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The Magazine For Foreign Affairs Professionals

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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

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President's Views
Thinking About Tomorrow

By John K. Naland

Before the current economic crisis, few active-duty Foreign Service members probably devoted much thought to retirement planning. After all, given the demands of work, family and daily life, who has time to plan for a retirement that is years or even decades away? The answer to that question can be found in the depressing Thrift Savings Plan balance statements mailed out earlier this year. All employees had better give retirement some advance thought if they wish to be well positioned to enjoy life after the Foreign Service.

The need for long-range thinking regarding retirement also applies to AFSA. While AFSA cannot make the stock market go up, we are very actively engaged in numerous advocacy efforts with great impact on current and future Foreign Service retirees.

For example, AFSA's efforts to close the overseas pay gap for current employees are partly intended to ameliorate the long-term financial damage that the pay gap inflicts on the ability of Foreign Service families to build up retirement savings and buy a home in which to retire. In addition, in the coming years AFSA will need to watch out for possible congressional revision of federal retirement plans and be prepared to act to make sure the Foreign Service's well-earned benefits are not targeted.

As always, AFSA is also engaged in a variety of member service activities to assist current retirees. For example, Retiree Affairs Coordinator Bonnie Brown provides one-on-one counseling and advice to individual retirees to sort out bureaucratic glitches with distant government offices. We produce written guidance on retiree issues in our *Retiree Newsletter* and in columns in the *Foreign Service Journal*. And we meet when needed with the State Department's retirement office to discuss customer service concerns.

These vital activities are made possible by the financial support of our members — active-duty and retired — whose dues enable us to continue to fight for our members' long-term financial interests. For that reason, AFSA not only depends on new employees to join as members, but needs current members to maintain their AFSA membership after retirement, switching their payments from payroll deductions to annuity deductions.

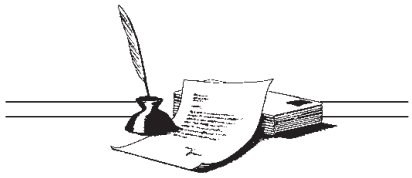
Unfortunately, AFSA is typically more successful at convincing active-duty employees to join and stay than in getting new and current retirees to continue their memberships. That is too bad. Even retirees who resettle far beyond the Beltway still need an advocate on Capitol Hill to safeguard their benefits. And even retirees who fill out their retirement paperwork correctly could suffer from glitches with their annuities years into their retirement.

If you know Foreign Service retirees who are not currently AFSA members, urge them to join you in supporting AFSA. After all, they are benefiting from our advocacy of issues affecting them — but are not contributing to the operating budget that funds that advocacy. To join as a retired member, go to www.afsa.org/mbr/retired.cfm or phone (202) 338-4045.

While retirees certainly need AFSA, it is also true that AFSA needs retirees. Retirees tend to donate generously to AFSA's Scholarship Fund, Fund for American Diplomacy and other annual fundraising drives. Many retirees across the country write to local newspapers, contact their federal lawmakers, or speak to civic groups to explain the value of funding for diplomacy and development assistance. Numerous Washington, D.C.-based retirees serve on AFSA's Governing Board or on other AFSA committees.

In conclusion, I salute the members of the nine Foreign Service retiree groups across the nation with whom I have visited over the past two years. I also thank the many others with whom I have had e-mail contact, and wish you all a wonderful retirement. ■

John K. Naland is the president of the American Foreign Service Association.



LETTERS

Progress on Contact Reporting Requirements

I am pleased to report an update to the information contained in my March Speaking Out ("Twelve Recommendations to Improve the Security Clearance Process"). On Feb. 12, after the *Journal* had already gone to print, the Bureau of Diplomatic Security published new contact reporting requirements (12 FAM 262 and 270). However, the larger questions I highlighted in my piece about how DS handles security clearance cases remain pertinent.

Daniel M. Hirsch
FSO
Silver Spring, Md.

A Clarification

The *Foreign Service Journal* carried my account of a Moscow confrontation as the February Reflections column. I was gratified at the opportunity to illustrate the courage, skill and "cool" of one of our greatest career diplomats, Llewellyn Thompson. However, I would like to clarify a point that was inadvertently distorted in the course of editing.

When I commented that "In retrospect, it probably was as close to World War III as we came," I was referring to the entire Berlin Crisis of 1958-1962 and the attendant Cuban Missile Crisis — not our single meeting on Jan. 13, 1961.

I would also like to note that the piece was excerpted from the introduction to my memoirs, *Cold War Saga*, which is scheduled to be published in the spring of 2010.

Kempton Jenkins
FSO, retired
Bethesda, Md.

Ingredients for Change

The February issue of the *Journal* contained three items that deserve careful attention. They constitute an unorchestrated — and all the more compelling for that reason — call for greater creativity and wave-making.

John Naland's President's Views column raises two especially important and related points. The first is the need for members of the Foreign Service to do more professional writing, "provocative essays by active-duty officers analyzing professional issues" of the kind that fill the many military journals. The second is the steady decline in nominations for AFSA's constructive dissent awards, the only ones of their kind in the U.S. government, which recognize employees for their neck-on-the-block courage in challenging policies or management practices.

In Letters, retired Ambassador Ed Marks offers a number of thoughtful suggestions to strengthen that faltering dissent awards program. Two of them that make a great deal of sense, and are also mutually reinforcing, concern generating more awareness of that unique program, as well as greater recognition for the winners, by providing more extensive recognition inside the *Journal*, and placing their photographs on the cover.

Then retired Ambassador David Passage takes on the Defense Department in a thoughtful and informed Speaking Out column presenting the rationale for doing away with AFRICOM and SOUTHCOM, which he describes as "Reliquaria from an Earlier Age." Few FSOs know as much about working with, and the workings of, DOD and that massive organization's involvement with foreign policy as he does, and the case he makes merits close study. Amb. Passage is doing just what Naland suggests, and his proposals could earn him a dissent nomination (if he were still on active duty and — a firm requirement — if he had not gone public).

There is a great deal happening in foreign affairs currently, much of it focused on significantly expanding the size and strengthening the role of State and the Foreign Service. A requirement for success in taking on this increased role is to improve the manner in which the work is performed. More professionalism, improved communications and a greater willingness to take up the cudgels, in the broadest sense, are important ingredients for such a change.

Ed Peck
Ambassador, retired
Chevy Chase, Md.

Right Problem, Wrong Solution

Ambassador David Passage rightly highlights the worsening militarization of U.S. foreign policy in his February Speaking Out column, but prescribes the wrong solution. He is correct that the U.S. Agency for International Development, not DOD, should lead U.S. development activities. And I agree that military dominance over the diplomatic and development branches of government is not the example America should project.

However, eliminating the U.S. Africa Command and U.S. Southern Command is not the solution. Policies are at fault, not structures. The ongoing and unacceptable civil-military imbalance in U.S. foreign policy is driven by congressionally granted authorities and funding for DOD to conduct activities that rightly are the responsibility of civilians. This "authorities creep" is exemplified by the presence of special operations forces in East and Sahelian Africa as Military Information Support Teams and Humanitarian Assistance Teams.

Using psychological operations and civil affairs soldiers in place of public diplomacy and USAID Foreign Service officers is both expensive and ineffective. And linking information support and humanitarian assistance to the activities of combat troops who work out of the same embassies dangerously muddies the distinctions among development, diplomacy and defense.

Diplomacy and development are professions, just like the conduct of military operations. We shouldn't use USAID officers to hunt terrorists, nor special operations forces to implement development policy.

To be clear, however, DOD is not at fault: our military is acting with full con-

gressional authority in the stead of under-resourced civilian agencies. Re-establishing the proper authorities to State and USAID will begin to repair this problem. Congress must also give civilian institutions the personnel, funding and guidance necessary to reclaim the execution of non-military activities and oversight of non-combat operations.

To achieve our top foreign policy objectives, the U.S. government must use all its elements of power. To do otherwise risks furthering the perception that American foreign policy is principally implemented with the bayonet.

Ron Capps
FSO, retired
Bethesda, Md.

Editor's Note: Mr. Capps, the 2007 co-winner of AFSA's William R. Rivkin Award for constructive dissent by a mid-level Foreign Service officer, is a program manager for peacekeeping with Refugees International.

The Military Should Run PRTs

Despite all the good advice in Captain Sean Walsh's article in the February *Journal* ("Improving the PRT-Military Professional Relationship"), its basis is a bit shocking to this veteran of the pacification program in Vietnam (1969-1971). Specifically, why aren't the Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Iraq embedded within the military brigade structure?

In the July-August 2008 *Journal*, we learned from William Maley's article ("NATO and Afghanistan: Made for Each Other?") that in establishing the PRT program in Afghanistan, we drew upon the Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support model from Vietnam. In Vietnam, all State, USAID and military personnel in CORDS worked for the commander of the Military Assistance Command Vietnam: General Creighton Abrams, and his deputy, Ambassador William Colby. But in Iraq, apparently the decision was made to separate reconstruction operations from military operations, at least in terms of the chain of command.

Much of Capt. Walsh's good advice about getting along with the Army would pertain regardless of the PRT organizational model. But given counterinsurgency strategy, where the Army mission of security rightly comes first, having separate chains of command makes no sense. The PRT and its mission should be "organic" to the brigade structure. This means the brigade would "own" the PRT just as it "owns" its artillery capability.

By making the PRT organic to the brigade, the brigade then owns, and is responsible for, the success of its mission, eliminating any need for the team to "bum" rides or other brigade support. However boneheaded a brigade commander may be about the need to win hearts and minds, he will respond to such requests if he knows a general is going to ask him how his PRT is doing.

In *The Gamble*, the new book on Iraq by Thomas Ricks, we see that it was Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld's decision not to support the PRTs. That alone is probably a very good reason to consolidate the counterinsurgency mission in Iraq.

Alfred R. Barr
FSO, retired
Washington, D.C.

The Ground Truth About Virtual Presence Posts

Shawn Dorman's January article, "Global Repositioning in Perspective," includes a brief and mostly balanced description of Virtual Presence Posts. The article accurately notes that the relative success of a VPP fundamentally depends on each mission's commitment to increasing outreach to important locales with no permanent U.S. diplomatic presence.

The article also includes an anonymous remark from a "Washington-based FSO" who questions the value of VPPs. The officer is not accurately informed. Over the last five years, posts through their own serious and sustained efforts have established 56 VPPs, up from only five in 2003. Moreover, over just the past year, posts have established 21 VPPs, including at least one new VPP in each regional bureau. Twelve new ones were created in China alone.

The significant growth in the use of Virtual Presence Posts reflects the recognized benefits and real-world results associated with a well-run VPP program. For example, VPPs provide posts with the means for more organized and focused mission travel, for better interagency coordination and for more strategic application of program and outreach resources.

Another point of clarification: the *Journal* article reports that "in some countries, the VPP model does serve as a substitute for the American Presence Post." This has been true at a few posts, yet VPPs are always more than just stand-ins for APPs. VPPs help coordinate the mission, involving all relevant sections with a mix of traditional diplomacy (travel, programs, exchanges) and modern technologies (branded Web sites, electronic communication) in reaching out to important cities, communities or countries. For this reason, VPPs have been used as a "bridge" prior to launching an APP, ensuring

strong mission integration with the future APP.

However, VPPs are also important in many cases where American Presence Posts are not currently in the cards, due to security concerns (Gaza, Somalia) or resource constraints. (There are obviously many important locales around the world where funding limits will prevent the establishment of physical U.S. diplomatic facilities any time soon.)

The Information Resource Management Bureau's Office of eDiplomacy helps provide the department with the knowledge practices and technology tools needed for successful American diplomacy, and supports posts that establish and operate VPPs. We are proud of the progress and diplomatic productivity posts have achieved through their use of VPPs. eDiplomacy stands ready to assist any mission interested in exploring the use of VPPs to empower American diplomatic outreach and engagement in the information age.

Dan Sheerin
Acting Director
Office of eDiplomacy
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

IRM Should Hire the Best and Brightest

It is refreshing to see President Barack Obama choose Cabinet members with impressive educational credentials and work experience. He showed confidence in his own intellectual powers by nominating the best and the brightest for the benefit of the nation.

My question is why we in Information Resource Management don't do the same in our workplace? Why do we push people without proper qualifications into management positions based on time rather than merit? I have been in the government since 1999, and can attest that mediocrity within the rank and file is the rule, not the exception.

I work in a technical field that is very competitive. If you do not keep up with changes by taking computer classes and reading technical manuals, you become a dinosaur. The wrong management decision will have repercussions for decades to come, including wasting taxpayer money.

I remember sitting in a room with Microsoft sales personnel and IRM senior managers. The State reps did not know enough about the subject to ask a single question; they just took the vendor presentation at face value.

The technical field, even more than most others, requires education and expertise. If you want to deal effectively with someone selling you a product, it is wise to know something about that product. The IRM rank and file who become managers do not have the experience or the educational background to run a modern system.

We need leaders for IRM who are not afraid of education or experience, and can inspire their employees. Otherwise, we will slide backward and be increasingly at the mercy of contractors and vendors.

Aram Wilson
Retired IMO
Miami, Fla. ■

CYBERNOTES

New Focus on Public Diplomacy

PD, a new magazine and the first to focus exclusively on public diplomacy, was released by the Association of Public Diplomacy Scholars at the University of Southern California in February (**www.publicdiplomacymagazine.com**). Edited by graduate students, *PD* is published with support from the Center on Public Diplomacy and the School of International Relations at USC. It will appear biannually, with an accompanying webzine.

The opening issue — "New President, New Public Diplomacy?" — includes memos and suggestions for President Barack Obama; an interview with former Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs James K. Glassman; a case study on the 2008 Beijing Olympics and whether or not they fulfilled Chinese PD goals; and a review of Ambassador Edward P. Djerejian's new book, *Danger and Opportunity*, an evaluation of U.S. diplomacy and public diplomacy efforts in the Middle East.

"Because of the transformation of the world through communications and through democratization, publics have an increasingly significant role in the foreign policy process," says Nicholas Cull, director of the Master of Public Diplomacy program at USC. "This magazine is a way of conceptualizing and documenting these changes" (**www.usc.edu/uscnews/stories/16327.html**).

— Elizabeth Swift, AFSA Intern

Undermining the Civilian Peacebuilding Initiative?

Despite calls by senior military officials to demilitarize U.S. foreign policy, and a 2008 funding appropriation to the State Department to build the planned Civilian Response Corps, the Defense Department has announced it is forming its own deployable corps of civilians. Whether the Pentagon is setting an example or throwing a spanner in the works of rebalancing the military-civilian presence abroad is a topic of debate.

DOD Directive 1404.10, signed by Deputy Defense Secretary Gordon England on Jan. 23, directs the Pentagon to begin organizing, training and equipping an "expeditionary work force" of volunteers from among Defense Department civilian employees, as well as former and retired employees, to support humanitarian, reconstruction and combat support missions (**www.dtic.mil/whs/directives/corres/pdf/140410p.pdf**).

According to a report from the American Forces Press Service, the various DOD components will designate certain duty positions to participate in the program (**http://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/2009/01/defense department-establishes/**). Employees in those position will be asked to sign an agreement to deploy if called upon. Should an employee not wish to deploy, efforts will be made to reassign him or her to a nondeploying position.

Employees in deployable positions will be trained, equipped and prepared to serve overseas on tours limited to two years. Further, volunteers will receive military medical support during their tours and their families will be supported and provided with information on benefits and entitlements.

The Pentagon has been moving toward this program for months as part of an effort to fully utilize its civilian work force, as a *Federal Times* interview with Patricia Bradshaw, under secretary of Defense for civilian personnel

50 Years Ago…

What is the great difference between "substantive" and "administrative" work? Why is it that our officers try to avoid administrative work? My contention is that administrative experience is essential to an officer who aspires to become a principal officer or a deputy chief of mission, or, for that matter, to attain a key position in any embassy.

— Glenn G. Wolfe, "Administration Is Substantive Work," *FSJ*, April 1959.

policy, in November makes clear (**www.federaltimes.com/index.php?S=3798588**).

Yet advocates of urgently building up a civilian response capability in the State Department and USAID — where, they argue, such a civilian force properly belongs — are concerned that the DOD move only further militarizes America's engagement with the world and potentially undermines State's ability to get funding and support for the peacebuilding initiative. The Friends Committee on National Legislation, which was active in securing congressional passage of legislation and funding for State's Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization, has called for Congress to review the new directive (**www.fcnl.org**).

— *Susan Brady Maitra, Senior Editor*

Controversy Points to Foreign Policy Dilemma

On March 10, Director of National Intelligence Admiral Dennis C. Blair announced that Ambassador Charles W. "Chas" Freeman had asked that his selection as chairman of the National Intelligence Council "not proceed," a request Blair accepted "with regret."

Freeman's decision followed a vitriolic campaign by critics that showed no sign of abating. The incident raises questions about the health of the nation's foreign policy process and about the prospects for an effective U.S. Middle East policy, in particular.

The retired Senior FSO and former ambassador to Saudi Arabia had been appointed chairman of the office responsible for producing the National Intelligence Estimate that guides national security policy on Feb. 26. Freeman, who was also a top Defense Department official during the Reagan administration and whose experience ranges from the Middle East to Africa and China, is well known for being an independent thinker and realist.

> The biggest problem of our region is not territory and not the Palestinian conflict. We must create new priorities in the old Middle East. I think everybody who lives here understands that our biggest problem today is Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iraq and only after this the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.
>
> — Avigdor Lieberman, head of the Yisrael Beiteinu Party and possible incoming Israeli foreign minister, March 1, *www.washingtonpost.com*

"Ambassador Freeman is a distinguished public servant who brings a wealth of knowledge and expertise in defense, diplomacy and intelligence that are absolutely critical to understanding today's threats and how to address them," ODNI Director Blair had stated in announcing the appointment. (**www.dni.gov/press_releases/20090226_release.pdf**).

The attack on Freeman was launched in mid-February, when the appointment was still a rumor, in a blog by Steve Rosen, the former official of the American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee who was indicted for pro-Israeli espionage in a long-running AIPAC scandal (**www.thenation.com/blogs/dreyfuss**). The salvo was broadcast by Fox News and then surfaced in the pages of the *Wall Street Journal*, where one Gabriel Schoenfeld of the Witherspoon Institute labeled Freeman a "China-coddling Israel basher" who would fill the NIE with his own "outlandish perspectives and prejudices" (**http://online.wsj.com/article/SB123552619980465801.html**).

In a detailed review of the controversy, *The Cable*, a branch of *Foreign Policy* magazine, reported that many experts believed the controversy to be more about President Barack Obama's policy orientation than about Freeman (**http://thecable.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2009/02/25/the_controversy_over_chas_freeman**). Many of Freeman's critics opposed Obama himself as well as other high-level appointments, such as National Security Adviser Gen. James L. Jones — accusing them of being insufficiently pro-Israel or too even-handed.

Meanwhile, the appointment was applauded by many others. "Chas is a highly experienced, perceptive, and well-regarded U.S. diplomat," said former senior NIC official Paul Pillar, now a professor at Georgetown. Wrote David Rothkopf on *ForeignPolicy.com*: "Few people would be better for these tasks than Chas Freeman. Part of the reason he is so controversial is that he has zero fear of speaking what he perceives to be truth to power. You can't cow him and you can't find someone with a more relentlessly questioning worldview."

In a statement following his resignation, Freeman points to the incident's broader implications: "I believe that the inability of the American public to discuss, or the government to consider, any option for U.S. policies in the Middle East opposed by the ruling faction in Israeli politics has allowed that faction to adopt and sustain policies that ultimately threaten the existence of the state of Israel. It is not permitted for anyone in the United States to say so.

This is not just a tragedy for Israelis and their neighbors in the Middle East; it is doing widening damage to the national security of the United States."

— Susan Brady Maitra, Senior Editor

Let the Games Begin …

Early this year, the first two in a series of computer games underwritten by the State Department's Office of eDiplomacy will debut as an open invitation for the world to use for free in an effort to bridge cultures: *X-Life: Driven* and *X-Life: Babangar Blues.*

The product of MetroStar Systems, Inc., a supplier of New Media technology solutions for the federal government, the games will be launched in the Middle East as an initiative for ediplomacy (**www.xlifegames.com**).

X-Life Games' motto — "bridging cultures one pixel at a time" — reflects its aim to put advanced gaming technology into the service of foreign policy. Leveraging the latest in mobile technology, X-Life users in the Middle East and Gulf region will be introduced to American culture in a non-threatening and constructive manner.

The X-Life games are a series of small, interrelated adventure modules that explore how your life would have been different had you chosen an alternate career.

"X-Life, the game, explores one idea — what unites us, rather than what divides us," said Ali Reza Manouchehri, chief executive officer of MetroStar Systems, Inc. "Middle Eastern and Persian Gulf youth will have the opportunity to experience the dynamism and vitality of American life. X-Life projects the fundamental values that Americans cherish: tolerance, freedom and respect for cultural and religious differences."

The project is headed by veteran gamers Neal Hallford, J.R. Register and Ghafur Remtulla. ■

— Susan Brady Maitra, Senior Editor

Site of the Month: What's In an Acronym?

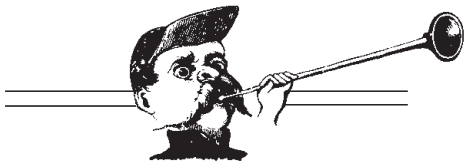
International relations is littered with the alphabet soup of acronyms — from AFRICOM to UNHCR and WFP. **www.all-acronyms.com** and **www.acronymfinder.com** are two free sites that, combined, offer more than a million acronym definitions. Unlike most acronym directories online, these two are not limited to information technology or telecommunications terms.

Claiming to have the largest, most comprehensive acronym and abbreviation database, *AcronymFinder* has been on the Web since 1995. A particularly useful feature of the site's search function is its breakdown of results by area: "All," "IT," "Government & Military," "Science & Medicine," "Organizations & Schools, etc.," "Business & Finance" and "Pop Culture." The site adds 5,000 entries per month.

Initially developed, supported and privately used by a group of acronym enthusiasts and university students, *All-Acronyms.com* opened for public access in 2005 to provide a convenient tool to quickly find an acronym definition or the proper abbreviation for a word or phrase. Since then, the number of regular visitors has grown to more than 500,000 monthly.

Both sites rely on suggestions from users for new entries.

— Susan Brady Maitra, Senior Editor



SPEAKING OUT

Expanding Language Capacity Through Incentive Pay

BY MARK ALLEN

Every Information Resource Management specialist I know is pursuing information technology industry certifications or other types of continuing education. This high level of motivation to expand job-related skills through self-study is a direct result of the Skills Incentive Pay program.

I believe that lessons learned from the success of the SIP program can be applied to the Language Incentive Pay program, which offers Foreign Service employees higher earnings for proficiency in hard languages while serving in a hard-language country. With a few adjustments, LIP could become a more powerful tool for motivating employees to raise their linguistic proficiency through self-study.

Elevating information technology expertise and broadening ability in languages such as Mandarin Chinese or Arabic are both important goals for the Department of State and other foreign affairs agencies. And encouraging employees to improve their skill sets through self-study without having to take them out of the work force for long-term training is even more beneficial.

During my four years of duty in China, I have obtained both a Microsoft Certified Systems Engineer Certification and a 3/3 in Mandarin Chinese through a mixture of formal classroom and self-study. I earned my MCSE entirely through self-study, while my language rating reflects 44 weeks of training at the Foreign Service Institute in Washington followed by three years of self-study. As a result of those efforts, I am currently receiving both Skills Incentive Pay and Language Incentive Pay.

Enabling employees to sharpen skills without leaving the work force would be a win-win.

Over the past four years, I have been struck by the difference between the motivation levels of Foreign Service employees trying to improve their Mandarin scores and IRM specialists pursuing industry certifications and continuing education. To be blunt, the amount of information technology self-study taking place among IRM specialists vastly outstrips the hard language self-study that I have observed among any group of State employees.

Initially, this seemed strange to me, given the fact that language incentive pay is significantly greater than skills incentive pay. But when I examined the structure of each program more closely, the key difference between the two became clear. While SIP encourages self-study, LIP does not. In fact, in some ways the LIP program *discourages* individual pursuit of fluency.

LIP and SIP Compared

Here are some key structural differences between the two programs.

Reasonable Goals: While SIP rewards are less lucrative than those of LIP, they are achievable in a shorter amount of time. (One can obtain a Microsoft Certified Systems Engineer Certification in six months or less of self-study.) LIP rewards are greater, but only attainable after extremely long periods of study. In general, a new speaker of a hard foreign language will need to spend 88 weeks of study or around 1,800 hours of class time to reach the current minimum required for incentive pay, a 3/3, in that language.

Self-Study vs. State Department-Sponsored Training: Because SIP requirements cannot all easily be achieved through FSI training alone, IRM specialists are motivated to pursue them on their own. In contrast, for new speakers of a hard language, LIP rewards are almost exclusively achieved through FSI training. It is thus rare to find a new speaker of a difficult language who achieves a 3/3 through a self-directed program.

Positions Linked to Ability: 3/3 lan-

guage-designated positions are often tied to language training, but IRM positions are rarely tied to training that will result in an LIP. One of the primary reasons I pursued self-study to increase my Mandarin level from 2/2 to 3/3 was because as an IRM specialist, I would never be sent to further training to achieve a 3/3 in the language. Had I expected to be given that opportunity, it is unlikely I would have pursued it on my own.

Encouraging Language Self-Study

Fortunately, the following adjustments to the ground rules for Language Incentive Pay could produce significant dividends, both for individuals and the Foreign Service as an institution.

Delink writing and speaking requirements: Currently, an officer with a score of 3+ Speaking and 2+ Writing in Mandarin — thereby falling just short of the required 3/3 rating — receives the same incentive pay as that of an officer who knows no Mandarin at all: none. Offering separate rewards for achieving each component of the FSI rating makes much better sense and would undoubtedly attract more applicants.

Reward the pluses: Moving from a 3 to a 4 during one's career may not be possible, but moving from a 3 to a 3+ is certainly achievable. Giving the 3+ level a higher incentive pay than a 3 level would encourage some mid-level officers to pursue this more realistic goal over the long term through self-study.

Lower the first LIP level from 3 to 2+: Currently, entry-level officers are given enough language instruction in Mandarin to achieve a 2 in speaking. Lowering the minimum LIP level from 3 to 2+ would lead to more self-study, because lifting one's hard language level from 2 to 2+ during the two years of a first tour is achievable, if difficult.

Make LIP pay retroactive: If an employee attains a higher incentive level at any time while at a hard-language post, provide back pay to him or her at the higher level for the entire tour. Because language pay is only received while the recipient is in the country, motivation levels and the amount of time until departure are inversely related. Receiving back pay for becoming more fluent in an incentive language would sustain motivation levels throughout the tour.

Raising Overall Capacity

Based on the success seen in the information technology Skills Incentive Pay program, decreasing the distance between language reward levels would likely raise overall hard language capacity in the State Department.

Because the current testing system already captures proficiency in sufficient detail, delinking requirements and rewarding the pluses in order to motivate self-study may not require major structural changes or excessive budget increases.

And while lowering the first LIP level to 2+ and making language incentive pay retroactive to the length of a tour would definitely cost more, it could be an attractive alternative to removing staff from the work force for a year or more to attend long-term training. ■

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Still the Best Vehicle for Engaging with Europe

Jean Francois Podevin

Despite shifting perceptions and geopolitical equations, the Atlantic Alliance remains a powerful tool for building on 60 years of common defense.

By Gerald Loftus

Informed Americans have never doubted that NATO has always been devoted to the defense of Europe. The "North Atlantic" in the treaty organization's name refers to the indispensable presence in the Alliance of the U.S. (and Canada), and the extension into the Cold War era of the trans-Atlantic lifelines thrown to Europe during both World Wars.

Yet among European publics in the post–Cold War present, NATO appears to be mostly about the United States

and its continued influence in Europe. Though it is an alliance based on mutual defense, with decisions reached by consensus of the biggest and the smallest member-states, NATO still translates as "American" in most European minds. This perception has its ramifications for European efforts to find the proper alignment between their defense posture as NATO members and their plans for a defense role for the European Union.

Despite NATO's wider horizon, Europe remains the Alliance's geopolitical epicenter.

The number of European uniforms visible at NATO's sole headquarters in North America, Allied Command Transformation (formerly SACLANT) in Norfolk, Va., was always minimal compared to the thousands of American and Canadian troops stationed in Europe. During the Cold War, of course, it was Europe that needed boots-on-the-ground protection against the Soviet Union. Now, despite NATO's wider horizon, Europe remains the Alliance's geopolitical epicenter.

Europe's attitude towards NATO is schizophrenic. On one hand, the Alliance provides strategic protection for European member-states and lessens their need to spend money on defense. The flip side is having to deal with American activism — whether nudging NATO's borders ever closer to Russia's sensitive frontiers, or taking NATO "out of area," all the way to Afghanistan. As David Calleo observed in the December 2008 *Foreign Service Journal* ("NATO's Future: Taking a Fresh Approach"), the "toolbox" strategy of using NATO as an intervention force risks transforming "a defensive European alliance into an instrument for American intrusions around the world."

Since the end of the Cold War some two decades ago, almost every NATO summit has been an excuse to rehash op-eds proclaiming "The End of NATO." The underlying disagreements usually pit the United States against the Europeans, but are almost always patched up to allow the alliance to carry on.

This is not to minimize what can be existential (in terms of NATO as an organization) questions. Does the North Atlantic-European quadrant of the globe still require a standing alliance in the face of a diminished threat from the East? As NATO expands to almost double the number of member-states it had during the Cold War, can its decisionmaking apparatus withstand the increasing difficulty of reaching consensus? And — for both Europeans and Americans — does an alliance dedicated solely to defense capture the growing complexity of relations between the world's largest trading partners and densest concentration of democracies?

Membership Means Something

After the Second World War, with the Cold War blasting its Siberian air on a ravaged Western Europe, the wartorn population greeted the creation of NATO in 1949 with relief. The postwar path of multilateral defense went hand in hand with cooperation in the economic sphere: the Marshall Plan and its successor, the Paris-based Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development; and the European Coal and Steel Community, the almost-forgotten precursor to today's European Union. There was strength in numbers.

In some sense, NATO is a victim of this success. European member-states — which also tend to belong to the E.U. — no longer see NATO as their primary institution of reference. Even in the collective security sphere, NATO's monopoly is over. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe has responsibilities for early warning, conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation, as well as a membership that truly extends from "Vancouver to Vladivostok."

But the OSCE — the largest regional security organization in the world — isn't a NATO competitor. With its 56-member council, including countries as different as Belarus and Belgium, OSCE is a convenient forum but not a defense alliance. NATO, with its potential membership list of 50 (the "Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council," which combines NATO's 26 members and its 24 partner countries, has been a way-station to member-

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ship), should be wary of going down a similar "talking shop" path.

NATO membership means something, as last summer's South Ossetia conflict powerfully reminded the world. In discussions throughout 2008 over Georgian accession hopes, both before and after Russia moved troops in August, NATO countries emphasized the Article 5 mutual defense clause. Peter Savodnik, writing in the January *Harper's*, posited the dilemma in an article titled "Georgian Roulette": "The question is whether NATO believes Georgia ... is worth defending." He cites Charles Elbinger of the Brookings Institution: "Let's assume that they had been admitted to NATO. Do we really believe that NATO would have come to their defense? I personally do not believe there's any stomach for a military confrontation with Russia." Savodnik believes that should NATO welcome Mikheil Saakashvili's Georgia, the Alliance "may not survive a second attack."

Underlying disagreements regularly pit Washington against the Europeans, but are almost always patched up to allow the alliance to carry on.

What Europeans Want

In the hierarchy of Europe's multilateral organizations, neither NATO, OSCE nor OECD attracts the most attention and funding. The European Union does. And the E.U. has its own alphabet soup of security-related processes (most can't be called institutions yet). Foremost among them is the Common Foreign and Security Policy, which is to dovetail with the European Security and Defense Identity within NATO.

How? That's what is rather confusing, especially to Europeans on the street. Wags point out that there *is* no common policy, nor individuals to lead it, as long as the

Lisbon Treaty remains unratified. Nor is there an identity for Europeans to assume. Nonetheless, the CFSP reflects a longstanding desire in European countries to have a foreign policy and a military force independent of — but not opposed to — NATO.

European nations can boast an impressive numerical tally: 27 armed forces, 10,000 tanks, around 2,500 combat aircraft, and almost two million soldiers — but with much overlap and redundancy. According to a July 2008 white paper published by the European Council on Foreign Relations, "Re-Energizing Europe's Security and Defense Policy" by Nick Witney, some "70 percent of Europe's land forces are unable to operate outside national territory." According to that study, one reason that the E.U.'s operational missions throughout the world remain limited in scope is that "the 5 percent of Europe's nearly two million men and women in uniform currently overseas is the maximum that obsolete military machines can sustain."

Until 2007, Witney headed the European Defense Agency, which attempts to "improve Europe's defense performance, by promoting coherence and a more integrated approach to capability development." EDA's goals may appear modest, but its attempts at coordination and efficiency among militaries that together consume one-quarter of the world's defense budgets can be made to bear fruit.

European member-states — which also tend to belong to the E.U. — no longer see NATO as their primary institution of reference.

France: Back in the NATO Fold?

Several important European countries share membership in NATO and the E.U., but among NATO's top powers, only France has formally separated its political and military participation. France was key to NATO's foundation, and until 1967 was the host to the organization's political headquarters in central Paris and military headquarters (SHAPE) in the Parisian suburbs. That all changed when President Charles de Gaulle, proclaiming France's independence in matters strategic, pulled out of the unified military command. Ever since, NATO has been headquartered in Belgium.

NATO's 60th-anniversary summit this month will be held in Strasbourg, the most European of French cities. Sitting on the Rhine, linked by bridges to Kehl, Germany (summit co-host), it houses such important institutions as the European Parliament, the Council of Europe and the European Court of Human Rights. It is also headquarters of EUROCORPS, which grandly proclaims itself "A Force for Europe and NATO" — consisting of earmarked troops from France, Germany, Spain, Poland, Belgium and Luxembourg.

Don't expect a return to Paris — NATO will stay in Brussels and SHAPE in Mons, Belgium — but the summit in Strasbourg will mark a turning point. French President Nicolas Sarkozy has promised to return his country to NATO's military command. In late January, NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer hinted at the impending decision: "I hope that Strasbourg might be the moment in which we can welcome France's move to take its full place again in NATO, particularly in the military structure."

Along the same lines, in early February Sarkozy and German Chancellor Angela Merkel co-authored a lengthy article that appeared in both *Le Monde* and the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, providing the context for what they present as a net plus for both NATO and the European Union. "NATO and the E.U., alliances founded on common values," wrote the French and German leaders, "take on increased importance" in the current context of global crises, the variety of which "requires a wider definition of security policy."

This joint declaration, coming as it did just prior to the annual Munich Security Conference and coordinated with leaks detailing France's NATO negotiations, sets the expected French reintegration squarely within the continuum of both European Union and bilateral Franco-German security cooperation. Observing that "the overwhelming majority of European nations have preferred joining NATO and the E.U.," the leaders underlined the near-universal appeal of both organizations. Both NATO and the E.U. form parts of a whole, which the French and German leaders call the "Euro-Atlantic security partnership."

Pres. Sarkozy's desire to rejoin NATO's unified military command shows that the club still has its attractions.

Sarkozy, who has already shown greater willingness to participate in NATO military operations, has also taken sometimes-unpopular (with French military and regional officials) decisions to rationalize France's sprawling defense establishment.

It may be that by having France "take its full place again in NATO," Sarkozy has made a calculation that collective security is a cost-effective way of dealing with constrained national defense budgets. Yet the relative lack of preparation of French public opinion for the reintegration into NATO's military command highlights Sarkozy's downplaying its importance domestically, where there is a tradition of anti-militarism in the Socialist Party opposition and proud independence among ruling UMP conservatives. Much depends on spin, and Sarkozy's (self)-satisfaction with the modest progress on E.U. defense during his 2008 presidency provides sufficient cover to present French rapprochement within NATO as a prudent measure whose time has come.

Despite cracks about "freedom fries," France's absence from NATO commands has been a net loss for the alliance.

NATO Expansion and Power Projection

Though Americans might scoff at French recalcitrance over the years, there has long been a realization in foreign policy and defense circles that France's absence from NATO commands was a net loss for the Alliance, and not just from an institutional perspective. France, with its worldwide territories and overseas "departments," has a navy that literally patrols the seven seas. Its army, though considerably downsized after the end of conscription in 2001, remains a force capable of power projection, whether independently or as part of E.U., NATO or United Nations operations.

Many Americans might recall "freedom fries" and Bush administration anger at France's opposition to the invasion of Iraq, but far fewer remember former President Jacques Chirac's commitment of combat troops to Afghanistan following the 9/11 attacks. That presence has been reinforced under Pres. Sarkozy, despite the highest number of French combat casualties since Lebanon in 1983.

Almost every NATO summit of the past 20 years has generated op-eds proclaiming "The End of NATO."

As one of Europe's most important military powers, what France does regarding NATO greatly influences the Alliance's European members. As NATO looks beyond its eastward expansion and undertakes more missions outside its traditional area, the French dimension will gain in importance.

Since the fall of the Soviet Union, NATO engagement with Eastern Europe has led it to admit many former Warsaw Pact members into its ranks. Future expansion rounds are proving more problematic, however. The gap between the United States and several European allies on this issue, already evident at the Bucharest Summit in April 2008, widened after fighting broke out between Russia and Georgia last August. In December, then-Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and her fellow foreign ministers put a Band-Aid on the divisions, using a face-saving construct to temporize on membership plans for two countries, Ukraine and Georgia, which Russia does not want to see join NATO.

Meanwhile, NATO has also been mindful of its southern flank. Before stepping down in 1995, former Secretary-General Willy Claes, who started NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue, warned about the dangers posed by Islamic fundamentalism. The Alliance has maintained the dialogue and added countries to its list of Mediterranean interlocutors, but it remains largely a forum for dialogue.

Apart from the odd op-ed calling for Israeli or Moroccan membership in the Europe-based organizations, there appears to be little support in Europe for dialogue to lead to accession. The European Union has its own Euro-Mediterranean Partnership; indeed, Pres. Sarkozy launched his 2008 E.U. presidency with a Paris summit proposing a "Union for the Mediterranean," an idea the European Parliament recently embraced as a worthy forum for conflict resolution.

For E.U. countries, the conceptual linkage (there is no formal one) between a country's joining NATO and its accession to the European Union is another area of concern. Turkey, originally brought into NATO to help shore up the southeastern flank against the USSR, has been knocking on the E.U. door for many years, watching increasingly impatiently as several former Warsaw Pact states have joined both organizations. Such proliferating expansion has caused considerable "enlargement fatigue" to set in. Within E.U. circles, the "widening" versus "deepening" theological debates ebb and flow, as they do at NATO.

The U.S.-E.U. Equation

At a January European Parliament "Study Day" on E.U.-U.S. collaboration after the election of President Barack Obama, Ronald Asmus, a Clinton administration deputy assistant secretary of State for European affairs who is now executive director of the German Marshall Fund's Brussels office, addressed the changes in American attitudes toward engagement with Europe. "Before, the U.S. wish list for Europe consisted of 70 percent NATO content and 30 percent E.U.," said Asmus. "Now the proportions are reversed."

In an Obama administration that has so far stressed American "smart power" over repeated recourse to military engagement with the world, the menu of topics to share with the European Union is richer than that which can be tackled in the NATO framework. Climate change, energy security, population and financial flows — all issues with "national security" implications, though out of place in a defense alliance — are natural topics in an enhanced European Union-United States dialogue.

Presidents Obama and Sarkozy and Chancellor Merkel appear to agree on this wider definition of mutual security. We are likely to hear repeated references to the notion of "complementarity" — the European term indicating comparative advantage in the appropriate institutional domain. To each its own: NATO for the 30 percent that is defense, and enhanced E.U.-U.S. coordination for that wider variety of transatlantic and global questions that constitute the remaining 70 percent.

In the "variable geometry" of European Union institu-

tions, the "Eurozone" includes the subset of member-states that have adopted the euro. The E.U.'s fledgling defense efforts are in similar need of "pioneer groups," as they are called — led by countries with comparative advantage in key defense areas. Just like the single currency and the "Schengen" mechanism governing external and internal borders, the E.U. may find its way to building on such initiatives by core member-states in the defense arena as EUROCORPS, and by the Union as a whole through the European Defense Agency.

Similarly, NATO's member-states have long claimed the right to opt in or opt out of myriad specialized agencies. This NATO version of variable geometry has meant that subgroups of countries can take the lead in areas of particular interest to their circumstances, whether in strategic fuel pipeline management, munitions development or others.

If NATO — an alliance of free-market democracies — did not already exist, wouldn't some trans-Atlantic visionaries try to invent it?

NATO prevents none of this from happening in the E.U., and indeed has everything to gain from coordinated, parallel efforts to streamline and rationalize military establishments. Nor does NATO's continued existence prevent enhanced U.S.-E.U. cooperation on the wide range of issues that fall outside the defense realm.

The Atlantic Alliance, cumbersome as some might find its requirement for consensus, affords Europeans and North Americans a unique tool for building on 60 years of common defense. In Brussels, the U.S. already has its seat at the figurative head of the table. If NATO — an alliance of free-market democracies — did not already exist, wouldn't some trans-Atlantic visionaries try to invent it? ■

ANSWERING THE HARD QUESTIONS

Jean Francois Podevin

NATO MUST RECOGNIZE THAT ITS CURRENT INTERNAL DIFFERENCES ARE REAL, AND THAT SURMOUNTING THEM WILL REQUIRE A SUSTAINED EFFORT.

BY JOSEPH R. WOOD

"Crisis in Trans-Atlantic Relations" has always been good for a headline and a conference title, and "Whither NATO?" has been a popular question for the Alliance since its founding. Indeed, crisis and doubt have been the recurring features over NATO's 60 years of existence. In the 1950s, the military structure of the Alliance developed through the years of the Korean War, the divisive Suez crisis and Sputnik; in the same decade, then-West Germany joined the Alliance. The 1960s saw continued tension over Berlin, changes in U.S. nu-

clear doctrine that carried major implications for the allies, and the withdrawal of France from NATO's military structure.

The 1970s brought Germany's Ostpolitik, an American internal loss of confidence after Vietnam, and the first decisions on the deployment of short- and medium-range nuclear missiles that rocked Europe. The 1980s saw President Ronald Reagan's "evil empire" speech and his declaration of intent to eliminate nuclear weapons — both disconcerting for the Allies, who found them surprising and unnerving. And 1989 brought the fall of the Berlin Wall.

NATO has survived and responded to past crises, even as it continued to agonize over its continued relevance.

What many considered NATO's raison d'etre, and certainly the proximate cause of its existence, ended soon afterward with the fall of the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union itself. Yet NATO survived and responded to crises in Bosnia and Kosovo, even as it continued to agonize over its continued relevance during the 1990s.

The beginning of the 21st century witnessed the 9/11 attacks and, in response, NATO's first invocation of the Article 5 mutual defense clause. Sidelined in Afghanistan at the outset of that war, the Alliance is now trying to see a way forward there in difficult and, some would say, deteriorating circumstances.

In this climate, it is worth recalling a passage from the 1967 Harmel Report, drafted mainly by representatives of some of NATO's smaller members and undertaken in response to an existential crisis. That report concluded: "The Alliance is a dynamic and vigorous organization which is constantly adapting itself to changing conditions. It has also shown that its future tasks can be handled within the terms of the treaty by building on the methods and procedures which have proved their value over many years. Since the North Atlantic Treaty was signed in 1949, the international situation has changed significantly and the political tasks of the Alliance have assumed a new dimension. … Although the disparity between the power of the United States and that of Europe remains, Europe has recovered and is on its way toward unity."

Four decades later, that assessment could be put almost verbatim into a communiqué for this year's anniversary summit in France and Germany. Despite persistent doubts about the organization's viability, NATO's successes are truly historic. Institutionally, it established and maintained reasonably robust procedures and standards for military planning and operations, despite barriers ranging from language differences to recent and longstanding animosities among its members. It also developed effective, if sometimes inefficient, means of political coordination on security matters.

As for specific challenges, NATO can point to the successful defense and extension of freedom in Europe throughout and after the Cold War; the management of the security aspects of the Balkan Wars of the 1990s; and the enlargement of the Alliance in ways that preserved NATO's functions while encouraging reform in new members.

That said, NATO does face some real difficulties that differ qualitatively, and perhaps decisively, from its earlier anxieties.

The Challenges of Afghanistan

It is common to hear that NATO "cannot fail in Afghanistan," because to do so would spell the end of the Alliance. If true, the allies have set for themselves daunting strategic and tactical goals on which to stake their collective future. Military victory in Afghanistan has proven an impossible task for foreign powers ranging from the British Empire to the Soviet Union. Both London and Moscow were willing to use harsh measures in pursuit of objectives less ambitious than what NATO is striving to achieve: safeguarding some form of representative government that rules centrally from Kabul. Yet both powers were eventually driven out of Afghanistan, and were weakened by their failures there.

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NATO's International Security Assistance Force is laboring in this intrinsically difficult territory under several extrinsic burdens. Its overall strategy and objectives have been unclear and difficult to explain to allied publics. Until recently, a divided chain of command reduced operational effectiveness.

Differences on aid programs, methods for dealing with poppy production, lack of coordination and other unresolved questions about political and economic development have all hindered the non-military aspects of NATO's efforts, so critical in a campaign like this one. And the United States, whose leadership was central to NATO at every stage of its military history, has been distracted by its simultaneous war in Iraq.

Initially sidelined in Afghanistan, the Alliance is now trying to find a way forward there under increasingly difficult circumstances.

But for those concerned about NATO's continued viability, the greatest internal problem has been the refusal of some allies to take on the same risks as others. The restrictions on ISAF operations imposed by such allies as Germany and Italy has, in effect, created a two-tier alliance, something military planners worked hard to avoid throughout the Cold War. This division is especially damaging because some of the allies with the smallest potential to contribute have nonetheless done so without reservations, while some with the greatest potential have opted out of the most difficult and dangerous operations.

The result has been not just resentment, but real questions about the very meaning of the term "alliance." When some members accept greater risk than others, questions inevitably arise as to what it means that an "an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all."

Certainly, Article 5 leaves latitude for each ally to determine its own appropriate response, and the war in Afghanistan was not undertaken as an Article 5 operation under NATO command. But the fact that NATO's most significant military operation has created ambiguity surrounding various allies' willingness to undertake dangerous missions, even against regimes as brutal as the Taliban, has a corrosive effect that may be lasting.

If the ISAF's difficulties in Afghanistan were simply a matter of the friction that attends coordination among 26 (soon to be 28) bureaucracies, the problems would be vexing but not catastrophic. Such problems of process and mechanics have always existed, and they have always slowed progress. Indeed, they are explainable as the "cost of doing business" through an organization that operates on the principle of consensus, reporting to capitals that are each accountable to pluralistic political systems.

The Danger of Divergence

But they are still messy, and that messiness can carry serious consequences. The problems of coordination in NATO's 1999 Kosovo campaign convinced some Bush administration officials that NATO could not be relied upon in actual conflict situations. Afghanistan, however, represents what may be a different level of difficulty and divergence.

Some governments — for example, the Netherlands, Great Britain and Canada (as well as many of the Central European allies) — have been able to sustain a commitment to the more dangerous work NATO has undertaken. Others, especially Germany and Italy, have not done so (though they have lost lives and expended treasure in their Afghan missions). The inability or unwillingness of those countries to commit to greater risk has transcended particular governments and operates even under avowedly pro-American leaders. That fact suggests that in those countries, at least, there are broad objections to taking on the more dangerous tasks of the war.

So Americans are entitled to wonder: If the Taliban regime and al-Qaida are not morally and practically worth opposing with military action, what enemy would qualify for united NATO action? Doubts on this score seem to suggest a basic divergence over what constitutes good and evil, and whether any regime is worth risking life to oppose.

Former German Ambassador to the United States Wolfgang Ischinger confirmed a gap in beliefs on this point, but took a more hopeful tone when reacting to

President Barack Obama's decision to close the detention facility at Guantanamo Bay within a year. Speaking in February Amb. Ischinger said, "The decision over Guantanamo is exceptionally important. It is about re-establishing the fundaments of the trans-Atlantic alliance. It is about restoring the moral values of the Enlightenment shared by the Europeans and the U.S. The U.S. has created a playing field which the Europeans should be determined to join in order to deal with foreign policy issues."

Although the ambassador did not specify which "Enlightenment values" he had in mind, he seemed to indicate that the differences between Europe and the United States at the most fundamental level can be limited to the Bush administration and to one salient issue, detainees and alleged torture. But other policy issues, as well as evidence of basic attitude differences, suggest the danger of divergence is broader.

NATO's greatest internal problem has been the refusal of some members to take on the same risks as others.

In April 2008, the allies agreed that Ukraine and Georgia will at some point be members of NATO. But at the behest of German Chancellor Angela Merkel, with support from French President Nicolas Sarkozy, the Alliance did not offer a Membership Action Plan to either country. Because MAP has, for the most recent candidates, been the standard path to eventual membership, the effect of this decision was clear: to forestall any prospect of NATO membership for Ukraine or Georgia in the near future.

NATO Enlargement

Berlin and Paris based their objections on the fact that neither Kyiv nor Tbilisi was ready for NATO mem-

bership. But none of the countries admitted during the post–Cold War enlargement of NATO were ready for the responsibilities of membership when they entered the MAP process. Indeed, MAP *presumes* that the candidate has work to do. Moreover, as the candidate nation takes on that work, it does not participate in the Article 5 commitment to mutual defense. There was thus no possibility that a different decision a year ago would have obliged Germany or any other ally to defend a country that was not ready to be a member, militarily or politically.

In April 2008, the Allies agreed that Ukraine and Georgia will at some point become members.

The real concern for Germany and France seems to have been Russian objections to even the possibility that Georgia and Ukraine might eventually become NATO members. Indeed, Amb. Ischinger himself noted, again in February, that "We have promoted NATO enlargement in a one-sided fashion and have tolerated the erosion of our relationship with Russia."

In line with such an approach, Chancellor Merkel declined a direct request by President George W. Bush to extend MAP to Ukraine and Georgia, a historic rejection of American leadership on a key issue. And in advocating closer attention to Russia, Amb. Ischinger and those who share his view seem more interested in taking a pragmatic approach to national interests than in upholding the "Enlightenment values" they cite regarding Guantanamo.

Purposes and Beliefs

This division about basic values and interests, and the relationship between the two, reflects serious differences within the Alliance. The United States and most of the allies, especially the newer members in Central Europe, believe that the extension of NATO's defensive alliance is not complete and that continued enlargement is not in conflict with Russia's legitimate security interests. But Germany and France (and Russia) have a different vision of the future geography of European security. This fundamental dichotomy will sharpen divergences in the willingness to take risks, raising questions about which responsibilities are shared, and which are not, within an alliance built on common values and a willingness to take on dangers and burdens for a larger cause.

For perhaps the first time in NATO's history, then, we may need to ask what happens to a military or security organization when fundamental purposes diverge. For the cases of Afghanistan and enlargement raise questions not of means to ends, but of the ends themselves. And beyond the issue of ends and purposes in Europe, broader global issues will pose a challenge for NATO in practical terms.

Even in the post–Cold War era, when the attention of U.S. policymakers has often turned in other directions, Europe's fundamental importance has remained sufficiently clear and strong to ensure the mutual and continued core relevance of each side of the Atlantic to the other. That situation may be changing. Many commentators have noted the extraordinary array of challenges the Obama administration faces as it approaches its first few months: Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran, North Korea and the broader Middle East all present immediate dangers. In the longer term, China is both a key economic partner and a potential regional challenger. Latin America, including Mexico, requires tending, and Africa needs continued assistance.

Given these challenges, there will be a real temptation for Washington to view European security with less urgency, just as many Europeans have feared would eventually happen. After all, if the largest nations in continental Europe are content to grant Russia the sphere of influence it seems to seek, American leaders may not want to expend valuable energy and time resisting that course. While this would be disappointing and dangerous for the newer allies in Central Europe, who have contributed much where the United States has asked, the burden will be on them and like-minded Western European nations to work to close policy gaps to manageable scales.

The greater risk, however, is that basic questions on beliefs and purposes go unanswered and fester, leaving NATO less able to take united decisions. Washington could find itself working on critical issues alongside a handful of allies, leaving the organization to attend to less controversial, and less important, issues. Like a self-fulfilling prophecy, fears of NATO's irrelevance could thus be realized.

Cause for Celebration

This year's 60th anniversary will, like all such milestones, prompt a new version of the old debate about

"Whither NATO?" Such questions are especially grave this year. The United States will find it much harder to cope with the global array of security issues it faces with a weakened trans-Atlantic security relationship; and Europe will find such a weakened relationship harmful to its project of economic and political integration. NATO members need to use this year to begin answering the hard questions that await its leaders at this month's summit.

The cases of Afghanistan and enlargement raise questions not of means to ends, but of the ends themselves.

Yet a future of irrelevance and ineffectiveness for NATO is far from inevitable. For the first time in more than 40 years, France will rejoin the Alliance's integrated military command structure, a step that could bring with it the resolution of difficult issues surrounding NATO's cooperation with the European Union. The allies may agree at this month's summit to launch a major strategic review, which could offer the opportunity to clarify the organization's purposes. And Moscow may continue to assert its interests in ways that force NATO to rally to the deterrence of aggression aimed at Central European allies.

NATO's many successes have come in a sustained atmosphere of crisis, characterized by differences among members about means and methods. Accordingly, any forecast of the Alliance's demise should be treated with more than a grain of historical salt. But the key to NATO's future will be a recognition that the differences facing the organization on its 60th anniversary are real, and that surmounting those differences will be more difficult and require a greater sustained effort than in the past. Europe and North America should make that effort the center of NATO's attention in April and beyond. ■

THE RUSSIA FACTOR

Jean Francois Podevin

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SUSTAINABLE, MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH MOSCOW REMAINS A MAJOR PIECE OF UNFINISHED BUSINESS FOR NATO.

BY PAUL FRITCH

Today's NATO bears little resemblance to the Alliance that emerged at the end of the Cold War. Then, many believed NATO was destined for the history books. The common threat posed by the Soviet bloc had vanished. Landmark arms control treaties slashed nuclear and conventional arsenals, and legislators wrangled over an elusive "peace dividend." In 1990, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe gathered the leaders of Europe and North America — of nations large and small, member-states of NATO and the Warsaw Pact as well as the non-

aligned — to declare an official end to the ideological division that defined the Cold War. The Charter of Paris for a New Europe (November 1990) proclaimed nothing less than "a new era of democracy, peace and unity."

Many well-informed observers on both sides of the Atlantic predicted that NATO would quickly be supplanted by commercial relations, the rise of "soft power" and a reinvigorated United Nations Security Council. Yet throughout the 1990s, two persistent realities would sustain, indeed increase, the need for the Alliance: the demand for an effective international structure to plan and execute multinational military operations (and the inability of other organizations to play this role); and the aspiration of the emerging democratic states to the east to join the Alliance, even as some on the inside were questioning its relevance.

Understanding of the continued operational need for NATO would come at a frightful cost. In the former Yugoslavia, long-suppressed ethnic tensions boiled over into violence, and the international community would see much blood spilled before turning to NATO as the only structure capable of restoring order and putting the region on the road to recovery. The Balkan experience would introduce NATO for the first time to "out of area" operations, and transform the Alliance from a static territorial defense pact to a much more flexible instrument of peacebuilding and crisis management.

Meanwhile, the Alliance's strategic decision to maintain an "open door" to membership for its neighbors, while linking NATO accession to demonstrable progress in military, economic and political reform, played a key role in managing a potentially dangerous period of transition and building a solid foundation for the peaceful, democratic development of Eastern Europe. For those not yet ready to join the Alliance, new forms of structured dialogue and practical cooperation were launched.

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The views expressed in the article are his own, and do not represent the official policy of the U.S. government, NATO or the OSCE.

An Elusive Partnership

So far, so good. But what of those who were not interested in joining NATO, and were unwilling to subject themselves to its political and military "standards"? What of those who were uncomfortable with NATO's new "expeditionary" role? What, in a word, of Russia?

In the early days of the post–Cold War period, NATO saw enlargement and NATO-Russia partnership as mutually reinforcing, equally important objectives. The Allies firmly rejected the notion of a Russian veto over membership decisions, but were willing to work with Moscow to address specific Russian concerns over the impact of NATO enlargement, including through providing assurances with regard to the Alliance's nuclear and conventional force posture. The 1997 NATO-Russia Founding Act established a standing forum for NATO-Russia consultation, as well as an ambitious common agenda and a number of specific commitments to military restraint. This political rapprochement was matched by impressive cooperation on the ground, in the form of Russian troops serving in the NATO-led peace support mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In fact, until 2003, Russia was the largest non-NATO troop contributor to NATO-led operations.

Yet the NATO-Russia relationship remained fragile. In 1999, the Kosovo crisis introduced the Alliance, just three years into its new peacebuilding role, to actual combat operations. As NATO crossed this Rubicon on the basis of a simple consensus of the North Atlantic Council rather than an explicit U.N. mandate, Moscow saw another important symbol of its great-power status — its Security Council veto — degraded. Russian representatives walked out of the NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council, and meaningful partnership seemed a distant prospect.

It was in this context that my own career on the NATO International Staff began. I did not know it then, but my first day of work at NATO headquarters — Sept. 10, 2001 — would be remembered by many as the last day of the "post–Cold War period."

NATO responded to the 9/11 terrorist attacks by invoking — for the first time ever — the collective defense provisions of the North Atlantic Treaty (Article 5). Within a year, NATO had launched its most ambitious military operation yet — the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan. Long-neglected elements of NATO's

"transformation agenda" received new life, as the Allies worked to revamp command structures and political decisionmaking processes, and to develop greater and more relevant capabilities. The rivalry with Moscow was suddenly overshadowed by common cause in the struggle against terrorism, and a far-reaching effort was launched to transform and intensify the NATO-Russia partnership (an effort that would keep me busy throughout my time in Brussels). The 2002 launch of the NATO-Russia Council led to the development of an impressive range of joint counterterrorism projects, as well as work toward longer-term goals such as joint NATO-Russia operations, and even joint work on missile defense.

Following 9/11, NATO's rivalry with Moscow was suddenly overshadowed by common cause in the struggle against terrorism.

Sadly, this spirit of transformation and renewal would not last. In the first months of 2003, the run-up to the war in Iraq opened deep divisions within the Alliance. Absent a consensus, NATO found itself on the sidelines, watching the crisis unfold. When the storm had passed, NATO needed desperately to demonstrate its ability to reach meaningful consensus internally. It needed to prove its operational viability as an alternative to the ad hoc U.S.-led "coalitions of the willing" that had conducted the operation in Iraq, and borne the brunt of the fighting in Afghanistan. Ambitious efforts to transform NATO's capabilities and partnerships (including the partnership with Russia) necessarily took a back seat. And while the atmosphere of the trans-Atlantic relationship has improved substantially since those days, the challenge of developing a coherent partnership strategy tailored to NATO's 21st-century needs remains largely unmet.

Recent efforts to reform NATO's external relationships — notably the "Istanbul Cooperation Initiative" and more recent upgrades to NATO's partnerships with Ukraine and Georgia — have been limited in scope and met with mixed results. What's more, they have often run at cross-purposes. Closer relations with some partners have come at the expense of relations with others, with no overall sense of priorities. Existing partnerships like the NATO-Russia Council, stripped of strong, sustained political will, have turned downright frosty. Unlike Kosovo in 1999, the Iraq War did not trigger a crisis between NATO and Russia. But it did severely weaken the Alliance's ability to invest energy and creativity in its partnership with Russia, while Washington's near-exclusive focus on Iraq and Afghanistan over the past several years allowed difficult issues (such as the unresolved conflicts in Georgia, Transnistria and Nagorno-Karabakh) to fester. If the 1999 break in relations with Russia was the result of a Kosovo-inspired explosion, the 2008 variety capped a period of prolonged neglect.

A New Hope

What does this mean as President Barack Obama prepares to make his debut on the NATO stage?

Of course, NATO must take decisive steps to ensure success in Afghanistan. It must ensure that intensification of U.S. engagement is not accompanied by a quiet drawdown of Allied forces that have thus far helped to shoulder this heavy burden. It should seek greater cohesiveness among its forces by reducing — ideally eliminating — caveats on the use of national contingents. And it should insist on concrete, measurable steps by the Afghan authorities themselves to move toward more transparent, more effective governance.

But if these efforts are to bear fruit over the long term, the 60th-anniversary summit must also seek to put NATO's partnerships — and particularly its relationship with Russia — on a more sustainable footing. To succeed in Afghanistan, NATO will need the active support of the country's neighbors in Central Asia. To maintain that support, the Alliance will need to keep its relations with Russia, which remains a dominant presence in the region and can itself offer substantial assistance to ISAF, on a positive track.

More broadly, NATO needs to muster the political courage to pose honest (if difficult) questions about the basic assumptions that underpin its partnership efforts. The past eight months have brought two sobering reminders of the limits of NATO's power — the August 2008 Russo-Georgian war in the Caucasus and the January 2009 Russo-Ukrainian gas dispute. Both crises posed serious challenges to the security of Europe, and in both cases, the Alliance's "hard power" toolbox was useless. NATO could not stop the shooting in South Ossetia, or return displaced Georgians to their homes. It could not ensure that homes in Slovakia would remain warm through the winter, or

keep Bulgaria's factories running.

The development of a sustainable, mutually beneficial relationship with Russia — which conceivably could help address these challenges — remains one of the most vital pieces of unfinished business on NATO's post–Cold War "to do" list. Yet too often the Alliance's instinctive reaction to any crisis in that and other relationships has been to restrict, rather than intensify, engagement. The August 2008 declaration that there would be "no business as usual" with Russia in the context of last summer's crisis in the Caucasus did little beyond depriving the Allies of an important forum in which to voice concerns over Russian actions. It complicated efforts to strengthen NATO-Russia cooperation on Afghanistan, and led (indirectly) to a more difficult operating environment for U.S. and NATO forces in Central Asia. Restoration of NATO-Russia ties was inevitable, and is already under way. In the months to come, the Allies would do well to take steps to ensure that this key partnership functions in good times and in bad, and that rhetoric does not outstrip the will to act.

Article 5 in Perspective

Such an effort will not be easy, particularly since the recent trend has been toward a more confrontational approach. The upcoming summit has prompted calls from many quarters for revisiting NATO's 10-year-old Strategic Concept, to place greater emphasis on the "core business" of Article 5 territorial defense (and, by implication, less on both crisis management and partnership). This was clearly evident the last time NATO's leaders met, in April 2008 in Bucharest. They proclaimed a strong collective defense "the core purpose of our Alliance and … our most important security task" (in contrast to the Strategic Concept itself, which puts "deterrence and defense" on an equal footing with security, consultation, crisis management and partnership).

The current penchant for Article 5 has many causes. Some would like to upgrade terrorism, currently classified as a mere subject of "consultation," to an Article 5 threat. Turkey was unnerved by the slow Allied response to its request for Patriot anti-missile batteries in the run-up to the

2003 Iraq War, and would like to see greater "automaticity" in Article 5 contingencies. In Central and Eastern Europe, some newer Allies want to reassure their publics in the context of an increasingly assertive Russia. Given these mixed motives, NATO should tread carefully in this area, avoiding symbolic steps that will have little military value, but might exacerbate further already difficult relations with Russia.

To succeed in Afghanistan, NATO will need the active support of Kabul's neighbors, and of Russia.

As the Alliance enters its seventh decade, it must decide whether the current mix of practical programs and geographic pigeonholes that characterize its partnership arrangements is appropriate to today's world — a world where NATO needs its partners at least as much as those partners need the Alliance. It must consider carefully the particular challenges inherent in offering a membership prospect to aspirants like Georgia and Ukraine, and whether adjustments need to be made to the tools and pace of the enlargement process. NATO must maintain a "helicopter view" of how individual decisions fit together, and how they affect the broader security environment in which NATO must operate. How would Ukraine's NATO membership, for example, affect the Russian Black Sea Fleet in Sevastopol, or current intelligence- and technology-sharing agreements between Moscow and Kyiv? Can Russian concerns about eventual NATO military bases in the Caucasus be addressed through arms control mechanisms? More forthcoming answers to such questions, accompanied by more energetic efforts to develop joint NATO-Russia capabilities and operations, could help break the current deadlock, producing a win-win-win scenario for NATO, aspirants and Russia.

NATO must also acknowledge that the Alliance itself cannot operate in a vacuum — in executing its operations and in promoting its partnership goals, NATO and its member states can and should work more closely with (and through) the U.N., the E.U., the OSCE and other institutional frameworks. Strengthened cooperation with the E.U., in particular, could enhance the effectiveness of both organizations, eliminating wasteful duplication of effort. It could also keep "soft" security issues like energy on the agenda, and make key European allies more amenable to moving past outdated geographic and substantive taboos that inhibit NATO's ability to adapt to global challenges. And it could help promote a more coherent Western vision of where Russia can and should fit into the Euro-Atlantic security landscape. Some steps have been taken in this regard, but much more remains to be done.

The Importance of the OSCE

The other "external" process that deserves NATO's urgent attention is the rejuvenation of the OSCE as a forum for serious engagement with Russia and other partners. Last December in Helsinki, responding to an initiative by President Dmitry Medvedev, OSCE foreign ministers held an initial debate on the future of European security. NATO welcomed this process, declaring that "Allies are open to dialogue within the OSCE on security perceptions and how to respond to new threats."

If Russia's intent was to focus such a debate on urgent issues of "hard" politico-military security, for the overwhelming majority of the 50 ministers who took part the Helsinki debate represented a rediscovery of the OSCE's signature concept of comprehensive, multidimensional security. Under this concept, security is rooted not only in politico-military transparency, but also in economic opportunity, effective democratic governance and the dignity of the individual. The concept was ahead of its time in 1975, when the Helsinki Final Act was agreed, and it remains sharply relevant today, as President Obama and Secretary Clinton work to reinvigorate U.S. moral, as well as political, leadership. In the cross-dimensional currency of the OSCE, deepened U.S. and NATO engagement in shoring up the foundations of military transparency and predictability (for instance, by working with Russia to revive the moribund CFE Treaty and to address Moscow's concerns about U.S. missile defense plans) can build leverage to promote progress on U.S. priorities in the economic (e.g., energy) and human dimensions.

To borrow a phrase from the president's inaugural address, the U.S. and its allies should "reject as false the choice between our safety and our ideals." Isolating Russia in the name of defending our values will achieve little. But deeper engagement in the Nato-Russia Council and in the OSCE will greatly enhance our ability to help ordinary people, from Georgia to Afghanistan to Russia itself, live in freedom and dignity. Washington should see a revitalized NATO and a reanimated OSCE as two pillars of a single, coherent European and global security strategy. ■

When an FS Spouse Comes "Home": A Study

Re-entry to the U.S. after living overseas involves adjustments that are not always easy. This study identifies some of the fault lines between success and failure.

By Sharon Maybarduk

I remember being a young Foreign Service spouse new to Washington, D.C., driving an old rented car on a blustery winter's day. Lost in a city I did not know, I tried to soothe a 3-year-old who was pleading, "Mommy, I want to go home." Home, I thought; that's what we're trying to find. But home was hundreds of miles away in a sun-drenched paradise that nobody here seemed to care about. I felt very alone.

I did not understand it then, but I was going through a difficult, but normal, process of re-entry. The return to the U.S. on reassignment for a period of one year or longer after living and working overseas is part of the Foreign Service lifestyle. Fifty years of published research among non-State Department populations has shown that re-entry problems — difficulties readjusting to one's home culture after living abroad for an extended period of time — are shared by many sojourners across occupational groups and cultures. These can range from a mild sense of not fitting into the home environment to more serious and longer-lasting emotional difficulties that may require outside professional help.

Previous academic research on re-entry, primarily in the fields of education and psychology, has been conducted mainly on individuals assigned overseas as business managers, volunteers, teachers or students. But there has been little research on accompanying spouses. This fact inspired my own effort to identify factors associated with the re-entry adjustment of Foreign Service spouses, as representative of a population of accompanying spouses.

The Study of Culture Shock

Historically, an understanding of re-entry adjustment rose out of the study of culture shock — the problems of adapting to life in a foreign culture — after World War II, when government-sponsored international exchange programs came into prominence. In 1955, a long-term study of Norwegian Fulbright scholars who taught and studied in the U.S. found that not only did the scholars suffer from culture shock in adjusting to life in the U.S. but, quite unexpectedly, they also exhibited problems readjusting to their home culture upon return. This phenomenon of re-entry was referred to as "reverse culture shock."

With further study, distinctions between culture shock and reverse culture shock began to appear. Though both phenomena are reactions to cultural change and both represent stages of accommodation to this change, some aspects of reverse culture shock appeared fundamentally different. Those differences, first posited in 1981 by Nancy J. Adler, a professor of organizational behavior at McGill University, have to do with expectations.

Sojourners returning home to their native culture do not expect anything to be unfamiliar, though they had such expectations of the foreign culture when they went overseas.

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This article is based on her master's thesis, "An Exploration of Factors Associated with Re-Entry Adjustment of Foreign Service Spouses."

They may also not expect changes in themselves after living and working overseas. Further, families and friends generally do not expect the travelers to have changed, and may show little interest in the overseas experiences of those returning. Returnees are thus set up for a clash between expectations — their own and others' — and experience.

Repatriation has come to be understood as the return of "a stranger to a strange land." The result can be varying degrees of feeling lost or not fitting in, short- or long-term loneliness, isolation and even depression. This can affect not only the emotional well-being of the individual, but also the family. According to social work's family systems thinking, which views the family as a dynamic interacting unit, what affects one member affects the other members as well. As such, re-entry symptoms in the spouse can affect everyone in the family unit and their interactions at home, as well as at school and in the workplace.

I learned about this issue the hard way. My first re-entry, with a 3-year-old child and another on the way, was the most difficult. In fact, a stress test taken at the time put me, the test administrator said, "way over the top." The second return was not as hard for me personally, but my middle-school sons were "way over the top" trying to fit in. The third time, with children in late high school and early college, was the easiest for the entire family.

Experience-Based Research

These experiences motivated my choice of re-entry as a thesis topic while I was a student at the Smith College School for Social Work. I wanted a better understanding of the conditions and the factors that influence the readjustment of spouses.

My proposal to the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide to conduct a study among its membership was approved by the board of directors. (I did not seek a sample within the State Department due to the lengthy and uncertain approval process involved.) The 10-page questionnaire I sent to 580 active AAFSW members, including all Foreign Service spouses who were not current U.S. government employees, produced a 158-person sample, more than adequate for meaningful statistical analysis of the results.

Repatriation has come to be understood as the return of "a stranger to a strange land."

I chose four areas of exploration: demographics, characteristics of the spouses' last overseas assignments and last re-entries, and any changes in their cultural (American) identity after living overseas. My aim was to identify factors in each of these areas associated with spousal re-entry adjustments so as to be able to provide preventive information useful to spouses and those working with them overseas and at home.

The data analysis had two parts. The first was descriptive in nature, providing demographic, overseas and re-entry information about the sample. The second part, measured by the Homecomer Culture Shock Scale designed in 1988 by Jeffrey Fray of the University of Tennessee, looked for relationships between factors and each spouse's re-entry adjustment. Both parts could provide valuable information for the continuing development of programs to address the needs of FS spouses. A third set of results consisted of the spouses' own short-answer reflections on their last experience.

Study Results

The descriptive results provide an interesting overview of a group of Foreign Service spouses who are not normally tracked by the State Department due to privacy concerns. Though certainly older, on average, than the spouses of active-duty FSOs, the sample accurately reflected the range of experience of accompanying spouses. Seventeen percent were foreign-born and another 9 percent were U.S. citizens raised internationally. Eighty-six percent had a college education or higher; of these, nearly 44 percent had postgraduate degrees.

As a group, they were married to an FSO for an average of 26 years and had 2.32 children per spouse, nearly the same as the U.S. national average. At the time of the study, 40 percent were working full-time, 30 percent were volunteering, 20 percent were working part-time and volunteering, and 10 percent were retired. Most spouses appeared content with their last overseas assignment and reported that their participation in activities had been high (though their interaction with embassy personnel and formation of friendships within the U.S. embassy community were both low).

More than half were employed at least part-time at their last assignment; of those, more than three-quarters were completely or mostly satisfied with their work. Eighty percent had volunteered at their last overseas post and reported high satisfaction with that work — an indication that the Family Liaison Office initiative to extend employment and volunteer opportunities for spouses overseas is working.

At the time of their last re-entry, most spouses (80 percent) had had previous returns, while for 20 percent it was their first experience. More than 50 percent had been back for more than 10 years, while 25 percent had been back for three years or less. One-half had young children and adolescents at the time of re-entry, and the

other half had children who were college age or beyond. After their return to the U.S. most spouses quickly became involved in their new lives, with two-thirds locating employment or volunteer work within the first six months.

Findings: Expected and Unexpected

The sample's overall score on the Homecomer Culture Shock Scale was in the low to moderate range (36 on a scale from 20 to 100), showing that the level of re-entry adjustment problems for this group during their last experience was relatively low. Though I had not expected this score to be high, it was even lower than anticipated.

For most spouses, re-entry did not appear difficult. However, for approximately 20 percent of the sample, the process was more onerous, as shown by scores ranging from 50 to 96 on the HCSS. Statistical analysis was used to identify the characteristics of those who had more and those who had less difficulty, respectively.

In an interesting and surprising finding, foreign-born spouses did not report significantly more re-entry difficulty than U.S.-born spouses.

The statistical results showed that age, the number of years married to the FSO, and the number and ages of their children were strong factors in the spouses' level of re-entry adjustment difficulty. Specifically, spouses who were younger (in their 20s to 40s) reported greater distress than those who were 50 years old or more. Similarly, spouses who had been married for shorter periods of time (under 10 years) showed more re-entry culture shock than those who had been married longer.

Spouses with young children reported more difficulties than those with older children. The number of children in the family was also associated with re-entry problems — those with fewer than three children had more distress than those with three or more children.

These findings struck a personal chord, as they were similar to my own experience, but why should it be so? The answer may be that accompanying spouses are more often the family caretakers. And in this role spouses

who are younger, married for shorter periods of time, are more likely to have fewer and younger children and, as a result, tend to be more isolated than spouses with older children.

In an interesting and surprising finding, foreign-born spouses did not report significantly more re-entry difficulty than U.S.-born spouses. Though they did exhibit distress, their levels were statistically similar to those of U.S.-born spouses. This result was unexpected, as anecdotal evidence suggests that foreign-born spouses would have a more difficult time when assigned to the U.S. because it is not "coming home."

One possible explanation for this result could be that foreign-born spouses view a return to the U.S. as they would another foreign assignment. From this perspective, they are better prepared to manage coming to the U.S. as "strangers in a strange land" than U.S.-born spouses, who are strangers in a land that is supposed to be familiar.

Another important finding showed that spouses whose return was more difficult than they had expected experienced more readjustment difficulty. This has been shown in previous research as a discrepancy between the expectations of returning home and the actual experience. Also, spouses who had been in the U.S. for less than two years were shown to have a higher incidence of re-entry problems than those who had been in the U.S. longer. This is consistent with previous research showing that symptoms are usually highest in the first six to 12 months after re-entry and abate with time.

Changing Perspectives, Interesting Links

The statistical results also showed a link between two overseas factors and re-entry adjustment. First, spouses who participated more in a range of activities overseas (whether embassy, expatriate or local national) were found to have fewer re-entry problems than those who participated less in such activities. This result appeared to make sense, as participation indicates less isolation and those who are less isolated overseas may tend to be less isolated at home, as well.

The Foreign Service lifestyle has many pros and cons, but the best and most challenging aspects are the friendships made and then left behind.

Another unexpected finding was that participation in U.S. embassy activities and interactions reduced re-entry distress more than participation in expatriate or local national activities. This was particularly interesting because becoming involved outside the embassy is viewed positively in the Foreign Service. This result shows another side to overseas cultural involvement or "going native," which may be an increased sense of not fitting in when returning home.

In fact, a change in cultural identity from an American perspective to more of a host-country perspective (or simply to a less American perspective) had a high statistical association with re-entry distress. Eventually, after several months back in the States, spouses resume a more American orientation. But nearly all (95 percent) reported that some changes remained, as they maintained a more international perspective.

A most interesting and surprising finding was that spouses who obtained re-entry information *after* their return experienced more problems than those who did not receive such information at all. This finding at first appears counterintuitive. However, it could mean that spouses who sought help after returning home were already displaying significant re-entry distress, and by that point information itself could not alleviate their symptoms. These spouses may have needed more intervention.

Some Major Points

In responses to two short-answer questions, the spouses described their most recent re-entry experience. The following major points emerged:

• The first re-entry is the most difficult; later episodes are less so.

• The challenge in later re-entries is dealing with family members' adjustment, including children acclimating to new schools and friends and the employee spouse adjusting to a more bureaucratic environment. As one spouse described it: "Coping with my husband's 'hard landing' and depression for nine months was very stressful, as was getting children oriented and on track."

• The Foreign Service lifestyle has many pros and cons, but the best and most challenging aspects are the friendships made and then left behind.

• Returning home to retire is also a challenge. Retiree spouses noted some painful losses after an active Foreign Service lifestyle and felt, as one spouse put it, "left out in the cold by the department."

• Spouses who were assigned to other U.S. locations upon re-entry also showed high levels of distress. One spouse stated, "We were thrown into an unknown city (not Washington, D.C.) without any help. It is extremely expensive. I feel very lonely and want to leave as soon as possible."

The second question asked spouses to suggest ways the Department of State could further assist with re-entry. There were two major themes to their responses:

• Counseling and additional support resources should be made available for spouses and families in distress to manage and regain control of their lives.

• More information and resources about re-entry should be made available, and spouses need to know how to access it. One spouse, a former FLO employee, stated: "Overseas posts should do a better job of publicizing the information available and emphasizing the importance of preparing for re-entry."

Conclusions

My study showed that re-entry problems were low to moderate for this sample of accompanying spouses overall — but their frequency was actually much higher when just younger spouses were considered. Further, as spouses of active-duty FS employees would almost certainly be younger, on average, than this sample of AAFSW members, it is likely that more re-entry distress exists than is indicated by this study. To confirm this, I recommend a similar study be conducted among active-duty accompanying spouses during their first six months after return.

The results reported here identify the main factors associated with re-entry distress. Young spouses married for less than 10 years, and particularly those with young children and fewer children, have a higher rate of symptoms after return. Spouses who participate less in activities overseas, especially events and relationships with other U.S. embassy personnel and families, also have greater difficulty with re-entry. Spouses who have been in re-entry for a shorter period of time, as well as those who did not expect to have difficulties, also show a greater likelihood of having problems.

Most notable among the unanticipated findings was the refutation of the traditional belief that foreign-born spouses have greater difficulty during re-entry than U.S.-born spouses. Another unexpected result was the link between involvement in the American embassy community overseas and a reduction in re-entry distress.

The State Department, through the Family Liaison Office and Community Liaison Offices, can utilize these findings to help identify Foreign Service spouses who may be more susceptible to re-entry problems. The study indicated that more intervention prior to re-entry, while spouses are still overseas, would be beneficial.

FLO has done an outstanding job supporting spouses and families, especially with the new employment and training initiatives overseas and in the U.S. But as this report shows, re-entry remains an issue in need of more attention. ■

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ANNUAL HOMECOMING FOR RETIREES MAY 1

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AFSA welcomes all State Department retirees to the annual homecoming event, Foreign Affairs Day, on May 1. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton will deliver the keynote address.

The AFSA Memorial Plaque ceremony takes place during Foreign Affairs Day to honor those Foreign Service personnel who have lost their lives while serving their country abroad.

As part of AFSA's effort to add names that have been overlooked, three "older" names will be unveiled during this year's ceremony: Edmund Roberts (1784-1836), a special envoy sent by President Andrew Jackson to negotiate a treaty with Japan, who died of dysentery in Macau while en route; Thomas W. Waldron (1814-1844), the first U.S. consul in Hong Kong, who died of cholera while visiting Macau; and Felix Russell Engdahl (1907-1942), U.S. consul in Shanghai, who died in a Japanese internment camp.

The ceremony will be held at the site of the Memorial Plaques in the State Department's C Street lobby.

Foreign Affairs Day invitations were mailed out in early March. If you haven't received yours yet, please e-mail the following information to foreignaffairsday@state.gov: last name, first name, retirement date, whether you are Civil Service or Foreign Service, street address, phone number and e-mail address.

All State Department retirees are cordially invited to a reception hosted by AFSA from 3 to 5 p.m. at the newly renovated AFSA headquarters, 2101 E Street NW, across from the department. There will be a hosted bar and a scholarship ceremony. Please stop by to reconnect with colleagues and catch up on the latest Foreign Service news. ❑

OVERSEAS POSTS RECEIVE FUNDING FOR LIBRARIES

Professional Development Initiative: Pilot Phase Complete

AFSA successfully completed the pilot phase of its Professional Development Initiative with the final approval of a total of $5,000 in grants to 47 Foreign Service missions. These grants have been used at each post to create the nucleus of a Professional Reading Library to be maintained permanently. The funding, which was provided by the Una Chapman Cox Foundation, was disbursed to the State Department's Ralph J. Bunche Library and to the following posts:

- EUR: Adana, Athens, Belgrade, Bucharest, Frankfurt, Geneva, Kyiv, Lisbon, London, Moscow, Naples, Oslo, Rome, Valletta, Zagreb
- AF: Abidjan, Accra, Asmara, Lilongwe, Lusaka, Nairobi, Niamey, Ouagadougou, Praia
- WHA: Bogota, Buenos Aires, Caracas, Ciudad Juarez, Hermosillo, Merida, Monterrey, Montreal, Panama
- EAP: Guangzhou, Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, Hong Kong, Jakarta, Rangoon
- NEA: Cairo, Doha, Muscat, Rabat, Sana'a
- SA: Chennai, Hyderabad, Karachi

Each post matched AFSA's $100 grant with at least an equal amount. The funds were used to purchase books featured on the Foreign Affairs Professional Reading List that AFSA President John Naland and Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs William Burns co-sponsored in June 2008. That reading list is a key resource for career-long, self-directed professional development for employees of the foreign affairs agencies. It can be viewed on AFSA's Web site at www.afsa.org/readinglist.cfm and is also on the State Department's intranet site. Since it was posted, the list has been one of the most visited pages on both of those sites, with a combined total of more than 11,000 page views.

The 47 overseas posts that applied for AFSA cofunding are now using the books that they purchased in their local Professional Development Discussion Groups (book clubs). Collectively, the 47 book clubs have 507 members. One group recently reported, "Our club meets monthly and we read roughly one book every two to three months."

Continued on page 43

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

Transition Center Schedule of Courses for April 2009

April 3	High Stress Assignment Outbrief (MQ950)
April 4	Transition to Washington for Foreign-Born Spouses (MQ302)
April 13-14	Security Overseas Seminar (MQ911)
April 15	Traveling with Pets (MQ855)
April 18	Protocol (MQ116)
April 20-21	Security Overseas Seminar (MQ911)
April 22	Personal Finances and Investments (MQ852)
April 25	Singles in the Foreign Service (MQ203)
April 25	Communicating Across Cultures (MQ802)
April 27-30	Retirement Planning Seminar (RV101)
April 29	Safe Overseas Home (MQ916)
April 29	Developing Virtual Job Opportunities

To register or for further information, contact the FSI Transition Center by telephone at (703) 302-7268 or -7269, or by e-mail at FSITCTraining@state.gov.

Support the AFSA Scholarship Fund!

By now, AFSA members should have received our annual appeal asking you to support the AFSA Scholarship Fund. Your donated dollars provide need-based, undergraduate financial aid scholarships and high school senior merit awards to Foreign Service children. With the continuing economic downturn, AFSA has received a record number of scholarship and financial aid applications for the 2009-2010 school year. Please be as generous as you can when making your donation.

Recent Donations to AFSA Scholarship Fund

Thank you to our generous donors for the following AFSA Scholarship Fund contributions.

• In December 2008, Mr. Norton Bell, a program attendee at a 2007 Elderhostel Program on the Foreign Service who established a scholarship in his name, donated the 2008 distribution from his Individual Retirement Account to further fund this scholarship.

• In January, through a bequest, Mr. Arthur R. Dornheim's estate distributed $1,000 to the AFSA Scholarship Fund. AFSA will use this gift to provide a need-based Financial Aid Scholarship. Mr. Dornheim was an AFSA-member retiree who passed away in 2008.

• In March, the Foreign Service Retiree Association of New Mexico disbanded and donated the remaining monies in its bank account to the AFSA Scholarship Fund. Thanks to Dr. Austin Moede and Ms. Lesley Mortimer for coordinating this gift.

Gift to the Fallen Diplomats Campaign

In December 2008, 70 students who comprised the 139th A-100 Officer Generalist Training Class donated $1,267 to the Fallen Diplomats Campaign administered by the Federal Employee Education and Assistance Fund (www.feea.org), which matches any gift by 100 percent. This donation and others like it, such as the $37,500 AFSA Scholarship Fund gift made to FEEA in June 2008, are used to provide college scholarships to children who lost a diplomatic parent to terrorism between 1988 and 2003.

This gift comprised the "leftover" monies collected, but not used, for the class' administrative training expenses. The 139th class was sworn in on July 27, 2008, and about 42 of the 70 individuals are currently assigned overseas. Timothy Swett coordinated this gift.

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V.P. VOICE: **STATE** ■ BY STEVE KASHKETT

All Eyes on Her

Judging from the wildly enthusiastic reception that the employees of the Department of State gave to our new boss upon her arrival in "The Building" on Jan. 22, there can be no doubt that expectations of Secretary of State Hillary Clinton are running high.

We in the Foreign Service know better than anyone how much work this Secretary has ahead of her in repairing our country's relationships around the world, and in restoring American diplomacy and leadership. We are keenly aware that her substantive to-do list is quite long. It includes extricating us from two protracted wars and resolving serious conflicts in multiple regions. It encompasses finding common ground with allies on strategies for dealing with terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, global climate change and the worldwide economic crisis. And it requires undertaking a major repair job on the image of the United States. We also know how much unfinished business this Secretary inherited from her predecessor. So her plate is full on the policy side.

But at the same time, we fervently hope that Secretary Clinton will embrace the management side of her job description as well. She has assumed responsibility for one of the most important departments of the U.S. government, whose thousands of employees have suffered serious neglect for years. The dedicated professionals of the U.S. Foreign Service assigned to our embassies and consulates all over the world face unique, unprecedented challenges, many of which place burdens on our careers and our families that other federal employees never encounter.

By the time this column appears in print, we at AFSA will have had our first meeting with the new Secretary and will have set forth our suggestions for an ambitious management agenda for her. Our overall message is that Sec. Clinton has a historic opportunity to fix problems and right wrongs that have plagued our diplomatic service for decades.

We will impress upon the Secretary that her management agenda is also lengthy. For example, there is simply no reason Foreign Service employees assigned overseas should continue to be deprived of the basic locality pay that all other federal employees receive — and to see that pay gap widen every year until Congress and the administration act to correct it. It is unconscionable that our nation's military and intelligence budgets continue to dwarf our budget for diplomacy on a scale unseen in any other country, and that our embassies and consulates are understaffed and strapped for resources.

We hope to persuade Sec. Clinton to work with AFSA to restructure the Foreign Service assignment and promotion systems, placing the highest value on leadership skills, regional and country-specific expertise, and diplomatic accomplishment — not just on willingness to serve in hardship posts.

Sec. Clinton has a historic opportunity to fix problems and right wrongs that have plagued our diplomatic service for decades.

We will encourage her to collaborate with AFSA in modernizing — and humanizing — the Foreign Service career to take account of the personal and family needs of its members who are spending much of their lives in difficult and dangerous overseas locales. She will surely agree that we cannot continue to have a Foreign Service where family members find most work opportunities blocked, domestic partners who accompany our diplomats abroad have no official status, and pregnant employees must exhaust all of their vacation leave to cover a three-month mandatory evacuation for childbirth, and whose regulations are too rigid to accommodate loyal employees who need a bit of flexibility in order to deal with a medical disability, a dying parent, a sick child or any of the other family crises that happen to people in the real world.

Addressing these management challenges is not just vital for the people who serve our country overseas, but for the health of our nation's foreign policy.

With a Democrat in the White House and Democratic leadership in both houses of Congress, Sec. Clinton can play the decisive role in ending these disparities once and for all.

Responding to the feedback and suggestions from thousands of our members in recent years, AFSA can provide a long list of concrete proposals. If Sec. Clinton is willing to give an open hearing to these ideas and to devote some of her time, her formidable intellect and her political energy to implementing them, she might well go into the history books as the Secretary of State who brought the Foreign Service into the 21st century. ❑

V.P. VOICE: **RETIREE** ■ BY ROBERT W. "BILL" FARRAND

Laws Can Change; So Can Your Benefits

Lost in thought as I crawled in traffic behind a D.C. city bus, my eyes came to rest on an advertisement plastered across its back panel: "Laws can change. So can your pension. Join the National Association of Retired Federal Employees."

As the words sunk in, I snapped out of my reverie. The point was clear: we need to be reminded of just how vulnerable retirement benefits could become in these tough economic times. While I do not believe pensions will be significantly affected, I do think other benefits might come under pressure as our government looks for ways to trim costs.

AFSA is the only organization devoted to looking after the benefits and rights of Foreign Service members and their families, and its strength flows from numbers.

When I talk to the roughly 7,000 Foreign Service annuitants who are not AFSA members, I explain that AFSA is the only organization devoted to looking after the benefits and rights of Foreign Service members and their families, and that its strength flows from numbers. This is what impels AFSA to work with organizations like NARFE, the Military Officers Association of America, and a federation of dozens of similar organizations known as the FAIR Coalition. By combining resources, we can stay abreast of legislative changes that might adversely affect member interests. Our objective is to protect members' (and non-members') backs by being alert to threats to retiree benefits, as well as to opportunities for improving those benefits.

Incidentally, I just renewed my NARFE membership.

In other retiree news, AFSA is proactively engaging with the State Department's new management. One retiree issue that has long been an AFSA priority is to remove the restrictions on folks serving under the category of "While Actually Employed," to enable the State Department to use longer — and less disruptive — deployments of skilled and experienced Foreign Service retirees. We now hope to make real strides in removing the caps on hours and salaries, just as retired military officers have been able to do. Ideally, too, we hope to see administration of the WAE process centralized in a manner that will make it more equitable and transparent.

Finally, I want to thank all of you who responded to my last column seeking ideas on how to reach the hundreds of Foreign Service annuitants who are not AFSA members. You may be assured that Hank Cohen, Janice Bay, David Passage, Jonathan Sperling and I took your many suggestions and ideas into account as we honed our strategy for pursuing this elusive cohort of prospective members. ❑

HERE COMES THE CAVALRY

Re-employed Annuitants

BY BONNIE BROWN, RETIREE COORDINATOR

Because of salary and hours limitations, re-employed annuitants cannot be used effectively to reduce the current shortfall in department personnel or to provide continuity during the period in which a hoped-for surge of new Foreign Service personnel is identified and trained.

As a result, department bureaus have turned increasingly to contractors who are not subject to these limitations — despite the fact that contractors cost twice as much as re-employed annuitants.

The current Foreign Service, at 11,300 members, is not adequate to carry out the department's foreign policy functions. At present there is a 15-percent shortfall in needed mid-level personnel in embassies and consulates abroad, as well as in the department. This shortfall will increase with expanding global responsibilities and challenges.

The department's permanent work force is augmented by about 1,300 to 1,500 re-employed annuitants (known as "While Actually Employed") — over 10 percent of the total.

Although WAEs have the training, skills and experience to step into positions in the department and at posts abroad, the department is hobbled in its ability to use them. The Foreign Service Act limits the amount of salary a WAE may receive in a calendar year, and Civil Service provisions limit the number of hours a WAE may work in an appointment year. This means that a typical re-employed annuitant can work no more than three to four months a year.

In recent years, legislation has given the department authority on a case-by-case basis to waive one or both caps for certain purposes, such as passport processing and service in Iraq and Afghanistan. However, the scope and duration of this authority have been limited.

The National Defense Authorization Act of 2004 provides a model for remov-

ing restrictions on rehiring annuitants to meet the ongoing or longer-term critical personnel needs of government departments. As a general rule, the Department of Defense may rehire recently retired annuitants without salary and hours limitations for positions that 1) are hard to fill or for which there is a severe shortage of candidates; 2) are critical to the department's mission or are necessary to complete a specific project; 3) require unique or specialized (including language) skills and experience; 4) focus on mentoring less-experienced employees; or 5) provide continuity during organizational transitions.

By gaining similar authorization to lift salary and hours limitations, the Department of State could use re-employed annuitants to reduce its shortfall in critically needed personnel and provide continuity during department expansion and training of new Foreign Service officers. ❑

Libraries • Continued from page 39

With the current AFSA Governing Board's term coming to an end, the future of this program will depend on follow-up work by others. Since only 47 out of 268 embassies, consulates and missions applied to participate, there is room for expansion should more supervisors with mentorship responsibilities (including deputy chiefs of mission, principal officers and office deputy directors) encourage their employees to engage in professional development by way of these discussion groups. In addition, for the June 2008 Foreign Affairs Professional Reading List to continue to serve as an up-to-date resource, revisions every year or two will be necessary.

For now, AFSA thanks all of those who contributed to the success of this pilot project. That list includes Under Secretary Burns and the staffs of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, the Ralph J. Bunche Library, the Office of the Historian and the Office of eDiplomacy. We especially thank the Una Chapman Cox Foundation for its financial support. ❑

V.P. VOICE: **FCS** ■ BY KEITH CURTIS

The Best of Times or the Worst of Times?

Charles Dickens wrote, "It was the best of times, it was the worst of times." Right now I am trying to figure out what the "best of times" part is.

Senator Judd Gregg, R-N.H., recently withdrew from consideration for Secretary of Commerce. As you all know, this is the second nomination we have seen withdrawn. What are we — chopped liver? Sen. Gregg withdrew because of his conflicts with our policy issues and because he realized that he could not be his own man in this administration. From what I understand this was not exactly a bolt of lightning, but something that came to him over time. Perhaps it is just as well that he is not our Secretary of Commerce.

Unfortunately, this double whammy comes at a time when the Foreign Commercial Service most needs a leader who can help us fight for resources. Most of you may have heard that we are facing a severe budget shortage this year of almost $24 million — more than 10 percent of our total budget. We have had to enact strict budget-cutting measures, eliminating virtually all regular travel. That puts a serious crimp on an organization with 70 offices around the world and more than 100 in the United States. These measures were very carefully and intelligently considered by our management, and we appreciate greatly that they have committed not to undertake furloughs or lay-offs in this process.

Last year we produced $80 billion in documented export sales to more than 200 markets. How did Wall Street do?

But as careful and well thought out as this process has been, we have already cut to the bone. After eight years of cost-cutting, our focus now needs to be on getting more resources. That is hard to do without a Secretary of Commerce, but it is time for the career people at Commerce and in the Foreign Commercial Service to step forward and fill the void of leadership, by going to the Hill and the White House to make the case for increasing the Commerce Department work force.

That should not be hard: every tax dollar appropriated to the Commercial Service yields $430 in export sales for the U.S. Last year we produced $80 billion in documented export sales to more than 200 markets. How did Wall Street do? Yet while Wall Street financial institutions are getting $800 billion from the U.S. government, we could pay the needs of our organization many times over just on their bonuses.

The penny-ante policy of these budget cuts is grossly wasteful. The $230 million that the U.S. government spends on the entire Commercial Service budget becomes shredded in its effectiveness for want of 10 percent of that amount.

And here is the "best of times" part. I believe that yes, it can be done. This administration has the right ideas. This president understands the importance of soft power and smart power. He knows that building economies is the heart of a safe and free world, and commerce is the only tide that can lift these sinking boats.

This problem cannot be fixed with a short-term funding measure. It is time to fully fund and fully staff the Department of Commerce. As this article goes to press, we are hopeful that Secretary-designate Gary Locke, with his international experience, will arrive in time to lead the recommitment effort. ❑

CALL FOR 2009 NOMINATIONS

Grassroots Diplomats: The Inspiring SOSA Award Winners

BY CATHY SALVATERRA, AAFSW SOSA CHAIR, AND FRANCESCA KELLY

"You can say to yourself, 'I only have two years at post, so I don't have time to make a difference,' or you can say, 'I only have two years at post, so I'd better get started,'" explained Bridget Guerrero at the lectern in the Benjamin Franklin Reception Room. Under Secretary for Management Patrick Kennedy had just presented her, along with five others, with the annual Secretary of State Award for Outstanding Volunteerism Abroad at a Dec. 9, 2008, ceremony. The six award winners profiled below, as well as the 20 who were nominated but didn't win, have gone "above and beyond" in showing the best side of America to their respective communities abroad.

The Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide recognizes overseas volunteer efforts through the SOSA program, which began 18 years ago with the support of then-Secretary of State James A. Baker III and Mrs. Baker. The awards have been supported by donations from former Secretaries of State, the Green Family Foundation and the AAFSW membership.

SOSA recognizes volunteer efforts at posts overseas in the following areas: 1) exceptional service to the mission community; 2) outstanding activities directed toward the host country; and 3) exceptional service in emergencies.

The 2008 SOSA Winners

Family member **Sherilynn P. Tounger** (Ouagadougou) "adopted" a struggling village. An educator, Tounger began volunteering at the village orphanage, then expanded her efforts, raising funds to finance construction of a preschool facility on the compound. To sustain financial support for the village after she leaves post, Tounger created a charitable organization called "Chasing Lions."

When Cyclone Nargis devastated seven ethnic Karen villages in May 2008, **Amy Robinson** (Rangoon) immediately organized a humanitarian relief effort. While NGOs were unable to enter the country, Robinson and her team of volunteers risked personal safety to bring in food, clothing, building supplies and even local medical personnel. Through a major fundraising drive, she established a school for 145 children and set up village committees so that locals are personally invested in their recovery program.

COURTESY OF AAFSW

Under Secretary for Management Patrick Kennedy (right) presents SOSA award to Outstanding Volunteer Sherilynn Tounger, Dec. 9, 2008.

Family member **Bridget L. Guerrero** (Ankara) has worked tirelessly to assist the thousands of refugees and asylum seekers arriving in Turkey from Iraq, Iran and Somalia. After visiting Ankara's United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees processing center, Guerrero established a program that provides weekday lunches and distributes clothing, food and vouchers. To sustain this and other projects, she formed the Ankara Refugee Support Group and spearheads its work in soliciting donations from Turkish businesses.

Like all embassy community members in Baghdad, FSO **Susan C. Mattes** lives and works in a war zone under constant threat of rocket and mortar attack. Her response was to gather a team of volunteers to revitalize the employee association, creating a welcoming lounge, called the "Off Site," where employees could find refuge and relaxation.

Mattes established a complete accounting, inventory and financial management system for the association. Her skills in identifying supply sources and organizing special events under extremely difficult circumstances have boosted morale at post.

FSO **Calvin L. McQueen** (Karachi) took on the challenge of reviving the consulate's employee association for a community that lives in lockdown. He overhauled the association with a new filing system and a membership update campaign that included local citizens. When the Karachi community merged with the Islamabad association, he ensured that locally employed staff could voice their concerns and become an integral part of the process. McQueen's overhaul of the consulate's cafeteria, commissary and club had a profound impact on morale.

Family member **Ellen J. Brager** (Santo Domingo) brought together youngsters from different cultures and socioeconomic backgrounds through classical music festivals. With funds raised from local and multinational companies, she attracted faculty and participants from the U.S. and provided scholarships to low-income children. The resulting 10-day festival found Dominican and American children participating in a variety of musical activities. In July 2008, Brager took the highly successful "Traveling Notes" festival to Peru. The program incorporates social awareness through performances in hospitals, orphanages and other charitable institutions. Plans are already in place for festivals in 2009 and 2010.

Is there someone remarkable making a difference at your post? Look for the announcement cable soliciting nominations for the 2009 SOSA Awards, in late April, and take the time to nominate that individual.

Award winners receive a check for $3,000, a certificate signed by the Secretary of State and a pin commemorating the December AAFSW awards ceremony.

For more information and photo slide shows of the 2008 SOSA winners and their projects, please visit www.aafsw.org/sosa.htm. ❑

Living in the Bubble

Foreign Service personnel may not want to believe this, but life while serving at a U.S. embassy overseas is rather easy, at least in comparison to what other expatriates experience. Having grown up abroad outside of the cocoon of the embassy community — my father worked for a U.S. corporation — I viewed diplomatic life as rife with benefits. As an adult, I recently spent two years with my Foreign Service partner in Turkey smothered in diplomatic perks. Now that I am living in Italy while she is in Afghanistan for a year, I have been rudely reawakened to the rigors of expat life outside of the embassy "bubble."

If we got in a traffic accident, there was no Foreign Service National to come deal with it, and we had to navigate the vagaries of a foreign legal system on our own.

The bubble begins with housing. While embassy personnel arrive at their new post and move into an assigned, often furnished home, other expats generally have to find their own housing, which involves dealing with foreign real estate agents, in another language, while facing unknown hurdles and incomprehensible laws.

Here in Italy, for example, I spent three weeks dealing with 12 different real estate agencies and visiting a dozen apartments. Even when my family was moving around under the auspices of a multinational corporation, we received virtually no assistance in finding a place to live. My mother would fly to the next foreign country for a frenzied couple of weeks' housing search on her own, with no embassy or corporate support staff assisting her.

I still remember one apartment that was an empty shell, without kitchen cabinets, appliances, light fixtures or finished bathrooms — quite the opposite of the fully equipped apartment my mother had seen when she scouted it weeks earlier.

Without a welcome kit or a cadre of embassy employees to help set things right, we had to navigate government and business bureaucracies, language barriers and every other cultural oddity to get our home set up before we could even think of moving in.

Then, if we had electrical, plumbing, telecom, television or any other household problems, there were no embassy technicians on call. And there certainly was no one to help us hang pictures, a service I was stunned to discover was offered to embassy personnel in Turkey.

If we got sick, we had to find our own doctors. There was no health unit to call. If we got in a traffic accident, there was no Foreign Service National to come deal with it, and we had to navigate the vagaries of a foreign legal system on our own.

If we wanted a familiar food product, there was no embassy store or commissary to meet our needs. We had to make do with what was on the local economy. If we wanted to order something from the U.S., we did not have the Army Post Office to deliver it to us quickly and inexpensively.

If we felt isolated or needed some questions answered, there was no Community Liaison Office to help out. Certainly, after a few months, once we connected with the extended expat community, we were able to gather information about what to do, where to go, where to shop, etc. Before that, however, we were flying blind.

To be sure, corporate employees often receive larger pay packets, and housing and education allowances. But while these benefits may help ease the financial burden of overseas life, they do little to ensure a smooth transition to a new place, help create the embrace of community life, or begin to approximate the support network available at U.S. missions.

This is not meant to suggest that life in the U.S. mission community is all caviar, champagne and black-tie events. Navigating a foreign culture, having to forgo many familiar products and services, leaving behind friends and family, communicating in a foreign language, moving every two to three years, starting over and creating a new life in another country — none of that is simple. Living overseas is never effortless or trouble-free. However, the embassy "bubble" does cushion the experience.

I am not embarrassed to say that I have tasted life in the bubble, and I want more. Even though I am enjoying my time in the land of la dolce vita, I am looking forward to my partner's next assignment, when I can once again feel the embrace of the ever-so-cushy life inside the U.S. embassy community. ❐

Douglas E. Morris is the author of Open Road's Best of Italy *and other books. He currently resides in Viterbo, Italy, waiting for his FSO partner's year in Afghanistan to end. You can contact the author through his Web site: www.TheItalyGuide.com.*

FS VOICE: **THE LIGHTER SIDE** ■ BY ANDREA MCCARLEY

Leaving the Foreign Service

Separating from service? It's time for your 12-month State Department recovery program. Below is an overview of your emotional journey over the next year.

Month 1: Sober Up and Head Home

For the last month at post you were partying every night and getting no sleep. Now your clothes don't fit and your liver is blinking red. It's time to get back to the gym. As you enter the U.S. on your diplomatic passport for the last time, a Customs official greets you with, "What was the purpose of your trip?" Your luggage is searched.

Month 2: Where Will I Live?

Friends and family who haven't seen you in years were initially happy to see you. But now it's time to get off their couches and find yourself and your excess baggage (spouse, children, family pet) a home. If you already own a place, there is at least a month's worth of work to be done once your tenants vacate.

Rediscover driving for pleasure. Cars are on the road and people are on the sidewalk, instead of the other way around. The vast majority of cars are registered, inspected, insured, emission-controlled vehicles, driven by licensed drivers wearing seat belts. And there are actually family cars, with children in car seats — rather than rusting, filth-spewing metal boxes full of underage projectiles.

Month 3: Where the Heck Is My Stuff?

Make many phone calls to trace household effects. Although Miami is a three-hour flight from Panama, only the State Department can turn this into an eight-week journey. Items arrive but apparently endured 1,000-degree heat in warehouse storage. Buttons on some clothing melted. Make a vow never to move again.

Rediscover actual customer service. This and people waiting in orderly lines bring tears to your eyes. Shake head at temper tantrum by impatient lady at Starbuck's complaining about her latte. She wouldn't last an hour in the Third World.

Month 4: Eek! I Need a Job

Last paychecks, allowances, refunds have come and gone. Apply your cable-writing skills to your resumé and your representational-event skills to networking and professional forums.

Rediscover meeting new people and going to new places without filling out a form. You no longer have to explain to the Regional Security Officer whom you woke up with this morning.

Month 5: Show Me the Money

New job! Many new passwords and logons to learn. People not only return your calls and e-mails, they do so the same day! What is that constant ringing in your ears? It's your cell phone, which is no longer outside in a box but sitting next to you.

Rediscover infrastructure. Take the train to work each day. Public transport is no longer subject to frequent blow-ups and/or catching fire.

Months 6-7: Social Adjustments

Adapt your "water cooler" conversation skills, because no one can relate to your experiences. Your knowledge of the nuances of U.S. immigration law is, surprisingly, not a crowd-pleaser. And your intimate acquaintance with foreign prison conditions is just plain weird. You can't relax at a July 4 beach party, but find yourself waiting until the last guest leaves and then asking permission to go home.

You miss the fact that no one stops by your desk on a Wednesday afternoon and invites you to Colombia for the weekend. Few of your new colleagues travel. You unintentionally ruin it for those who do by suggesting they read the State Department travel advisory on their country of destination. They imagine beautiful beaches, shopping and exotic food. You think of corruption, poverty, untreated sewage, money laundering and drug trafficking.

Month 8: Barely Keeping Up with World Events

You display only passing interest in international news, but when you do watch television, segments involving summits or other travel by world leaders have you doing a mental calculation of the number of control officers needed. Haiti still needs aid and Pakistan is still a mess. (Hey, you tried.) World peace is crowded off your to-do list. You are too busy learning new skills: how to fix a leaky faucet and make other home repairs previously known as "put in a work order."

You may have maintained your primarily liberal bias, but are now an arch-conservative on the issue of illegal immigration. Of course, whether we deport or legalize, there are apparently at least 11 million people involved. After doing the math based on actual experience with a processing rate of a few dozen cases a year, you conclude that the problem will never be solved.

Months 9-10: In the Routine

You're settled into your new job, know your stuff, and have a new ability to sit patiently through meetings where bad decisions are discussed and/or no decisions are made. On the other hand, promotion decisions are made by people who actually know you and your work.

Months 11–12: There's No Place Like Home

Friends/family complain about bad government, but you've lived with bad government and the U.S. is doing just fine.

Welcome home! It was a privilege to serve. ❒

Former FSO Andrea McCarley served in Nuevo Laredo and Panama City from 2003 to 2007. She is now at ING Australia. She thanks former FSO Manny Rubio for inspiring this piece.

2009 Foreign Service Youth Contests & Awards

BY KRISTEN GRAY, FOREIGN SERVICE YOUTH FOUNDATION EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The Foreign Service Youth Foundation strives to help the youth of America's foreign affairs agencies adapt to their changing environments and benefit from their Foreign Service experiences. Each year FSYF sponsors a number of contests and awards to recognize the unique and valuable contributions of America's Foreign Service youth. More information on each contest, including topic questions, themes, requirements and entry forms, can be found on the FSYF Web site at www.fsyf.org. In addition to receiving cash prizes, winners will be honored at an awards ceremony hosted by FLO at the Department of State in Washington, D.C., in July.

Each year FSYF sponsors a number of contests and awards to recognize the unique and valuable contributions of America's Foreign Service youth.

KidVid Contest, Deadline April 15

Family members ages 10 to 18 of U.S. government direct-hire and contract employees who are assigned to a U.S. mission are invited to participate in the KidVid contest, sponsored by FSYF and the Transition Center's Overseas Briefing Center. Create a DVD showing typical daily life for the FS community at your post and submit it to OBC by April 15, and you could win a cash prize.

***Here, There & Everywhere* — the Newsletter by and for FS Kids**

Join us on April 18 from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. in the State Room at Oakwood Falls Church for a writers' workshop to produce the May 2009 edition of *Here, There & Everywhere.* Lunch will be provided and the theme will be announced in advance. RSVP to fsyf@fsyf.org. Overseas youth may contribute articles and illustrations on the given theme by e-mail or fax.

Community Service Awards, Deadline April 24

The FSYF Community Service Awards, sponsored by Clements International, honor Foreign Service youth who have demonstrated outstanding volunteer efforts at home or abroad either in community service or in service to their peers, while facing the challenges of growing up in an internationally mobile lifestyle. Nominate your child, your friend or yourself by April 24 for a chance to win a $1,500 savings bond.

Art Contest, Deadline April 30

Foreign Service youth ages 5 to 18 are invited to participate in the FSYF Art Contest, sponsored by the State Department Federal Credit Union. Submit your flat artwork (no larger than 22" x 28") created in any medium (excluding graphic design) to FSYF by April 30. SDFCU will award cash prizes ranging from $100 to $500 to winners in three age groups (5-8, 9-12 and 13-18).

Essay Contest, Deadline April 30

Foreign Service teens are invited to participate in the FSYF Essay Contest, sponsored by McGrath Real Estate Services. Write an essay of fewer than 1,000 words that addresses the topic question and submit it to FSYF before April 30, and you could win $750, $500, $250 or $100.

Spring Away Day is May 2, Registration Deadline April 15

Join us on May 2 for an all-day, outdoor adventure at Poplar Ridge, the experiential learning challenge course at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville. Transportation is provided. Priority will be given to FS youth who are moving overseas in summer 2009. Younger kids will focus on teamwork and confidence-building activities close to the ground. Teens will venture onto the high elements. RSVP to fsyf@fsyf.org by April 15. Space is limited.

Want to receive e-mails about these and other FSYF activities throughout the year? Send your name and e-mail address to Kristen Gray, FSYF Executive Director, at fsyf@fsyf.org, or telephone her at (703) 731-2960. ❐

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

Increase of $5,000 in DACOR College Scholarships

The AFSA Scholarship Fund is pleased to announce that Diplomats and Consular Officers, Retired has increased its total undergraduate financial aid scholarships for Foreign Service children for the 2009-2010 school year, from $35,000 to $40,000. To streamline the program and lower administrative costs, Foreign Service children apply under AFSA's Financial Aid Scholarship program for such awards. To be eligible for the DACOR awards, a student must be pursuing a foreign affairs career. Currently, the DACOR scholarships are awarded under the names of Heyward G. Hill ($25,000) and Harriet C. Thurgood ($15,000).

Additional monies are from a bequest from Virginia Thurgood Bingham, Harriet's sister. ❐

MILESTONES: TEN YEARS AT AFSA

A Renaissance Man: Steven Alan Honley

BY FRANCESCA KELLY

Steve Honley never expected to go into journalism. However, his love of foreign affairs and his innate talent for writing and criticism have come together fortuitously in his position as editor of the *Foreign Service Journal.*

Steve grew up in Shreveport, La., where he attended Centenary College. After earning a master's degree in international affairs from The George Washington University, Steve entered the Foreign Service's 25th A-100 class in January 1985. He first served in Mexico City, thrust to the front lines of consular duty after one of the worst earthquakes in Mexican history. Then it was off to Wellington, from which he was able to travel to the South Pole. He spent the next nine years in Washington, first in political-military affairs, then in the Africa Bureau and finally, after a year of

Russian-language training, in the Nuclear Risk Reduction Center. He resigned in 1997 after burnout caused him to search for a different career.

Shortly thereafter, a friend who was on the Foreign Service Journal Editorial Board asked Steve to write an article on short notice to fill in for an ailing author. He happily complied, enjoying the experience so much that he started writing regularly for the magazine, while continuing to work at the NRRC as a contractor. When AFSA created a part-time *FSJ* associate editor position in April 1999, he applied for and got the job. And in July 2001, Steve moved up to the editor's chair of the *Journal*, a position he has held ever since.

Steve sees the *Journal* "as a vehicle for fostering debate and raising public awareness of how the Foreign Service works." He explains further, "I try to draw on my own experience and what I, as an FSO, would have liked the public to know about the Foreign Service." But, he hastens to add, "that doesn't necessarily translate to being a cheerleader. There are things that need reform, and the *Journal* has a role in giving the FS community a forum in which to air different points of view and ultimately improve the institution."

Steve is well-known for his eagle eye when proofreading documents. "Steve is an amazing editor," says *FSJ* Senior Editor Susan Maitra. "A conscientious wordsmith with an acute ear and mastery of pith, he is responsible for the *Journal*'s consistently high standard, while balancing its professional and general foreign policy content." Editorial Board Chairman Ted Wilkinson comments, "His ability to get the best out of fractious authors, to ask just the right questions in his own informative VIP interviews, and to build and manage a skilled staff have elevated the magazine into the top ranks of professional publications."

As if that were not enough, Steve devotes much of his free time to performing, conducting and composing. He plays both piano and organ, and possesses an astonishing vocal range, switching from bass to tenor to alto (sometimes within a single composition) as needed. Many State Department employees have probably heard and seen Steve in action with the T-Tones, State's resident choral group, for which he is both assistant conductor and accompanist.

In addition, he has served for nearly 15 years as music director of the Beverley Hills Community United Methodist Church, and has performed with such Washington-area choral groups as the Friday Morning Music Club Chorale, Carmina, the Ron Freeman Chorale, Cantate and Chantry.

Though Steve self-deprecatingly says that he is "a jack-of-all-trades and master of none," his colleagues and friends know better. He is a true Renaissance man. ❐

HONORING THE STUDY OF HARD LANGUAGES

AFSA Announces Sinclaire Language Award Winners

BY BARBARA BERGER, COORDINATOR FOR PROFESSIONAL ISSUES

Proficiency in foreign languages is one of the most valuable and important skills in today's Foreign Service. AFSA's Sinclaire Language Awards program honors language students for outstanding accomplishment in the study of a "hard" language and its associated culture. AFSA established this language-award program based on a bequest from Matilda W. Sinclaire, a former Foreign Service officer. Candidates for the award are nominated by the language-training supervisors at the Foreign Service Institute School of Languages or by the language instructors at the field schools. They are selected by a committee composed of volunteer AFSA members, a member of the Governing Board who serves as chairman and the AFSA coordinator for professional issues. Each of the winners receives a check for $1,000 and a certificate of recognition signed by the AFSA president and the chair of the AFSA Awards Committee.

AFSA congratulates the 11 winners of this year's Sinclaire Language Award, and commends the School of Language Studies at FSI for its dedication in preparing students of hard languages for the intense challenges of modern diplomacy.

This year's winners are:

Anthony Baird	Albanian
Lindsey Rothenberg	Arabic
Patrick McNeil	Estonian
Timothy Kraemer	Korean
Dewey Moore	Korean
Sandrine Goffard	Mandarin Chinese
Brooke Spelman	Mandarin Chinese
Candace Faber	Polish
Gary Westfall	Tagalog
Rachel Mueller	Vietnamese
Monica Boduszynski	Vietnamese ❐

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STATE DEPARTMENT FEDERAL CREDIT UNION'S scholarship competition has begun! Pick up an application at any SDFCU branch office or print one out online at www.sdfcu.org. All application materials must be received by Friday, April 10, 2009.

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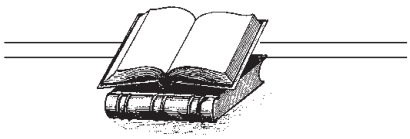

Books

The Importance of Religious Freedom

World of Faith and Freedom: Why International Religious Liberty Is Vital to American National Security
Thomas F. Farr, Oxford University Press, 2008, $29.95, hardcover, 367 pages.

Reviewed by David T. Jones

As its rather unwieldy title suggests, *World of Faith and Freedom: Why International Religious Freedom Is Vital to American National Security* is not a page-turning "easy read." Much of the text is dense, written as if author Thomas Farr were a professor of comparative theology or philosophy rather than a career diplomat.

But for those willing to stick with it, the book makes a compelling case that the U.S. government does not really understand the role of religion in the actions of foreign societies, has poorly used the tools it has available to influence such activities, and must change its approaches to address both the challenges of militant Islam and the complexities of other societies in which religion plays a significant public/political role.

In Farr's view, Washington has for too long been sidetracked into focusing on rescuing the victims of individual cases of religious persecution. Although that obviously is a worthy task, it is an insufficient objective. Difficult as it appears, our concern should be directed toward advancing religious freedom — not simply religious "tolerance" — as an accepted part of political activity throughout the world.

Farr gets off to a shaky start in his opening section, "Intimations," whose three chapters address the aforementioned elements of religious freedom. In this regard, Farr is close to an absolutist regarding religious freedom. For him, it is not just one of the panoply of human rights listed in the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, but rather the most important of such rights, from which all others flow.

Such an approach suggests a hierarchy of rights, which was one of the main arguments against the passage of the 1998 International Religious Freedom Act and its congressionally mandated Commission on International Religious Freedom. Farr's attempts to justify that approach are weak at best.

The four chapters comprising the second part of the book ("Acts") are much more persuasive. Farr outlines in engrossing detail the multifaceted struggle during the 1990s to create bureaucratic structures to promote religious freedom. He is well qualified to recount such specifics, having been part of the State Department IRF office virtually from its inception and serving as its interim head during the almost 20-month (2000-2002) interregnum between IRF ambassadors.

Consequently, he outlines with precision the effort to identify appropriate individuals to serve as State's ambassador-at-large for religious freedom and the bureaucratic infighting (both within and beyond the department) over personnel, lines of authority and responsibilities. His analysis constitutes a solid management case study of the vicissitudes facing a new element in an organization skeptical of its mission.

The three chapters of the final section ("Particulars") essentially derive from Farr's travels in early 2001 to Saudi Arabia and China. This section is rich with engaging anecdotes demonstrating how difficult it is to advance a Western concept of religious freedom in cultures that are essentially hostile to such ideas.

Curiously, Farr buries his key recommendations, both for general U.S. foreign policy regarding religious freedom and an attitude adjustment on the part of U.S. diplomats, in a generalized chapter on the challenges of Islam, rather than including them in his very brief "Conclusion." Of course, given that his proposals include creating a religion subspecialty for FSOs and a religion specialist for every country desk where that issue plays a significant role (which is to say nearly all), perhaps they were deliberately buried!

Ultimately, *World of Faith and Freedom* comes to grief on the rocks of

"special interest pleading." Farr is thoughtful and analytic, but sees the world as essentially reflecting a single problem. He gives no indication he is aware that U.S. diplomacy simultaneously struggles with challenges including a revanchist Russia, nuclear proliferation, global warming, global poverty/trade imbalances, and racial/ethnic conflicts. Nor, despite Farr's arguments, is it obvious that a religious rather than a "realist" reading of these problems will generate positive results for U.S. foreign policy.

David T. Jones is a retired Senior FSO and a frequent contributor to the Journal. *Among many other assignments, he was an editor for the first State Department International Religious Freedom report.*

Workers' Paradise Lost

The Forsaken: An American Tragedy in Stalin's Russia
Tim Tzouliadis, Penguin Press, 2008, $29.95, hardcover, 436 pages.

REVIEWED BY MARKO VELIKONJA

The Forsaken: An American Tragedy in Stalin's Russia is a beautifully written and thoroughly researched, but wrenching, account of the fate of the thousands of U.S. citizens who emigrated to the Soviet Union during the early 1930s, where they were largely abandoned by their own government. At first welcomed and in many cases recruited to work in Soviet mines and factories, these Americans and other Westerners who had emigrated increasingly began to be viewed with suspicion. Most were ultimately executed or sent to the gulags.

Author Tim Tzouliadis focuses on how the U.S. State Department — and in particular the second ambassador to the USSR, Joseph Davies — turned a blind eye to the Great Terror, failing to take any meaningful measures to assist American expatriates even after it became clear how endangered they were. While the first U.S. ambassador, William Bullitt, was ultimately disabused of any illusions about the Stalinist regime, Davies always attempted to please his hosts, even going so far as apologizing after some U.S. diplomats had attempted to assist a jailed U.S. citizen.

Davies' approach was apparently not popular with many of his subordi-

nates, though several legendary U.S. diplomats who worked in Moscow seemed equally indifferent to the plight of their fellow citizens — or at least unwilling to risk their careers to help them. Some of this indifference seems to have stemmed from the feeling that these Americans had brought their fate upon themselves by leaving the United States, and perhaps also from class differences between the diplomats of that era and the working-class expatriates who sought their assistance.

In addition, Tzouliadis reminds us that many Americans in the 1930s still believed in the notion that the Soviet Union was a "workers' paradise," and tended to dismiss accounts of the Great Terror as propaganda. The great singer Paul Robeson on his visits to Russia reportedly refused appeals from persons looking to escape the USSR, and publicly supported Stalin until the end.

While one obviously needs to be careful about passing judgment on diplomats of a different era, Tzouliadis persuasively argues that Davies failed to use the leverage available to him. In contrast, he notes, the Austrian ambassador to Moscow rescued dozens of his similarly-endangered compatriots, and the German government, newly allied with the USSR, didn't hesitate to use its influence to secure release of its citizens (most of whom ended up in German concentration camps, however).

Included among the ranks of Tzouliadis' "forsaken" are U.S. servicemen captured during World War II and Korea, most never heard from again. While this chapter could be its own book, Tzouliadis uses it as an effective bridge to relations with modern-day Russia. After the fall of the USSR, an early 1990s intergovernmental project to analyze newly opened Soviet-era archives to trace the fate of those captured U.S. servicemen quickly ran into resistance from the Russian security agencies.

Those truly knowledgeable about the events of this era may take exception to some of Tzouliadis' assertions and interpretations. Nonetheless, *The Forsaken* is a superb introduction to the Great Terror and the story of the thousands of Americans caught up in it. ■

Marko Velikonja joined the Foreign Service in 1999 and has served in Manila, Montreal and Moscow. He is currently an economic officer in Yerevan.

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In Memory

Edna A. Boorady, 87, a retired Foreign Service Reserve officer and a leading force in the creation of the U.S. Agency for International Development, died on Nov. 8, 2008, in Dunkirk, N.Y.

Ms. Boorady was born in Dunkirk on March 13, 1921. An alumna of St. Mary's Academy, she left for Washington, D.C., in 1941 to begin her federal career in the Office of Price Administration. In 1944, she became principal aide to the chief of mission to the U.S. Rehabilitation and Relief Administration's office in Albania.

In 1947, she entered Fordham University, graduating magna cum laude in 1951 and proceeding to Cornell University Law School. There she received her law degree in 1954, specializing in international affairs. She was elected to the board of directors of the *Cornell Law Quarterly.*

Ms. Boorady then joined the International Cooperation Administration as an attorney-adviser, and in 1958 became the regional attorney for the Far East. Instrumental in the creation of USAID, she served as director of the agency's Office of Personnel and Management and spent seven years in Thailand as its regional legal adviser.

In 1972, Ms. Boorady was promoted to Foreign Service Reserve officer, Class 1, the highest career rank in the USAID system. Two years later, she returned to Washington to direct the Office of Special Assistance for Labor Relations. And in 1977, she was sworn in as director of USAID's mission in Guyana, the first woman to direct an overseas mission in the history of the foreign aid program.

She was one of six recipients of the 15th Annual Federal Women's Award in 1974, given for outstanding achievement by women in federal service. Prior to that, she had been nominated for the Federal Bar Association's prestigious Justice Tom C. Clark Award and the USAID Woman of the Year Award. She is listed in *Who's Who of American Women.*

Ms. Boorady retired in 1986, having served overseas for a total of 20 years. She settled in her hometown, Dunkirk, where she and a brother established the Boorady Reading Center. She was a member of St. Elizabeth Ann Seton Parish and its Ladies Guild, the League of Women Voters, the Federal Bar Association and the New York State Bar Association.

Survivors include three brothers, Edward F. Boorady, Richard J. Boorady and Robert T. Boorady, all of Dunkirk; and several nieces and nephews.

Jules Bassin, 94, a retired FSO and U.S. Army colonel, who headed the Law Division during General Douglas MacArthur's occupation of Japan and participated in the negotiation of the peace treaty with Tokyo following World War II, passed away on Jan. 23.

Mr. Bassin was active for more than 40 years on four continents in a variety of military, diplomatic, legal and senior State Department posts. His zest, insights and contributions to the great historic and cultural events he experienced were relayed in later years to friends and family through his humble and entertaining stories. His sons always urged him to write a book. He was mentally sharp until the end.

Born in Brooklyn, N.Y., on April 16, 1914, Mr. Bassin received his bachelor's degree in history and mathematics from the City College of New York in 1936, where he was a member of the Reserve Officers Training Corps. In 1938, he earned a J.D. from New York University Law School. His interest in foreign affairs was developed while practicing international law from 1938 until 1942 in New York.

In 1942, Mr. Bassin began serving in the army as the military police company commander and head of the Criminal Investigation Division in the Panama Canal Zone. Just after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the Canal Zone was considered to be in potential danger. But once the tide turned in the Pacific, and it was clear that the final battles would not be in the Americas, the Army sent him to Harvard University and the University of Virginia for training in military gov-

ernment and the Japanese language, as preparation for the invasion and occupation of Japan.

In September 1945, he went to Tokyo for the occupation, expecting to stay one year. Instead, Japan became home to Mr. Bassin, his wife and two young sons for more than a decade, first as part of the U.S. Army and later as a diplomat.

In October 1945, he was assigned to Gen. MacArthur's legal staff in Tokyo, and became director of the Law Division in 1946. Mr. Bassin was involved in negotiating the peace treaty and advised Gen. MacArthur on international and occupation law, reparations and repatriation of people displaced during the war.

When the peace treaty with Japan was finally signed in 1952, Mr. Bassin was asked to join the U.S. Foreign Service in Tokyo as legal attaché. In that position, he was an important part of the highly successful transition from American military to Japanese civil government.

Mr. Bassin was posted to Karachi in 1956 as first secretary and special assistant on mutual security affairs. He worked with the Pakistani government, an important ally against the Soviet Union and China, on military and intelligence matters until 1960.

Having been overseas in hardship posts for 18 years, Mr. Bassin and his family spent the next nine years back in Washington. He first served from 1960 to 1962 as the State Department's representative and a faculty member at the Armed Forces Staff College in Norfolk, Va. He then held a series of senior State Department administrative and personnel jobs until 1969, when he was assigned to Geneva. There he served as minister and deputy chief of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations for five years, becoming chargé d'affaires in 1972 upon the resignation of the ambassador.

In 1974, Mr. Bassin retired from the U.S. Army Reserve as a colonel in the Judge Advocate General Corps. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1975, but was retained by the State Department and USIA to represent refugees and political asylum cases from Latin America in the U.S. Immigration Court.

Mr. Bassin was predeceased by his wife of 62 years, Beatrice, in 2000. He is survived by two sons, Art Bassin of Ancramdale, N.Y., and Jay Bassin of Silver Spring, Md.; and a brother, Phillip.

Dominic A. Broccoli, 81, a retired Foreign Service staff officer, died peacefully at his home at Sun City in Bluffton, S.C., on Dec. 23, 2008.

Born in Tarrytown, N.Y., on Sept. 25, 1927, Mr. Broccoli served in the U.S. Navy during World War II. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, he worked at the United Nations.

Mr. Broccoli's first post was Vietnam, where he served both at the embassy in Saigon and helped open the consulate in Hue. His subsequent posts were Daharan, the U.S. Mission to the European Community in Brussels, Taipei (where he met and married his wife), Buenos Aires, Khartoum, Tokyo, Rangoon, the New York Reception Center, Lagos, Tehran and Kuala Lumpur.

He retired in 1982 and then accompanied his wife to posts in Rome, Mexico City, Palermo and Casablanca.

Mr. Broccoli is survived by his wife of 47 years, Winifred; their three children (Marc of Bethel, Conn., Kiki of Savannah, Ga., and Chris of Zurich); and four grandchildren.

Samuel Edwin Fry Jr., 74, a retired FSO, died at his home in Olympia, Wash., on Dec. 14, 2008, from complications of cancer.

A graduate of Dartmouth College, with honors in international relations, Mr. Fry studied at the University of Edinburgh and earned his M.A. in political science from the University of Massachusetts. He served in the U.S. Army Third Infantry Division in Germany from 1958 to 1959, then joined the Foreign Service.

During a 31-year diplomatic career, Mr. Fry served as consul in Trieste (1961-1963), economic officer on the Soviet Desk in Washington (1963-1965), consular officer in Moscow (1966-1968), economic officer in Oslo (1968-1971), office director in the Operations Center (1971-1974) and in the Office of Personnel at State (1974-1977), deputy chief of mission in Helsinki (1977-1981) and DCM in Bucharest (1981-1983).

He participated in the Senior Seminar (1983-1984), served in the Office of the Inspector General (1984-1986), directed the Office of Public Programs (1986-1988) and was political adviser to the U.S. Mission to the United Nations (1988-1989). Mr. Fry received the President's Award for implementation of policy changes toward the Soviet Union during the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly.

Upon retiring in 1990, he pursued many interests and activities. He taught political science part-time at the University of Alaska in Fairbanks; he worked at the university's Large

Animal Research Station; and he managed the archeological dig site at Point Barrow, Alaska. In 1993, he moved to Olympia, Wash., where he was actively involved with the Olympia Opera Guild, the *Olympian* newspaper editorial board, the South Puget Sound Community College International Education advisory board, the Sherlock Holmes Society and the Olympia World Affairs Council. He also volunteered for many years with Olympic Wildlife Rescue.

Mr. Fry's family and many friends remember him as a gentle scholarly person, a Renaissance man with diverse interests and abilities, stunning analytical and research skills and a quick wit.

He is survived by his wife, Louise; three nephews; two nieces; and six great-nieces and nephews. His only sibling, Charolette Showalter, passed away in 2006. Memorial contributions may be made to The Snow Leopard Trust, www.snowleopard.org.

Harry Haven Kendall, 89, a retired FSO with the United States Information Agency, died on Jan. 18 in Oakland, Calif., after a long illness.

Mr. Kendall was born in Lake Charles, La. In 1940, he enlisted in the Army Airways Communication Squadron and trained as a radio operator at Scott Field, Ill. Subsequently he served at air bases in Florida, Texas and Louisiana. In 1943, as part of the 14th Air Force under General Claire Chennault, he was posted to China to handle communications in support of air traffic from India supplying American and Chinese forces fighting Japan. Starting in November 1944, he helped prepare weather reports for U.S. operations over Japan.

After the war, he completed a B.A. in journalism and political science at Louisiana State University and an M.A. in international relations at Yale University. He pursued post-graduate work at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill and worked as a reporter for the *Charlotte Observer*. In 1951, he married Margaret Munch of Chapel Hill, who accompanied him throughout his Foreign Service career.

Mr. Kendall joined the U.S. Infor-

mation Agency in 1951. His assignments included informational and cultural roles in Venezuela, Japan, Spain, Panama, Chile, Vietnam, Thailand and Washington, D.C.

During his first Washington assignment, in the early days of manned space flight (Mercury and Gemini programs), he served as USIA/NASA liaison, channeling information on the U.S. space program to USIA posts around the world. Later, he lectured throughout Latin America on the Apollo moon program.

In 1980, following retirement, Mr. Kendall volunteered at the University of California, Berkeley Institute of East Asian Studies, coordinating international conferences. He co-edited books on Vietnam, Mongolia, Japan and Southeast Asia, and published accounts of his wartime and Foreign Service experiences in two books, *Beyond Magnolias — My First 30 Years* and *A Farm Boy in the Foreign Service.*

He is survived by his wife of 57 years; three daughters, Betsy and Judith Kendall of Berkeley, Calif., and Nancy Hewitt of Korea; and three grandchildren, Jonathan, Georgia Li and Cherisa Hewitt; and a sister, Felecia Cooke. Memorial donations may be made to the American Red Cross, the American Friends Service or other charity.

Claudine Betty Leifert, 66, wife of retired FSO Harvey Leifert, died on Oct. 23, 2008, at The George Washington University Hospital in Washington, D.C. She had long struggled with chronic obstructive pulmonary disease, the cause of her death.

Born in Dombresson, in the Swiss canton of Neuchâtel, in 1942, Claudine Burger wanted, from a young age, to see the world. She first traveled abroad on her own as part of a U.N.-related group of volunteers, to build a schoolhouse on the Greek island of Kythera. She followed that up with a yearlong volunteer stint at a school in Haiti, where one of the students was Jean-Claude Duvalier, the future president known as "Baby Doc."

When her volunteer year ended, she and a friend stayed on, and she found a job with the Quebec-based company that was developing Haiti's first national telephone system since the departure of the U.S. Marine occupation force in 1934. One of her tasks was to compile, manually, the directory of telephone subscribers. The two women rented a house in the Port-au-Prince suburb of Pétionville; it was back-to-back with the home of the U.S. embassy cultural affairs officer, Harvey Leifert.

Claudine Burger wondered who lived in that house, with its noisy generator providing light to its occupant during the nightly blackouts. A loud squawk box added to the mystery, with its frequent "Charlie, this is Delta" chatter. One day, while driving to work, Mr. Leifert chanced upon his unknown neighbor at a taxi stand and offered her a ride into town. A year later, when he had received permission from USIA to wed a foreigner, the couple was married in Port-au-Prince.

Upon arrival in the U.S. a few months later for her "Americanization" tour, the couple drove to San Francisco and back to Washington, visiting cities, prairies and national parks, the first of many trips they took together. But once settled in Washington, D.C., Claudine was confronted with an American fact of life: without a university degree — uncommon for Swiss women at that time — employers would not hire her for work for which she was fully qualified.

That changed with Mr. Leifert's next assignment, to Copenhagen, where Mrs. Leifert was among the first to benefit from a Danish-American agreement allowing work by diplomatic spouses in each other's capital. She used her FSI Danish and other skills in the Copenhagen office of a Swedish manufacturer of precision optical lenses.

There followed four years in Paris, during which she participated in the new PIT program, allowing dependents of FSOs to work at the embassy. She served mainly in the visa and economic sections. She earned a commendation for her work in support of the Paris Air Show, during which the American F-16 outperformed French and Swedish fighter planes to win a huge NATO contract, in the "arms deal of the century." Returning to Washington for another tour, she joined the African-American Institute, where she planned trips around the U.S. for participants in the State-USIA International Visitors Program.

When her husband was assigned to South Africa in 1985, she became the first Community Liaison Officer at the American consulate general in Johannesburg. She also administered the annual visa qualifying exams for doctors and nurses seeking to practice in the U.S.

It was the height of apartheid, and relations between the two governments were tense. Like other official Americans — but very few other countries' diplomats there — she hosted and attended many interracial events, bringing black and white South Africans together, often for the first time. She frequently visited Soweto for USIA programs, parties and funerals. Visit-

ing another black township outside Johannesburg, she was asked to help judge a teenage beauty contest, because the organizers and participants knew she would be fair.

At every post, the couple traveled as much as possible, and when he retired and they returned to Washington in 1991, Mrs. Leifert studied to become a certified travel agent. For a decade, she offered her clients guidance derived from a lifetime of her own travel experiences. She eventually retired due to a combination of her declining health and the inroads of the Internet into the travel business.

Mrs. Leifert is survived by her husband of 38 years, Harvey, of Bethesda, Md., and a sister Jacqueline Stahli of Twann, Switzerland.

Wayne P. Molstad, 52, a retired FSO with the Foreign Agricultural Service, died on Jan. 19 in Holmen, Wis., as the result of ALS (Lou Gehrig's disease).

Mr. Molstad was born in La Crosse, Wis. He graduated with a B.A. from Cardinal Stritch University and earned an M.S. in professional studies (focused on agricultural economics) from Cornell University. He then served as an agriculture and rural development Peace Corps Volunteer in Senegal from 1977 to 1984. On June 9, 1984, he married Eleonore "Elli" Carter, who accompanied him throughout his 23-year FAS career.

His first overseas posting, as agricultural attaché in Beijing from 1990 to 1992, was followed by a tour as director of the Agricultural Trade Office in Guangzhou from 1992 to 1995. He served as agricultural counselor in Warsaw (2001-2005) and as minister-counselor for agricultural affairs in Ottawa (2007-2008). He also worked at FAS in Washington, D.C., on trade policy, marketing, capacity-building development and administrative leadership. From 2005 to 2006, he served as the chief of staff for the FAS administrator and then, from 2006 to 2007, as the avian influenza international liaison for the Office of Science and Technological Affairs.

Among his laurels are many meritorious service awards from FAS, the Cardinal Stritch Award for Professional Distinction and an award from

the Food and Drug Administration for extraordinary leadership in executing international outreach activities on the Public Health Security & Bioterrorism Preparedness & Response Act of 2002.

Although Mr. Molstad was very active in his professional life, he was also a leader in his community. He served as a Cub Scout den leader, a Cub master and a scoutmaster. Following the diagnosis of ALS, Mr. Molstad and his family moved to Holmen to be closer to extended family.

In addition to his wife, Elli, he is survived by two sons: Sean, a college student in Virginia, and Paul of Holmen; three brothers: James of Westby, Wis.; Dean of Sussex, Wis.; and John of Ontario, Wis.; and a sister-in-law, Jolene Molstad of LaFarge, Wis. He was preceded in death by his parents and one brother, Garry, who also died from ALS in 2007.

Colette Francoise Moran, 54, wife of retired FSO (and current State Department Civil Service employee) Roger James Moran, died in Alexandria, Va., on Dec. 3, 2008, after a 13-year struggle with breast cancer.

Born in Nice, France, the daughter of a police inspector and a former singer and actress, Mrs. Moran met her future husband, then on a junior year abroad, when both were students at the University of Nice in 1973. After completing her licence ès lettres in French literature as well as a certificate in linguistics there, she earned a master's degree in French at the University of Akron and an A.B.D. at Ohio State University. She taught at both schools, as well as at The George Washington University, Ohio University's program in Quebec and the American Cultural Center and the French School in Cotonou. Mrs. Moran also worked as a secretary at Embassy Yaounde and at the Federal Aviation Administration office in Embassy Paris.

As the spouse of a naval officer (who later became a Foreign Service officer), Mrs. Moran lived successively in San Francisco, New York, Alexandria, Hong

Kong, Yaounde, Alexandria, Cotonou and Paris before returning permanently to Alexandria in 1998. She became a naturalized citizen of the United States in 1986.

Mrs. Moran gave birth to their three children on three different continents, and kept the household together in Alexandria during her husband's unaccompanied tours of duty in Kinshasa and Bujumbura.

In 1999, she began a new career as a secondary school teacher of French at Edison High School in Fairfax County, Va., completing her teacher certification coursework at George Mason University. She was a longtime member of the American Association of Teachers of French and continued the teaching she loved at Edison High School until three weeks before her death.

Mrs. Moran traveled extensively throughout her life for both pleasure and education. Her most recent foreign travel was to Morocco (2006) and Quebec (2007). Her last trip was to San Francisco in August 2008. She also loved gardening, photography and painting.

Besides her husband of 28 years, she is survived by her mother, Raymonde Jeanne Vermeil (née Valleix), of Grasse, France, and by three daughters: Sister Audrey Frances, an Oblate of St. Francis de Sales in Childs, Md., and Claire Francine Moran and Valerie Anne Moran, both of Alexandria, Va. Contributions in Colette Moran's memory can be made to the American Cancer Society.

Lillian "Solie" Tootle Reinhardt, 88, the widow of the late retired FSO and former ambassador G. Frederick Reinhardt Jr., died on Feb. 4 in Millbrook, N.Y.

Born in Bethany, W. Va., to Harry King Tootle and Jessica Campbell Nave, she attended the Mount de Chantal School in Wheeling, W. Va., and the Knox School in Cooperstown, N.Y.

During the Second World War, Mrs. Reinhardt worked for the Red Cross in the North African and European theaters; afterward, she worked with the Marshall Plan in France. In 1998 she published a collection of her wartime letters to family members in a book titled *V Mail*. Family and friends recall her abounding energy and sense

of adventure, her relentless curiosity and her lively spirit.

Mrs. Reinhardt's husband, who served as counselor of the State Department and as ambassador to South Vietnam, Egypt (formerly known as the United Arab Republic) and Italy, died in 1971.

She is survived by their four children: G. Frederick Reinhardt III of Fairfield, Conn., Aurelia Reinhardt Gebauer of Miami, Fla., C. Henry "Harry" Reinhardt of Millbrook, N.Y., and Catherine Reinhardt Traber of New York, N.Y.; and 14 grandchildren.

Pierre L. Sales, 83, a retired FSO, died on Oct. 29, 2008, in Reston, Va.

Mr. Sales was born in Marseille, France. After serving in the Pacific theater during World War II, he graduated from Columbia College and was the recipient of a Rockefeller Fellowship for graduate studies in Washington, D.C.

During his 27-year diplomatic career, Mr. Sales was seconded to the United Nations Development Program and subsequently assigned to the U.N. Secretariat in New York. His overseas assignments were primarily in Africa.

Following retirement from the Foreign Service, he worked in the private sector for nearly eight years, the last two as a vice-president in a Washington-based economic consulting company.

Since 1988, he devoted himself full-time to lecturing, research and writing. He compiled a book, *From Ancient Afryqah to Modern Africa*, which was published as a CD-ROM in 1999. He was a member of the Explorers Club, Amici Linguarum, the Society for Historic Discoveries, the Washington Map Society, the American Geolinguistic Society and the American Name Society.

Mr. Sales also managed a graduate internship Fellowship Program on behalf of the Washington chapter of the United Nations Association, which involved the participation of all Washington-based universities.

He is survived by his wife, Bakhtaver of Ashburn, Va., four children from his previous marriage, grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

Malcolm "Mac" Toon, 92, a retired FSO and former ambassador, died on Feb. 12 in Pinehurst, N.C.

The son of first-generation Scottish immigrants, Mr. Toon was born in 1916 in Troy, N.Y. He was a graduate of Tufts University (1937) and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy (1938), and after the war, continued his studies at Middlebury College and Harvard University. During World War II, he served in the U.S. Navy in campaigns in the South Pacific, where he captained PT-155, rising from ensign to lieutenant commander.

He joined the Foreign Service in 1946. His earliest postings included Warsaw, Budapest and Berlin. In 1960, he was assigned to London. Known during the Cold War as a "hardliner" on the Soviet Union, he served from 1963 to 1967 as counselor for political affairs in Moscow. After an assignment in Washington from 1967 to 1969, he was appointed ambassador to Czechoslovakia. That was followed by a succession of other ambassadorial appointments: to Yugoslavia (1971-1975), Israel (1975-1976) and the former USSR (1976-1979).

During his diplomatic career, he participated in the Nuclear Test Conference in Geneva (1958-1959); the Four Power Working Group in Washington, London and Paris (1959); the Foreign Ministers Conference in Geneva (1969); the Ten-Nation Disarmament Commission in Geneva (1960); the SALT II delegation (1977-1979); and the U.S.-Soviet Summit in Vienna (1979).

After retiring to Pinehurst, Ambassador Toon not only golfed and traveled extensively but also served on various boards of directors, received honorary degrees and held educational chairs. He served as a Tufts University trustee emeritus and as a member of the Fletcher School's board of overseers. Later in his retirement, Presi-

dents George H.W. Bush and Bill Clinton requested he leave the golf course and chair the American delegation to the Joint U.S.-Russian Commission on POWs and MIAs.

He married Elizabeth Jane Taylor in 1943, and they enjoyed a 53-year marriage until her death in 1996.

Amb. Toon is survived by their children, Barbara Lindenbaum of Marietta, Ga., Alan Toon of West End, N.C., and Nancy M. Toon of Southampton, N.Y.; and grandchildren, Rachel Bruce, Sarah Lindenbaum and Gordon Toon.

Hubert LeRoy Zwald, 97, a retired FSO, died on May 22, 2008, in Canberra, A.C.T., Australia.

Mr. Zwald was born May 12, 1911, in Emporium, Pa. A gifted musician, his piano studies at Washington University in St. Louis, Mo., were interrupted by World War II. He served in Europe in communications until the end of the war, attaining the rank of major.

Following the war, he remained in Paris, helping the American soldiers returning to the U.S., before obtaining a communications position with the American embassy. In 1949, he returned to Washington, D.C., and was transferred to Bogota, his first posting in finance. Subsequent assignments included Johannesburg, Seoul, Tegucigalpa and, finally, Canberra in 1965, where he settled after retirement.

Family and friends recall Mr. Zwald's gentle manner and his beautiful piano playing — memories engraved on his headstone, which says, "Let there be music."

He is survived by his wife, Lesley, whom he met and married in Australia in 1971, and a daughter, Roberta, born in South Africa. His first wife, Bertha, died in 1968 in Australia. ■

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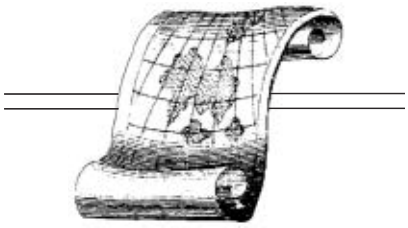

REFLECTIONS

Recalling Lockerbie

BY MITCHELL COHN

Last December marked the 20th anniversary of the downing of Pan Am 103 in Lockerbie, Scotland. Because I kept no diaries and took no photographs, I have only impressionistic memories of the scene. But they are still vivid even now.

I remember observing on my first visit to Lockerbie, as one of several junior officers who would play a part, that the houses appeared to have been sliced at the very angle of the giant plane's path to earth.

From outside one of the houses I could see a mantle clock, no doubt still keeping time that the occupants no longer had. And I heard the story of a boy who had been playing with friends down the street, thus avoiding the fate of the rest of his family.

Tents had been set up to enable forensic doctors to work on identification. Each time I signed another "Report of Death of an American Citizen Abroad," I tried to imagine something of the life of the person and silently honor him or her. What struck me most powerfully was how young many of the victims were.

I remember speaking on the phone with families in the U.S. during that first period. Many begged for information — "Where was he found?" "What was she wearing?" — confirmation of the horrible news that had been conveyed to them. I recall heading out to find a local stationery store, where I bought out the stock of those wonderful "ordnance maps" showing the area in detail. When I could learn precisely where a victim had been located, I would mark it on the map and send it to the U.S.

Day after day I sorted through items, my fingers growing so numb I could barely move them.

Later, when the Scottish police began to release personal effects, I took regular trips from Edinburgh to Lockerbie, where a sorting facility had been set up in a concrete building that, despite a monstrous heater in the center, never felt warm. Day after day I sorted through items, my fingers growing so numb I could barely move them.

The victims were, for the most part, returning for the Christmas holidays, so I was prepared to see the heartbreaking remnants of gifts and stuffed toys. Wildly contorted metal suitcases conveyed the power of the impact, but at the same time there were items that had miraculously survived: beautifully folded clothing and an improbably intact bottle of white wine.

I recall the resilience of the women of Lockerbie. Though they had lost 11 of their own, they put in long hours sorting, washing, drying and cleaning the effects, or cooking hearty fare for those of us working there.

And, of course, there were more calls, day in and day out, night after night. Though our little core of staff provided as much personal support to the American families as we could, it never felt adequate.

Afterward, I remember feeling that I had absorbed so much sadness, often in cold and darkness. I asked for time to decompress, but could be spared for only one day. Instead of a direct train to London, I decided to detour to the Lake District, where some of my favorite poets had lived, and where I hoped my spirits could revive.

At Lake Grasmere, perhaps the most picturesque spot in Great Britain, signs of spring had started to appear: sparkling sun, bright green grass, innumerable white clouds. There, on a gently sloping hillside, I wept.

Images, conversations, interactions and procedures all ran through my mind. But nothing really answered the question of "Why?" As the sun went down, I arose, dried my tears, picked up my bag and headed back to town, the bus station and London.

Lockerbie would be lodged inside me, forever. ■

Mitchell Cohn, a Foreign Service officer since 1985, is currently a cultural affairs officer in Rabat. Previous assignments include Mexico City, London, Istanbul, Jakarta, Tunis and Washington, D.C.

This is excerpted from a longer piece solicited by the State Department's Bureau of Consular Affairs in honor of the Lockerbie victims' families.

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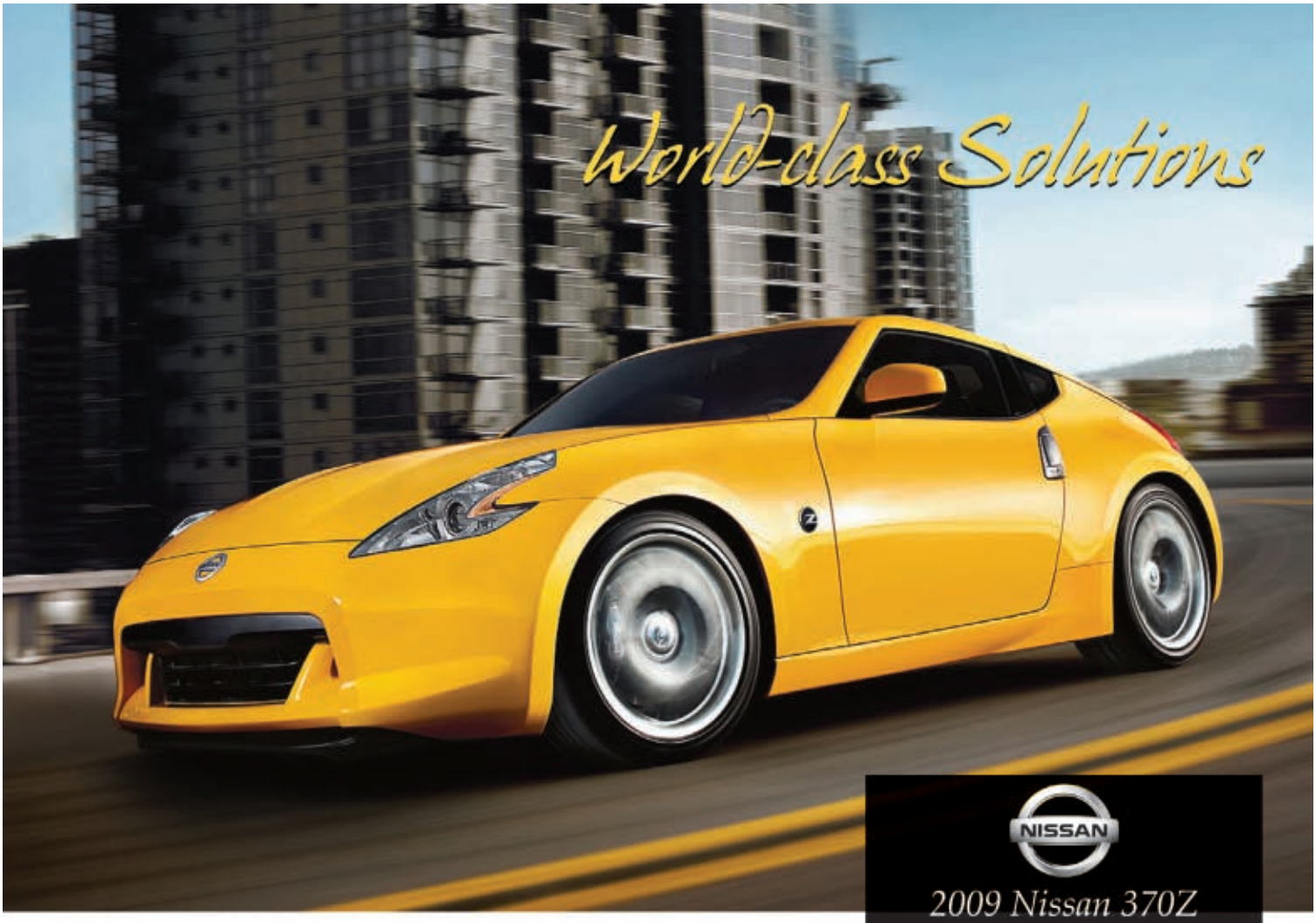

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