Martini Country Team Meeting,” is the funniest thing I’ve seen in the magazine in 50 years. In fact, I think it’s the *only* funny thing I’ve seen in the *FSJ* in the same period!

Harrison Sherwood
Senior Foreign Service,
retired
Longstanton, U.K.

Getting It Wrong

Chas Freeman’s article in your March issue, “The Middle East: Forks in the Way Forward,” is abhorrent, outrageous and reprehensible. The Arab and Muslim political objectives of genocide and terror are incompatible with democracy, human rights and the rule of law that Americans cherish.

It is unfortunate that the *Foreign Service Journal* has provided Freeman a platform to peddle his agenda.

Patrick Syring
FSO, retired
Arlington, Va.

A Nod to International Fundraising

Thanks for the February issue on life and work after the Foreign Service. Bill Harrop’s study of senior living facilities was useful even to an ancient retiree like me. Richard Jackson’s account of academia abroad also caught my eye.

A graduate of my college with very

similar Foreign Service jobs to mine, Richard became president of Anatolia College in Greece — the first job I was offered on retirement 25 years ago, only to have it whisked away at the last minute when the incumbent changed his mind about leaving.

I now teach and direct international relations at a private American university in London (and simultaneously directed an American graduate school in Paris a few years ago). Jobs in academia, especially abroad, can be long-lasting and rewarding even when part-time. But an earned Ph.D., which I began part-time while still at State (but did not complete until five years later), helps.

One field not discussed in the February issue is fundraising — particularly in the international arena, in which an FS career provides an edge. I learned that when Brown University picked me out of 250 experienced applicants as its first-ever international fundraiser in 1985 (and perhaps the first full-time one in U.S. academia).

I owed that lead to the FS retiree network, which was already represented at Brown. The next such job, at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, also came through an FS friend. After that, I coasted along for several more years as chief fundraiser of the Princess Royal Fund for Carers (working with Her Royal Highness Princess Anne), secretary general of the International Fed-

eration of Multiple Sclerosis Societies, and sole fundraiser for Passports for Pets, part of the successful campaign that ended the six-month quarantine for dogs and cats entering the U.K.

The work can be very rewarding when you believe in the nonprofit or charity that you represent — and the remuneration is better than in most teaching jobs. Considering all the think-tanks and similar organizations that need to raise money, this is a wide-open field for FS alumni with their social and communication skills.

There are any number of other retirees who moved into interesting jobs, with or without further training. Onward to new horizons, my Foreign Service colleagues, in the knowledge that your skills are in demand when properly presented. The FS retiree network is very much alive and kicking.

George B. Lambrakis
FSO, retired
London, U.K.

Tips on Job-Hunting

The February issue of the *Journal* was exceptionally thoughtful and helpful to those foreign affairs employees involved in career change. Bill Harrop’s careful review of moving to senior living is must reading for older retirees. And Robert Pace’s contribution to the closing compilation (p. 51) is indispensable advice for those in transition from the Foreign Service.

However, I would add to his vital



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LETTERS

four points on job-hunting a fifth one: Don't sit at home waiting for the phone to ring! Take a graduate course in an area of interest — I took two in management finance at George Washington University — and find a way to serve as a volunteer at a nonprofit. In addition to learning about the “outside world,” you will be ready when the interviewer asks what you're doing now. (Hint: “Looking for a job” is not the right answer!)

Ted Curran
FSO, retired
Frankfort, Mich.

Spousal Employment: More to Be Done

The February Speaking Out column, “Starting the New ‘Gender Agenda’ at Home,” by Amanda Fernandez reminded me how much has changed regarding spousal employment in embassies, and how much still needs to change.

In 1958, I married Pamela Cheatham, an FSO working at State who, according to regulations in effect then, had to resign when I was transferred to Warsaw later that year.

Pamela was smart and very gifted in languages. Already fluent in Spanish and French, she studied Polish in Washington with a private tutor at her own expense, and after six months in Warsaw was reasonably fluent. In my later assignments in Vienna and Moscow, she also became a competent speaker of German and Russian.

Before leaving Washington for Warsaw for a three-year assignment, I wrote to our Warsaw embassy and asked if they had a job for Pamela — who, I pointed out, had a security clearance and was gifted in learning languages. I never received a reply, but a year or so later, I found my letter

in the embassy files. On it, someone had written “Let her teach school.”

Years later, when State changed its policy regarding assignments abroad for married female FSOs, Pamela was invited to return to the Foreign Service. But by that time she had embarked on another career, in education, tutoring and Teaching English as a Second Language instruction before becoming a professional counselor. It was another loss for State.

Yale Richmond
FSO, retired
Washington, D.C.

The New USAID

More than 40 years ago during the Nigerian civil war, the American ambassador decided to call in a U.S. Agency for International Development contractor and tell the chief of party that his group of agricultural advisers should not be taking sides. The university was running an agricultural program to improve the Nigerian poultry business, but the academics thought their brief also encompassed diplomacy.

At that time, USAID programs worldwide were technical assistance programs, grants of money or capital projects operated with low-interest loans or funded by outright grants. The programs were run in the field by Americans who were technical experts but not diplomats. It was thought natural that the U.S. ambassador be the paramount conduit for all USAID activities in his country.

Each embassy had its own separate goals and functions, which pivoted around the political officers. Military attachés and station chiefs had important ancillary functions. From the USAID FSOs' perspective, their programs grew out of treaties and mutual



agreements negotiated between the host government and the U.S. government in Washington, D.C., and the local American embassy.

Today, it is safe to surmise that future USAID activities will include fewer poultry or crop rotation programs, and probably will *not* include low-interest loans as a funding source. Funding may even be reimbursable or based partly on grants. Programs will be directed more at mid-level institutional and urban objectives.

Political vectors will be different, as well, in keeping with a major change in American foreign policy objectives. USAID programs will be less heartwarming or technical and directed more to the growth of civil functions. As a result, the skills required of USAID personnel will be completely changed from those of 30 years ago.

But no matter how U.S. government organization planners rearrange the personnel charts and lines of command, USAID programs and efforts will be much more effective and better received if they are seen by host governments as run by, and coming from, non-military or diplomatic monoliths.

Accordingly, USAID should be reconstituted as a separate agency with a dedicated career field of international development advisers. (The Department of State could provide administrative support.) And all programs should be under the aegis of the pertinent American ambassador.

International development advisers should not be competing with, or supervised by, political officers, spooks or military officers. ■

*John Wellington Macdonald
USAID FSO, retired
Austin, Texas*

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CYBERNOTES

AFSA Inaugurates Series on FS Challenges

Former Deputy Secretary of State John D. Negroponte was the featured speaker at the first lecture in AFSA's new series, "Promoting Excellence in Diplomacy." Co-sponsored with Lockheed Martin, the series is aimed at advancing innovative ideas about the education, skills and tools the Foreign Service needs to achieve excellence and deepen its impact.

The April 7 talk, conducted in the form of a conversation with former Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern Affairs Edward W. "Skip" Gnehm Jr., focused on the challenges facing the Foreign Service today.

The greatest of these, according to Ambassador Negroponte, is the need for officers who can speak the languages of the world: "There is no substitute for recruiting, training, deploying, retaining and retraining" officers in languages and geography so that they "develop the contacts, the knowledge, the insight, the local and area expertise" needed to help develop America's foreign policy.

Held at AFSA headquarters, the event was attended by more than 100 individuals. In a new departure for the association, it was also videostreamed to a broader audience. Remote participants were able to join the discussion by submitting their questions online. To view the discussion, please go to

The idea of political engagement with those who would directly or indirectly attack our troops is difficult. But dialogue is not appeasement, and political space is not the same as veto power or domination. Now is the time for the Afghans to pursue a political settlement with as much vigor and energy as we are pursuing the military and civilian effort.

— British Foreign Secretary David Miliband, in a speech at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, March 10, www.fco.gov.uk/en/news/latest-news/?view=Speech&id=21865587

www.afsa.org/video.cfm.

The series, titled "Promoting Excellence and Deepening Impact: Resources and Skills for Diplomacy and Development in the Age of Smart Power," is the product of a partnership between AFSA and Lockheed Martin.

The next discussion, scheduled for Wed., May 12 at 11 a.m., will feature Alec Ross, senior adviser for innovation to the Secretary of State.

If you are unable to join us in person, please participate online at www.afsa.org.

Is the Stage Set for Gains in Nuclear Security?

Agreement on the terms of the "New START Treaty," the most comprehensive arms control agreement in 20 years, is not only a milestone in the U.S.-Russia effort to "reset" a working relationship. It also adds momentum to the effort to move toward a world that is free of nuclear weapons — a goal that U.S. President Barack Obama

and Russian President Dmitry Medvedev both endorsed in a joint statement one year ago.

The new treaty was signed on April 8 in Prague, where a year ago Pres. Obama set forth his objectives for arms control and nuclear nonproliferation. The treaty limits each side to no more than 700 deployed strategic nuclear delivery vehicles and 1,550 deployed strategic warheads, which is 30 percent below the existing warhead limit. Just as importantly, New START would replace the 1991 START verification regime, which expired last December, with a more effective and up-to-date system to monitor compliance for the 10-year life of the new pact.

The START success bookends a series of events and meetings through the end of May devoted to the problem of nuclear proliferation. The administration issued its "Nuclear Posture Review," a legislatively mandated review that establishes U.S. nuclear policy, strategy, capabilities and force posture



for the next five to 10 years, shortly before this issue went to press. The review, which requires presidential approval of its findings and recommendations, will govern the administration's approach to nuclear security.

On the heels of the New START Treaty signing, the April 12-13 "Global Nuclear Security Summit" in Washington, D.C., drew more than 40 world leaders to discussions focused on measures to prevent nuclear terrorism with, in particular, a goal to secure all "loose" nuclear materials within the next four years.

Partnership for Global Security President Kenneth N. Luongo's article in the January/February issue of *Arms Control* magazine outlining the issues before the summit is a useful reference for evaluating the meeting's outcome.

In early May, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty review conference is slated to open at the United Nations. Whether the momentum of the New START Treaty and the embrace of nonproliferation goals by Pres. Obama will help the assembled parties to make significant progress remains to be seen. The 2005 review conference, it may be recalled, was described by the Swedish Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission as "the biggest failure in the history of this treaty."

At this writing, an agenda for the meeting has been agreed upon, but there is no agreement on specific recommendations to address the agenda items. However, as the Arms Control Association's (www.armscontrol.org) resource guide on the many proposals for strengthening the NPT shows, there would seem to be ample potential for agreement on the way forward.

Meanwhile, grassroots campaigns aimed at building a dynamic popular consensus for nonproliferation have

been active around the world. On Jan. 20-22, the Middle Powers Initiative (www.middlepowers.org) convened representatives from 20 middle-power governments, along with the U.S., the U.K., and representatives from the U.N. and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Office and the president-elect of the 2010 NPT Review Conference, Ambassador Libran Cabactulan of the Philippines, at the Carter Center in Atlanta for "Atlanta Consultation III: Fulfilling the NPT."

The MPI works with "middle power" governments to encourage and educate the nuclear-weapons states to take immediate practical steps that reduce nuclear dangers and commence negotiations to eliminate nuclear weapons. The campaign is guided by the Initiative's chairman, Ambassador Henrik Salander of Sweden.

On Feb. 2-4, the two-year-old Global Zero organization (www.globalzero.org) held a summit in Paris that opened with powerful messages from Pres. Medvedev and Pres. Obama. In his keynote to the 200 eminent international political, military, business, civic, faith and student leaders present, former Secretary of State George Shultz declared that the growing political support for the goal of a nuclear weapons-free world means that we are "entitled to hope and believe that this is an idea whose time has come."

The group released its "Global Zero Action Plan" outlining a step-by-step strategy to eliminate nuclear weapons, developed over the past year by a commission of 23 international leaders. U.S. participants include Ambassadors Thomas Pickering and Richard Burt, former Senator Chuck Hagel and Clinton national security adviser Anthony Lake from the U.S.

Also active has been the Project on

Nuclear Issues at the Center for Security and International Studies (www.csis.org) in Washington, D.C. As we go to press, PONI convened its spring conference in Washington, D.C., bringing together young nuclear experts.

Formally involving Washington, London and Paris, the project has two primary goals: build and sustain a networked community of young nuclear experts from across the nuclear enterprise; and mobilize the wide-ranging nuclear expertise within its ranks to generate new ideas and further the public debate on all issues concerning nuclear weapons strategy, policy, infrastructure and related topics.

Key Successes in U.S. Health Investments

Promising findings from the Global Fund's 2010 Results Report show that American investments in combating health epidemics such as HIV/AIDS, child mortality, tuberculosis and malaria have led to saving roughly 3,600 lives daily (www.theglobalfund.org/en/).

The report suggests that other achievements are possible in the future, among them essentially eliminating mother-to-child HIV transmission, ending malaria-related deaths and halving cases of tuberculosis by 2015.

The findings were highlighted by ONE, a grassroots campaign and advocacy organization aimed at eliminating poverty and preventable disease (www.one.org). ONE Executive Director Sheila Nix spoke of the "direct relationship" between key investments and saving countless lives from worldwide diseases, noting the responsibility of the United States in continuing to invest and fund the Global Fund, the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief and other programs.

The Global Fund, a public/private



50 Years Ago...

“I don’t always approve of what the American do, but your effort at Agadir [Morocco] was magnificent. You flipped open the book to the page marked ‘Disaster,’ went in and worked your bloody heads off.”



— A British correspondent in Casablanca, cited in “Earthquake at Agadir” by Robert Sherwood, *FSJ*, May 1960.

partnership striving to prevent and treat HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria has already saved approximately 4.9 million lives since its creation eight years ago.

A “Creative, Inexpensive” Security Paradigm

The Defense Department’s Quadrennial Defense Review, released in February, constitutes another step in institutionalizing the reform and reshaping of America’s military begun a decade ago (www.defense.gov/qdr). As commentators note, however, its real significance will be determined only by the final FY 2011 budget.

And on March 23, the National Strategy Information Center released a study titled “Adapting America’s Security Paradigm and Security Agenda.” Highlighting trends that point to a highly complex security environment with new technological means to instill terror and disorder, the study proposes a “creative, relatively inexpensive 21st-century security agenda” that is based more on “dedicated units of civilian and military professionals with certain skill sets” than on “super-enhanced technology and more divisions and firepower.”

The National Strategy Information Center (www.strategycenter.org) is a nonpartisan, nongovernmental organization that seeks to assess and enhance the security of the United States and democratic institutions abroad.

21st-Century Statecraft: The Jury’s Still Out

It has become fashionable in many quarters to assume that the traditional system of government-to-government relations is obsolete. Once the postwar bipolar world came to an end, a shifting panoply of state and nonstate actors emerged on the world stage, presenting new opportunities and new dangers and challenges. In this environment, the effort to define a new “diplomacy for the 21st century” has proceeded apace.

In a March 28 commentary in *The Guardian*, Kenneth Weisbrode observes that regionalism is moving to the fore in global politics — except in the U.S. The European Union recently established a new foreign policy apparatus called the European External Action Service, meant to represent the common interest of all 27 member-states. However, the lines of authority between the new Euro-diplomats and existing national foreign ministries are still unclear.

Members of organizations such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the African Union and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization are also talking seriously of increased harmonization of policies, but their plans remain largely on the drawing boards, as well.

By contrast, Weisbrode observes, efforts to improve communications across borders and at all levels of soci-

ety appear to be the priority for the U.S. He cites State Department Policy Planning Director Anne-Marie Slaughter’s promotion of the U.S. as “the favored hub of a global network of people, institutions and relationships.” Secretary of State Hillary Clinton’s Jan. 21 speech on Internet freedom made the same point, as has Senior Adviser for Innovation Alec Ross.

But we must take care not to confuse the means and ends of policy, Weisbrode observes. Better and faster communication is only a means to an end for diplomats. Building consensus among constituencies, promoting social networking and connecting groups behind policy have always been the meat of their work and the stuff of their expertise, and it remains so today.

For the “global network enthusiasts,” Weisbrode suggests, “old diplomacy” may be a straw man.

Zimbabwe Struggles with Transition, Prepares for 2011 Elections

Despite intensive efforts by South African President Jacob Zuma, talks in Harare aimed at removing the stumbling blocks to full implementation of the power-sharing agreement between President Robert Mugabe and Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai appeared to have come to a standstill at the end of March.

The two had agreed to share power after elections in 2008 in which Tsvangirai’s Movement for Democratic Change defeated the 30-year, one-party rule of Robert Mugabe and his Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front, but ZANU-PF refused to yield power.

So far, however, little progress has been made as the country battles economic disarray, the continent’s worst



Site of the Month: shelfari.com

A social networking site for bibliophiles, *Shelfari's* mission is to enhance the experience of reading by connecting readers in meaningful conversations about the published word.

The site is a gathering place for authors, aspiring authors, publishers and readers. Members can build virtual bookshelves of books they own, as well as books they want, to share with friends. They can rate and discuss books online, write reviews, participate in groups of readers with the same interests and interact with and learn from authors.

Users of the site can categorize their books by various topics — say, economics, baseball or thrillers. They can also view titles that reside on the bookshelves of their friends and locate those people who have similar books in their collections.

Based in Seattle, the site was launched in 2006 by former RealNetworks employees Josh Hug and Kevin Beukelman, and acquired by Amazon.com in 2008.

cholera epidemic in 15 years and rampant poverty. As many as three million citizens have fled across the border into South Africa to find work and refuge from the political instability.

In 2009, the Southern African Development Council, a 15-member regional grouping, appointed Pres. Zuma as its chief mediator in Harare. A wave of optimism had developed when, following his mid-March visit to Zimbabwe, Zuma announced that the parties had agreed to a package of measures to be implemented “concurrently.” It was also agreed the negotiating teams would attend to all outstanding matters during their deliberations before reporting back to Zuma by March 31.

But, on March 24, ZANU-PF spokesman Rugare Gumbo indicated that there would be no movement on outstanding issues until international sanctions on the country are lifted. Whether this is party policy or reflects a faction fight within the party remains to be seen. Pres. Mugabe has accused Prime Minister Tsvangirai of not doing enough on the sanctions problem. But according to the BBC, even Pres. Zuma, who has stated his disagree-

ment with the view that more pressure was required, was unsuccessful in having the Western sanctions relaxed during his recent visit to London.

Many believe that a new election, providing it is free and fair, is the only way to enable the country to move forward. And Pres. Mugabe himself has suggested that a fresh poll could be held early next year. But the Zimbabwe Election Support Network has warned that calls for fresh elections in the country are premature in the absence of an overhaul of the discredited voters’ roll and a review of electoral, security and media laws.

In a detailed analysis of the power-sharing agreement, the International Crisis Group (www.crisisgroup.org) argues that the country’s democratic transition is still at risk, “especially from hardline security officials.”

For background and to follow developments in Zimbabwe, see <http://allafrica.com/zimbabwe/> and <http://news.bbc.co.uk>. ■

This edition of Cybernotes was compiled by Senior Editor Susan Brady Maitra and Editorial Intern Jennifer Thompson.



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SPEAKING OUT

Time for State to Get Up to Speed

BY TOM CASEY

On my initial overseas assignment in the late 1980s, I was surprised to see that my boss used a manual typewriter. When I asked him why, he insisted that computers were unreliable and likely just a passing fad. And I've never heard a more self-satisfied "I told you so" than when there was any kind of problem with that early Wang system. To him, technology was something *real* Foreign Service officers could do without.

While I'd like to think that he was an anomaly, I saw many instances of this sort of aversion to technology — from the assistant secretary whose office management specialist printed out his e-mails for handwritten responses because he'd never learned to use his computer, to a colleague at an overseas mission who refused to let her staff compile media reviews from online sources because "they might be different" than the hard-copy print versions.

(At the other end of the spectrum, there are those who view the use of technology as a sort of badge of rank, turning the distribution of Blackberry devices into the equivalent of the key to the executive washroom, rather than seeing it as an essential tool for getting people out of their offices and engaged with counterparts and contacts.)

Certainly many State Department and USAID officers recognize that new, or at least updated, technologies

To take full advantage of technology, State needs to adopt a new attitude toward innovation.



are critical. Former Secretary of State Colin Powell deserves special recognition for getting everyone at State modern computers and desktop access to the Internet. The department has also made a sustained effort to increase the availability of both secure and non-secure video teleconferencing equipment, expand employee remote access to Opennet, and increase the number of government-provided laptops and mobile devices. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton's appointment of a senior adviser for innovation, Alec Ross, was another welcome step.

Regrettably, however, State has for many years been the most reluctant of "late adopters." Some of that reluctance is due to the historic shortchanging of foreign affairs activities in the federal budget — something that is going to be a factor again as the impact of the current recession and the growing national debt start to crowd out discretionary spending of all kinds.

But making technology the first item to be dropped or deferred when budgets get tight and people look at ways to save money contributes to a vicious cycle of perennial obsolescence at an agency whose missions are among the most complex and communications-intensive of any in government.

While State will never have the resources of the Pentagon or the intelligence community, it should at least have some of the technology they use to become more effective players on the world stage. And the good news is that much of it is available at a fraction of the cost it took to develop.

The problem is not only budgetary, however. To take full advantage of technology, State needs to adopt a new attitude toward innovation and a real willingness to experiment that it has lacked to date.

A Priority Issue

Perhaps you think I'm overstating the potential gains? If so, take a look at the many studies that have been done over the last few years, both by in-house groups and concerned outsiders, all of which underscore the importance of adapting new technologies to make the Foreign Service stronger and more capable.

The Center for Strategic and International Studies' landmark 2000 "Embassy of the Future" report identifies technology as the second priority for



action, right after investing in people. It states: "Senior department leadership need to raise the profile of technology within the State Department and place technology more effectively in the service of business practices. The department must fund technology more consistently across its bureaus."

It continues: "The department should also establish a Technology Center at the National Foreign Affairs Training Center that would serve as a demonstration and instruction facility for technology and new business practices; partner the center with embassies as testbeds for technology innovation; and establish a special fund for technology innovation at posts."

The 2007 report of Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's Advisory Commission on Transformational Diplomacy lists "Harness 21st-century technology" as one of its key recommendations: "Technology is the key to transformation. The Department of State is a knowledge-based organization, but it has lagged behind in adopting and integrating information technology into its processes and culture. The ultimate success of transformational diplomacy will in large measure depend on the aggressive deployment of IT and the effectiveness with which the department can acquire, analyze and respond to the global flow of information. Serious IT transformation and consolidation is an urgent priority that will require a multiyear effort."

The same issues apply when looking at our development assistance. In May 2009, the Brookings Institution's report "Strengthening America's Global Development Partnerships" said: "The U.S. government could establish a global development equivalent to the U.S. Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency. ... At a minimum, as

the U.S. development agency deepens its technical expertise, it should establish more systematic links and funding relationships with domestic research institutions that are pioneering new technologies for the developing world."

Some Scenarios to Consider

So what can technology do for diplomats and development professionals that they can't already do? Here are a few examples.

- A Provincial Reconstruction Team leader visiting a village consults a secure handheld device that brings her reports from previous visits by other officials, biographical information about local leaders, and critical real-time information about local security conditions. When confronted with complaints from officials about a promised project, she instantly taps into a database that pinpoints the exact location of key items being delivered. She can then initiate a purchase of additional materials or put new information into the system, getting a response from military or other officials before the meeting ends.

- A new political officer about to meet with the head of a regional party must deliver an unwelcome message. Because his predecessor left post several weeks ago, the new officer taps into the embassy wiki. This contains biographic material from both State and other sources, links to news articles about the contact, and notes from previous meetings with the individual that provide a detailed picture of the contact and how to engage him.

It turns out that the contact has had a difficult relationship with the embassy, so the officer's preparation includes time in an internal online community discussion to get advice from more seasoned officers on how to best manage the situation.

Another feature provides the officer with a window into the party leader's personal and professional network of associates and advisers, revealing that one is the head of a company that does a lot of business with the U.S. and is well known to the embassy. The political and economic sections schedule meetings with the individual, and work together to help shape the party leader's reaction.

- A consular officer makes a trip out to a remote city in her district. Using a secure encrypted laptop and mobile biometric scanners, she is able to accept visa applications from several local contacts, verify the citizenship of an American citizen who has lost his identification and issue him a travel letter, and access both the U.S. and host-country records of a citizen imprisoned in the local jail before making a visit.

- USAID workers arriving to set up disaster assistance put up a solar-powered, portable generator that obviates the immediate need to tap into stressed local power and fuel supplies. To quickly establish communications with various U.S. agencies, local government officials and nongovernmental organizations, they link all the players into their portable universal communications platform.

They then get real-time imagery from satellites and unmanned aerial vehicles to help pinpoint roads that are passable and validate routes to transport relief supplies. This information is shared over the multiactor network they have just established.

The common thread in all these scenarios is freedom. Freedom from having to reinvent the wheel with each Foreign Service rotation. Freedom to escape the chains that often keep officers at their desk in fortified embassy

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compounds instead of out doing the contact and connection work that is the lifeblood of diplomacy. Freedom from having to guess what is around the next corner in the increasingly challenging and hostile environments that Foreign Service members now face.

Smart Tools

Achieving this kind of freedom is easier than you may think. For example, last July the U.S. Institute of Peace held a unique conference called “Smart Tools for Smart Power.” The event brought together public and private sector groups to showcase state-of-the-art simulation and serious gaming tools that USIP described as having the “expertise to transform the way that peacebuilding organizations train, plan and collaborate.”

White House Deputy Chief Technology Officer Beth Noveck challenged participants to help the Obama administration use these tools to advance policy goals. That call was taken up by many of the presenters — from the Army War College to Second Life to eBay to Lockheed Martin — who stated their willingness to partner with government to do just that.

Whether through USIP or some other organization, State ought to take up these offers and get those developing new technologies engaged on behalf of Foreign Service officers everywhere. In recent years, public-private partnerships have helped State pursue policy objectives ranging from assisting Lebanon’s recovery from war to fostering deeper and more sustained engagement with the Muslim world. Why not use a similar approach to help our diplomats and development officials do their jobs more safely and effectively?

Even if Sec. Clinton and her team

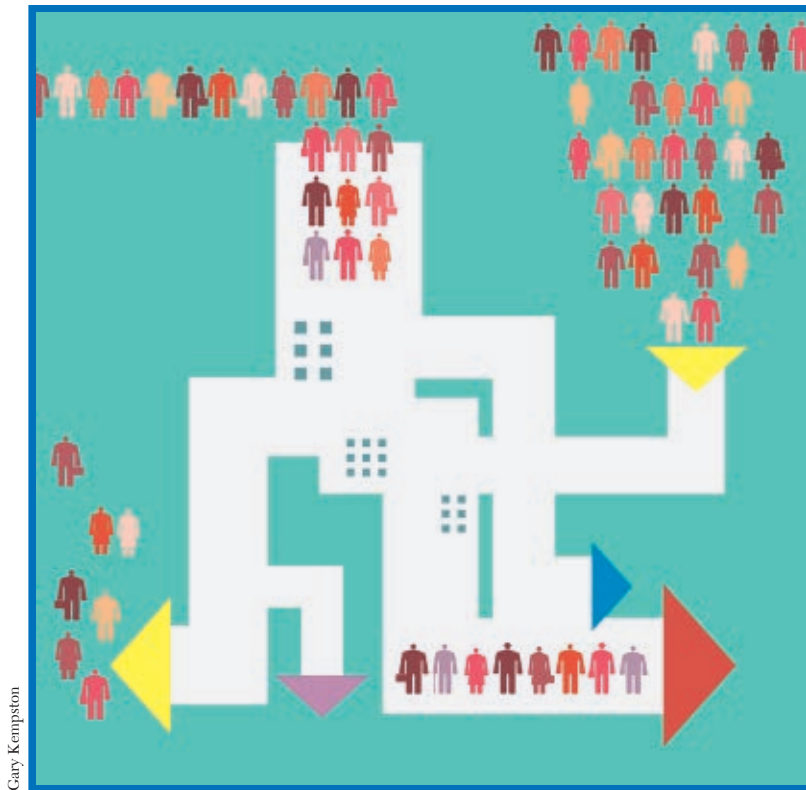
do pursue some of these possibilities, a lot depends on participation by State Department employees at all levels, both in the Foreign Service and Civil Service. An unwillingness to simply accept the status quo has to become the norm if State is to develop a real culture of innovation.

Of course, no matter how sophisticated, technology will never be a substitute for the experience, judgment and energy of seasoned diplomatic and development professionals. And not every gizmo or system used by other departments is appropriate for State or the other foreign affairs agencies. But strengthening diplomacy and development will require both expanding the use of existing technologies and developing a culture of innovation that continually looks for new tools and new ways to apply them.

As for my former boss’s typewriter, I hope he donated it to the new Diplomacy Center, where it can be viewed along with other artifacts of American diplomatic history. After all, we keep James Madison’s desk and Paul Revere’s silver on the 8th floor of Main State. We just don’t expect our officers to use them! ■

Tom Casey, a Foreign Service officer with the Department of State and the United States Information Agency from 1988 to 2008, served as director of State’s Office of Press Relations from 2003 to 2006, and as deputy spokesman and deputy assistant secretary for public affairs from 2006 to 2008. His overseas assignments included Caracas, Lagos, Lima, Brussels, Baghdad and Tirana. After retiring as a Senior Foreign Service officer in 2008, Casey became director of communications for Lockheed Martin Readiness & Stability Operations.

THE CHALLENGE OF PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT



T

IT IS TIME FOR THE FOREIGN SERVICE TO
PULL TOGETHER RECENT ADVANCES IN
TRAINING INTO A COMPREHENSIVE PLAN.

By RONALD E. NEUMANN

he zeal with which the Foreign Service constantly re-examines its structure and missions and reappraises its training needs honors our passion for our profession, but also makes it difficult to reach conclusions about how effective such changes have been over the years. For instance, the need for a more “expeditionary” (or “program directive”) Foreign Service has been discovered repeatedly for more than 60 years, with the proponents of each iteration acting as though they had discovered a new truth. Yet for just as long, opponents have questioned the

need to move away from “traditional” diplomacy — however one defines that.

Throughout these debates, institutional change came about incrementally. This led to changes in professional training as resources and demand allowed, one recent example being the expanded, improved training for those deploying to Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Iraq and Afghanistan. Yet the most widespread method within the Foreign Service for imparting wisdom about how to do the job and pursue a career continues to be mentoring, whether conducted formally or simply through the example set by more senior officers.

This is famously illustrated by the story of Secretary of State Colin Powell, who spent more than 20 percent of his military career undergoing professional development that he found useful. When he asked his under secretary for political affairs, Marc Grossman, how much time he had spent in professional training over the course of his Foreign Service career, Grossman replied: “Two weeks, aside from language instruction.”

While considerably more training has been added since this exchange, mentoring remains the core of our professional development. But that model has already begun to break down in the face of rapid personnel increases, and is manifestly inadequate for future needs. Fortunately, we now have new opportunities to rethink the role of professional development, pull together recent advances in training into a comprehensive plan, and create a strategy that can win congressional support for the resources needed to make it a reality.

Yet even as that opportunity presents itself, State management is beleaguered with the demands of allocating the new, critically needed influx of officers and planning the support needed for a 25-percent increase in Foreign Service personnel. As a result, it lacks the time — though not the will or understanding — to craft the needed strategy.

This auspicious moment is unlikely to last. A department that cannot think and plan strategically will not be honored with more resources as the political clamor to re-trench mounts.

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

With the Department of State’s cooperation, the American Academy of Diplomacy (which I head) is conducting a study to assist in meeting the need for new strategic planning. This study, which the American Academy of Diplomacy hopes to conclude by December, is being funded by the Una Chapman Cox Foundation with additional assistance from AFSA, the Delevan Foundation and the Academy’s own funds.

The Breakdown of Old Models

There were many reasons the Foreign Service historically provided its members with little training, chief among them a lack of financial and personnel resources. But beginning in 2001 with Sec. Powell’s emphasis on careerlong professional training, starting with the institution of a leadership development continuum spanning the FS-3 level to the senior ranks, there has been significant progress. Language training — a key element for diplomats — is being massively expanded. Tradecraft courses have grown in length and frequency, as have cone-specific and mid-level curricula. And there are more slots for Foreign Service personnel to attend the National War College.

Yet we still lack the resources to institutionalize the changes, add critical topics and stop jamming training into transfer summers to the detriment of staff and posts. Broad professional development, away from high-pressure jobs, remains limited to a few officers. Meanwhile, many Foreign Service personnel still view training as a diversion from career advancement or even detrimental to it.

Others assume we are good enough as we are, although the lack of training, accreditation and specialized diplomas has always made it difficult to explain why we should be treated as a profession when we lack the symbols that mark other guilds and professions and are directed primarily by amateurs. But in view of the long line of successful career diplomats who contributed to the forging of the postwar institutions, advanced the nation’s interests and managed the multifaceted business of diplomacy through countless negotiations and wars, there was evidence that we somehow did learn what we needed to know.

That model is now breaking down. As retirements continue and the influx of desperately needed new officers expands, we are at the point where almost two-thirds of Foreign Service officers have spent fewer than 10 years in the Service; 28 percent have spent fewer than five. We simply no longer have sufficient experienced officers to serve as mentors and trainers. And this reality will not be

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changed by mandates that each deputy chief of mission find time to mentor all entry-level officers at his or her post — an approach that increasingly resembles King Canute's orders that the sea withdraw.

Three recent studies, all funded by the Una Chapman Cox Foundation, document the skills we lack as a Service. CSIS's "The Embassy of the Future" paid particular attention to missing skills. And the "Foreign Service Generalist Competency Modeling" project, conducted in 2008 by State's Human Resources Bureau using a U.S. Army model, projected the skills that FSOs should attain by 2017. The findings identified a 30-percent change in the categories of skills the Foreign Service would need to have mastered by the end of that period, primarily in program direction, economics and transnational issues.

With the Department of State's cooperation, the American Academy of Diplomacy is conducting a study to help meet the need for new strategic planning.

Finally, "A Foreign Affairs Budget for the Future," put together in 2008 by AAD, documented training gaps in many functions, including multilateral diplomacy and work with NGOs. Devoting greater resources to training the huge influx of new officers is critically important, but does not address the need for experience at the middle and senior ranks, where many of the gaps are most acute.

No comprehensive plan now exists to train those being rapidly promoted so that they can learn the skills they need other than by trial and error, although those involved in the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review now under way reportedly recognize the problem. Some of the needed expertise might be hired from outside — the strongly debated mid-level entry approach. Yet when

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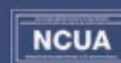
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we had such a program in the past, my experience was that the Service failed to train such officers in the basic skills of the institution that most of us had acquired as junior officers.

As a result, we ended up with mid-level officers who could do some things brilliantly but, to the frustration of their DCMs and ambassadors, couldn't manage such mundane tasks as organizing a motorcade for a high-level visit or drafting a press release. Of course, these gaps could be alleviated with training. But the point is that because we didn't train them, careers suffered, as well as nerves. It is but one of the many pitfalls of not taking in-service training seriously.

Another example stems from our current focus on testing for general characteristics without requiring any detailed knowledge of diplomatic history or practice for entry into the Foreign Service. The notion that bright folk will learn what they need to know on the job is debatable. What is far less debatable is that they will have a harder time if there are few experts to teach them and no structure to help.

Furthermore, because the limited physical capacity of the Foreign Service Institute has forced the reduction of entry-level orientation from seven weeks to five, we are sending greater numbers of less-prepared personnel into the field to be supervised by fewer experienced ones.

Whether one looks at the breakdown of old ways of training, the need for new skills in a new century, or the fact that others, from the U.S. military to private business, invest billions in staff development while the Foreign Service devotes pennies, the need for enhanced professional development stands out. That need raises three questions: What is to be taught? Who is to be trained? How are the resources to be obtained?

What to Teach?

Ask any Foreign Service generalist with a few years in the Service to describe what is needed in training, and the response is apt to be eloquent, long and frequently passionate. By the time one gets to my generation, you can be pretty sure of at least the last two elements.

The other thing one can count on is disagreements.

It is ridiculous that most FSOs have had no formal training in conducting negotiations, either with foreigners or within the interagency community.

One of the most current is how "expeditionary" the Service should be. That term has caused some definitional problems but, as it is being used by the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization and the United States Institute for Peace, it means that civilians need to be available for rapid deployment with skills in program management, contracting, and working productively with USAID and other agencies.

They also require training in how short-term relief and stabilization measures should relate to long-term economic and governance development. It is in this sense that former Ambassadors Ryan Crocker and Marc Grossman have called explicitly for more expeditionary training.

Others have responded that there is more to the Foreign Service than deploying as junior partners to the military, and that we ought to get back to "traditional" diplomacy. Or as the *Journal's* editor wrote when requesting this article, "Are we going to go on serving increasingly ... as 'expeditionary' diplomats, or revert to more traditional roles as we phase down (eventually) in Iraq and Afghanistan?" There is now substantial evidence that the answer is "both."

Too much of the current debate treats the question of the expeditionary diplomat as though it were either an exciting new discovery or a temporary aberration. It is neither. A recent *FSJ* article (Bob Rackmales, "Lucius Battle: Shaper of the Postwar Foreign Service," July-August 2009) reminds us that in 1963, Special Assistant to the President Ralph Dungan spoke to AFSA of the "need to expand the traditional concept of foreign policy." Dungan called for a "new emphasis on operations and management of programs."

Two great names from the postwar era subsequently addressed the issue. Loy Henderson offered a rebuttal, and Luke Battle responded in an address that recalled "the struggles of 1946, when ... 'a small elite corps' had failed to recognize the need for change. By not training ... not broadening ... not bringing in economists ... the Foreign Service was dominated by others ... and that was the beginning of its decline."

Battle's pessimistic analysis has been borne out. The Foreign Service has ceded a growing number of functions

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to other departments and agencies. Most recently, the Department of Defense became by default the dominant policymaker in the early phases of U.S. involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan. Its resources still dictate much of the action today, and it is increasingly training its personnel for the tasks State and USAID lack the bodies to perform.

After decades of calls to develop the professional skills we have chronically lacked, it is time for State to stop validating Battle's conclusions about what will happen to us if we don't. The relatively new Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization is a good start, but it is still small and its training lies largely outside the normal skill sets of State officers. In addition, it is ridiculous that most FSOs have had no formal training in conducting negotiations, either with foreigners or within the interagency community.

Whom to Train

State Department Foreign Service specialists, as well as their consular and management-cone colleagues, are still

routinely shortchanged in language training and professional development. But they have plenty of company, alas.

Neither the Foreign Commercial Service nor the Foreign Agricultural Service provide much language instruction or area studies education to their officers, even though they confront many of the same cultural and political issues as their State Department counterparts. And many new hires at the U.S. Agency for International Development are not even getting basic training in the languages spoken in their countries of assignment. The fact that more of them receive instruction in world languages is commendable as far as it goes, but the failure to meet both sets of needs illustrates the nefarious way in which resource-driven decisions limit field effectiveness.

In addition, the world of foreign assistance has changed greatly in recent decades, moving away from government-to-government partnerships. Yet USAID still has few resources to devote to leveraging and building partnerships with nongovernmental organizations and the private sector.

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Back at State, the number of political advisers to the various military commands has burgeoned since the 9/11 attacks, yet FSOs assigned to those positions receive little specialized training to prepare them to work effectively with the military. This is true even though POLADs are increasingly less senior and less experienced in interagency work.

Beyond specific technical and professional skills, we need to develop our staff's capabilities over the course of their careers. The military spends liberally, and usefully, on this, providing opportunities for broadening thinking at service schools and outside academic training and advanced degrees. While military entrance requirements are less rigorous than ours, their development of their personnel over the course of a career is better.

Private industry also recognizes the need for careerlong training. We have not. Consequently, as the list of training deficiencies grows, the ratio of senior to lower-ranking Foreign Service officers continues to tilt in the wrong direction.

The Opportunity and the Danger

Until now, we have lacked the resources to respond to the challenge. That is changing. By the end of the current fiscal year, State will have brought on approximately 1,300 generalists (828 over attrition) and 1,000 specialists. USAID has brought on just over 400 new junior officers over the last three years and plans to hire an additional 100 to 150 more during 2010. These cadres are filling vacant positions, meeting long-deferred critical needs and helping to meet the burgeoning workload in Iraq and Afghanistan.

In response, there has been a major expansion of language-training positions, with 300 already added and 700 more to come. This is an appropriate initial response to the influx, but does not meet the equally critical need for experienced mid-level officers. Other types of professional training have seen little expansion beyond area studies and preparation for service on Provincial Reconstruction Teams. I do not mean this as a criticism of badly overworked personnel in the Bureau of Human Resources and the Foreign Service Institute, but as a call for additional resources to implement essential thinking.

Specialists, as well as their consular and management-cone colleagues, are still routinely shortchanged in language training and professional development.

State's current resources are so stretched that the long-promised examination of broader training needs has been deferred. If the flow of personnel at current rates were guaranteed, such a decision might be justifiable, if regrettable. But no such guarantee exists.

Concern about growing deficits is striking the Obama administration and Congress. The administration has proposed a continued, if slower, increase in international affairs spending in the Fiscal Year 2011 budget, but congressional approval is far from certain. Pressures to economize even further will only grow in FY 2012.

The danger is real: We may lose the greatest opportunity in years to establish a proper "float" of training positions and the concepts and resources to professionally develop our personnel. If we forfeit the opportunity to institutionalize proper personnel development, we may not recapture it for a long time.

Building a Strategy

A strategy that prioritizes our real, long-term needs — not just coping with today's challenges — is essential. Such a strategy should look to the future and draw from the best practices of military and civilian institutions to develop guidelines on how many class hours are required, in what subjects and where taught. Only with such specifics can we calculate and seek the required dollars and personnel.

Congress is already pressing for strategic responses on how we will meet the challenges documented by recent Government Accountability Office reports to the Subcommittee on Oversight of Government Management of the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs: "Comprehensive Plan Needed to Address Persistent Foreign Language Shortfalls" (September 2009) and "Diplomatic Security's Recent Growth Warrants Strategic Review" (November 2009).

For example, Defense Secretary Robert Gates, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Michael Mullen, and other high-ranking administration officials support transferring to State some of the resources and authorities that DOD has acquired in recent years. Yet this will not happen if we lack the trained personnel to manage the increase in au-

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thorities. While Congress may be sympathetic to a well-conceived strategy for training and professional development of Foreign Service personnel, it will not allocate the necessary resources in the absence of clear indications of how they will be used.

Right now, while we still have new personnel coming on board with existing budget authority, is the time to begin setting aside some of these positions to build the training float (beyond language training) for the Service as a whole. Specifically, “A Foreign Affairs Budget for the Future,” referenced earlier, recommends establishing 1,287 new positions for training, professional development, transitions and temporary needs at an annual cost of \$309.8 million.

That is an ambitious goal, to be sure. Yet even if the flow of resources for new positions shrinks in coming years, a detailed strategy will furnish a template to build on over time.

Recognizing the current strains on the State Department as it deals with new officers, two wars and the chal-

lenges of conducting the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review, the American Academy of Diplomacy proposes to use its resource of former senior officers to study and propose a comprehensive strategy that meets the needs described above. With the funding noted earlier, we intend to work with State, AFSA and outside experts to propose solutions drawn from the best practices of others, as well as the unique needs of foreign affairs work.

The State Department’s promised cooperation will be essential to assure that the study is grounded in reality and capable of being accepted and implemented. We plan to draw attention, as well, to key training needs in State’s sister foreign affairs agencies (USAID, FAS, FCS and IBB).

No doubt even the best plan will have deficiencies and raise some criticisms. Over time a strategy can and should be modified in the light of experience and changing needs. Without a strategy, however, the discussion will remain as theoretical as it has been for half a century — and just as useless. ■

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DIPLOMACY 3.0: A PROGRESS REPORT

D

iplomacy 3.0 is not like Word 7.0 — it's not the third iteration of the American diplomatic program. As Cathy Hurst in State's Bureau of Human Resources explains, "It's not that we tried it twice before and it didn't work." Rather, the name comes from a speech in which Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton called for a major hiring initiative. (Hurst is one of several State Department officers who helped the *FSJ* get a sense of how the hiring push is going.)

"We needed a name for it," Hurst continues. "People were calling it 'the surge.' What we wanted to convey was that it was a well-thought-out plan for building the Foreign Service of the future. The Secretary said in her speech that diplomacy, development and defense were the three pillars she wanted to focus on." Hence, Diplomacy 3.0, though officials in HR usually refer to it as "D 3.0" or simply "3.0."

The reason the initiative was necessary, recalls Philippe Lussier, head of the Resource Management and Analysis Division within HR, was that by 2008 State was facing a large staffing gap. Despite demand for diplomatic expertise in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan, the department had not increased its hiring since the Diplomatic Readiness

UNLIKE THE DIPLOMATIC READINESS INITIATIVE, DIPLOMACY 3.0 IS ENVISIONED AS A LONG-TERM APPROACH TO FS HIRING NEEDS.

BY BOB GULDIN

Initiative ended in 2004.

Says Lussier, "We tried to meet all those demands from within, 10 positions here, 20 positions there. Basically, we were robbing Peter to pay Paul. At the end of 2008, we had a 16-percent vacancy rate. We were not able to keep up with mission demands — that's the bottom line."

Margaret Dean, of HR's Office of Recruitment, Examination and Employment, points out that this latest push for more people started under Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, in the last year of the George W. Bush administration.

In addition, says Katelyn Choe, a senior adviser in the HR Office of Career Development and Assignments, Diplomacy 3.0 is coordinated with the new Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review, a major planning exercise Sec. Clinton also initiated last year.

The QDDR, modeled on the Defense Department's better-known Quadrennial Defense Review, is still under way. Its goal is to develop long-term strategies and plans for the conduct of U.S. foreign affairs, including, of course, the work-force component.

Some Adjustments Necessary

The startup of Diplomacy 3.0 required State's HR division to quickly shift gears. "Before it," says Dean, "we were processing people to keep the register [hiring list] low be-

Bob Guldin, a Washington writer, was editor of the Foreign Service Journal from 1998 to 2001.

cause we didn't want to clear all these people and have them 'die' on the register." When the program started, HR adjusted its scoring and now has over 1,000 people on the list.

Moreover, when the hiring surge began, HR extended the maximum time candidates can spend on the register from the normal 18 months to 24 months, so it wouldn't lose qualified individuals.

Ever since then, the hiring process has been going full throttle. In FY 2009, despite a late start, 766 Foreign Service generalists and 589 specialists were hired, meeting the department's goal. Says Lussier, "We're now hiring against a target of 1,368 (878 generalists and 490 specialists) in 2010," though he cautions that "these numbers change on a weekly basis."

It was originally expected that 500 of those hires would be to replace attrition. However, attrition has slowed to about 400, probably due to the recession. That means hiring 1,425 people this year will probably yield net growth of at least 1,000. It's likely, Lussier says, that combined hiring for Fiscal Years 2009 and 2010 will be 1,800 positions above attrition.

The hiring surge is expected to continue into FY 2011, albeit at a slower pace. The tentative goal is hiring 522 FSOs and 308 specialists — 830 in all. Whether that goal is achieved depends in large part on congressional funding decisions.

It's All in the Timing

State decided to boost recruitment at an opportune moment. An experienced Foreign Service recruiter who asked not to be identified says, "The interest [in State Department jobs] is incredible. They are signing up in droves. The biggest reason is that there are no jobs in the private sector. People are also looking for second careers." However, the FSO adds, "Civil Service recruiting is very difficult. Most don't even get a response when they apply."

For those who've been around State for more than six years, the story of Diplomacy 3.0 may inspire a sense of déjà vu. Between 2001 and 2004, Secretary of State Colin Powell put in place the Diplomatic Readiness Initiative, which brought in 1,069 Foreign Service specialists and generalists above attrition, as well as about 60 Civil Service staffers. That surge was intended to fill the gap left by

State decided to boost Foreign Service recruitment at an opportune moment.

a severe hiring drought during the 1990s.

At the beginning of the DRI, recalls FSO Neils Marquardt — a special coordinator for diplomatic readiness at the time, now ambassador to Madagascar — "We started out with numerous bottlenecks: security, medical, training. But there was a strong sense of leadership from the top, from Sec. Powell, so some of those problems yielded to pressure."

So why is another big hiring push needed so soon? Because the United States began military action in Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003, and new staffing demands ballooned before the initiative could alleviate the previous personnel shortages.

"We didn't compete too well for resources, so we've had a return to the problems we experienced," Amb. Marquardt observes. He notes that HR "didn't abolish any positions in my embassy, even as they created new ones in Iraq and Afghanistan." Because positions were simply left vacant, he says, "there's been a hollowing out [of the Service]."

"We didn't compete too well for resources, so we've had a return to the problems we experienced," Amb. Marquardt observes. He notes that HR "didn't abolish any positions in my embassy, even as they created new ones in Iraq and Afghanistan." Because positions were simply left vacant, he says, "there's been a hollowing out [of the Service]."

During DRI, says Marquardt, "Our thought was, never again would we hire below attrition. But that's not how it turned out. We've got to get out of this business of doing it cyclically. It's like the bulge in the python. It's no way to run a railway."

Says one career development officer about the 2004-2008 period, "When it came to the bidding cycles, we had many more positions than people to bid on them." In one cycle, "we had 600 jobs and only 300 bidders," so that HR felt a need to direct FSOs to the places where need was the greatest.

In those years, Lussier explains, "we staffed Iraq at 100 percent, [so] there weren't enough bodies to staff all the other positions." In response, HR levied what came to be known as "the Iraq tax" on bureaus, forcing them to identify positions that could be eliminated or left vacant.

It also came up with a system it called "rolling gaps," which meant that when an entry-level officer left post, there was often a gap of three to six months before they could place another ELO in the job.

Taking the Long View

Unlike DRI, Diplomacy 3.0 is envisioned as a more comprehensive, long-term solution to State Department

and Foreign Service hiring cycles. As Hurst notes, “The difference between this and DRI is those were one-time fills [which] disappeared once they moved up to the mid-level. We’ve asked the posts to look at these positions as more long-term.”

One CDO tells the *Journal*, “The perception of 3.0 is that it’s about the entry level” — but it’s also about strengthening the mid-level. “We’ve asked the bureaus to look at their existing positions to see if the language proficiency required for those positions could be higher.

“The objective is to build the training float, so there are now going to be more opportunities for mid-level officers to get more language training.” Another HR officer says that “We’ve tried to look strategically about where the need will be over the next 10 years, and put officers in the right places.”

Adds Margaret Dean, “We have been looking at deficit areas, which were essentially management and economic, and then secondarily consular recruitment. We have been very constrained on the management side; that’s the area we have focused on the most.”

And a recruiting officer tells the *Journal*, “When it comes to specialists, there are lots of gaps in the ranks, especially IT specialists, security and construction engineers, management specialists and librarians.”

In order to implement 3.0, the State Department’s recruiting and examination methods have been shifted into a higher gear. The Foreign Service Officer Test (previously called the written exam) is now given online. And while it used to be given once a year, it is now offered three times each year and in a greater number of physical locations. In 2010, the number of available seats for each session of the exam (held over an eight-day period) has nearly doubled, from 5,000 to 9,000.

In addition, the introduction of a new step in the examination process, the Qualifications Evaluation Panel, has helped to make the process faster and more efficient. The QEP looks at aspects of the candidates’ backgrounds that were previously excluded from consideration until late in the process, such as education, career, overseas experience and foreign-language proficiency.

Special emphasis is given to in-demand languages such

HR appears certain that the quality of incoming Foreign Service members remains unchanged despite the higher numbers being added to the register.

as Arabic and Mandarin Chinese. If candidates are given extra points toward hiring for their knowledge of an in-demand language, they also must agree to serve two tours using that language.

The QEP was instituted in 2007, in time for the current hiring surge. Says HR officer Margaret Dean, “Because of the QEP part, you knock out a lot of people who would never have passed the oral anyway. You have a better batch of

candidates going through the oral, so you have a better pass rate and you’re able to deal with them quicker. You get a higher yield and produce candidates for the register a lot faster.” The new process also produced more candidates who met the criteria the service was looking for.

The oral exam is unchanged, and HR appears certain that the quality of incoming Foreign Service members remains intact despite the higher numbers of candidates being added to the register.

Quality, Not Just Quantity

As a consequence of the increased hiring, the Foreign Service Institute is extraordinarily busy. A few years ago, the A-100 orientation class for generalists was given five times a year, with about 60 people in each class. Now it’s held every six weeks, with 95 people in each class. And on the specialist side, FSI has increased both the frequency and size of entering classes.

The accelerated recruiting, testing and training should yield a much larger State Department by 2013. The projected size of the department’s total Foreign Service contingent (generalists and specialists) is 14,633, an increase of 2,861 (24 percent) over 2008. State’s Civil Service employment is projected to rise 14 percent, from 10,274 to 11,743. That comes to a projected cumulative increase of 20 percent in State’s overall employment by three years from now.

The Diplomacy 3.0 surge is having a big effect on USAID, as well. State expects that agency’s Foreign Service work force to double between 2008 and 2013, from approximately 1,100 to 2,200.

Along with increasing the numbers of federal employees, HR is also taking a careful look at the department’s use of contractors. For many years, State, like many federal

agencies, increasingly outsourced a range of positions. Now it is experimenting with “insourcing” jobs, especially those seen as “inherently governmental,” such as supervising or hiring federal workers.

Says Lussier, “We’re taking a holistic and strategic look at it, to make sure we haven’t become over-reliant on contractors.”

In addition, the Obama administration is placing greater emphasis on certain strategic priorities, such as global health, climate change, food security and energy. While the Office of Recruitment, Examination and Employment has not emphasized recruiting candidates with experience in those fields, the department is finding that its priorities are very much in line with the interests of new ELOs.

Says Hurst, who specializes in working with entry-level generalists, “We’re getting graduates in their 20s and 30s, and because these areas are exciting, they are coming in with a lot of experience in environmental issues, food security and health.

“When we put a job on the list, saying you’re going to work in a bureau on this kind of issue, we’ve got five or six people who already have written dissertations on it. It’s not hard to find them.”

In addition, in specialized areas such as science, “we hire expertise where we need it.” That may be through limited-term Civil Service appointments, science fellows or Schedule D employment.

At the same time, State is working to improve diversity and minority representation in its work force. But progress has been slow and uneven. One HR officer tells the *Journal*, “On gender diversity and Asian-American hiring, the statistics are very positive. When it comes to African-Americans and Hispanics, it continues to be a challenge. [But] it’s not for lack of effort.”

According to State Department statistics, hiring of African-American and Hispanic Foreign Service candidates in 2009 was only slightly higher than the proportions of those ethnic groups already in the department. For example, 5.5 percent of newly hired FSOs were African-American, versus 4.8 percent of the current work force. For Hispanics, the parallel figures are 5.0 percent and 4.1 percent.

The one notable exception to this pattern is in the Civil Service contingent, where almost 30 percent of current

State has one of the lowest attrition rates among federal agencies, about 4.5 percent per year.

employees are black. For that sector, though, the trend is reversed: Only 15.5 percent of new Civil Service hires are African-American.

Among State Foreign Service generalists, 42 percent of 2009 hires were women, versus 39 percent of the current work force.

The Other End of the Pipeline

Recognizing that strong recruitment can be offset by too many departures, department leaders and HR also keep an eye on attrition. A key ingredient for family morale is employment of Foreign Service spouses. The department is enlarging its Expanded Professional Associates Program, which provides professional work opportunities for eligible family members. According to HR, over the past year State has increased the number of EPAP positions by 55, to around 160 worldwide.

The department also uses its student loan repayment program to keep resignations to a minimum. Says an HR officer, “We use it very strategically.” For example, those in hard-to-fill posts may get more generous repayment offers.

Overall, State has one of the lowest attrition rates among federal agencies, about 4.5 percent per year. In 2009, with the sagging economy, the rate was even lower — about 3 percent. The rate in the federal government as a whole is 8 to 10 percent. And according to a survey by the nonprofit Partnership for Public Service, State came out among the top five in employee satisfaction among 32 government agencies.

Still, current trends in Foreign Service deployment do give cause for concern about retention. As Amb. Marquardt notes, “the main reason that people leave is conflict over spousal lifestyle and employment. And in the last decade, with Iraq and Afghanistan, we’ve seen a proliferation of unaccompanied posts that have put more pressure on this aspect. Nonetheless, I have personally observed a surprising number of young officers — even some with families — who expect, seem to accept, and often seek out assignments in high-profile unaccompanied posts, because they are drawn to the importance of these missions or see them as career-enhancing.”

Senior work-force planner Philippe Lussier confirms that the number of unaccompanied positions has gone from 200 before Sept. 11, 2001, to more than 900 today.

But he says that “there’s no statistical evidence that this change has had an effect on retention. Of course, that could reflect the recession, as well.” In addition, Lussier says, new Foreign Service recruits expect this to be a way of life.

Beyond that, some HR staff do wonder whether new officers are likely to follow traditional career tracks. Says Cathy Hurst, an experienced FSO, “Most of them don’t have the same ideas a lot of us did, that we would do this until we retired. Younger people who think about quitting come to us and say, ‘I’ve got this great idea to start a company.’”

D 3.0 — The Good and the Bad

The Diplomacy 3.0 program plays out in interesting and complicated ways for those entry-level officers who are experiencing the hiring surge. In addition to being brought more swiftly than normal through the hiring process, they face some unusual situations in their first tours. For instance, a number of them are filling jobs that would normally go to far more experienced officers, simply because there’s a surplus of new entrants and a shortage of mid-level officers.

It is also increasingly common for ELOs to serve their first tour in Washington, something that used to be a rarity. One FS-5 officer fresh out of A-100 was assigned to a position that is supposed to be filled by an FS-2. Says the young man, “I wasn’t thrilled about it, but I think it will be beneficial for my career. I’m in a position that normally requires seven to 10 years’ experience.

“It can seem daunting at first, but I do have the support I need from my supervisors. They were just very glad to have someone come in and fill those portfolios.”

At the same time, he acknowledges, “The best way to train an officer is on-the-job. I’m not sure it’s the best way to conduct foreign policy.”

Another concern is that new FSOs may not be getting the supervision and mentoring they need to learn the ropes. Phil Lussier of HR says the current crop of ELOs “has put some strain on our top management. They’re really in charge of a huge amount of mentoring.”

Mindful of this, Lussier notes that the Office of Career Development and Assignments is working to increase mid-level mentoring, despite the deficit in mid-level officers. “One thing that will help us over the

There is some concern that new hires may not be getting the supervision and mentoring they need.

next few years is that [those who entered during] the last hiring surge, with DRI, are now moving into junior mid-levels, the FS-3 range,” he observes. “So we’ll now have some fairly junior mid-level people who can start to become mentors for the second hiring wave.”

Overall, though, the Service finds itself with a shortage of experienced officers. At this point, 25 to 30 percent of the active-duty Foreign Service corps has less than five years experience, and 50 percent of them have been in for less than 10 years. As one HR officer says, “That’s not the ideal configuration. If we could wave a magic wand, we’d have a lot more people in their 30s and 40s with extensive experience in conflict management or civil reconstruction, with lots of technical skills.”

Or as FSO Cathy Hurst puts it, “Mid-level officers are not only stretched numerically, but also in their experience. They’ve become mid-level a little too quickly.”

For the new officers, there is one bright side to the Foreign Service’s imbalance: the likelihood of quick promotion. Amb. Marquardt has an analogy for the current ELO career track: “It’s more like an elevator shaft than a cone.” But for now, Erin Robertson, who came through the 145th A-100 class last spring, is dealing with another concern: Like 15 of her 94 classmates, she’s spending her first tour in the department, something that disappointed her at first.

“During A-100 all of the training was oriented to what life was like in an embassy, and how to deal with living abroad. [Then] we show up at State, and it’s nothing like our training. You feel like such a small fish in a massive, crazy pond.” In all, there are about 50 to 70 ELOs at Main State, Robertson estimates.

Beyond that, she says, “I don’t think they’ve developed a way to welcome” those of us in this situation to Main State, “though my boss has worked with me to make my job more fulfilling.” Robertson adds, “My colleagues and my boss have really made a difference for me.”

Clearly, it is far too soon to draw any definitive conclusions about whether Diplomacy 3.0 is working as envisioned — much less its long-term effects. But at a minimum, it is safe to expect that the Foreign Service of the future will be significantly different from today’s institution. ■

THE NEXT-GENERATION DEPARTMENT OF STATE PROJECT

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WE MUST EMPOWER THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO COORDINATE THE ENTIRE U.S. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS MECHANISM.

BY EDWARD MARKS

Everyone agrees that diplomacy and international affairs have changed dramatically in the past half-century, and the changes are continuing to unfold. Increasingly, government-to-government relations affect education, the environment, human rights and the Internet, to name but a few areas of concern. As a result, ministries of foreign affairs have great difficulty in holding on to even a minimal gatekeeper role.

The second big change has been the expansion of the players' roster, as international organizations, multinational companies, nongovernmental organizations, criminal syndicates, transnational terrorist groups and many others have become more active. National governments may remain the biggest gorillas on the scene, but no

longer are they alone.

This situation poses a major challenge to traditionally organized governments, and certainly to the United States. How to deal with it is a popular think-tank topic these days, and reform proposals are abundant. This paper proposes replacing the present State Department with a new agency organized on different principles and consolidating a large share of the various civilian foreign affairs activities.

We may keep the name "Department of State" for sentimental and historical reasons, but the "Next-Generation Department of State" I propose is a very different creature. The analogy is removing the hood ornament from an automobile and moving a whole new vehicle in under it. Think of the original Volkswagen Beetle — and the current VW Passat.

In Search of Unity

Early in the Obama administration, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton articulated her mantra of the "Three Ds": diplomacy, development and defense. To emphasize the importance of this approach, she announced that State and USAID would conduct the first-ever Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review, "to get ahead of emerging threats and opportunities and to make the case effectively for the Office of Management

Edward Marks spent 40 years in the Foreign Service, including an assignment as ambassador to Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. After retiring in 1995, he did consulting work with the United Nations, private companies and the Department of Defense, and continues as a senior mentor at various military institutions. Ambassador Marks is a member of the American Diplomacy board and a Distinguished Senior Fellow at George Mason University.

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and Budget, Congress and the [American] public for the resources we need.”

Complicating matters is the fact that dozens of other federal agencies have an overseas presence. Only in the White House and in the individual country teams are these diverse programs considered as a total package. Even then, limitations on presidential attention make any oversight sporadic and incomplete, and the de facto authority of the chief of mission within U.S. embassies is too limited even to ensure tactical integration.

As a result, programs ranging from crisis response to economic relations, development assistance, humanitarian relief, public broadcasting, migration, human rights, political-military engagement, arms control, educational exchanges, science and technology, and many others are fractured and spread across many agencies and bureaus.

To put it bluntly, the Department of State was not designed, nor is it equipped, to manage the nation’s increasingly diverse responsibilities in a globalized world. While State continues to occupy the center of the organizational chart, it does not exercise sufficient authority or possess sufficient resources to manage the full range of global affairs effectively. Nor does the Secretary of State have the kind of robust management and personnel structure that would enable him or her to effectively provide strategic leadership, oversight and coordination over the conduct of foreign affairs.

A Next-Generation State Department

In theory, Sec. Clinton’s vision fits the currently popular “whole of government” concept. In practice, however, State is incapable of managing both routine operations and responding to crises. I therefore propose consolidating most international programs within a “Next-Generation State Department,” which would be structured as a comprehensive, mission-oriented organization, have an effective executive management structure and process, and develop a new institutional culture based on a single system-wide personnel system combined with a comprehensive, professional educational system.

The rationale for this proposal is twofold. First, the federal government has little capacity for making trade-offs at the strategic or regional levels; secondly, programs promoting soft power lack integration and coordination.

The most obvious and pressing area for consolidation is overseas economic development.

A thorough assessment of this problem of the absence of effective cross-department executive authority was conducted in 2007-2008 by the Project on National Security Reform, a congressionally mandated effort that involved a broad coalition of organizations and individuals.

The PNSR concluded that effective integration requires us to “elevate and integrate the unique dimensions of development, diplomacy and public diplomacy into a unified whole.” The organizational objective of this unified whole would be to empower the Secretary of State to coordinate the entire international relations mechanism abroad, putting him or her in a better position to implement presidential policy. Bundling together related authorities and resources would also improve implementation of related programs.

There are numerous precedents for this approach. The Department of Defense is the oldest and most successful model, while the Department of Homeland Security and the Office of the Director of National Intelligence are more recent creations (both still works in progress). As with the concept of “jointness” that revolutionized American defense capabilities through the Goldwater-Nichols Act of 1986, the reinvented Department of State would draw upon a combination of directive authority and procedural, human capital and cultural changes.

Creating a “Next-Generation” Department of State with this new character would not in itself lead to an increase in the overall budget for foreign relations activities. It would, however, provide the means to use resources more effectively and efficiently.

Finally, this move would help correct the imbalance between the military and civilian elements of national power — a situation due as much to a disparity in authority as a disparity in resources.

Guidelines for Consolidation

In essence, I propose deconstructing State, then bringing in bureaucratic units from other agencies with related missions to the various bureaus and offices in the current flow chart. Each of these new entities — functional bureaus on steroids — would be organized around a major foreign relations theme: economic and trade relations, economic development, crisis response, public diplomacy and information, political-military engagement, migration

and immigration, and the nexus of transnational threats (terrorism, narcotics, international crime).

Most of these units would be headed by assistant secretaries, although some, such as economic development, might report to an under secretary or even a Deputy Secretary of State. They would function as substantive, mission-focused “agencies” responsible for policy development in their areas of competence, as well as capability providers to the operational chain of command.

The objective is an omnibus, big-tent type of department — one with a greater range of substantive programs than, for instance, the Department of Defense but less than the Department of Homeland Security. Constructing this department will require thoughtful analysis and lengthy negotiations about whom to include and leave out.

The most obvious and pressing area for consolidation, currently under active consideration in Washington, is that of overseas economic development. At the moment, five institutions — the Department of Defense, State Department, U.S. Agency for International Development, Millennium Challenge Corporation and President’s Emergency Program for AIDS Relief — manage the bulk of foreign assistance, but without the benefit of a clear division of labor based on comparative advantage.

In a 2007 report, the Helping to Enhance the Livelihood of People around the Globe (HELP) Commission endorsed an integrated approach to U.S. government-run development assistance programs, to replace piecemeal fixes administered by multiple agencies. It also argued that development should be elevated to equal status with defense and diplomacy, which would require dramatic changes to the existing U.S. foreign affairs structure. Although the commission took varying views on what form that structure should take, the majority of commissioners opted for the merger of all development agencies into the Department of State, so that the Secretary of State could manage all aspects of U.S. foreign policy and foreign assistance.

Another aspect of this question is the need for a more effective structure for State to partner with DOD in managing our crisis response capability, given the relationship between economic development and crisis response or

The objective is an omnibus, big-tent type of department — one with a greater range of substantive programs.

post-conflict reconstruction. There is an obvious operational continuum ranging from classic foreign aid projects to contemporary crisis response and post-conflict reconstruction. So it makes sense to consolidate USAID with State’s Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization and with the Millennium Challenge Corporation, forming a “Development and Crisis Response Organ-

ization.”

Other departments and agencies would participate in the new department various means. A formal and extensive personnel exchange system, modeled on the present State-DOD exchange agreement, should be concluded with a wide range of departments and agencies. (Strong on-site representation from the U.S. Special Operations Command and the Director of National Intelligence will be particularly desirable.) Recruitment for all positions, including the most senior, would be across the entire federal government.

The New Organizational Structure

Consolidation of the Next-Generation Department of State would focus on four primary elements:

- An “Office of the Secretary” with department-wide authority, designated functions and sufficient staff.
- A family of subordinate units ranging in status from bureaus to sub-Cabinet agencies, each responsible for a distinct subject such as development assistance.
- A coherent operational chain of command from the Secretary through regional assistant secretaries to chiefs of mission to provide integrated management of all field operations. Each level would operate under authority analogous to what chiefs of mission currently enjoy, but leading a networked, interbureau, interagency team.
- An expanded “foreign affairs” culture fostered by a three-pronged approach: expanding the current Foreign Service of the United States to cover all personnel who pursue international careers in the new State Department regardless of substantive discipline; a comprehensive professional educational program; and an extensive program of cross-functional and interagency assignments.

The Secretary of State would be the primary executive official responsible for managing the full range of programs assigned to the department. This is, in fact, a tra-

ditional responsibility of Secretaries of State, the “CEO” function, but one often shortchanged or ignored by a preoccupation with the roles of presidential adviser and chief diplomat.

To cope with this expanded executive role, the Secretary would be supported by a principal Deputy Secretary of State (who would replace the two current deputy secretary slots). Both will need a greatly expanded, formalized and adequately staffed “Office of the Secretary” to provide overall policy supervision, oversight and coordination of implementation programs and budgets of the substantive units, and integration with national policy.

This formally established office would include, at a minimum:

- Policy Planning Staff
- Strategic Budget Staff
- General Counsel/Legal Adviser
- Comptroller and Central Budget Office
- Bureau of Intelligence & Research
- Central Personnel Department (including professional training and education).

Thought might also be given to creating a senior-level advisory board (much like the military Joint Chiefs of Staff), responsible to the Secretary and comprised of the heads of major substantive units or sub-departments.

Using Chief-of-Mission Authority

The new Department of State, like the existing organization, must somehow square the circle of apparently conflicting substantive perspectives: the geographic bureaus represent the fundamental nation-state organization of the international community, while the functional bureaus embody the global character of many substantive subjects. To manage this matrix, I propose organizing the new department according to the principles already found in embassy country teams: a relatively flat organization composed of substantive bureaucratic units, each responsible for a relevant range of disciplines (e.g., political, economic, administrative, security, etc.).

Central to this approach is adaptation of existing chief-of-mission authority to the proposed responsibilities of four levels of officials in the new State; the Sec-

The Department of State was not designed, nor is it equipped, to manage the nation’s increasingly diverse responsibilities in a globalized world.

retary of State, regional assistant secretaries (functioning as regional managers), existing chiefs of mission (ambassadors), and specially designated chiefs of mission for crises and special challenges.

The Secretary of State will continue to function as the chief executive officer of the nation’s diplomatic system. However, as appropriate, he or she will delegate management responsibility for certain specific issues to a group of regional directors and then down to chiefs of mission.

A new, expanded role is envisioned for ambassadors assigned overseas, the only officials with standing interagency executive authority, based on statute as well as specific presidential designation. They are also generally the most senior officials occupied full-time on the portfolio of problems and programs associated with their country of assignment. However, they are also viewed, and operate, essentially as field managers and operatives.

Modern communication technology can diminish, if not eliminate, the organizational and geographic distinctions between headquarters and the field. With that in mind, ambassadors serving as chiefs of mission should serve as their own country directors, participating in Washington, D.C., decision-making along the lines that Indian Ambassador Kishan S. Rana sets forth in *The 21st-Century Ambassador* (Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies, 2004). This approach has often been practiced in the past, at least informally, and no doubt is followed by some U.S. ambassadors today. It should be made the standard operational mode of the new Department of State.

In addition to the standing executive structure of regional assistant secretaries and country-specific chiefs of mission, the authority to appoint COMs should be extended to include specific appointments in the case of natural disasters, crises or countries where no U.S. mission exists. (This authority currently exists but is not used in such situations.)

A formal delegation of authority similar to that COMs already receive should be extended to the relevant regional assistant secretaries. Through this central “command” structure, State could integrate policies and resources for embassy country teams to draw on —

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thereby alleviating or even eliminating stovepiping.

The Time Has Come

The regional assistant secretaries would not exercise authority (or command) over combatant commanders or their assigned forces in combat operations or other Title 10 missions assigned by the National Command Authority — the same limitation that already applies to chiefs of mission with respect to their country of assignment. However, the relevant regional assistant secretary would help the combatant commanders develop their war plans and theater security cooperation plans.

This arrangement would fulfill the long-expressed desire of the Department of Defense for an effective counterpart to their geographic commanders. It would also

*The reinvented
Department of State would
draw upon a combination
of directive authority and
procedural, human capital
and cultural changes.*

ensure close coordination between peacetime military engagement and political, economic and developmental policies in each region.

Like the 3-D approach articulated by Sec. Clinton, the supporting thesis of a consolidated Department of State is the culmination of a great deal of study and discussion. Nearly two decades after the Cold War ended, a major restructuring of the organization and operating processes of the United States gov-

ernment in the national security arena is long overdue. The traditional organization of freestanding departments and agencies of the federal government cannot effectively respond to a world that long ago burst out of stovepiped perspectives.

The old question thus poses itself once again: If not now, then when? ■



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THE “REFORM” OF FOREIGN SERVICE REFORM

S

ince the end of World War II, “reform” — which is to say, change, for better or worse — has been a permanent feature of the Foreign Service landscape. About every decade a major reform has been proposed and implemented.

Between those initiatives, a plethora of committees, commissions and study groups have kept the State Department and the other foreign affairs agencies under scrutiny, with the threat of further change ever present. As the great Foreign Service director general, Nathaniel Davis, once noted, “It’s hard to tend the tree when every couple of years someone pulls it out of the ground to see if the roots are growing.”

Ambassador Davis makes a cogent point. Who among us has not thought, “Why don’t ‘they’ just leave us alone

THE CONSTANT NEED TO REDEFINE THE DIPLOMATIC MISSION AND ORGANIZE ACCORDINGLY CONTINUES TO DRIVE A DEBATE THAT BEGAN IN THE LATE 1940s.

BY THOMAS D. BOYATT

and let us get on with it?” Well, there is one very good reason why “they” won’t leave us alone. Contexts change over time, so all institutions, public or private, must reinvent themselves to deal with new realities — or perish. In the commercial sector the list of iconic companies (think RCA) that have disappeared is long. The list of corporations successfully reinventing themselves (IBM) is much shorter.

The Foreign Service and State Department face the same imperative: adapt or disappear. The reality of the continuing need for reform is directly linked to the rapidly changing world of the 20th and 21st centuries.

The Substance of the Debate

The need to redefine the diplomatic mission and organize accordingly has driven a debate that began in the late 1940s and continues today. The first phase of that process revolved around managing the bipolar world of the Cold War and endured from 1946 until 1991. The current iteration of the debate centers on managing a multipolar, globalized set of state and non-state actors (from the Little Sisters of the Poor to al-Qaida) and coping with insidious threats ranging from pandemics to nuclear terrorism.

In both phases of the debate, participants within the State Department and the Foreign Service, including Secretaries of State and their political teams, and outside observers have confronted the challenges of defining roles

Thomas D. Boyatt, an FSO from 1959 until 1985, served as ambassador to Colombia and Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso) and chargé d'affaires in Chile, among many other postings. Currently the treasurer of AFSA's political action committee, AFSA-PAC, he has in the past been AFSA's president, vice president and treasurer, as well as serving as a retiree representative. He is currently president of the Foreign Affairs Council, chairs the Academy of American Diplomacy's "Foreign Affairs Budget for the Future" project, and lectures, teaches and consults.

and missions and shaping institutions to meet them. Heroically simplified, the argument has always been between those who support a Foreign Service designed to execute the classic diplomatic functions of reporting, representing and negotiating (the traditionalists); and those who espouse institutions designed to deal, as well, with the broader missions of economic development, public diplomacy, stabilization and reconstruction, and so on (the expeditionaries).

The evolution of the debate between the traditionalists and the expeditionaries, and the linkage of that debate to reform efforts, merit a brief summary.

With the advent of the Cold War, a bevy of new government-sponsored international missions arose: economic development, public diplomacy, arms control, permanent trade negotiations and many others. From the passage of the Foreign Service Act of 1946 until its successor, the Foreign Service Act of 1980, the traditionalists won the debate. The State Department and the Foreign Service continued to perform the ongoing diplomatic functions while the new missions were ceded or spun off to other agencies of government.

“Reform” consisted of the creation of new U.S. international agencies such as the United States Information Agency, the Agency for International Development (and its predecessors) and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. In addition, existing agencies (e.g., Agriculture, Commerce, Treasury and Justice) established or acquired their own micro-Foreign Service cadres, each supported by home offices in the respective agencies.

This left the foreign affairs activities of the United States government fragmented, at least in Washington, among several competing, frequently quarrelsome agencies, each with their own agendas and congressional supporters. The “purity” of the diplomatic effort was maintained, but at a cost.

Two New Realities

The terms and tenor of the traditionalist vs. expeditionary debate were changed dramatically and permanently by the Foreign Service Act of 1980. The authors of that legislation were, in turn, much influenced by two exogenous and new realities.

The first was the Vietnam War. That conflict may have

With the advent of the Cold War, a bevy of new government-sponsored international missions arose.

been the first war to witness large-scale civilian involvement while combat was in progress. The Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support nationbuilding effort there employed hundreds of Foreign Service officers from State and USAID in programs designed

to defeat communist insurgency politically and economically, as well as militarily. Nor were these efforts confined to Vietnam. Over time a strong plurality, if not a majority, of Foreign Service personnel shared similar experiences all over the Third World.

The second factor was the need, well understood by the drafters of the 1980 act, to strengthen the hand of ambassadors endeavoring to forge unity of policy, purpose and message among foreign affairs agencies at each post in the face of policy fragmentation in Washington. Since 1961 every chief of mission had received a letter from the president instructing him or her to direct and coordinate all U.S. civilian and military personnel in the country of assignment.

The Foreign Service Act of 1980 established a clear statutory foundation for ambassadorial authority. Section 207 of Public Law 96-465 (Oct. 17, 1980) states that “the chief of mission to a foreign country shall have full responsibility for the direction, coordination, and supervision of all government employees in that country . . .” The operative word is *direction*.

Ambassadors and, by extension, deputy chiefs of mission are required by law to direct all government employees, including those involved in the expeditionary activities of nationbuilding. That, in turn, means that the leaders of the Foreign Service and State Department need to acquire knowledge of, and preferably experience in, the expeditionary dimensions of modern diplomacy.

The current phase of the debate began with the collapse of the Soviet Union at the beginning of the 1990s. During the ensuing decade budgets for diplomacy, defense and development shrank by 30 percent. Defense and foreign affairs agencies paid for the “peace dividend” as the U.S. Information Agency and the Arms Control & Disarmament Agency were re-integrated into the State Department in 1999, and the U.S. Agency for International Development withered.

The remaining foreign affairs agencies did not have enough personnel to perform either traditional or expedi-

tionary roles at maximum effectiveness. The collapse during the early 1990s of Yugoslavia into warring religious and ethnic groups was a clear signal that the “end of history” was *not* at hand.

The foreign attacks on the American homeland on Sept. 11, 2001, heralded yet another new foreign policy era, to which the Foreign Service and State Department would have to adapt to remain relevant.

The Debate Is Over

That process of adaptation has been under way for the last decade. As in Vietnam, we are once again involved in nationbuilding in the midst of war in Iraq and Afghanistan. The State Department has been designated as the lead agency and the coordinator for stabilization and reconstruction in both pre- and post-conflict situations. Both nationbuilding and democracy promotion continue to have overarching policy relevance.

Consequently, I believe that the traditionalist vs. expeditionary debate of the last half-century is over. The fact is that virtually every current Foreign Service employee at State and USAID has had at least one assignment involving nationbuilding — whether in the 21 new states that emerged from the collapsed Soviet and Yugoslav empires, in the new democracies of Eastern Europe, as members of Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Iraq and Afghanistan, or in the failing states of Africa.

The last three Secretaries of State have all made their views on this clear. Colin Powell’s emphasis on leadership and management, Condoleezza Rice’s call for “transformational diplomacy” and Hillary Rodham Clinton’s focus on “elevating development” are all statements that they want a State Department — and Foreign Service — that can perform with excellence in both the traditionalist and expeditionary areas.

As a corollary, all three believe that most Foreign Service generalists should be able to both “field and hit,” performing both as traditional diplomats and managers of complex multiagency programs to achieve foreign policy objectives. Secretaries of State deserve to have the institutional capabilities they need in today’s world. That is the goal of current reform efforts, as it should be.

*The terms and tenor of
the traditionalist vs.
expeditionary debate were
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Service Act of 1980.*

Co-Opting the Structure of Reform

It is also important to recognize that the debate over the substance of reform has taken place in the context of a changing structure.

From 1946 until 1980 the process was top-down. Our political masters closely supervised the process. A few senior career persons might be consulted, or they might not. Often, an eminent outsider was called in to manage things.

The “poster boy” for this type of reform was Dr. Henry Wriston, president of Brown University, who led a serious State Department reform effort in the mid-1950s. Wriston’s major recommendation was that State’s civil servants be merged into the Foreign Service, so that those conducting foreign affairs overseas and those supporting those operations in Washington would be part of the same organization and share the same culture.

At a distance of more than half a century, that concept does not seem so unreasonable. At the time, however, “Wristonization” was strongly condemned on all sides. FSOs resented the entrance of hundreds of new officers — many at the senior ranks — into the Service who had not paid the “dues” of discomfort and danger in overseas postings. For their part, many Civil Service employees felt they were being dragooned into a life for which they had not signed up. As a result, even though the merger was not fully achieved, the turmoil surrounding Wristonization did not fade for many years.

Meanwhile, during the mid-1960s the relationship between reform and the people of the Foreign Service began a process of change that has since accelerated. A group of junior and mid-level officers, frustrated by the management of the State Department and reform efforts from the outside, began to meet and discuss how to reshape the system from the bottom up.

Their first operational step was to contest every officer and board position in the 1967 election of the American Foreign Service Association Governing Board. After their AFSA victory the group was quickly dubbed the “Young Turks” by their colleagues.

The Young Turks began informally lobbying State’s management for an internal reform effort. The initiative bore fruit when the department organized scores of offi-

cers into various committees that eventually produced “Toward a Modern Diplomacy,” a compendium of recommendations on how to improve the department and the policy process.

This internal reform effort was still a top-down exercise under the leadership of State’s senior management officers. However, it was revolutionary in the degree of participation by members of the Foreign Service, and was certainly a harbinger of future developments.

The Breakthrough

The next reform was the game changer. Between 1969 and 1972 white-collar unions were established throughout the federal service by executive order. The story of how the Young Turks helped draft the order for the State Department, how they won for AFSA exclusive representation of Foreign Service employees of all foreign affairs agencies, and how they began negotiating personnel policies and procedures is thoroughly covered in the June 2003 issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* (available at www.afsa.org/fsj/2003.cfm). I won’t repeat it here. Suffice it to say that this reform changed forever the relationship between the employees of those agencies, their managements, and how reform could happen. It was no longer possible to impose reform from the top without consulting AFSA — and negotiating the detailed implementation of any reform with the association.

This reality was reflected in the next reform, the Foreign Service Act of 1980. The Department of State and AFSA worked in concert to draft the act and obtain congressional approval of it.

Over the next three decades, AFSA broadened and strengthened its public outreach and congressional operations. Of equal importance, several other organizations were founded dedicated to furthering the processes of diplomacy and the interests of the personnel of the Foreign Service: the American Academy of Diplomacy, the Council of American Ambassadors, the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, the Association of Black American Ambassadors, and the Cox and Delevan Foundations. They were joined by such longstanding organizations as Diplomats and Consular Officers, Retired; the Association of the American Foreign Service Worldwide;

It is important to recognize that the debate over the substance of reform has taken place in the context of a changing structure.

the Business Council for International Understanding and the Public Members Association.

In 1995 these organizations joined with AFSA to form an umbrella group called the Foreign Affairs Council. Secretary Powell called us his force multiplier; others see the FAC as the network. In my romantic moments I refer to it as “Cosa Nostra.”

Where We Are Now

There won’t be any latter-day “Wristons” imposing reform from the top down. AFSA, with the support of the Foreign Affairs Council, has the capability to prevent such moves by using its bargaining rights and public and congressional influence. Future reformers, of course, have the opportunity (call it a requirement) to work with AFSA and the Council to develop reforms.

I would go one step further. I think the evidence is accumulating that the people of the foreign affairs agencies have themselves become the locus of reform. The most important and successful reform effort, as measured by results, has been the ongoing “Foreign Affairs Budget for the Future” project. This process was conceived and executed by the American Academy of Diplomacy (and supported by the Stimson Center). Major contributions were made by the other members of the FAC, particularly the Cox Foundation, which supplied \$500,000 in funding, and AFSA, whose public and congressional outreach were critical.

The FAB was, in effect, a zero-based budget exercise that calculated human and financial resources required by the missions of the foreign affairs agencies and then built a budget thereon. The report recommended 4,735 above-attrition new positions for traditional diplomacy, public diplomacy, training, economic assistance, stabilization and reconstruction, and security assistance. (We did not address specialist positions needed for administrative support.)

As soon as the report was published, the FAB team mounted a major lobbying effort with the relevant committees on the Hill and both presidential campaigns. As you might imagine, skeptics as to our chances of success were legion. In October 2008, members of the State Department transition team for the Obama administration

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asked to meet on the budget issues. In that meeting, we made the strongest possible case for the recommendations in the FAB calling for dramatically increased personnel and financial resources. We also urged our interlocutors to support outgoing Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's robust 2009 budget request and not to settle for a continuing resolution — advice that they followed.

Recent legislation, including the Fiscal Year 2008 supplemental, the 2009 budget and supplemental, and the FY 2010 budget, have collectively authorized and appropriated funds for about 4,500 new Foreign Service positions at State and USAID, as well as substantial resources for the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization. (About 1,000 of these positions are for specialists and should not be counted against the target of 4,700 mission-specific positions.) Such increases over such a short timeframe are unprecedented.

Building on this momentum, Sec. Clinton's Fiscal Year 2011 budget request seeks 400 more Foreign Service positions for State and 200 for USAID. FAB has been suc-

cessful beyond our wildest hopes. Through their respective Foreign Service cadres, State and USAID will soon have the manpower to accomplish both the missions of traditional diplomacy and expeditionary nationbuilding in the 21st century.

Having the bodies is not enough, of course. They must be appropriately trained, integrated, deployed and kept trained throughout their careers, both as diplomats and program managers. The management side of the house has made a brilliant start on these heroic challenges, but there is much more work to do.

Today's reform efforts are asking the right questions and answering them with action. In that spirit, the people of the Foreign Service are reforming themselves. After all, who knows more about the realities and challenges they face?

A few decades from now a future Foreign Service member will analyze the reform efforts of the early 21st century. I hope and expect that he or she will report that today's efforts were successful. If not, dear colleagues, "The fault lies not in our stars, but in ourselves." ■



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SMART POWER IN ACTION: S/CRS

AN INTERVIEW WITH AMBASSADOR JOHN HERBST,
THE COORDINATOR FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND
STABILIZATION SINCE 2006.

BY STEVEN ALAN HONLEY

If any one part of the State Department could be said to represent the future of the Foreign Service, the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization, established in 2004, fits the bill.

Though it started with just a handful of staff and did not receive dedicated funding until 2008, S/CRS is becoming the embodiment of Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton's concept of "smart power," which she defines as "the full range of tools at our disposal — diplomatic, economic, military, political, legal and cultural — picking the right tool or combination of tools for each situation."

As the planning, analytical and operational component of the State Department's formalized reconstruction and stabilization activities, S/CRS draws from all corners of the Foreign Service and the U.S. government to address a wide range of conflicts and related challenges around the world.

Career Senior FSO John E. Herbst has been the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization since May 2006. Prior to assuming that position, he served as ambassador to Uzbekistan (2000-2003) and Ukraine (2003-2006) among many other assignments since joining the Foreign Service in 1979.

Steven Alan Honley is the editor of the Journal.

For a more complete picture of the office's activities, *Foreign Service Journal* Editor Steven Alan Honley interviewed Ambassador Herbst on Feb. 19.

FSJ: *Thanks for the opportunity to speak with you today, Ambassador Herbst. Let me begin by asking you to describe your office's mission in terms of the larger institution.*

JH: As you know, the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization is charged with building and maintaining an interagency civilian capability to plan, manage and conduct conflict prevention and stabilization operations on behalf of the Secretary of State and chiefs of mission overseas. This is a new role for the State Department, and we believe we are making real progress on many fronts. During our first five years, S/CRS has developed an effective and proven cadre with tools, equipment and expertise; created the Civilian Response Corps; and deployed these experts all over the world to address and prevent conflict.

FSJ: *The dire situation in Haiti following the Jan. 12 earthquake would seem to be a textbook example of the need for a central office to assemble and coordinate federal resources for reconstruction and stabilization. What can you tell us about your office's work there?*

JH: The key thing to keep in mind here is that because Haiti has been designated as a humanitarian crisis, the U.S. Agency for International Development has been assigned the lead role for organizing the U.S. response. As part of that effort, within 24 hours of the tasking we sent personnel from eight different agencies to the State and USAID task forces responding to the crisis. These personnel were drawn not just from State and USAID, but from Commerce, Treasury, Health and Human Services, Justice, Agriculture and Homeland Security.

Moreover, immediately after the earthquake, we had 10 Civilian Response Corps members ready to deploy to Haiti for planning beyond the humanitarian assistance phase, if called upon by the State Department. We also identified a few dozen Civilian Response Corps members with relevant skill sets who could be available for future deployments.

FSJ: *What is the concept behind the Civilian Response Corps?*

JH: Because no single U.S. government entity has all of the relevant expertise to deal with these threats, the Civilian Response Corps is a partnership of eight departments and agencies: the Department of State, U.S. Agency for International Development, and the departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Health and Human Services, Homeland Security, Justice and Treasury. The Civilian Response Corps consists of three complementary components: active, standby and reserve.

The **Active Component** (CRC-A), has more than 100 full-time members as of now, but our goal is to increase that number to 264 by the end of the current fiscal year. These are full-time federal employees, from the Foreign Service and elsewhere, whose specific job is to train for, prepare and staff reconstruction, stabilization and conflict prevention efforts. They can deploy anywhere in the world within 48 hours of an emergency to focus on critical interagency functions such as assessments, planning, management, administration, coordination, logistics and resource mobilization.

We currently have 619 individuals in the **Standby**

“There was some skepticism about our office when it first started up a couple of years ago, but I think there’s less today.”

— *Ambassador John Herbst, Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization*

Component (CRC-S), with a goal of increasing that to 1,000 people by the end of this fiscal year. Like their active-duty colleagues, these are all full-time employees of various U.S. government departments, with specialized expertise useful in reconstruction and stabilization operations. They are available to deploy within 30 days in the event of a reconstruction or stabilization operation.

Finally, the **Reserve Component** (CRC-R) has not yet been funded, but will consist of up to 2,000 U.S. citizens, each of whom commits to be available within 45 to 60 days of call-up to serve as U.S. government temporary employees in support of overseas reconstruction and stabilization operations. These individuals, to be drawn from the private sector as well as state and local governments across the country, would have expertise in such fields as policing and the rule of law, infrastructure development, economic stabilization, state and local governance, agriculture and provision of basic services. These services, critical to efforts to bring “normalcy” to countries, require capabilities career federal employees simply cannot match in expertise or in number.

FSJ: *Has the Civilian Response Corps been able to make effective use of retired FSOs?*

JH: I would say so. There are many examples I could cite, but let me talk about Afghanistan. We’ve been involved there for over two years now in a variety of roles, with something like 20 to 24 CRC members in country at any given time. They have supported the Special Representative for Afghanistan & Pakistan, the U.S. embassy in Kabul, and the International Security Assistance Force in Kabul to help implement the president’s strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan.

As part of that mission, we went out to all 12 U.S. Provincial Reconstruction Teams around the country and helped them write plans for civilian operations. We’ve also established a civilian group in Embassy Kabul. In addition, at the Afghan government’s request, we rendered technical assistance in preparation for their presidential elections last summer, dealing with issues like communications and planning.

FSJ: *Conflict prevention and mitigation are obviously key parts of your office's mission. How are you pursuing those goals?*

JH: With USAID, we have put together a product we call the **Interagency Conflict Assessment Framework**. The ICAF process helps people from different U.S. government agencies work together to understand a given country's conflict dynamics and reach consensus on ways the U.S. can assist efforts to head off potential conflicts.

To do that, we put together teams that visit the U.S. embassy in a particular country to act as facilitators. They draw out the people there who have policy expertise and substantive knowledge to come up with a comprehensive understanding of the situation on the ground. ICAF teams are often co-led by representatives from the Conflict Prevention division of S/CRS and USAID's Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation, but that's not a requirement.

Last year we conducted ICAFs in Panama, Colombia, Pakistan, Cambodia and Ecuador. We also provided planning assistance in Bangladesh — where, I'm pleased to say, our yearlong partnership with Embassy Dhaka (timed to coincide with the country's transition to democracy after a two-year caretaker government) resulted in the State Department recognizing its Mission Strategic Plan as "MSP of the Year."

FSJ: *What happens once the framework is drafted?*

JH: It's important to realize that the team does not make any recommendations for program design. That is the role of the **Sectoral Assessment** which follows. Once our office has identified specific ways in which the United States can help, we draw on what are known as **Section 1207 funds** to implement the projects.

Section 1207 of H.R. 1815 authorizes the Secretary of Defense to transfer funds to the Department of State — \$350 million to date — to provide assistance in reconstruction, security or stabilization. The Secretary of State has delegated authority over those funds to S/CRS. Our very first use of this authority was in Lebanon during the

"Because no single U.S. government entity has all of the relevant expertise to deal with these threats, the Civilian Response Corps is a partnership of eight departments and agencies."

summer of 2006 following the Israeli-Hezbollah War, but we have used it many times since then, in Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Georgia, Morocco and many other countries.

Now that we have dedicated funding and are in a better position to respond to requests, people are coming to us more than ever. One recent example is the Democratic Republic of the Congo. You may recall that last August, Sec. Clinton visited Congolese President Joseph Ka-

bila and broached the idea of our conducting assessments in five different issue areas.

We work closely with Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Johnnie Carson when sending teams out, and we are always mindful that AF and the other regional bureaus have the policy lead. We just stand ready to offer expertise and resources.

FSJ: *How would you characterize the working relationship between S/CRS and USAID?*

JH: Very good. At my request, for the last two years one of my deputy coordinators has come from USAID. We've also had many detailees from that agency working in our office.

FSJ: *Secretary of Defense Robert Gates and other senior officials at the Pentagon have endorsed calls for the State Department and USAID to assume more responsibility for reconstruction work. Have you found that attitude to be reflected at the working level of the military in places like Afghanistan?*

JH: In fact, I would say that the military has been the largest institutional supporter of S/CRS and our work across the board. Many of the projects we've carried out, such as working with the PRTs in Afghanistan, came at their request.

For our part, in July 2007 we set up a Civil-Military Team to work with the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs and the Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, both within State, as well as the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Staff, the uniformed military services, combatant commands and other defense

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agencies. The team also supports interagency bodies established under National Security Presidential Directive 44, sharing information, developing objectives and coordinating the participation of members of the civilian interagency community with respect to civilian-military exercises and other partnership activities related to reconstruction and stabilization.

FSJ: How does your office see its role in failed and failing states such as Yemen and Somalia?

JH: We are involved in ongoing conversations, both in Washington and in the field, relating to those challenges. We are still developing a capacity for such situations, but in any case, the decisions will be made at senior

“We’ve been involved in Afghanistan for over two years now in a variety of roles, with something like 20 to 24 Civilian Response Corps members in country at any given time.”

levels within State as to where and how to use that capacity.



FSJ: Let me just end with a few nuts-and-bolts questions. Do you compile a database of individuals within the Foreign Service and other government agencies with the skills you’re looking for?

JH: Yes, State and USAID and the other participating agencies feed us the names of the people they hire.

FSJ: And who pays?

JH: At present, both USAID and State are receiving appropriations for the Civilian Response Corps, so USAID has been providing for their own members and also paying for the Civilian Deployment Center that all members pass through upon being called up to deploy.

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The State Department covers the costs for all the other agencies. In the FY 2010 budget, the preponderance of funding for the Corps came to the State Department, so we may pick up some of USAID's expenses in the future.

FSJ: *What advice would you give to a Foreign Service member, retiree or active-duty, who reads this article and is interested in applying for the Civilian Response Corps?*

JH: Readers can visit our Web site, www.crs.state.gov, to find out more about opportunities to join both S/CRS and the Civilian Response Corps.

FSJ: *Any final comments?*

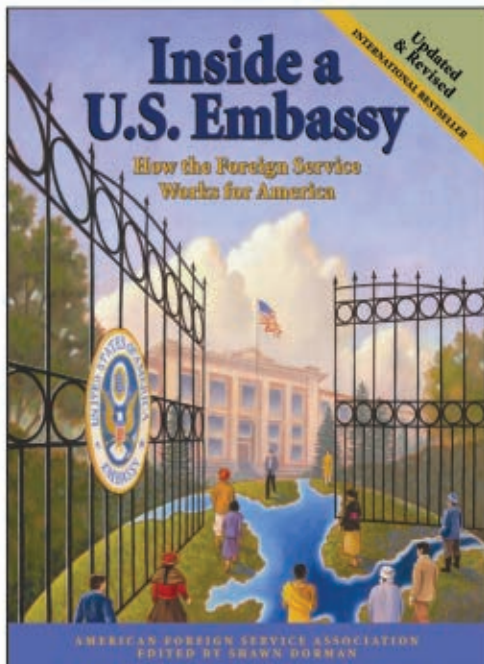
“Our yearlong partnership with Embassy Dhaka resulted in the State Department recognizing its Mission Strategic Plan as ‘MSP of the Year.’”

JH: There was some skepticism about our office when it first started up a couple of years ago, but I think there's less today. And the principal reason is that we've had a number of engagements, most of them successful, and through them have made friends and established a presence.

S/CRS sits in the State Department and reports to the Secretary of State, but the Civilian Response Corps comprises eight agencies, which forces us to think in inter-agency terms — to really work closely with our friends and partners throughout the State Department and the wider U.S. government.

FSJ: *Thank you very much, Ambassador Herbst. ■*

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FS HERITAGE

A LONG-TERM PERSPECTIVE ON U.S. FOREIGN DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

BUILDING ON TIME-TESTED MODELS IS THE BEST WAY TO CREATE DEVELOPMENT
COOPERATION INSTITUTIONS THAT CAN MEET FUTURE CHALLENGES.

BY GLENN ROGERS

Nearly all readers of this magazine know that the Marshall Plan was a four-year, \$12.5 billion effort to accelerate European recovery from World War II. Put in terms of 2008 dollars (as all expenditures in this article are), this comes to \$120 billion, or \$30 billion per year.

Announced in June 1947, the program is often viewed as the start of U.S. foreign development cooperation. But a 1794 appropriation of \$304,000 for the welfare of several thousand refugees fleeing from Saint-Domingue, Haiti, actually set the precedent for a federal role in assistance.

America's current foreign assistance and cooperation efforts have evolved through a long struggle for coordination, institutionalization and capacity-building. Waves of innovation have been especially pronounced during times of conflict and social adjustment to globalization. In many of these periods, the private sector innovated and expanded re-

Glenn Rogers, a USAID Foreign Service officer, served in Kinshasa and Abidjan supporting field missions across West and Central Africa (1987-1997) and in Cairo (1997-2004). A member of the AFSA Governing Board, he currently works in USAID's Europe and Eurasia Bureau guiding social sector and governance programming. His grandparents served with the Rockefeller Foundation from 1919 to 1924 in China, which helped lead him to join the Foreign Service. The views expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of USAID or the U.S. government.

sources allocated to foreign humanitarian relief, gradually increasing the focus on long-term development cooperation.

For 150 years, U.S. foreign humanitarian relief and development cooperation evolved under primarily private-sector leadership. However, the public sector has experimented with coordinating private efforts since the Monroe Doctrine, and has often innovated by helping scale up ideas developed by the private sector. Important legal and regulatory reforms include those that enabled the formation of private associations and national franchises in the early 1800s, the creation of general purpose foundations in the early 1900s (such as Carnegie and Rockefeller) and subsequent systemic U.S. government engagement through tax policy and funding.

The Roots of U.S. Private Overseas Assistance

American humanitarian disaster relief and development cooperation grew out of the Elizabethan poor laws and our Bill of Rights, which in effect mandated a voluntary system of private-sector religious and charitable giving. The U.S. tradition of local religious organizations and businesses joining together for relief efforts and development cooperation overseas built on this foundation.

There are numerous examples of citizen-led foreign assistance throughout our nation's history. Famine relief was the most common, although concern for victims of war, political violence and urban fires also stimulated American relief efforts. In 1816 and 1825, merchants, churches and synagogues in Boston and New York aided victims of fires in Canada. While Congress declined to authorize assistance to Greek vic-

tims of violence in 1824, individuals, churches and other organizations raised funds and purchased clothes and other supplies. In 1827 and 1828 alone, Americans sent \$3.8 million worth of goods to Greece, including assistance for agricultural development. During this same period private aid was sent to flood victims in France and famine victims in Cape Verde.

Support for basic education was the primary form of development cooperation. But it was not the only one. In 1830, Peter Parker opened a health center in Canton, China, the first reported instance of foreign health assistance by U.S. based private groups. As this sector approach evolved, community development increasingly became a formal objective of work abroad.

Partnerships among private groups and the growing scale of private organizations enabled more than 10,000 new missionaries to be sent overseas by World War I. On average, they continued their studies for six years beyond high school; their ranks included a large number of professionally trained medical specialists, agriculturalists and teachers.

The sheer scale and value of these financial and volunteer efforts is notable. By 1890, annual private contributions by Americans for overseas missions totaled \$339 million, adding up to billions of dollars over the decades.

The Rise of Foundations

Globalization and various social dislocations during the late 1800s fostered the creation of new institutions, including “general purpose foundations,” “community foundations” and “donor-advised funds.” John Rockefeller established the International Health Commission in 1913, which soon launched the Rockefeller Foundation into international public health reform and capacity-building activities. In 1915 it launched a 30-year campaign against yellow fever.

That same year, the China Medical

*For 150 years, U.S.
foreign humanitarian
relief and development
cooperation evolved
primarily under private-
sector leadership.*

Board under the Rockefeller Foundation started to expand and modernize a small Protestant missionary medical center in Peking, turning it into a full-fledged teaching hospital modeled on the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine. (This is where my grandparents served and my mother was born in 1923.)

As the first century of private humanitarian relief and development cooperation came to a close, there was a notable increase in the number of private industrial foundations, integration of national philanthropic organizations, and experimentation with new public-private partnerships, such as the American Red Cross. In contrast to earlier eras of private initiatives designed independently of government, these industrial foundations appear to have been partly oriented to working closely with government, providing research and acting as venture capitalists for public programs.

U.S. Government Foreign Assistance and Cooperation

In 1812, Congress passed an “Act for Relief of the Citizens of Venezuela” that funded the purchase and shipping of \$799,000 in food aid. This was in response to an intense earthquake that killed 10,000 people in Caracas and destroyed 90 percent of the city. The motivation was both humanitarian and

for trade development. Two years later, leaders of the Missouri Territory petitioned Congress for aid following the territory’s own earthquake, successfully citing the Venezuelan relief effort as a precedent.

Congress allocated funds to support the founding of Liberia in 1847, yet at the same time it turned down as unconstitutional a proposal to give \$14 million for famine relief in Scotland and Ireland. (The Creek Indians, from their reservation in Oklahoma, donated a hundred thousand bushels of food grains to the Irish.) Washington’s role in that crisis was limited to using military ships to transport private U.S. assistance for local distribution by British officials, the Catholic Church and the Central Relief Committee of the Dublin Society of Friends (Quakers).

Promotion of U.S. food exports, an initiative launched by the private sector in the 19th century, was later adopted by the federal government. Charles J. Murphy became known as the “Corn Missionary” because of his efforts to popularize corn in Europe, both to help American farmers market their surpluses and feed hungry Europeans. With the endorsement of the New York Produce Exchange, he toured the U.S. to raise money for a vast exhibit of corn and corn products at the Paris Exhibition of 1889. Not long thereafter, President Benjamin Harrison’s Secretary of Agriculture, Jeremiah Rusk, named Murphy a USDA agent.

Murphy’s initiative was a precursor to the 1933 Agricultural Adjustment Act, operated through the Commodity Credit Corporation as a mechanism for systematic shipment of food outside of emergency situations. Following in that tradition, a quarter of the Marshall Plan’s resources were dedicated to the provision of food, feed and fertilizer. After that program ended, U.S. farmers lobbied for continuation of food aid, resulting in the 1954 Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act (P.L. 480).

Agriculture accounted for a large share of early U.S. government-related technical missions abroad. By the first decade of the 20th century, the United States had already sent such missions to Manchuria (now China), Siam (now Thailand), East and South Africa, Panama, Argentina, Brazil and India. While most of these missions were commercial or oriented toward scientific research, not humanitarian, some foreign governments were so eager for U.S. help that they offered to cover the costs. In 1846 the Ottoman sultan requested scientific agriculturalists to introduce cotton culture and livestock and fertilizer improvements, while Chinese leaders requested assistance to establish an agricultural school in the 1890s. Examples such as these set clear precedents for later development cooperation models.

An early example of larger-scale cooperation is that between the Central

China Famine Relief Committee and the American Red Cross. This cooperation not only provided foodstuffs and distributed seed, but also promoted public works. Increasingly, concerns about the poverty and vulnerability of the Chinese population led to a focus on long-term development.

Dismayed that famine relief efforts were required again and again in China, and confident that American engineering could find a solution to the underlying problems, the ARC initiated flood control schemes, a major departure from its customary practice. The Chinese government paid for U.S. engineers retained by the Red Cross to complete a proposal in 1914 for a \$667 million flood control project to be privately financed.

The ARC spent over \$22 million in China before World War I and continued to provide relief afterward, but later narrowed its role. Globally,

meanwhile, these efforts began to be dwarfed by U.S. commercial investment overseas, which quadrupled from the late 1800s, reaching \$77 billion in 1914.

After southern Italy suffered a destructive earthquake and tidal wave in 1908, private Americans provided over \$24 million in relief. In addition, because so many Italians were left homeless, Congress appropriated funds for the construction of housing for the displaced.

Once again, the Red Cross experimented with assistance that went beyond the scope of combating hunger or sickness, combining its private resources with this federal funding. For example, ARC personnel worked alongside U.S. naval personnel and Italians to construct prefabricated homes using partially constructed cottages shipped from the United States.

The Mexican Revolution of 1910-



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1920 posed a special challenge for American humanitarian relief efforts because Washington occasionally intervened militarily in the conflict. The American Red Cross was presumably neutral, but matters were confused by the fact that President Woodrow Wilson was also the president of the ARC.

In 1914, Herbert Hoover helped form the Commission for Relief in Belgium, funded by the U.S., U.K. and France to organize relief to more than 10 million people in Belgium and northern France. In 1917 Hoover was made head of the U.S. Food Administration, which in 1919 alone spent \$40 billion in relief funds, dispatched 18.5 million tons of food to Europe, and distributed 23 million tons of clothing and medicine to help rehabilitate wartorn countries.

During the 1920s, enormous official lending helped rebuild Germany and other countries, alongside the efforts of American religious organizations. Aid worth more than \$241 million was sent to Russian famine victims in 1921 alone. But the U.S. loans stopped during the Great Depression and were not repaid. Campaigning in 1932, Franklin Delano Roosevelt promised that the U.S. would no longer make similar foreign investments.

U.S. Government Scientific and Cultural Cooperation

On May 3, 1939, Congress adopted Public Law 63 authorizing the president to detail any U.S. government employee to give advice and assistance on request to the government of any American (Western Hemisphere) nation. In August 1939, P.L. 355 authorized the president to use any U.S. department to carry into effect “the reciprocal undertakings and cooperative purposes enunciated in the treaties, resolutions, declarations and recommendations signed by all of the 21 American republics” at conferences in 1936 and 1938.

Philip Glick’s 1957 book, *The Ad-*

ministration of Technical Assistance, reports that most of the projects were in agriculture and student exchanges. Geological investigations, civil aviation, child welfare and the improvement of statistical services were also priorities.

To administer these early programs, President Roosevelt established the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation in 1939. More than 25 bureaus from 18 departments and agencies were members, and the assistant secretary of State for public affairs was its chairman.

Through its chairmanship, the Department of State presided over the deliberations and activities of the committee, and was responsible for providing general coordination of all activities. But it was given neither authority nor responsibility for operating or directing the program. Indeed, no single entity was responsible for implementing the new legislation; each agency represented on the committee was responsible only for the projects assigned to it.

Scaling Up Sector Development

In an April 1940 executive order, Pres. Roosevelt established the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and appointed Nelson Rockefeller as coordinator. Rockefeller initiated a broad set of joint bilateral programs to deal with the basic problems of Latin American economies.

In 1942, he secured a charter under the laws of Delaware for a government-owned corporation called the Institute of Inter-American Affairs. This entity was authorized to conduct cooperative programs with Latin American governments in the promotion of public health and agricultural development. It later expanded to include elementary and vocational education.

This focus grew out of a conviction that the best way to foster friendly re-

lations was to work on the problems that most concerned these countries. The decision to establish the Office of the Coordinator for IIAA as an independent agency had been molded by FDR’s belief that a new agency would show greater initiative and energy in this new field of technical cooperation than could be expected from the Department of State. This approach was built on Rockefeller Foundation and earlier private-sector experience dating back over a century, and it grew to be structured around long-term, in-country technical cooperation teams called “servicios.”

Understandably, career personnel at State feared that an independent agency would create diplomatic problems. While relations between the IIAA and the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation were reportedly smooth enough in the field, in Washington they viewed each other as competitors. By 1944 the tension had become so great that the director of the IIAA’s Food Supply Division resigned because career State Department officers were obstructing its new program.

Over the next decade the State Department initiated multiple reviews, all of which recommended that the independent IIAA be continued. James Maddox’s 1956 book, *Technical Assistance by Religious Agencies in Latin America*, provides much-needed perspective by reporting that in the 1950s, U.S. government funding was twice that devoted to missionary development — even though religious agencies had three times as many development staff in Latin America.

Lessons for Today

Shortly after the Marshall Plan got under way, President Harry Truman used his Jan. 20, 1949, inaugural address to articulate his Point Four program. Subsequently enacted as the International Development Act, this evolved into our current federally

funded development cooperation institutions.

This long history of experimentation in organizing the administration of foreign assistance and development cooperation reflects many of the issues still being debated today. In their 1954 book, *Prelude to Point Four — American Technical Missions Overseas 1838-1938*, Merle Curti and Kendall Birr conclude that the origins of these early technical missions had much to do with their eventual success or failure. They found that technical cooperation motivated by scientific curiosity had an excellent chance of success, while missions initiated by foreign governments had better chances, at least when they started.

In contrast, activities designed primarily to serve U.S. interests were viewed with suspicion or resistance by foreigners. Even altruistic activities designed to benefit other societies met

similar resistance, because it was difficult to convince others of their altruism in the short term.

Proper administration was a key factor, though even the best-run missions showed a mixture of accomplishments and failures. A good many clearly aided large parts of the population. Most, however, improved the position of relatively small groups.

The complex relationship between agricultural and health conditions was highlighted in the 1930s when James Thorp, the Department of Agriculture's senior soil technologist in China, pleaded unsuccessfully for the dissemination of birth-control information as the only method of keeping the population within the bounds of soil productivity.

For Curti and Birr, it was clear as early as 1954 that if the previous century of American experience with foreign cooperation was neglected or

overlooked, and previous mistakes were repeated, Point Four would turn out to be one more grand scheme that failed. Fortunately, many of those lessons were learned and incorporated into the design of subsequent U.S. foreign cooperation institutions.

It is not surprising that today our country is once again engaged in an overhaul of its foreign development cooperation. This continues our history of increasing coordination, institutional development and capacity-building for ever-larger scales of effort. The institutional innovations that enabled billions of dollars of private-sector support during the 1800s, World War I relief efforts and the Marshall Plan are all prime examples.

As has always been true, building on the foundation of previous reforms and innovations is the best way to create institutions to meet future challenges. ■

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AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • May 2010

STATE ANNUAL SURVEY RESULTS

Strong Opinions on Dissent, OCP and Specialist Issues

BY DANIEL HIRSCH, STATE VP

This year, AFSA's annual survey of active-duty State members was longer than past ones, and touched on areas that AFSA has not asked about before. Specifically, we wanted to get a better idea of the composition of our membership and to shift the focus a bit from policy issues to questions of satisfaction with department processes and realities.

The picture that emerged reinforced some things we had anecdotally understood (e.g., dissatisfaction with the availabil-

ity of training) and challenged others (for example, respondents are happier with support for separated families than we thought they would be). Many of the comments informed us about issues of which we were previously unaware. The survey results will be shared with department management and individual bureaus.

For reasons of space, this article contains only the highlights.

Continued on page 53

MARCH SEMINARS FOCUS ON GLOBAL TERRORISM, ASIA

Outreach and Teamwork: AFSA's Exploritas Programs

BY FRANCESCA KELLY

Every day, Foreign Service officers file reports from the field, while others back in Washington work to get bureau issues noticed by agency management. Meanwhile, much of the general public has no idea what the Foreign Service does. AFSA addresses this by offering programs that reach out to people across the country. One of the most effective — and popular — is Exploritas, formerly known as Elderhostel.

On a Sunday evening in early March, AFSA's Exploritas program administrator, retired FSO Bernie Alter, along with AFSA Marketing and Outreach Manager Asgeir Sigfusson, greeted a group of about 45 people at the Savoy Suites Hotel in Washington, D.C.

A Week of Learning

Sigfusson warmed up the crowd, encouraging stand-up introductions. Then Alter kicked off the program with an overview of diplomatic history in preparation for a week of intensive learning. Both men have conducted dozens of AFSA Exploritas programs; some of the participants were also "repeat offenders" who warmly greeted our staffers from past programs on diplomacy and the Foreign Service.

The March 7-11 program, "American Diplo-

macy in Action: The Middle East, South Asia and Global Terrorism," featured such distinguished speakers as Ambassadors Philip Wilcox Jr. and Edward "Skip" Gnehm. The five-day learning experience also included visits to the embassy of Pakistan, the Foreign Service Institute and DACOR-Bacon House. Participants delved into such topics as "Saudi Arabia and the Gulf" and "Global Terrorism," as well as more specific examinations of terrorist groups such as al-Qaida, the Taliban and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia.

A Sampling of Programs

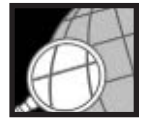
Another Washington-based Exploritas program followed two weeks later. This one, called "The United States, China, and Other Challenges and Opportunities in Asia," ran from March 21 to 25. It offered lectures and discussions on topics such as human rights in China, as well as a lecture by David Steinberg called "Burma: The Asian Pariah." Former AFSA staff member and author Dr. Alicia Campi gave a lively talk on Mongolia.

March's offerings were just a sampling of the AFSA Exploritas programs that take place regularly throughout the country. For more information, please e-mail Bernie Alter at alter@afsa.org. □



Program Administrator Bernie Alter speaks to Exploritas participants, March 7.

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



ADST TRIBUTE TO EXCELLENCE

The Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training honored former Senator Chuck Hagel, R-Neb., media pioneer and philanthropist Ted Turner, and broadcast journalist Ted Koppel at its biennial "Tribute to Excellence" dinner on Feb. 25.

Ambassador Ronald Neumann, president of the American Academy of Diplomacy, presented the Ralph J. Bunche Award for Diplomatic Excellence to Sen. Hagel, who serves on several policy advisory boards and teaches at Georgetown University and the University of Nebraska.

ADST's International Business Leadership Award was accepted by United Nations Foundation CEO Kathy Calvin on be-

half of Mr. Turner, who transformed television through the creation of Cable News Network. He created the U.N. Foundation with his historic \$1 billion pledge, and launched the Nuclear Threat Initiative.

Mr. Koppel, senior news analyst for National Public Radio, received the Cyrus R. Vance Award for Advancing Knowledge of Diplomacy. In presenting the award, former AFSA President John Limbert noted Koppel's important role in keeping the plight of the hostages at Embassy Tehran before the American public through "Nightline."

ADST supports training at the Foreign Service Institute and promotes understanding of U.S. diplomacy.

Life in the Foreign Service

BY BRIAN AGGELER

Perkins has difficulty fitting in with the diplomatic delegation



Amb. Chuck Ford Tells All to Texas

Ambassador Charles A. "Chuck" Ford spoke at a series of programs in central Texas in early March, including a talk on "Perspectives on State, U.S. Diplomacy and the Foreign Service" hosted by the Central Texas Retiree Group in Austin. University of Texas Diplomat-in-Residence William Stewart reports that Ford delivered two "outstanding" programs on March 4 – an overview of U.S. diplomacy and a lecture on Foreign Service careers – to undergraduate classes and selected faculty. Ford also spoke to six classes and a group of business leaders at Angelo State University in San Angelo, on the topics of U.S.-Latin American relations and FS careers.

Ford served as ambassador to Honduras from 2005 to 2008, and is a former AFSA FCS VP. AFSA is grateful for Amb. Ford's exceptional and tireless efforts to explain the critical importance of the Foreign Service and U.S. diplomacy to university audiences, retirees and opinion leaders.

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Survey • Continued from page 51

For full results and charts, please visit www.afsa.org/state/. Thanks to all who participated.

The survey was not limited to multiple-choice questions. Respondents provided 1,212 freeform comments concerning ways that training-related functions or processes could be improved (a question asked at the request of the Government Accountability Office) and 1,058 comments detailing additional problems or concerns they believe AFSA should be addressing, as well as several hundred additional comments. Representative comments are shown in italics below.

Overall Response: Good Representation of State's Demographics

Altogether, AFSA received 2,725 responses by the cutoff date of March 1. We heard from members of every skill group and in numbers matching the overall composition of the State Department Foreign Service, with generalists, especially at the middle ranks, making up 63 percent of the respondents. More than three-quarters of respondents are serving overseas.

Sixty-three percent are married, 3 percent reside with an unmarried partner, 29 percent have a household that includes children, 16 percent have a foreign-born spouse or partner, and 10 percent are part of a tandem couple. Eighty-eight percent are worldwide

available. Twenty-two percent have medical limitations on themselves or a household member; 4 percent have children with special needs; and 1 percent identified themselves as having a disability.

Most respondents (nearly 80 percent) have served in a hardship-differential post (see chart below).

Bidding Decisions: Regional Interest, Post Management and Family Considerations Are Most Important Factors

By far, the most important considerations affecting respondents' bidding decisions are: the inherent interest of a position or region (95 percent); the quality of post management (94 percent); the importance of the position in a post or office (84 percent); and the post/position's value for career enhancement (83 percent). These considerations are closely followed by financial issues, danger, social/recreational considerations, housing options and degree of hardship.

For married respondents the results were similar, except that the ability to bring family to post ranked as the highest consideration, tied with the inherent interest of a position or region. Quality and availability of educational facilities are also important factors for families.

Assignments: Fairness OK, But Transparency Needs Improvement

Overall, 60 percent of respondents

are satisfied with the fairness of the assignments process, but far fewer (26 percent) are satisfied with its transparency. For a breakdown of specialists' and generalists' responses, please refer to the AFSA Web site.

AFSA should explore how to restructure the bidding and assignments process into a more transparently competitive process (i.e., some sort of point system that is somewhat similar to the career development checklist), with less reliance on personal relationships and "corridor reputation," a term that automatically translates into "cronyism" and "the Good Ol' Boy" system.

When it comes to assignment support from career development officers, generalists are the most satisfied (69 percent), but results vary depending on specialist area.

Professional Training: Most (But Not All) Are Satisfied

More than two-thirds of generalists and a little more than half of specialists are satisfied with the availability of professional training. However, there is a dip in satisfaction levels among office management specialists (only 36 percent). Most respondents are also satisfied with the quality of professional training.

For both generalist and specialist results, see Chart 11 at www.afsa.org/state/.

Continued on page 56

7. Which of the following statements has applied to your assignment history over the past six years? (Please check ALL that apply.)

I have not served at a hardship post.		379	15%
I have done a tour of duty at a hardship differential post.		1980	79%
I have done a tour of duty at an unaccompanied or limited-accompanied post.		532	21%
I had a TDY in Iraq or Afghanistan.		210	8%
I have served in Iraq or Afghanistan for at least six months.		359	14%

V.P. VOICE: USAID ■ BY FRANCISCO ZAMORA

FSOs Are Not Rambos



Without question, service in such Critical Priority Countries as Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iraq demands a great deal from Foreign Service personnel. It is taken for granted that the hours will be long and, to a large extent, uncompensated. FSOs make these sacrifices willingly for reasons of patriotism and loyalty. However, at a certain point, the demands can become pathologically stressful and counterproductive. That is the conclusion of a recent State Department Office of the Inspector General report on Afghanistan, “Stretched to the Limit.”

FSOs have accepted the unusual circumstances of their work. But they – and all of us – must take care that abusive working conditions are not allowed to develop.

The OIG found that members of the civilian surge were beset by low morale due to “the stresses of an almost 100-percent personnel turnover, a massive civilian buildup at a frenetic pace, the redesign of development assistance programs and the continuing high volume of official visitors.”

The report observes that it is “not uncommon for staff to put in 80-hour work weeks, with no days off.” OIG even reported that “video teleconferences with senior administration officials in Washington can keep FSOs awake until 4:30 a.m., reducing productivity.”

In response to concerns from USAID FSOs, AFSA released a general notice in February outlining the legal obligations of federal employers to pay overtime and compensatory time off to untenured employees who do not receive the 20-percent special differential that tenured FSOs get. While untenured FSOs are allowed up to 24 hours per pay period of premium pay (overtime, holiday worked or compensatory time), the reality is that a great number of untenured FSOs regularly exceed this limit and go uncompensated.

At this point, let me be clear. FSOs are not complaining to AFSA about losing money in the process. They have accepted the unusual circumstances of their work. But they — and all of us — must take care that abusive working conditions are not allowed to develop.

The “Rambo” mentality is unhealthy and counterproductive. FSOs, tenured and untenured, need time off to decompress and maintain their effectiveness, as well as avoid burnout — as evidenced by the Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder experienced by many of our staff returning from CPCs.

Severe understaffing has exacerbated this problem, preventing FSOs from scheduling downtime over the course of their grueling workweek. Management must ensure adequate staffing at CPC posts and remember that USAID FSOs are civilians trying their best to serve their country. Routinely pushing them to the breaking point is not smart power. □

AFSANEWSBRIEFS

Great Negotiations Book Event, May 24

AFSA’s new book discussion series, “Book Notes,” is off with a bang! Our first event featured Ambassador John Limbert speaking on his book, *Negotiating with Iran: Wrestling the Ghosts of History*, to a capacity crowd (see April AFSA News).

On May 24, we welcome author Fredrik Stanton, who will discuss his new book, *Great Negotiations: Agreements that Changed the Modern World*, recently released through Westholme Publishing. Stanton has written for the *Boston Herald* and the United Nations’ *A Global Agenda*. He served as an election monitor in Armenia, the Republic of Georgia, Bosnia, Kosovo and Azerbaijan.

The book focuses on the most important diplomatic negotiations in American history, including the Louisiana Purchase, the Congress of Vienna, the Paris Peace Conference and the Reykjavik Summit.

All AFSA members, as well as the general public, are welcome to attend this special event on Mon., May 24, at 11 a.m. at AFSA headquarters (2101 E St. NW).



AFSA Scholarship Fund Appeal

AFSA would like to thank those of you who have already made a donation to the AFSA Scholarship Fund, and to remind others that you still can make a contribution to support college scholarships for children of Foreign Service employees. Since 1932, AFSA has been assisting families to help keep college affordable. This year we expect to aid 100 students by providing Academic and Art Merit Awards and need-based Financial Aid Scholarships totaling \$190,000.

Hungary and Poland Recognize American Diplomats’ Service

Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai, in Washington for high-level meetings last December, presented the Order of Merit, Commander’s Cross of the Republic of Hungary to Ambassador Mark Palmer. Palmer, an AFSA member, served as the U.S. ambassador to Hungary during its transition to democracy 20 years ago. The award, presented to Palmer at a dinner at the Hungarian ambassador’s residence on Dec. 2, was “for his promotion of the Hungarian political and economic democratization process.”

Earlier in the year, David Hughes, president of the Hungarian American Chamber of Commerce in Seattle, Wash., was awarded the Officer’s Cross of the Order of Merit of the Republic of Hungary for his activities in the field of development of U.S.-Hungarian economic and commercial relations, and for his promotion of the Hungarian political and economic democratization process. Hungarian Ambassador Ferenc Somogyi presented the award to Mr. Hughes, a retired FSO and AFSA member, at the Embassy of Hungary on June 19.

On Feb. 8, Władysław Stasiak, head of the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, awarded state distinctions to representatives of the Fulbright Foundation who have significantly contributed to the establishment and development of an academic exchange program between Poland and the United States of America. Retired FSO and AFSA member Yale W. Richmond received the Commander’s Cross of the Order of Merit of the Republic of Poland for his work in getting the Fulbright program started there and, later in his career, for work on democracy programs, both during the period of martial law in Poland and afterward.

Up or Out – Part II – The Theory



In Part I (see April *AFSA News*), we briefly reviewed the involvement of three five-star generals — John Pershing, George Marshall and Dwight Eisenhower — in firmly establishing the “up or out” system across the U.S. armed forces and, in 1946, its extension to the U.S. Foreign Service. We also noted that another five-star general, Henry Arnold, was one of the founders of the RAND Corporation, which provided the Department of Defense with many of the background documents used for this article.

The up-or-out system first appeared in a form that we would easily recognize, in the U.S. Navy Acts of 1899 and 1916. Those acts included the following provisions: time in class, mandatory retirement at maximum age limits, promotion and selection-out boards, and a retirement pension. The Marines adopted the up-or-out system in 1925 and linked mandatory retirement to being passed over for promotion. Despite the efforts of the five-star generals, the Army did not adopt the full up-or-out system until 1947, when Congress consolidated the different approaches into the Officer Personnel Act governing all the armed forces.

The goals of the OPA were to develop an officer corps with “youth and vigor,” establish a career path for successful officers lasting 30 years and offer voluntary retirement after 20 years of commissioned service. In the run-up to World War II, General Marshall struggled to retire many 60-year-old colonels who were “no longer the vigorous men they were in their 30s and 40s.”

Whether he knew it or not, Sec. Vance was following the “youth and vigor” movement.

While working on the OPA, Congress also passed the Foreign Service Act of 1946, bringing the up-or-out system to the Foreign Service. In 1979, during discussions that would lead to passage of the 1980 Foreign Service Act, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance noted several shortcomings of the 1946 Act, including a top-heavy officer corps. He urged Congress to “restore an effective up-or-out policy essential to attracting and keeping the most qualified people and assuring them the opportunity to move through the ranks at a rate which reflects their ability.” Whether he knew it or not, Sec. Vance was following the “youth and vigor” movement.

Some organizational economists divide promotional systems into several types: (1) up-or-out; (2) absolute merit-based; (3) relative merit-based; (4) seniority-based; and (5) random. Each promotional system type is studied, discussed and “modeled” (through computer simulations) to see if one type works better than another in a specific corporate environment. The goals of a promotional system are to select the most able employees for positions of greater responsibility and to motivate employees at one level to strive harder to reach the next one.

Does the Foreign Service up-or-out system meet those goals? Is it better than a seniority-based or completely random promotional system? Tune in for Part III, where we try to determine, to paraphrase the title of a 1995 book by P.J. O’Rourke, whether age and guile do, in fact, “beat youth, innocence and a bad haircut.”

Part III will appear in the July-August issue of *AFSA News*. □

Survey • Continued from page 53

Language Training: Generalists More Satisfied Than Specialists

Here the numbers differ substantially between generalists and specialists: 75 percent of generalists but just 41 percent of specialists are satisfied with the availability of language training, with a slightly narrower gap on satisfaction with the quality of language training (66 percent of generalists and 46 percent of specialists). More generalists than specialists feel that current practices support those who ask for language training. For further statistical breakdowns, particularly among specialists, refer to the full survey results online.

State does not provide training; it provides familiarization. Training still remains on-the-job.

There is a widespread feeling that training is only necessary at the start of one's career and is optional or frivolous at later stages.

Stress- or Work-Related Mental Health Issues

Fifty-six percent of respondents believe that the department should do more to address stress- or work-related mental health issues, with exactly half of respondents believing that these issues are stigmatized by the Foreign Service culture. In fact, 47 percent believe that receiving counseling for stress- or work-related mental health issues can negatively affect an employee's career and/or security clearance. Only 21 percent of respondents believe that the department handles Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and other work-related mental health issues in a satisfactory manner.

To Dissent or Not to Dissent?

Respondents cited the following factors when it comes to deciding not to offer dissent:

- corridor reputation – 76 percent
- relationships at post – 73 percent
- promotions and tenure – 69 percent
- desire to be seen as a “team player” – 61 percent

- belief that dissent would not be taken seriously – 59 percent
- none of the above – 3 percent

A handful responded that dissent is freely given.

Our supervisor explicitly told our section that she does not appreciate dissent in any form.

I believe that dissent is offered quite often — perhaps too often.

Tandem Couples: Most Are Not Happy

Fewer than half (41 percent) of respondents who identify themselves as part of a tandem couple are satisfied with department support for tandem couples; 30 percent are extremely dissatisfied. Availability of tandem assignments is the number-one consideration in bidding for 98 percent of this subgroup.

I would like to see AFSA work more on tandem issues. It seems that the number of tandems is increasing across the foreign affairs agencies, and tandems are cost-effective for the government. Yet the bidding process for tandems is extremely difficult — especially across agencies — and tandems often face long periods of separation, even if they are able to be assigned to the same post. This imposes a significant financial burden on tandem couples, and is difficult for children.

Could AFSA follow up with department management to encourage the creation of more telecommuting opportunities for tandems unable to work at the same post?

Comparability Pay: Make It Stick!

Respondents are evenly divided as to whether overseas comparability pay affects bidding on an overseas assignment. See complete statistics online.

Continue working comparability pay; make it full and make it stick.

Overseas comparability pay should remain AFSA's highest priority.

When the comparability is fully implemented, it will make it more likely for me to serve overseas. Until full implementation, it will not have an effect.

Without this extension, DS agents actually lose money when they serve overseas. I moved from a 25-percent-differential post to D.C. and my annual salary went up almost \$20K.

Iraq and Afghanistan Incentives

A third of respondents believe current incentives should be maintained; that number rises to over 40 percent among those who have served in Iraq and Afghanistan. Yet almost a quarter of respondents feel incentives should be only financial or otherwise limited so as not to affect other employees. See Chart 10 on p. 57.

Current incentives work; these posts are different. It's important for the department to recognize that, and incentivize recruits.

Linked assignments need to stop. People doing multiple tours at 15- or 20-percent hardship posts should have a chance at cushy jobs, too.

DS agents should get linked assignments like everyone else.

Require the department to pay specialists who serve in Baghdad and Afghanistan the same monetary differential that generalists receive when they sign on for an additional year of service over their original one-year assignment.

Employees with Disabilities: More Needs to be Done

Overall, 41 percent of respondents currently serve or have served with one or more employees with a physical disability; 7 percent are personally aware of a situation where it appeared that the department was not doing enough to accommodate disabled employees. Forty-two percent of respondents believe the department provides satisfactory accommodations, and 29 percent

10. Which of the following statements best describes your position with regard to service incentives for Iraq and Afghanistan?

The current incentives seem to work and should be maintained.		855	34%
Incentives should be limited to financial and other incentives that do not involve onward assignment or preference.		594	24%
Incentives should be reduced as these posts become more established.		280	11%
It is time for the Department to treat assignment to these posts the way other hardship assignments are treated.		338	13%

believe that department employees receive sufficient training/orientation regarding working with employees who have a physical disability.

Only 10 percent of respondents who identify themselves as having a physical disability are satisfied with department support for employees with disabilities; 55 percent are very dissatisfied, and 60 percent do not believe there is sufficient training.

The department is abysmal when it comes to training managers how to handle employees with potential (but not yet documented) disabilities and/or medical issues.

Single Employees: Often Overlooked

About a third (35 percent) of single respondents are satisfied with departmental support for single employees; 27 percent are very dissatisfied with such support.

Six percent of respondents who describe themselves as single, divorced or widowed live in a household that includes minor children. Thirty-eight percent of those are dissatisfied with department support for children of separated parents. One percent of single respondents live in a household including dependent parents, and another 1 percent have a child with special needs.

Single FSOs (i.e., those with no one on their orders) are expected to do more overtime and evening events, and to be “flexible” with their leave relative to other FSOs with dependents. This is workplace discrimination.

When overseas, I often feel adrift; most CLO activities are geared toward officers and their families. The single officers are usually left to fend for themselves.

Foreign-Born Spouses or Partners: Not Integrated Easily

Fewer than half (42 percent) of respondents with foreign-born spouses or partners report that they are satisfied with department support for integration of foreign-born spouses; 16 percent are very dissatisfied with this support.

Spousal support at post seems to be programmed for American-born wives. Most people forget about the growing number of foreign-born male spouses when planning for spouse activities/support.

Foreign-born same-sex partners are a huge issue for those of us wanting to serve in the U.S. on domestic assignments. Our partners need some sort of visa to allow them to live/work in the U.S. while we are on assignment there.

Specific Diplomatic Security and Information Management Issues

Home Marketing Incentive Program: Federal Trade Regulation 302-14 authorizes the department to enact a home marketing incentive program that would reduce the possibility of financial loss to an employee who had to sell a home at one domestic assignment location in order to transfer to another domestic assignment location. This particularly affects DS special agents, as DS maintains numerous field offices throughout the U.S. More than two-thirds (69 percent) of respondents in that category say that enacting such a program would substantially increase their willingness to transfer from one domestic assignment to another.

Law Enforcement Officers Safety Act: H.R. 218, known as the “Law Enforcement Officers’ Safety Act,” allows retired federal agents to carry concealed weapons. The act requires each agency employing law enforcement officers to initiate standards for training and testing and a program of compliance. The overwhelming majority (90 percent) of DS special agent respondents support urging the department to comply fully with this act, including ensuring that retired agents have the proper credentials and access to training and firearms facilities for the purposes of maintaining said standards.

Continued on page 58

Survey • Continued from page 57

Fairness in specialist assignments:

Only 6 percent of DS special agents responding feel that assignments in their area of specialization are fair and transparent. Twenty-eight percent feel they are somewhat less fair than for other FS employees, and 31 percent feel that they are much less fair and transparent.

Likewise, only 6 percent of information management specialists expressed satisfaction with the fairness and transparency of the assignments process. Twenty-three percent feel that assignments are somewhat less fair and 16 percent feel that they are much less fair and transparent.

[There is a] lack of professional and assignment opportunities available to specialists, even if they are otherwise highly qualified, and in some cases, more so than the generalists.

Consular Affairs and Diplomatic Security assignments are not remotely transparent; gaining posts/geographic bureaus have no voice whatsoever. That must change.

Assignments, employee evaluation reports and promotions have been corrupted to the point where the only things missing are secret envelopes of money being passed to decision-makers.

Security Clearance Adjudications

Informed that, unlike the Office of Personnel Management and the Department of Defense, the Department of State does not use a standard of evidence in security clearance revocations, only 8 percent of respondents indicated that they had confidence that such clearance revocations are being adjudicated fairly.

I am very concerned that State Department employees can be fired, or have their careers destroyed, without any evidence that they did something wrong.

This is ill-worded. As a DS agent who has conducted background investigations overseas, [I assure you that] FS members

receive all fairness. I have seen many cases where FS members have absolutely wacky stuff in their backgrounds that they try to cover up or "dance around." Adjudication of five-year recertifications is difficult because the general culture of the FS is to become completely defensive at being re-investigated.

I hope that AFSA will never waver in its advocacy on behalf of more transparent procedures in the security clearance process.

Mandatory Retirement Age: Respondents Divided

More than half of our respondents (52 percent) favor raising or at least exploring raising (44 percent) the mandatory retirement age from 65 to 67. A fifth (21 percent) oppose raising the mandatory retirement age, and 16 percent urge AFSA not to further explore this issue.

As a man of 30, I fear the burden imposed by ever-longer retirement periods by retirees on our basic social fabric far more than I fear the impact of elderly but continually retrained workers above me. If people want to work, let 'em work. Just don't force people to stay in who are worn down.

I think AFSA should be very careful about raising any issue that could reopen the Foreign Service Act of 1980. If this issue would result in congressional reconsideration, the FS might lose many of the benefits that FS employees currently enjoy.

I personally have doubts about the effectiveness of an FSO overseas over the age of 65. Please look to see if there is a correlation between length in service and views on this issue.

I am in favor of AFSA working with other groups to increase the mandatory retirement age for federal law enforcement officers. This greatly affects the ability to recruit and hire individuals who could benefit the service, both from within and outside the Foreign Service.

Worldwide Availability: How "Foreign" Should the Foreign Service Be?

A large majority — 83 percent — feel that FS members should be worldwide available upon hiring, but only 27 percent think that they should be worldwide available throughout their careers. Slightly more than half feel that if an FS member ceases to be worldwide available at any point in his or her post-tenure career, the department should find or create positions in which that employee can serve.

FS members should be judged based on their ability to contribute to the FS, not on their ability to be worldwide available. Additionally, those who want to serve worldwide should be allowed to do so.

If not available for overseas service for an extended period of time, separate or convert to Civil Service. It is the Foreign Service.

In many cases, employees are declared to have limited availability against their own wishes, and with little option to challenge that determination. More should be done to allow FS candidates and members to challenge MED decisions; decisions and practices need to be reviewed, and more work should be put into finding reasonable accommodations for employees to allow service at all possible posts.

Benefits for Opposite-Sex Partners: Is Requiring Marriage Fair?

Forty-nine percent of respondents think that AFSA should advocate for official recognition and benefits for unmarried opposite-sex domestic partners of Foreign Service members; 34 percent do not; and 18 percent are not sure.

The most important issue is opposite-sex partner benefits. I am part of a tandem couple, but was told we could only be guaranteed an assignment together if we were married by a certain date. I do not think that it is right that my employer can dictate when I must get married, and that I should be married at all in order to be

together with my long-term partner.

I basically am forced to get married if I want my partner to have any benefits. Not everyone believes in the institution of marriage, but that does not make those relationships any less valid or worthy of recognition than those who said "I do."

AFSA should not spend a single second worrying about this manufactured issue of opposite-sex unmarried partners.

Looking Ahead

Respondents mentioned many other issues for AFSA to pursue. We will keep you informed.

AFSA is reviewing the way we obtain member input. These annual surveys will probably continue, but we are also looking at doing more timely and focused surveys in response to events or concerns.

As always, you are encouraged to contact us at any time, either through the AFSA State Web page (www.afsa.org/state/), through your AFSA rep or via e-mail to HirschDM@State.gov or Hirsch@afsa.org. □

AFSANEWSBRIEFS

New Mexico for Retirement: Natural Beauty and Foreign Affairs Discussions

Foreign Service retirees settling in New Mexico will find they can remain plugged in to foreign policy issues through the Santa Fe World Affairs Forum. This nonprofit organization of informed individuals was created in 2003 to broaden and deepen an understanding of world affairs, primarily through small, interactive, professionally-led sessions on international issues. For more information, visit the organization's Web site at <http://sfwaf.org/> or e-mail waforum@gmail.com. (SFWAF board members Patricia H. Kushlis and Patricia Lee Sharpe are also known for their blog at www.whirledview.typepad.com.)

PROFILES: FIFTEEN YEARS AT AFSA

Granting Students' Wishes: Lori Dec

Lori Dec combines marketing experience and a generous nature in a job that demands both. Her position as scholarship director began in 1995, but she had already worked for AFSA on a temporary basis, filling in for Member Services Director Janet Hedrick while she was on maternity leave and then as a manager for AFSA's nonprofit funds, before joining AFSA permanently.

Lori's interpersonal and organizational skills come into play in her daily dealings with both scholarship donors and student applicants. AFSA Treasurer Andrew Winter, who has worked closely with Lori, calls her "a true professional, dedicated to providing as many scholarships as possible to worthy recipients."

A native of Troy, Mich., Lori holds a degree in marketing from Michigan State University. Before working at AFSA, she was director of education services for the National Association of Realtors, where she oversaw the development and marketing of realtor educational programming nationwide. Now that she has a new assistant, Jonathan Crawford, she will be able to utilize her marketing background even more in fundraising efforts.

Lori's enthusiasm for her work has only increased over time. "AFSA has offered a very flexible work environment, so I am able to balance my work and home life," she explains. "Having developed many close friendships with AFSA staff, contacts and scholarship-families over the years, doing my job sometimes doesn't even seem like work."

Her ease in communicating closely with scholarship families is influenced by her own close-knit family: husband, Tim, a Maryland native; and their two daughters, Tori, 17 and Cara, 12. They live in Rockville, Md., only one mile

from Tim's dad. And there's been a recent addition to the family, says Lori. "One year ago we adopted Rocky, a white cockapoo, from the local pound."

Lori's hobbies and activities include jogging, circuit training, cooking and sewing. She has instilled in her husband



Lori Dec

and children a love of the Midwest, and the family often spends vacations at the ancestral lake cottage in northern Michigan.

A Midwesterner she might be at heart, but AFSA colleagues are happy that Lori has decided to make Maryland her permanent home. Communications Director Tom Switzer is quick to sing Lori's praises. "Lori is the consummate professional: untiring, thorough, persistent and unfailingly pleasant. She has brought considerable prestige to AFSA by means of her superb scholarship programs."

Executive Director Ian Houston comments that Lori "has been a great example for many reasons, and her enthusiasm for her position has been invaluable. Lives are being influenced through the scholarship work Lori consistently provides."

When it comes to Lori's integral role at AFSA, Houston sums it up well. "Lori remains focused on the ultimate goal of our scholarship programs — building futures and developing confidence among our Foreign Service youth." □

AFSANEWSBRIEFS

FS Youth Raise \$4,447 for UNICEF Haiti Work

The Haiti Change Challenge was announced by the Foreign Service Youth Foundation on Jan. 15 in response to the devastating earthquake in Haiti three days earlier. American FS youth were encouraged to collect small change to make a big difference for Haitian children in need. FSYP agreed to consolidate the donations, match the winning contribution 2:1, and donate the combined value to the United Nations Children's Fund as a single gift from FS children worldwide.

Several large donations came from just a few students and groups around the world who took collections at schools and embassies: Soren Putney, age 9 (Yerevan); Melissa Nave, 16 (Prague); Agnes Ezekwesili, 11 (Washington, D.C.); David (10) and Thayer (11) King (Lima); Natasha Spivak, 14 (Washington, D.C.); and Girl Scout Troop 3105 (Lima) were the largest contributors to the fund.

Together, these Foreign Service youth raised \$1,703. Matching funds from FSYP, the State Department Federal Credit Union and Clements Insurance added another \$2,744. On March 9, FSYP donated the combined value (\$4,447) to UNICEF. Thanks to a private donor, UNICEF will absorb all administrative costs so that 100 percent of the donation will support the agency's work for children in Haiti.

TRANSITION CENTER SCHEDULE OF COURSES for May-June 2010

May 1	MQ802	Communicating Across Cultures
May 3-4	MQ911	Security Overseas Seminar
May 5	MQ916	A Safe Overseas Home
May 6	MQ000	Special-Needs Education in Foreign Service
May 7	MQ950	High-Stress Assignment Outbrief
May 15	MQ116	Protocol
May 17-18	MQ911	Security Overseas Seminar
May 19	MQ119	Orientation to State Overseas
May 19	MQ854	Legal Considerations in the Foreign Service
May 21	MQ950	High-Stress Assignment Outbrief
May 22	MQ200	Going Overseas for Singles and Couples
May 22	MQ210	Going Overseas for Families
May 22	MQ220	Going Overseas: Logistics for Adults
May 22	MQ230	Going Overseas: Logistics for Children
May 25	MQ000	Developing Virtual Job Opportunities
June 1	MQ115	Explaining America
June 4	MQ803	Realities of Foreign Service Life
June 7-8	MQ911	Security Overseas Seminar
June 10	MQ703	Post Options for Employment and Training
June 11	MQ950	High-Stress Assignment Outbrief
June 14-17	RV101	Retirement Planning Seminar
June 21	MQ250	Young Diplomats Day
June 21-22	MQ911	Security Overseas Seminar
June 22	MQ914	Youth Security Overseas Seminar
June 25	MQ950	High-Stress Assignment Outbrief
June 26	MQ116	Protocol
June 28	MQ250	Young Diplomats Day
June 28-29	MQ911	Security Overseas Seminar
June 29	MQ914	Youth Security Overseas Seminar
June 30	MQ203	Singles in the Foreign Service

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BOOKS

Showing the Way

Airlift to America: How Barack Obama Sr., John F. Kennedy, Tom Mboya and 800 East African Students Changed Their World and Ours

Tom Shachtman, *St. Martin's Press*, 2009, \$24.99, hardback, 273 pages.

No Easy Victories: African Liberation and American Activists over a Half-Century, 1950-2000

William Minter, Gail Hovey and Charles Cobb Jr., editors; *Africa World Press*, 2007, \$29.95, paperback, 248 pages.

REVIEWED BY
GREGORY L. GARLAND

The definitive history of relations between the United States and Africa during the last half of the 20th century remains to be written. To be sure, reams of monographs and memoirs dealing with the diplomatic aspects of the relationship have appeared, including a good number by State Department veterans. Yet until recently — with the exception of aspects of trans-Atlantic black activism — there has been almost total silence on the relationship's most important dimension: the story of non-official Americans and Africans in the fields of education, religion, health, economic development

*Taken together,
these books
spotlight the role of
nongovernmental
forces.*

and political activism. In the absence of a sustained official U.S. commitment to Africa, this remarkable engagement of private citizens and institutions goes far to explain the profound good will that many Africans feel toward America.

Two books have begun to show the way. On the surface, neither Tom Shachtman's *Airlift to Africa* nor *No Easy Victories*, edited by William Minter, Gail Hovey and Charles Cobb Jr., would seem a likely candidate for telling this story. Neither is a traditional academic history. Nor does either volume claim to be an intellectual guidepost that could help alter the U.S.-Africa narrative.

Yet taken together, these books go where many Africanists have failed to go: delving into the role of nongovernmental forces in not only U.S.-African relations, but international affairs overall. The irony here is that Africa — the last of the populated continents to enter into the modern Western historical mindset — shows the way precisely because of what Uncle Sam

hasn't done, leaving the field wide open for what a later generation would call citizen diplomats. Maybe that's why — if we are to believe years of public opinion polling — Africans like us so much more than does the rest of the world.

The legacy of the U.S. government's marginalization of Africa means that the usual symbols of anti-Americanism didn't make it to black Africa. There is no African version of a standard trope in Latin American literature: the U.S. Marines sent to teach lesser peoples how "to elect good men" [sic]. Inasmuch as a vision of official America has existed in Africa until recently, it has come in the form of Peace Corps Volunteers and USAID officers, well-intentioned but imperfect.

Generally, however, it was a non-official America that ventured into Africa: missionaries, educators, students, adventurers, idealistic activists and development specialists. Africans thus saw an America that contrasted sharply with the pretensions of imperial Europe. Whereas Europeans came to conquer, exploit and rule, Americans came as often as not to preach, teach, heal and live with, rather than apart from, black Africans. What's more, a good many of these Americans looked like Africans, something that unnerved colonial potentates and white settlers alike.

No Easy Victories depicts the ac-



tivists who fought the lonely fight to support decolonization and majority rule. This coffee-table volume consists of photographs and remembrances that bring to life the American Committee on Africa, various grassroots campaigns in support of African liberation organizations, and the U.S. anti-apartheid movement. A veteran activist and scholar himself, co-editor William Minter has urged researchers to dig into the story of what academics nowadays term non-state actors.

Tom Shachtman's inspiring *Airlift to America* does exactly that by rendering the dramatic tale of 800 Kenyan students who reached America with scholarships in the lead-up to independence from 1959 to 1963. A handful of Americans and Kenyans, acting privately and often with interference from both the State Department and British colonial officials, arranged funding, visas and a support network that made possible the American education of Barack Obama Sr. and many of the leaders of modern Kenya.

The airlift became an issue in the 1960 presidential campaign. Sensing political fallout that would hurt him among black voters, Vice President Richard Nixon, the Republican presidential candidate, pressed an unwilling State Department to find a way to assist the Kenyans. State's Africa Bureau and powerful European Bureau opposed upsetting our closest ally, Britain, which clung to a policy of determining which Kenyans could go to universities. AF also preferred to stick with its established links, such as the African-American Institute, rather than do business with an operation that lacked any pedigree.

The Kennedy family foundation stepped in at the last minute to keep

the program afloat. So by rejecting Nixon's proposal, State may have unintentionally contributed to John F. Kennedy's narrow electoral victory a few months later.

Though it is a good read, *Airlift to America* leaves out the scholarly apparatus that would assist the future researchers Minter seeks to inspire. Shachtman apologizes for this omission in a bibliographical note, but there is carelessness to the writing. In a rare citation, he mistakenly attributes to another source words penned by this reviewer in this magazine. Shachtman has since acknowledged the error, but it raises doubts about his research.

Nevertheless, Shachtman and *No Easy Victories* have already accomplished the biggest task by affecting the direction of future writing on this topic. Documenting this kind of citizen diplomacy is hard work, much more so than writing about "policy" or government-to-government relationships. Yet it is impossible to understand the current Save Darfur movement without linking it to a long line of predecessor networks. Additionally, bringing the story of non-official relationships to the fore means that professional diplomats will have fewer excuses to ignore what has become a central force of global politics.

More than 50 years ago, Eugene Burdick and William J. Lederer's novel, *The Ugly American*, threw an intellectual dagger into the heart of the foreign policy establishment by highlighting the differences between Americans acting officially and those acting privately. It was the latter group, averred Lederer, who stood the best chance of doing good in a way that would enhance America's lasting influence.

However belatedly, these two books

underscore that message. The deepest source of a democratic nation's influence lies in its own citizenry engaging citizens of other countries with dignity, respect and humility.

Gregory Lawrence Garland is currently a research fellow at the Defense Intelligence Agency's National Defense Intelligence College. A career Foreign Service officer, he has served with the U.S. Information Agency, the Board for International Broadcasting and the State Department in Maputo, Tijuana, Luanda, Conakry, Warsaw, Mexico City and Washington, D.C. The views expressed here are his own.

A Record of Accomplishment

Negotiating Environment and Science: An Insider's View of International Agreements, from Driftnets to the Space Station

Richard J. Smith, Resources for the Future, 2009, \$27.50, hardcover, 163 pages.

REVIEWED BY TED WILKINSON

As principal deputy assistant secretary of State for the Bureau of Oceans, Environment and International Scientific Affairs for an unprecedented nine years (1985-1994), Richard Smith presided over as heterogeneous a bureau as any in the U.S. government. OES work spans the interests of an alphabet soup of agencies — EPA, NASA, NOAA, NSF, NRC, OSTP, the National Marine Fisheries Service, etc. — even Defense.

As a veteran of five years of attending office directors' meetings in the OES conference room, I found it hard



enough to stay on top of the issues and jargon in my own bailiwick (first the law of the sea, then nuclear issues), let alone to follow the reports of the other directors under Smith's supervision. The dialogue ranged from space exploration and the chemistry of the atmosphere to the migratory movements of fish and mammals.

When the news broke in 2000 that the conference room had been bugged for years by the Russians, I speculated that our counterintelligence gamesmen had left the device there on purpose — so the Russians would waste endless time trying to figure out what they were hearing added up to.

Happily, the author has made admirable sense of it all in this wonderfully readable account of lessons

*This is a wonderfully
readable account of
lessons learned
from eight difficult
negotiations.*

learned from his leading role in eight difficult negotiations:

- Bringing China, India and others in as parties, and updating the Montreal Protocol to protect the ozone layer in the stratosphere;

- Achieving an agreement to control and monitor driftnet fishing, and laying the basis for the eventual proscription of the practice;

- Agreeing with Canada on measures to curtail acid rain;

- Agreeing, again with Canada, on protection of migrating caribou;

- Reinstating a dormant scientific exchange with the USSR;

- Implementing President Ronald Reagan's 1984 promise to build an international space station jointly with other nations (initially Canada, Japan and nine European countries; later joined by Russia);

- Confronting the Stalinist regime of Bulgarian President Todor Zhivkov at a 1989 meeting in Sofia, thereby helping to empower a nascent Bulgar-

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ian environmental movement; and

- Agreeing with fishing states to control measures for the collapsing pollock stock in the “donut hole” of international waters between U.S. and Russian exclusive economic zones in the Bering Sea.

Among the lessons from these disparate experiences, Smith stresses the importance for lead negotiators of staying close not just to the U.S. agencies involved, but also to their constituencies (e.g., environmental organizations, fishery groups, etc.) and to the legislators who listen to them; and to begin the contact work early in the preparatory phase, well before the negotiations begin.

As in so many cases, the toughest negotiation is all too often the interagency struggle just to develop a U.S. position. As one case in point, Smith cites the Defense Department bombshell late in preparations for the space station directing the U.S. team to insist on recognition that undefined “national security activities” be permitted on a station that had been billed as “peaceful.” Our allies’ dismay about this was eventually buried in an exchange of side letters.

Perhaps most instructive for our current climate change dilemma is Smith’s discussion of the Montreal Protocol. Like the Kyoto Protocol, which was negotiated after his departure from OES, the initial agreement to curtail emissions was reached even without complete understanding of the science involved, and without commitments from major developing countries. Unlike Kyoto, however, there was broad public and congressional support for the new protocol, and the lead U.S. negotiator had been working hard to cement support before the negotiations began.

When and if the United States is ready to go beyond the limited climate change understandings reached in Copenhagen last December, lead U.S. negotiator Todd Stern and his colleagues can profit from reviewing Smith’s lessons — as, indeed, can all readers with an interest in the increasingly important role that science and environmental negotiations play in the preservation of our planet.

Ted Wilkinson, a Foreign Service officer from 1961 to 1996, is the chairman of the FSJ Editorial Board.

Manifest Destiny, Pacific Style

The Imperial Cruise: A Secret History of Empire and War

James Bradley; Little, Brown and Company, 2009, \$29.99, hardcover, 387 pages.

REVIEWED BY FRED DONNER

This year marks the 100th anniversary of the annexation of Korea by Japan, so *The Imperial Cruise* is a well-timed book. Anti-Japanese demonstrations in Korea are already likely but, if many Koreans read this work, the demonstrations could take on an anti-American tone, as well.

Author James Bradley specializes in historical nonfiction chronicling action in the Pacific theater during World War II. Perhaps his best-known previous book is *Flags of Our Fathers* (Bantam, 2000), which Clint Eastwood adapted into an acclaimed 2006 film.

Bradley’s thesis is that President Theodore Roosevelt, a product of the Anglo-Saxon Christian ruling class, viewed the Pacific as the logical exten-

In 1906, Roosevelt had the word “Korea” deleted from the U.S. government’s Record of Foreign Relations, placing it under the heading “Japan.”

sion of Manifest Destiny. Just as the U.S. Army had settled the American West, the U.S. Navy would do the same in the Pacific. In essence, Bradley says, Roosevelt chose the Japanese as American proxies, considering them “honorary Aryans,” to counter Chinese and Russian spheres of interest in the region.

Toward that end, on July 8, 1905, the USS *Manchuria* left San Francisco for Tokyo, carrying Secretary of War (and future president) William Howard Taft, seven senators and 23 representatives. The delegation’s mission was to conduct secret negotiations on behalf of the United States with Japan, Korea, China and the Philippines.

Bradley persuasively argues that the resulting treaties, while never ratified by the U.S. Senate, set the stage for a century of needless wars and American misadventures in East Asia. Or to put it another way: Teddy Roosevelt had as much to do with World War II in the Pacific as Franklin Roosevelt.

Washington had already been involved in Japanese foreign affairs long before Tokyo’s enthusiastic welcome of

BOOKS

the delegation. In 1873, American officials had urged Tokyo to invade Taiwan to punish those who had massacred some shipwrecked sailors; the U.S. even dispatched military advisers to accompany the Japanese fleet. The same officials encouraged greater Japanese prominence in the region, a concept Tokyo would later, and infamously, co-opt as the “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere.”

As early as 1900 Roosevelt had written, “I should like to see Japan have Korea.” Within two months of the Taft mission, the president shuttered the U.S. embassy in Seoul and left the country to the Japanese. (The departing deputy chief of mission observed that the U.S. was leaving Korea like rats fleeing a sinking ship.) And in

1906, Roosevelt had the word “Korea” deleted from the U.S. government’s Record of Foreign Relations, placing it under the heading “Japan.”

For its part, China viewed the Taft mission with grave reservations, as did the U.S. legation. Even though Taft arrived secretly at night on a U.S. Navy gunboat, his visit triggered demonstrations and trade boycotts. In contrast, the Philippine segment of the trip was largely peaceful, though the delegation cautioned Filipinos not to look for independence from the United States anytime soon.

In addition to covering the Taft mission in great detail, the book includes an extensive account of the Spanish-American War (the conflict that put the U.S. in Guam and Manila immedi-

ately after we annexed Hawaii), as well as an account of Theodore Roosevelt’s life up to that point and stories about his family (particularly his always-colorful daughter, Alice Roosevelt Longworth). Bradley writes in a lively, journalistic style throughout, but has done, and documented, his research.

Any Foreign Service member who has ever served in East Asia will revel in the numerous anecdotes proving that, to paraphrase Ecclesiastes, there truly is nothing new under the (rising) sun. ■

Fred Donner was an Air Force officer and a Foreign Service officer in East Asia before retiring from the Defense Intelligence Agency as a Southeast Asia intelligence analyst.


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IN MEMORY

Bryan H. Baas, 77, a retired FSO, died on July 18, 2009, at his home in Severna Park, Md., of lung cancer.

Born on June 13, 1933, in Chicago, Mr. Baas served in the U.S. Navy from 1951 to 1953. He graduated from the University of Texas in 1956 with a bachelor's degree in business administration.

In 1956, he joined the Foreign Service, retiring in 1985 after a 29-year diplomatic career. He served in Afghanistan, Lebanon, Iraq, Britain, Ireland and Washington, D.C.

Mr. Baas had diverse interests throughout his life. In earlier years, he put a lot of effort into training his German shepherds, becoming something of an expert on that subject.

He continued reading Arabic to the end of his life and was learning Hebrew at the time of his death. In addition to French and Spanish literature, he enjoyed theater, opera, ballet and symphony.

In retirement, he was active in the Alliance Française, Friends of the Annapolis Chorale and "Peer Learning Partners," a senior educational program at Anne Arundel Community College, for which he served as an officer and taught several classes.

Friends recall Mr. Baas as an admirable, modest and courageous man who was solicitous of those he left behind, true to his character during his brief illness and inspiring to those who shared his last weeks with him.

Mr. Baas was predeceased in 1976 by his first wife, Virginia "Ginny" Amos; and in 2003 by his second wife, Hélène Pizem, who had been in the Canadian Foreign Service. He is survived by his son, Todd Baas, and his brother-in-law, John Amos, both of San Antonio, Texas, and by many friends.

Memorial contributions may be made to the SPCA of Anne Arundel County, P.O. Box 3471, Annapolis MD 21403.



Robert M. Beaudry, 86, a retired Senior FSO, died on Jan. 29 of respiratory failure at Forest Park Health Center in Carlisle, Pa.

Mr. Beaudry was born in Lewiston, Maine, on May 12, 1923. He graduated from Edward Little High School in 1940 and went on to study economics at The Catholic University of America, graduating magna cum laude. He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa.

After serving in the U.S. Army in World War II, he joined the Foreign Service in 1946. His first post was Dublin, where he helped implement the Marshall Plan. Over the next 30 years, he held positions of increasing responsibility in Europe and in Washington, D.C.

When he returned to Washington in 1977, Mr. Beaudry was named director of the Office of Regional Political and

Economic Affairs in the Bureau of European Affairs. His last overseas appointment was as minister counselor in Rome.

In retirement, he returned to Maine and became actively involved in state Democratic Party politics. He was also engaged in community projects such as the Lighthouse Museum of Maine, and was a volunteer interviewer for Scarborough Public Television.

Mr. Beaudry is survived by his wife of 64 years, Jacqueline Chouinard Beaudry of Carlisle, Pa., and four children: Paul Beaudry of Cleveland, Ohio; John Beaudry, an FSO posted in Dakar; Catherine Beaudry of Carlisle; and Mary Beaudry Fienup of Basye, Va.; and seven grandchildren.



Marshall Brement, 77, a retired FSO and former ambassador and expert in Sino-Soviet affairs, died on April 6, 2009, in Tucson, Ariz., from multiple myeloma, a bone-marrow cancer, and secondary amyloidosis.

Born in Brooklyn, N.Y., in 1932, Mr. Brement graduated from Brooklyn College and received a master's degree in American civilization from the University of Maryland. He served in the Air Force for two years during the Korean War.

In 1955, he joined the Foreign Service and studied Mandarin Chinese in

IN MEMORY



Taiwan before postings in Hong Kong, Singapore, Indonesia and Vietnam. After spending a year learning Russian, he served two years in the political section in Moscow during the mid-1960s, returning in the mid-1970s as political counselor.

Mr. Brement was a highly accomplished linguist who also spoke French, Spanish, Hebrew and Bahasa Indonesia, as well as Old Norse.

An expert in Sino-Soviet affairs, Mr. Brement served on the National Security Council as Soviet adviser to President Jimmy Carter. He was deputy ambassador to the United Nations under President Ronald Reagan, and from 1981 to 1985 he served as ambassador to Iceland, where his work with the NATO Naval Base at Keflavik earned him the U.S. Navy's highest civilian medal and an honorary knighthood from the Icelandic government.

After retiring from the Foreign Service in 1985, Ambassador Brement served for four years at the U.S. Naval War College in Newport, R.I., where he was director of the Strategic Studies Group, an advisory think-tank to the Chief of Naval Operations.

From 1994 to 1999, he was associate director of the College of Strategic Studies at the George C. Marshall Center in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany. And from 1999 to 2002, he was the Hugh S. and Winifred B. Cumming Memorial Professor in International Affairs at the University of Virginia. Later, he was a member of the Tucson Committee on Foreign Affairs.

The author of numerous articles in his areas of expertise, Amb. Brement wrote a book, *Reaching Out to Moscow* (Praeger, 1991), as a Woodrow Wilson fellow in 1990. He studied fiction in the prestigious writing program taught by Wallace Stegner while attending Stan-

ford University as a State Department fellow in the late 1960s. His novel *Day of the Dead* (Moyer Bell, 2006) is a treatment of the assassination of the late South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem. He was perhaps most proud, however, of his translations of two volumes of Icelandic poetry — *Three Modern Icelandic Poets* (Iceland Review, 1985) and *The Naked Machine* (Forest Books, 1988).

Amb. Brement is survived by his wife of 35 years, author and playwright Pamela Sanders Brement of Tucson, Ariz.; his daughter, Diana of Seattle, Wash.; sons, Mark and Gabriel, both of Tucson; five grandchildren; and his first wife, Joan Bernstein Brement of Seattle, Wash.



Dorothy R. Dillon, 92, a retired FSO with the U.S. Information Agency, died on Jan. 31 at her home in Washington, D.C., after a long illness.

Born in New York, N.Y., she obtained a doctorate in U.S. and Latin American history from Columbia University. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, she taught at Sweet Briar College and Rutgers University. In 1951, Ms. Dillon joined the State Department as an intelligence analyst, transferring in 1953 to USIA, where she was chief of the Latin American branch of the Office of Research.

In 1960, she joined the Foreign Service. After serving as cultural affairs officer in Guatemala City, she was assigned to Manila as CAO. Returning to Washington, she was a Federal Executive Fellow at the Brookings Institution and, later, a policy officer for Latin America. She then became deputy assistant director and assistant director for Latin America at USIA, the first woman

to hold that position. Ms. Dillon retired in 1978.

Throughout her career and afterward, she was a dedicated activist for women's rights, and witnessed changes along those lines in USIA and elsewhere by the time she retired.

In retirement she remained active in Latin American affairs, serving as director of the Washington Center for Latin American Studies. She was also a member of the Foreign Service Grievance Board and a contributing editor to *The Times of the Americas*.

Ms. Dillon leaves no immediate survivors.



Norris Dean Garnett, 78, a retired Senior FSO with the U.S. Information Agency, passed away on Jan. 14 at his home in Culver City, Calif., from complications following a stroke he had suffered some years earlier.

Mr. Garnett was born on Nov. 21, 1931, in Newton, Kan., the seventh of 13 children. After graduating from high school in 1949, he attended Bethel College in Newton until 1951, when he joined the Air Force. After demonstrating a significant aptitude for languages, he was given intensive Japanese-language training and assigned to Tokyo.

Following an honorable discharge, Mr. Garnett settled in Los Angeles and enrolled at California State University, Los Angeles, where he majored in foreign affairs and languages. Upon graduation, he moved to Washington, D.C., where he pursued graduate studies in Russian language and foreign affairs at Georgetown University.

In 1958, he applied for a position as a Russian-language guide with USIA's American National Exhibition, a collec-

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tion of art, fashion, appliances and technology that toured the USSR for two years. He was present in 1959 when Vice President Richard Nixon and Premier Nikita Khrushchev held their famous "Kitchen Debate" at the exhibit in Moscow, and later received a personal letter of recognition from the vice president for his service.

Upon completion of his contract in 1960, Mr. Garnett was given an appointment as a public affairs trainee in USIA's Foreign Service. His first assignment, in 1960, was to Helsinki, where he became fluent in Finnish. In 1962, he was assigned to Dar es Salaam as public affairs assistant, and was promoted to cultural affairs officer in 1963.

In 1964, he was assigned to Moscow as a program officer. There he worked closely with the many French-speaking students from Africa who had come to Russia for higher education. His efforts were so successful that the Soviet authorities tacitly associated the African student community in the country with political subversion and expelled Mr. Garnett for "conducting anti-Soviet work among students from African countries."

USIA transferred Mr. Garnett to New Delhi in 1965. In 1967, he returned to Washington, D.C., where he enrolled in Vietnamese-language instruction and area studies. After successfully completing the course in 1969, he was assigned as a personnel officer, rising to chief of recruitment and source development in the Office of Personnel in 1970.

In 1972, upon completion of German-language training at the Foreign Service Institute, he was assigned to Vienna as CAO. Mr. Garnett was then assigned to Bucharest as PAO, followed by a tour in Pakistan. Next came a four-year stint as chief of the Mid-East Lan-

guage Service of the Voice of America in Washington, D.C., supervising radio broadcasts to the Middle East and South Asia.

Mr. Garnett's final assignment was as the public affairs director for the Martin Luther King National Holiday Commission. When that body was decommissioned in 1988, he retired.

In retirement he wrote articles for *The Brooklyn Advocate*, a New York newspaper, and completed a novel. He was compiling his memoirs when he suffered a stroke, and his health began to decline. He eventually resettled in Culver City, Calif., to be closer to relatives.

Mr. Garnett is survived by two brothers, two sisters and many nieces and nephews.



Grace Keppel, 91, a former member of the Foreign Service and spouse of the late FSO John Keppel, died on Dec. 5, 2009, in Bloomington, Ind.

Born on March 24, 1918, in Little Rock, Ark., Grace Marjorie Wood was educated at the University of California, Berkeley, where she earned a bachelor's degree with a major in drama in 1940. Returning to Little Rock, she worked as assistant society editor of *The Arkansas Gazette*. Keenly interested in foreign affairs, she asked Senator J. William Fulbright, D-Ark., for career advice and, on his recommendation, joined the Department of State.

Her first assignment, as a Foreign Service secretary, was to Embassy Moscow in 1947. There she met John Keppel, an FSO and Soviet analyst. Before the couple wed in Little Rock in 1952, Mr. Keppel was assigned to Seoul while Mrs. Keppel worked at Embassy Paris. Following their marriage, when she was

obliged to leave the Foreign Service, Mr. Keppel was assigned to Regensburg, where he had further training in Soviet politics. The couple then returned to Moscow, staying until 1955.

Their next assignment was to Rome, where their son, David, was born. They returned to Washington, D.C., while John was acting director of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research office for the Sino-Soviet bloc, and then went to Cambridge, Mass., while he was a fellow at Harvard's Center for International Affairs.

In 1962, the family moved to Rio de Janeiro, where Mr. Keppel was political counselor during a tumultuous period that included a military coup against President Joao Goulart. Mrs. Keppel studied Portuguese and planned an extensive trip to the Amazon, which the family took before leaving Brazil.

From 1965 to 1969, the Keppels were again based in Washington, D.C. In 1969, they moved to New York City, where Mr. Keppel was detailed to the United Nations Population Fund. Mrs. Keppel, who was passionate about music, particularly enjoyed the Metropolitan Opera.

Upon Mr. Keppel's retirement in 1974, the couple settled in Essex, Conn. There Mrs. Keppel ran a small business, importing Thai silk dresses designed by her friend Germaine Pholabun of Moscow days, and Mr. Keppel investigated the 1983 Korean Airlines Flight 007 disaster.

In 2001, the couple relocated to Bloomington, Ind., where Mr. Keppel died in 2003. A third-generation Christian Scientist, Mrs. Keppel was a member of the Christian Science Church of Bloomington. She was also a pacifist. Her friends recall her beauty, elegance, curiosity, warmth and gentleness.

Mrs. Keppel is survived by her son,

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David, of Bloomington. Memorial contributions may be sent to the Friends Committee on National Legislation (Washington, D.C.) or to Oxfam America (New York, N.Y.).



Wanda E. Kurland, 80, wife of retired USAID Foreign Service officer Bert Kurland, died on Jan. 5 in Fort Myers, Fla., of acute renal failure.

Mrs. Kurland was born in Cokton, W. Va., on March 14, 1929. She attended school in Washington, D.C., and was employed by the U.S. Navy during World War II.

Following her marriage to Bert Kurland in 1949, Mrs. Kurland resided in Deland and Daytona Beach, Fla., and in Beaufort, N.C. She accompanied her husband on overseas postings to Manila, Bangkok, Saigon, Dhaka, Accra and the Sinai, as well as on his military postings to Germany.

An avid bridge player, Mrs. Kurland was also an expert in craft designs using seashells. Her main interests, however, were centered on her family.

Mrs. Kurland is survived by her husband of 51 years, Bert, five children, six grandchildren and six great-grandchildren.



Maria A. ("Mary") Landau, 83, wife of Ambassador George W. Landau, died on Jan. 10 in Miami, Fla.

Mrs. Landau was born into a farming family on the banks of the Danube River in Kling, Upper Austria. Although her studies at the Berghheim-Linz Teachers' College were interrupted by World War II, she learned to speak English proficiently and, after the war, obtained an administrative position

at the U.S. Detailed Interrogation Center in Gmunden, Austria. There she met her husband, then a U.S. military intelligence officer. She came to the United States on a plane of war brides, and the couple married in New York City in 1947.

Mrs. Landau and her husband lived in New York and northern New Jersey for several years, while he worked in private business. The couple moved to Cali, Colombia, in 1955, where he continued to work in the private sector, and Mrs. Landau quickly learned Spanish.

These language skills were to serve her well after her husband joined the Foreign Service in 1957, and the couple was posted to Montevideo. As she liked to tell it, Mrs. Landau quickly mastered the role of a diplomatic spouse from a series of remarkable mentors, including Virginia Woodward, Marvin Patterson and Andree Sparks. In 1962, the Landaus were transferred to Madrid, and then to Kingston, Canada. In 1966, they returned to Washington, D.C., for six years.

In 1972, the couple returned to South America, where Mr. Landau served as ambassador to Paraguay (1972-1977), Chile (1977-1982) and Venezuela (1982-1985). Mrs. Landau was a gracious and conscientious hostess of the old school, and enjoyed re-decorating and entertaining at her embassy residences. She took great pride and pleasure in representing the United States, and was known for her elegance and charm.

After Mr. Landau retired from the Foreign Service in 1985, the couple returned to New York City. There Mr. Landau served as president of the Americas Society and the Council of the Americas, retiring in 1993. The couple then moved to Coconut Grove, Fla., where they lived happily, swim-

ming and playing cards every day.

Mrs. Landau is survived by her husband of 62 years; her two sons, Robert of Anchorage, Alaska, and Christopher of Chevy Chase, Md., and their wives, Linda and Caroline; and four grandchildren.

Memorials may be made in her name to the Miami Lighthouse for the Blind, 601 SW 8th Avenue, Miami FL 33130.



Mr. James O'Donald Mays, 91, a retired FSO with the U.S. Information Agency, died on Jan. 20 in Burley, England.

Born on June 15, 1918, in Perkins, Ga., the son of Floyd L. and Kathleen Lutes Mays, Mr. Mays attended the Louisville Academy in Louisville, Ga. An avid reader with a particular love of history and geography, he worked his way through college at the University of Georgia's School of Journalism. In 1939, the summer before graduation, he explored five southern states, cycling almost 2,000 miles. His first job was as city editor of the *Cobb County Times* in Marietta, Ga.

At the outbreak of World War II in 1941, he joined the U.S. Army Transportation Corps, which was posted to England and became responsible for the buildup for the Normandy invasion. There he met his wife, Mary Roberts, whom he married on Dec. 1, 1945. Returning to the U.S., Mr. Mays began publishing Blairsville's *Union County Citizen*, soon becoming editor of *Rural Georgia*, a magazine that promoted rural electrification.

In 1956, he entered government service as an information officer for the U.S. Air Force in England and Germany. He then joined the Foreign

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Service, representing the United States in Israel, France and Finland. He returned to USIA headquarters in Washington, D.C., in 1967 and went on to inspect the agency's offices around the world, ending his diplomatic career at the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Throughout this time he remained in the U.S. Army Reserve, eventually reaching the rank of lieutenant colonel.

Upon retiring, Mr. and Mrs. Mays moved to England, where he established a small publishing house, New Forest Leaves. His first book, *The Splendid Shilling*, won an award from the Royal Numismatic Society. The second, *Mr. Hawthorne Goes to England*, a biography of Hawthorne's consular years in Britain, was praised by reviewers on both sides of the Atlantic. *Tokens of Those Trying Times* is a social history of Britain's 19th-century silver tokens.

The work for which he is best known, however, is *The New Forest Book: An Illustrated Anthology*. Some 20 years after publication, it remains a classic reference on the region. An autobiography, *Sweet Magnolias and English Lavender: An Anglo-American Romance*, appeared in 2008.

Friends and family members recall Mr. Mays' prodigious memory. He was an expert on many subjects, particularly social history, British and American literary giants, and numismatics, and gave talks on these subjects all over Britain. He remained interested in current events until the end of his life and was always a diplomat, regularly trying to explain the vagaries of American politics to perplexed British friends.

Mr. Mays was preceded in death by his wife of 42 years, Mary Roberts. Survivors include his son, Stuart Mays of Pennsylvania; two daughters, Angela

Glickstein of Vermont and Melinda "Pipkin" Palmer of England; one sister, Hope Arnold of Louisville, Ga.; one brother, Harold Mays of Augusta, Ga.; six grandchildren; and many nieces and nephews.



Lucille McHenry Noel, 91, a retired FSO, former WAVE and wife of the late FSO Cleo Noel, died on Feb. 14 at Suburban Hospital in Bethesda, Md., of a stroke.

Born in Passaic, N.J., Mrs. Noel graduated from what is now Montclair State University in 1940. In 1943, she joined the Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Services. After instruction at the Midshipmen's School in Northampton, Mass., she was commissioned as an ensign and assigned to the Bureau of Ships in Washington, D.C., and, later, to the Naval Air Station in Patuxent River, Md.

In 1949, she joined the Foreign Service. Commissioned as a vice consul, she served two years in the State Department Bureau of Personnel before being assigned to London as assistant to the civil air attaché. In 1951, she married Cleo A. Noel, an FSO stationed in Genoa.

Resigning from the Foreign Service (as was required at that time of female officers who married), Mrs. Noel began her life as a Foreign Service wife. Her husband was an Arabist, so much of their time was spent in the Middle East. Overseas posts included Dhahran (where their son and daughter were born), Marseilles, The Hague, Jeddah and Khartoum, where they spent three tours.

Cleo Noel was appointed ambassador to Sudan in 1973 and served there very briefly before his assassination in

the line of duty. After his death, Mrs. Noel re-entered the Foreign Service, and worked in the Bureau of Personnel until her retirement in 1978.

In retirement, she volunteered as a docent at the Clara Barton Home in Glen Echo, Md., and in the Foreign Service Book Room. She enjoyed participating in the Springfield Garden Club and the Little Falls Library Literary Salon. Her interests included gardening, travel and, above all, reading.

Survivors include her son, John Noel (and his wife, Jaclyn), of Phoenix, Ariz.; her daughter, Janet Regan (and her husband, Patrick) of Chevy Chase, Md.; one grandson and four granddaughters; and her sister, Frances McHenry.



Claudia Davenport-Romeo, 54, a member of the Foreign Service, died on Feb. 7 at her home in Annandale, Va., of leukemia.

Born in Bethesda, Md., and a graduate of Surrattville Senior High School in Clinton, Md., Mrs. Romeo joined the Foreign Service in 1976. During a 32-year career, she served in Lusaka, Hong Kong, San Salvador, Rome, Brussels, Canberra, Brasilia, Rabat, Madrid and Washington, D.C. Her final post was Muscat, where she was the human resources officer.

"Claudia's warm personality and her focus on helping others touched everyone who met her," associates in the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs recall. "With just the right mix of humor and reality, she mentored and guided many Foreign Service colleagues and drew great respect and admiration from those who knew her."

A dedicated employee and mother of four, Mrs. Romeo always found time for community service with the Ameri-

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can Women's Association, the Parent Teacher Association, local orphanages and animal rescue shelters. She was an avid reader and gardener, and loved to bake and entertain.

Mrs. Romeo was preceded in death by her father, Walter P. Davenport, and a sister, Vicki S. Davenport.

She is survived by her husband, retired FSO Nick Romeo; her children, Francesco, Mark, Catherine Rose and Nicholas; her mother, Henrietta R. Davenport; her father-in-law and mother-in-law, Frank and Catherine Romeo; a sister, Carolyn Johnson (and her husband, Mark); brothers Paul Davenport (and his wife, Joanne) and Mark Davenport; two sisters-in-law, Bruna (and her husband, Joe) and Rose; and many nieces, nephews and

devoted friends.

Memorial contributions may be made to a charity of the donor's choice.



Marie Elizabeth Johnson Sullivan, 88, the spouse of retired FSO and former ambassador William Sullivan, died on Feb. 10 in Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Sullivan was raised in Cuba and Mexico, where her father, Harold Johnson, a World War I veteran and first-generation American of Swedish descent, worked for General Electric. As a youth, she became a competitive swimmer, setting several records in Mexico. She graduated from the University of Texas in 1941 and returned to stay with her family in Mexico. But

after Pearl Harbor, she joined the U.S. Marine Corps and was assigned to Santa Barbara, Calif.

When the war ended, she entered the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, where she met her future husband, a fellow veteran and aspiring FSO. Despite having her master's degree and passing the exam, she was not allowed to enter the Foreign Service because she had admitted she was engaged to be married.

Ms. Johnson and Mr. Sullivan were married in Mexico City in 1947 before shipping out on his first diplomatic assignment, to Bangkok. The couple was then posted to Calcutta, during the partition of the Indian subcontinent. It was a turbulent time, and they proceeded to their next assignment, in postwar

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Tokyo, with some relief. While they were there, the United States ended its formal occupation and Japan resumed self-government.

In 1953, the Sullivans and their two children transferred to Naples, where Mr. Sullivan served as liaison to the U.S. Fleet and NATO. Mrs. Sullivan set up her household, had another baby and, 18 months later, moved the family to Rome, where Mr. Sullivan served under Ambassador Clare Booth Luce. In 1956, they were transferred to The Hague.

In 1958, the Sullivans returned to Washington, D.C., for their first assignment in the United States. Mrs. Sullivan learned to drive a car and to tend to her household alone, shopping at supermarkets and department stores. The family was still in Washington when John Kennedy, a childhood acquaintance of Mr. Sullivan's from their shared New England upbringing, was elected president.

They entered into the world of President Kennedy's advisers, endured the Cuban Missile Crisis and eventually watched his funeral on television, along with most other Americans. Mr. Sullivan was then sent to Saigon on temporary duty, and Mrs. Sullivan packed up her household and four children to join her own family in Mexico City.

In 1964, Mr. Sullivan was appointed U.S. ambassador to Laos. In Vientiane, Mrs. Sullivan resumed some familiar aspects of her life overseas — managing a household, being chauffeured by a driver and entertaining.

As wife of the ambassador in a sensitive, high-risk post, she worked closely with the American and host-country communities and became attuned to the political environment of a country identified as one of the "dominoes" of the Vietnam war. At one point, she

arranged for American entrepreneur H. Ross Perot to fly in a planeload of medical supplies. She also visited U.S. military hospitals in Southeast Asia and helped tend to wounded American servicemen.

After Mr. Sullivan helped initiate the Vietnam peace talks from Laos, the family returned in 1968 to Washington, D.C., where he assisted the talks from the National Security Council and the State Department.

Mr. Sullivan was sent on his second ambassadorial assignment, to the Philippines, in 1973, during the presidency of Ferdinand Marcos. The U.S. ambassador's already high profile in Manila was further raised by the fall of Vietnam and the flight of Vietnamese refugees through the Philippines in 1974. During this period, Mrs. Sullivan ran a large household, hosted hundreds of people at a time and came to know many members of Filipino society.

In 1977, Mr. Sullivan was named U.S. ambassador to Iran. Only weeks after the family arrived in Tehran, Mrs. Sullivan helped host a visit from President Jimmy Carter and, later that year, they accompanied the shah and his wife on a return visit to Washington. Early in their tenure, however, the Sullivans realized that the political situation under the shah was deteriorating.

Mrs. Sullivan undertook an intense visitation and entertainment schedule and ran a large household, despite resistance from some of her own Persian staff because of her gender. But in early 1979, the State Department ordered all non-essential personnel and all dependents to leave. Mrs. Sullivan was in Washington, D.C., on Feb. 14, 1979, when the embassy grounds were overrun by various factions. A few weeks after Mr. Sullivan's release by the insurgents, he returned to Washington and

later retired from the Foreign Service.

The couple then moved to New York City, where Mr. Sullivan served as president of the American Assembly at Columbia University. Mrs. Sullivan taught literacy to Spanish-speaking adults and worked with schoolchildren in the area as a volunteer.

At the same time, they built a home in Cuernavaca, Mexico, where they settled in 1986. Mrs. Sullivan swam every day in her pool, and she and her husband made many new friends and entertained friends and family.

In 2000, Mr. Sullivan suffered a stroke while visiting family in Washington, D.C., and the couple moved to an assisted living community in the area.

Mrs. Sullivan is survived by her husband, William, of Washington, D.C.; their daughters, Anne of Washington, D.C., and Peggy of Bethesda, Md.; their sons, John of Louisville, Ky., and Mark of Birmingham Hills, Mich.; and six grandchildren.



Charles T. Sylvester, 75, a former Foreign Service officer, died on Feb. 7 at his home at Hereford, Ariz.

Accompanying his grandfather and father, who served with the U.S. Asiatic Fleet, Mr. Sylvester lived in China from 1936 to 1939, seeing as a child the start of World War II with the Japanese invasion there.

He graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1955 and, after training at Pensacola, flew the F-3 Demon as a carrier pilot. His adventures included having to bail out once from his plane over the sea when a fuel line broke.

In 1961, Mr. Sylvester joined the Foreign Service, serving first in Bordeaux and then studying the Chinese language in Taiwan. He served next in

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Vietnam. Subsequent postings included Taipei, Tromso (Norway) and Beijing, where he served as political counselor. He was there when Mao died, Deng returned and young Chinese demonstrated at the Democracy Wall.

Mr. Sylvester's final assignments were as consul general in Bordeaux, as an inspector in the department and as consul general in Shanghai. He retired in 1989, just after the tumultuous Tienanmen events.

Ironically, in view of his and his family's Navy background in Shanghai, one of his last official duties was receiving the U.S. Seventh Fleet for a port visit there, the first in the country since the establishment of the People's Republic of China.

After retirement, he lived first in Bernardston, Mass., serving for a while as a town selectman. In 2002, he and his wife moved to Hereford, Ariz.

He leaves his wife, Evelyn Kluger Sylvester of Hereford; two sons, John A. Sylvester of Durham, N.C., and FSO Thomas Y. Sylvester, now in Washington, D.C.; and four grandchildren.



Merrill C. "Buzz" Wohlman, 56, a special agent with the Bureau of Diplomatic Security, died on Jan. 24 at the Ogeechee Area Hospice in Statesboro, Ga., of cancer.

Born in Ft. Benning, Ga., to Sergeant Major Stanley R. Wohlman and Mary Laura Wohlman, Mr. Wohlman was the fourth of eight children. He grew up on military bases around the world and, upon graduation from Reid Ross High School in Fayetteville, N.C., moved to Cullowhee, N.C., to attend Western Carolina University. Graduating in 1979 with a degree in psychology, he worked in Seneca, S.C., as a youth

counselor for the state.

After several years, he changed careers and worked in the construction industry as a cost estimator for the La Fleur Daniels Construction Company on major projects in the Tennessee Valley and Jackson Hole, Wyo. During this time, he became an avid outdoorsman. He loved camping, skiing and scuba diving and carried that love with him into the Foreign Service.

Mr. Wohlman joined the State Department as a special agent with the Bureau of Diplomatic Security in 1986. In a 24-year career, he served overseas in San Salvador, El Salvador, Ankara, Turkey, Monterrey, Mexico and Egypt.

He had domestic tours in the Miami Field Office and with the Secretary of State's detail, the Mobile Security Divi-

sion, the Atlanta Resident Office and the Salt Lake City Resident Office, and also coordinated security for the Winter Olympics.

Colleagues and friends remember his keen sense of duty tempered by a sharp sense of humor, his love of the outdoors and his great culinary skill.

He is survived by his mother, Mary Laura Palmer; his wife, Norma, and their daughter Mariah; three brothers, Roger Johnson, Michael Johnson and DS Special Agent Jake Wohlman; and four sisters, Polly Stewart, Mary Hamby Wohlman, Sarah Wohlman and Josefa Wells.

Memorial contributions may be made in his name to the Ogeechee Area Hospice, P.O. Box 531, Statesboro GA 30408. ■



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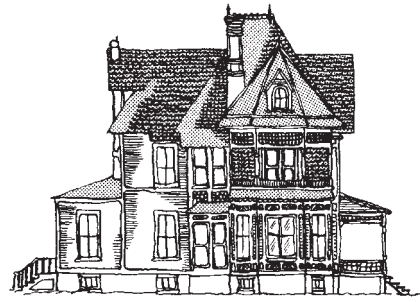


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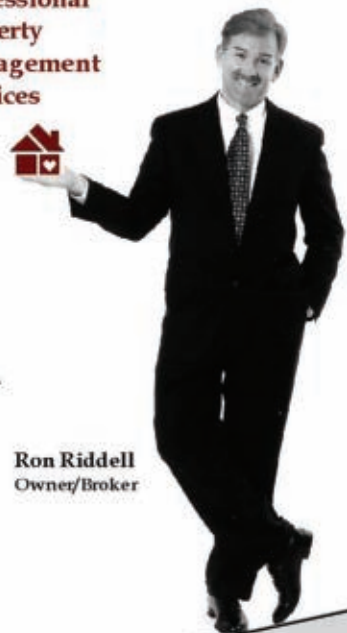


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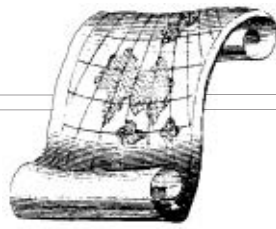


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REFLECTIONS

The Yukon Jack Manifesto

By JONATHAN MINES

*There's a race of men that don't fit in,
A race that can't stay still;
So they break the hearts of kith and kin,
And they roam the world at will.*

I'd read those lines a thousand times, maybe more, at night in the last few minutes before sleep enveloped me, whispering the words. They were printed on a poster that depicted a man clad all in fur, a thick beard on his face, looking out onto an expanse of snow-capped mountains. Not a soul in sight.

It was a peculiar advertisement because the commercial element was extremely subtle, displaying only the words "Yukon Jack." In fact, it wasn't until much later that my brother and I noticed the very small print at the bottom of the poster, "Yukon Jack, Canadian Whiskey."

As a young child, I understood Yukon Jack to represent the entire race of men mentioned in the poem. The more I read the poem and stared at Jack, the more I idolized him. He reached a state of godhood for me, the poster his shrine. Yet I did not see how closely his life mirrored my own.



"You have *wanderlust*," declared a girl I was involved with some years later. "That's why this relationship won't work."

I was growing up, and friendships and associations seemed to be getting more complicated. I was fickle when it came to all relationships, whether romantic or not. Like clockwork, I

*Like clockwork,
I would suddenly
feel it was time
to move on.*



would suddenly feel it was time to move on.

Wanderlust, she called it. I hadn't made the connection before, but there was a side to me that maintained an infatuation with the drifter's curse. When I first heard Robert Plant sing "Ramble On" in high school, I fell in love with it. *Got no time for spreadin' roots,
The time has come to be gone.
And though our health we drank a thousand times,
It's time to ramble on.*

Then there were the Westerns. Clint Eastwood's character, Joe, from Sergio Leone's "A Fistful of Dollars" was the embodiment of the kind of man I wished, and to a certain extent continue to wish, to be: cool, calm, collected and, above all, without attachments, able to drift from town to town, living according to his own will.

Common in Westerns, of course, is the hero's departure into the sunset, the decision to leave that rarely seems to be for any real reason. I could relate to that, too.

The poster's place in my life was accidental, yet somehow fundamen-

tal. It seemed to beckon to me, instill in me the "itch," often unexplainable, to leave suddenly without a trace. *You have wanderlust.* The words haunted me for years, as a kind of condemnation, a sentencing.



I don't see it that way today. Now I see it as a calling. To me, Yukon Jack represents an entire race, one I am proud to be a part of. We have existed since the beginning of man, individuals who are never satisfied with the status quo.

We believe that the only consistent thing about this existence is change, and that where one lays one's head is home. We will never fully understand those who sit still, and they will never fully understand us.

And we believe that no matter what your tragedy, the world will continue to turn; that we can find unity in personal independence; and that sometimes the hardest thing to do is not to venture out into the unknown but instead to sit with yourself.

I lead the next generation of drifters in my family. We stretch into the four corners of the world, ever searching but never satisfied. We don't know what we're looking for, but are intent on finding it. We are the followers of Yukon Jack, and we have wanderlust. ■

Jonathan Mines, the son of FSO Keith Mines, is a sophomore at the University of Edinburgh.

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