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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

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President's Views

Mind the Gap: Addressing FS Readiness

By Susan R. Johnson

I recently testified on behalf of AFSA at a Senate subcommittee hearing on "A Review of Diplomatic Readiness: Addressing the Staffing and Foreign Language Challenges Facing the Foreign Service." While the focus was on the State Department, this problem concerns all five foreign affairs agencies.

As I noted in my testimony, diplomatic readiness goes to the heart of building a strong and professional Foreign Service that will equip the U.S. to lead in the increasingly complex and interdependent world of the 21st century. I would like to share the key findings on mid-level staffing and training problems, and solicit your views on ways we can address them in both the short and long term.

The hearing followed up on ones held in 2006. It was based on Government Accountability Office reports issued earlier this year.

The first report, "Additional Steps Needed to Address Continuing Staffing and Experience Gaps at Hardship Posts," focuses on whether State has made progress in addressing these gaps since 2006 and on how effectively it has used incentives to do so. The GAO found a 17-percent average vacancy rate at posts of greatest hardship, twice the rate at non-hardship posts; significant shortages of mid-level officers at hardship posts, with 34 percent of mid-level generalist positions filled by officers in one- or two-grade "up stretches;" a sharp rise in the number of unaccompanied tours since 2006 (from 700 to 900); and, overall, 670 positions left unfilled since 2005.

The GAO recommends that State make the assignment of experienced officers to hardship posts an explicit priority, and develop and implement a plan to evaluate incentives for hardship post assignments. AFSA concurs in both recommendations.

The second GAO report, "Comprehensive Plan Needed to Address Persistent Language Shortfalls," urges State to evaluate the effectiveness of its efforts to increase language proficiency. Proceeding from the premise that foreign language proficiency is a key skill for effective U.S. diplomacy, this report assesses how State is meeting its foreign language requirements, the difficulties it faces, and the extent to which it has a comprehensive strategy to determine and meet such requirements.

The report found significant gaps in State's foreign language capabilities, which "could hinder U.S. overseas operations." Specifically, 31 percent of Foreign Service generalists in language-designated positions did not meet the proficiency requirements. Foreign language shortfalls persist in areas of strategic interest (the Near East, South and Central Asia), where 40 percent of officers in LDPs did not meet requirements. Gaps are particularly large in Afghanistan and Iraq, where 73 and 57 percent, respectively, of FSOs lacked adequate language skills. Shortfalls in super-critical languages such as Arabic and Chinese have remained at the 2005 level of 39 percent.

To address these critical gaps, the report recommends that State "develop a comprehensive strategic plan that links all of State's efforts to meet its foreign language requirements." AFSA concurs with this recommendation, as well.

There are several ways to address these pressing needs: greater use of recent retirees with the right experience and skills to meet gaps at hardship posts; a requirement to serve at a high-differential (20-percent or higher) hardship post for promotion over the Senior Foreign Service threshold; more opportunities for spouses to work at hardship posts, perhaps for other government agencies; more support for families left at home during unaccompanied tours (as the military has in Military One); more "credit" for proficiency in hard and super-hard languages; and greater linkage of language training to career planning.

What do you think? Please send your suggestions to me at Johnson@afsa.org. ■

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

J. KIRBY SIMON FOREIGN SERVICE TRUST

AN INVITATION TO PROPOSE PROJECTS FOR FUNDING BY THE J. KIRBY SIMON FOREIGN SERVICE TRUST IN 2010

The J. Kirby Simon Foreign Service Trust is a charitable fund established in the memory of J. Kirby Simon, a Foreign Service officer who died in 1995 while serving in Taiwan. The Trust is committed to expanding the opportunities for professional fulfillment and community service of active-duty Foreign Service officers and specialists and their families.

The principal activity of the Trust is to support projects that are initiated and carried out, on an entirely unofficial, voluntary basis, by Foreign Service personnel or members of their families, wherever located. The Trust will also consider projects of the same nature proposed by other U.S. government employees or members of their families, regardless of nationality, who are located at American diplomatic posts abroad. Only the foregoing persons are eligible applicants.

In 2009, the Trust made its thirteenth round of grant awards, 44 in all, ranging from $550 to $4,500 (averaging $2,480), for a total of $109,142. These grants support the involvement of Foreign Service personnel in the projects described in the Trust announcement entitled Grants Awarded in 2009 and available at www.kirbysimontrust.org. To indicate the range of Trust grants, the following paragraphs set forth a sampling of projects supported by the Trust in recent years:

Education Projects: school supplies for refugee and other conflict-afflicted children and for orphanages; English-language learning materials for high school students; day-care facilities for underprivileged women learning marketable skills; specialized education equipment for the disabled.

Additional Projects for Young People: playground and sports training equipment, educational toys, furnishings, household appliances, toilet and shower facilities for special-needs schools and orphanages; cleanups to improve sanitation and create play spaces; school fees and food for abandoned children; and materials for a re-entry program for returning Foreign Service teens.

Health and Safety-related Projects: dental care for impoverished children; staff training for crisis shelters; health care equipment and improved sanitation for maternity clinics and orphanages; a visual impairment survey among HIV-positive children; new homes for earthquake victims; photo documentation of murdered women set on fire by husbands or in-laws.

Revenue-producing Projects: machines and materials for income-generating programs for sick and disadvantaged children and adults, including abused women, migrant workers, refugees, Roma and victims of sex-trafficking; a cooperative for deaf carpenters.

The Trust now invites the submission of proposals for support in 2010. It is anticipated that few of the new grants will exceed the average size of the 2009 awards, and that projects assisted by the Trust will reflect a variety of interests and approaches, illustrated by the foregoing list of past grants and by the Web site description of 2009 grants.

Grants provided by the Trust can be used to support several categories of project expense; examples are provided above. However, certain restrictions apply: (a) Funds from the Trust cannot be used to pay salaries or other compensation to U.S. government employees or their family members. (b) The Trust does not support projects that have reasonable prospects of full funding from other sources. (c) The Trust will provide support for a project operated by a charitable or educational organization only where the individual applicant(s) plan an active part in initiating and carrying out the project, apart from fundraising. (d) The Trust will support only projects in which each applicant's role is clearly separate from the applicant's official responsibilities.

A proposal should include a description of the project, what it is intended to achieve, and the role to be played by the applicant(s); a preliminary plan for disseminating the results of the project; a budget; other available funding, if any; and a brief biography of the applicant(s). Proposals should be no longer than five double-spaced pages (exclusive of budget and biographical material). Please follow the application format available at www.kirbysimontrust.org/format_for_proposals.html or by communicating with the Trust (see below).

Proposals for projects to be funded during calendar year 2010 must be received by the Trust no later than March 1, 2010.

Proposals can be submitted by mail, by fax or (preferably) by e-mail to:

J. Kirby Simon Foreign Service Trust
93 Edgehill Road
New Haven, CT 06511
FAX: (203) 432-0063
info@kirbysimontrust.org

Further information about the Trust can be found on the Web at www.kirbysimontrust.org.

LETTERS

Ambassadorial Jobs Still for Sale

AFSA President Susan Johnson musters persuasive arguments in her October President's Views column against our traditional, and pernicious, practice of reserving most, if not all, of our key diplomatic posts and positions in the State Department for those who contributed to the campaign of whoever happens to be our president.

As she points out, this practice is unique among what might be considered "serious" countries, although one other government followed it to a limited extent: the former Soviet Union. But in the Soviet case, those assignments were a punishment, not a reward, such as V.M. Molotov's service in Ulaanbaatar following defeat of the "anti-Party Group" by Nikita Khrushchev in 1957.

I had hoped for better from the current administration in light of the statements by President Barack Obama and Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton extolling the virtues of public service. Now we see that those declarations were mere window dressing.

At least the George W. Bush administration made no effort to conceal its contempt for the career Foreign Service. The hypocrisy of the current White House makes it worse.

Thomas Niles
Ambassador, retired
Scarsdale, N.Y.

Diplomats in Conflict Zones

Your September issue has three superb articles on "The Role of U.S. Diplomats in Conflict Zones" that deserve the widest possible readership in the Service. They rightly remind us that the Foreign Service as a profession has a long way to go to develop the Service-wide competence to work on the ground in today's (and tomorrow's) counterinsurgency operations in places like Iraq and Afghanistan.

The same issue contains a very relevant review by Ambassador David Passage of David Kilkullen's recent book, *The Accidental Guerrilla*, on the same subject. Amb. Passage rightly commends it as something that "every American diplomat concerned with our national security needs to read and comprehend." And he coins the useful phrase, "It's the people, stupid," to emphasize his point that that's where any counterinsurgency must prevail.

Old hands in the Service like myself recall our post–World War II experience in occupied Germany, when entire A-100 classes were diverted and trained as "Kreis Resident Officers" to take over from the U.S. Army in developing responsible local governance throughout the American zone of occupation.

Bruce Laingen
Ambassador, retired
Bethesda, Md.

Where's the Super-Diplomat?

Kurt Amend's recommendations in "The Diplomat as Counterinsurgent" (September *FSJ*) are certainly valid, but they are pie-in-the-sky. What he describes is a kind of super-diplomat that does not currently exist. Nowhere in the article does he mention the importance of knowing the language of the country.

It is doubtful that anyone, even at the ambassadorial level, would have the clout to whip the various agencies into line to support his strategic goals, and it is certain that he/she would not succeed without fluency in the local language. Does such a diplomat exist in the Department of State?

Frank Huffman
FSO, retired
Washington, D.C.

End Cuban Isolation

I ask *FSJ* readers this question: How can we continue to justify a policy that has failed to meet its objective? For nearly 50 years the embargo on trade with Cuba has failed to achieve its goal: ending an authoritarian, undemocratic regime by removing Fidel Castro, who in 2008 took himself off center stage. A government seemingly more amenable to a resumption of relations with the U.S. continues under his brother, Raul Castro. Yet the U.S. embargo continues, and the nation closest to the U.S., after Canada and

Mexico, remains estranged.

Ironically, in spite of the embargo, the U.S. leads all other nations in shipping foodstuffs to Cuba, sending some $700 million worth of exports in 2008. The bulk of these were grains, but we also exported sugar due to the dilapidated condition of the Cuban sugar industry. We say one thing but do something else.

In 1962, the Organization of American States agreed to support the embargo and expelled Cuba. Recognizing Washington's inability to overthrow Castro and unwillingness to reverse a failed policy, Latin American nations over the years have withdrawn support for the embargo. Lifting it and restoring diplomatic relations with Havana would go a long way toward restoring respect for the U.S. in the region.

Nearly 60,000 American service members perished in combat in Vietnam attempting to defeat the Viet Cong, who eventually won when U.S. forces withdrew. We now enjoy diplomatic relations with Vietnam, and commerce and tourism flourishes. By contrast, Havana, which has killed no Americans and with which we have never gone to war, remains isolated.

A resumption of diplomacy, followed by trade, investments and tourism, would revitalize a stagnant Cuban economy. Furthermore, it would remove Castro's longstanding excuse for the failure of his economic policies: the U.S. embargo.

Fortunately, President Barack Obama has signaled a change in attitude by issuing an executive order permitting Cuban-Americans to visit Cuba and send remittances there. But only Congress can terminate the embargo and permit all Americans to visit the island.

Such steps, followed by the resumption of diplomatic relations, are in keeping with the traditional American policy of good will toward other nations and would benefit the people of both countries.

E.V. Niemeyer Jr.
FSO, retired (USIA)
Austin, Texas

CORRECTION

In the October President's Views column, a reference to a 1980 suggestion to cap non-career ambassador appointments at 15 percent was attributed to "the late" Senator Charles Mathias when it should have read "the former." Sen. Mathias is still very much with us. The *Journal* regrets the error. ■

The *Foreign Service Journal* welcomes brief, focused letters from readers. (In general, 200 to 400 words is a good target.) All submissions are subject to editing, and reflect the opinions of the writers, not necessarily the views of the *Journal*, the Editorial Board or AFSA.

Please send your letters to:
journal@afsa.org.

CYBERNOTES

Will History Repeat Itself?

Six years ago, FSOs John Brown, John Brady Kiesling and Ann Wright all resigned from the Service over the decision to invade Iraq. Now, even as President Barack Obama considers a request to send a substantial number of troops to Afghanistan, another member of the Foreign Service has resigned over the direction of U.S. policy in a war zone.

Matthew Hoh, a limited non-career Foreign Service officer and former Marine captain who was serving as the senior civilian representative in Zabul province, Afghanistan, sent his four-page letter of resignation to Director General Nancy Powell on Sept. 10 (**www.washingtonpost.com**). Explaining that he had "lost understanding of and confidence in the strategic purposes of the United States' presence in Afghanistan," Hoh emphasized that his decision was "based not upon how we are pursuing this war, but why and to what end."

The reaction to Hoh's letter was immediate. U.S. Ambassador Karl W. Eikenberry brought Hoh to Kabul and offered him a job on his senior staff, which he declined. He was then flown to Washington to meet with Ambassador Richard C. Holbrooke, the Obama administration's special representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan. Holbrooke, who agreed with much of Hoh's analysis but not his conclusion, encouraged him to join his team so that he could influence policy. However, a week after initially taking the job, Hoh changed his mind, and the Department of State formally accepted his resignation on Oct. 21.

Digital Journal, a social news site made up of professional journalists, citizen journalists and bloggers, comments that "Hoh may not be the 'poster boy' of opposition to the war, but his letter of resignation will prove fodder for opponents of the war and the media for a long time to come" (**www.digitaljournal.com**). However, the experience of Brown, Kiesling and Wright raises doubts about whether Hoh's resignation will have any practical impact.

— Steven Alan Honley, Editor

A Strategic Doctrine for Civilian Peacebuilders

The country's first civilian doctrine for stabilization and reconstruction activity saw the light of day in early October. Titled "Guiding Principles for Stabilization and Reconstruction," the manual released on Oct. 7 is the product of a joint, two-year effort by the U.S. Institute for Peace (**www.usip.org**) and the U.S. Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute (**http://pksoi.army.mil/**).

"The question du jour is what the strategy in Afghanistan should be," says Beth Cole, a senior program officer in the USIP's Center for Post-Conflict Peace and Stability Operations and head of the institute's Civilian Peacefare Initiative. "This manual provides a strategic framework that can help guide that strategy."

Though the military has traditionally been equipped with doctrine that guides its decisions and actions, civilians in post-conflict situations have acted without any unifying framework. Meant to fill that gap, the new manual contains both a comprehensive set of shared principles and a shared strategic framework for civilians. It was designed as a companion publication to the U.S. Army's pioneering "Field Manual 3-07: Stability Operations," released in October 2008.

"Ad hoc, disorganized campaigns for peace have been the hallmark of past missions," says State Department Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization Ambassador John Herbst. In a two-year investigation, everything that had been written by dozens of agencies on stabilization and reconstruction operations was reviewed and "what we know" was consolidated in one place. The new manual, says Herbst, is "the bible for S&R missions."

It will be a critical tool for educating and training the thousands of new members in the active, standby and re-

> We've got to think about giving out cookies. Kids, countries — they react to gold stars, smiley faces, handshakes, agreements, talk, engagement.
>
> — U.S. envoy to Sudan retired Major General J. Scott Gration, Sept. 29, *www.washingtonpost.com*

serve components of the government's Civilian Response Corps. It will also assist individuals at all levels involved in any aspect of an S&R mission — decision-making, assessment, planning, training, implementation or metrics.

— Susan Brady Maitra, Senior Editor

Advancing Africa, Engaging the World

A new form of development collaboration in Africa is being put to the test as we go to press. Africa Rural Connect is an Internet-based project to discuss and develop ideas to improve sub-Saharan agriculture. ARC was launched by the National Peace Corps Association in July with the support of a grant from the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (**www.AfricaRuralConnect.org**).

To turn the lively online deliberations into viable action plans, ARC conducted a contest from August through November, ranking submissions on the basis of their support from registered discussants. After three rounds, the grand prize of $20,000 will be awarded in December to the very best program.

ARC's purpose is to harness the firsthand experiences and insight of those who have served or lived in Africa, and thus have insights about the needs of African farmers, and link them with development professionals, nongovernmental organization workers and scholars.

"This community is an ideal way for Peace Corps Volunteers to extend their service beyond their two-year commitment, and for the African disapora to have a platform to put forth their own solutions for issues in their home countries," Molly Mattessich, Africa Rural Connect project manager and a Peace Corps Volunteer in Mali from 2002 to 2004, tells *BusinessNews* (**http://baltimore.dbusinessnews.com**).

Once a proposal is posted on the site, users can contribute feedback, allowing the creator to make adjustments to make the project more feasible and effective, increasing its chances of gaining more support.

The first-place winner in Round 3, which ended Oct. 15, was a proposal for improvement of the Arid and Semi-arid Land Schools system in rural Kenya put forth by a Kenyan NGO. Primary contributor Kacheru Karuku's plan will use information technology to standardize and streamline the school system's management and introduce an e-learning curriculum in agroforestry, water harvesting and greenhouse and drip-irrigation technologies.

— Amanda Anderson, Editorial Intern

U.S. Standing: Beyond the Obama Effect

Though America's standing in the eyes of the world has generally trended downward since 2002, the 2008 election saw a surge in positive impressions, both domestically and abroad. What does this mean? Can it last? These are among the questions addressed in a new study, "U.S. Standing in the World: Faultline for the Obama Presidency," released by the American Political Science Association at the National Press Club on Oct. 1 (**www.apsanet.org/content_59477.cfm**).

Not simply a popularity contest, U.S. standing in the world at any given time is the product of complex processes and, in turn, has implications for policy.

The findings are thought-provoking. For instance, other countries rate the U.S. not only on its provision of public and private goods (from humanitarian aid to global health) throughout the world, but on their own expectations that this American largesse will increase each year. As the study's authors note, "it is likely that the disconnect between high expectations of what the United States should do in the years ahead, and what it actually can and will do, will pose a persistent challenge for managing U.S. standing."

The study offers some recommendations for ways to restore America's reputation abroad. First, leaders must recognize that the gains from improving our standing outweigh the short-term costs. Second, the U.S. should take into account local, country-specific factors, while still supporting overarching moral objectives, like human rights and climate change. Finally, rather than providing charity, the U.S. should demonstrate leadership by working alongside other states to aid in developing and implementing effective policies.

The study also suggests that a portion of the massive military budget could be better spent in areas of diplomacy, arguing that developing such ties would accrue more value than any number of weapons and troops ever could.

50 Years Ago…

I'm an optimist about the [Foreign] Service's future. A few years ago it did not seem to me to offer as much because of public misunderstanding and certain antagonisms which you know about. I believe the Service has emerged from those trials stronger and more solid. We have many friends in Congress and in the country at large. … Our press actually is fair to us and I believe most of us have many good friends among the correspondents who are usually inclined to give us a break when we stumble and a kind word if we rate it.

— Under Secretary of State Robert Murphy, from a talk at a Foreign Service luncheon, Sept. 24, 1959; December 1959 *FSJ*.

Acknowledging the difficulty of assessing the United States' global standing, the study's authors encourage more such research. Only on the basis of reliable data can U.S. policymakers act effectively to improve America's reputation worldwide.

— Amanda Anderson, Editorial Intern

Keeping a Not-So-Stiff Upper Lip

Until 2006, British ambassadors leaving their posts traditionally sent a valedictory dispatch to London offering a candid assessment of the country in which they had served. They could also use that message to write about the governments they had served, or the Diplomatic Service itself.

Sadly for connoisseurs of plain speaking, the U.K. Foreign Office discontinued the practice three years ago. Using material obtained under freedom-of-information laws, BBC Radio 4 producer Andrew Bryson shared some classics of the genre on his Oct. 16 "Parting Shots" program that make clear why (**http://news.bbc.co.uk**).

For instance, Roger Pinsent's final missive from Managua, sent in 1967, concluded: "There is, I fear, no question but that the average Nicaraguan is one of the most dishonest, unreliable, violent and alcoholic of the Latin Americans."

And here is Lord Moran, high commissioner in Ottawa between 1981 and 1984: "One does not encounter here the ferocious competition of talent that takes place in the United Kingdom. Canadians still seek wider opportunities elsewhere. Anyone who is even moderately good at what they do — in literature, the theater, skiing or whatever — tends to become a national figure, and anyone who stands out at all from the crowd tends to be praised to the skies and given the Order of Canada at once."

But the message that precipitated the end of that venerable tradition — sent by Sir Ivor Roberts, Britain's departing ambassador to Italy, in 2006 — did not criticize Rome but London. Deploring a Foreign Office under siege by management consultants, efficiency drives and Wall Street business-speak mumbo-jumbo, Roberts asked: "Can it be that in wading through the plethora of business plans, capability reviews, skills audits, zero-based reviews and other excrescences of the management age, we have indeed forgotten what diplomacy is all about?"

— Steven Alan Honley, Editor

Public Diplomacy Debate Gets Practical

A recent exchange among distinguished public diplomacy practitioners spotlights practical measures. Retired Ambassador William A. Rugh targeted field operations in a statement first published in the e-zine **www.americandiplomacy.org**, presenting an accurate view of the public diplomacy profession and detailing administrative corrections to better support it.

Five prominent FSOs responded, focusing on the structure needed to put U.S. outreach efforts on a strong and dynamic footing. Thomas Pickering, Henry Catto, David Hitchcock, Fred Coffey Jr. and Stanley Silverman offer a three-step fix to improve PD support for overseas programs, provide a clear chain of authority overseas from the under secretary and give field officers a stronger voice in Washington direction.

"The suggestions in these articles deserve serious consideration and prompt action," says Phillip Seib, director of the University of Southern California's Center on Public Diplomacy.

The exchange is featured on the CPD Web site (**www.uscpublicdiplomacy.com**). ■

— Susan Brady Maitra, Senior Editor

All references in the *Foreign Service Journal* are linked to their source Web sites or e-mail addresses in the online version of the magazine. Beginning with this issue, we will dispense with the long, unwieldy URLs that have been prominent in Cybernotes, providing generic references for print readers and relying on embedded links in the Internet edition.

Speaking Out

Restore State's Office of Public Communications

By Alexis Ludwig

For as long as I can remember, diplomacy has been synonymous in popular culture with sipping cocktails at well-appointed receptions. Its practitioners are either cowardly, effete snobs or huffy, indifferent bureaucrats (or both), in sharp contrast to our muscular, mission-focused military colleagues.

In reaction, leaders at the State Department and AFSA have often exhorted the "troops" (if you can't beat 'em, join 'em) to get the word out about what diplomats really do, by conducting public outreach and writing for outside publications.

The logic of these exhortations is sound enough: If there is an image problem, seek to correct it; if information is lacking, provide it. Go forth and fill the vacuum! After all, we *do* have a story worth telling; the work we do *is* valuable; and the American public may actually *be* interested in hearing concrete details about it from those of us in the trenches.

As an occasional contributor to the *Foreign Service Journal*, I would love to see my byline on all sorts of wise, instructive articles and essays toward this end. Preferably, these pieces would be targeted to outside audiences unfamiliar with what we do and (in my experience, at least) instinctively skeptical about its value. But it turns out it's not that easy to get the word out — though it used to be.

It turns out it's not that easy to get the word out — though it used to be.

When I joined the Foreign Service in early 1994, the State Department still had an Office of Public Communications within the Bureau of Public Affairs that was tasked with facilitating public outreach by Civil Service and Foreign Service personnel.

The Way It Was

One of PA/PC's concrete responsibilities was to assist in clearing for outside publication the extracurricular writings of department personnel on matters of professional interest — a critical link in a potentially sensitive process.

In those days, one faxed the draft and followed up with a phone call to confirm receipt. Depending on its length or sensitivity, the text usually got the green light within a week, often sooner. During my first year as a diplomat, I placed several op-eds highlighting different aspects of the Foreign Service experience in the San Francisco newspaper I had contributed to as a freelancer before joining the FS. It was fun, and maybe even useful.

My interactions with PA/PC were overwhelmingly positive. A one-stop bureaucratic shop, it was responsive and efficient. The office staff seemed to understand that the goal was to facilitate the flow of information to the outside world, while keeping an eye out for the potential unintended consequences of public release (which must have entailed a lot of behind-the-scenes work).

The following year, things changed. It was the infamous era of "doing more with less." In a face-off with Congress, the government closed for several days in 1995. The next year, despite dutiful calls by State's leadership for stepped-up public outreach, the Office of Public Communications was permanently shuttered. (The inverse relationship between rhetoric and reality reflected in that moment now seems axiomatic of prevailing political practice in many places I've served.)

Aspiring State Department writers were left on their own. The informal word was that "you now have to get your own clearances." This was difficult, in part because it was confusing: from whom and how did the final blessing come? It also left authors vulnerable to the charge of doing "personal" work on company time — not a good thing. I remember bringing sev-

eral draft essays to a more senior colleague in the Bureau of Public Affairs (then located at the U.S. Information Agency), who promised to take a look and see what could be done. Nothing came of any of them, mostly because I didn't follow through. I didn't really know how. So my early enthusiasm for this kind of public expression began to wither on the vine.

The Clearance Process: Not So Clear

Fast forward a few years. After having written several articles for the *Foreign Service Journal* in the past, I decided to take another shot at outside publication. As the official organ of the American Foreign Service Association, the *FSJ* constitutes a good venue for writing to and for one's colleagues and other insiders; obtaining department clearance generally isn't an issue. But publication in the *Journal* does not necessarily give one access to the larger mass of outside readers potentially curious about a life and profession they know little or nothing about.

The subject I chose to address was a colleague's small act of heroic decency, which embodied the best traditions of the Foreign Service while also spotlighting the varied and sometimes competing responsibilities of a diplomat's work. I sought to contrast the misleading popular image of the diplomat I described at the outset of this article with a concrete humanitarian action, above and beyond the call of duty.

The story seemed a handy vehicle for demonstrating how rubber-hits-the-road diplomacy can touch lives. A number of people suggested to me it might merit broader dissemination.

Thus began the complicated and prolonged clearance process, which I initiated out of an abundance of caution. Getting agreement from post leadership was a snap. However, the front office of the Public Affairs Bureau responded that it wouldn't review the text until all other clearances were gathered. I wasn't quite sure what that meant, but I was determined to pursue the matter.

What it turned out to mean was persuading many persons in many different offices to take time out from their busy jobs to go over my draft. As is to be expected, some of these individuals performed this "favor" with enthusiasm, others less so. The murky process, full of fits and starts, took several weeks.

After that, I resubmitted the draft to PA. With some helpful prodding from several Washington-based colleagues, the draft finally emerged fully "cleared" about a month later. By that time, however, I had already packed out from post and moved on, physically and mentally.

So it wasn't until some time later, during the relative quiet of home leave, that I took a closer look at precisely what that clearance meant. It was predictably benign throughout most of the text — until I scrolled down to the final section. There, several paragraphs had been crossed out nearly in their entirety and without explanation. When I used the "accept tracked changes" function to see more clearly how the text now read — my words had sometimes been pared down to favorable effect by good editors in the past — what remained was a kind of wreckage on the page: fragments of sentences that made no sense, like a house ransacked and then abandoned.

The manifest indifference to the final product, not the deletions themselves (which may well have been justified), was what struck me most. I wrote e-mails to the individuals apparently responsible for the edits to request clarification or concrete suggestions for repair. Radio silence ensued.

Back to the Future

If my experience is in any way representative, then a great deal of potentially useful public expression (I flatter myself, I know) has been suppressed in our ranks. Not deliberately — I'm sure the responsible parties felt they were just doing their job — but the outcome is the same.

Fortunately, there is an easy fix for this structural problem. We can simply resurrect a new version of the Office of Public Communications, and assign it a clear mission: help our people communicate directly with an outside audience, and do so from start to finish (including by securing all necessary clearances).

That mission could include proactively identifying candidates with interesting stories to tell or compelling experiences to convey (many professional editors seek out the "right" writers for a particular story idea), and continue all the way through to helping authors place their products in strategically appropriate media venues — from specialized technical blogs to national news magazines.

Whatever we call the new office, State should ensure that it has the tools it needs to do its job. Its staff must be committed to strategic outreach as a priority, conversant with the latest technologies, focused on quick turnaround and capable of working the bureaucratic terrain to extract required feedback fast.

This nimble new entity could col-

laborate with, and complement the work of, existing official public affairs entities, attacking an emerging falsehood or clarifying an event or issue via the cleared "personal" statements of individual officers — rather than cumbersome (and sometimes opaque) official pronouncements.

I think, for example, that we've wrung all the juice from the tired cliché about diplomats serving their country on the front lines of an increasingly dangerous world. So we're going to need to come up with something better to explain ourselves to a bemused and skeptical audience.

In this connection, I would point to media coverage of the "Iraq town hall meeting" fiasco back in the fall of 2007. Media coverage of that event appeared to confirm all the worst stereotypes of cowardly diplomats. Why did the reporting not reflect, even just a little, the whirlwind of perceptive and patriotic back-channel commentary I read from colleagues near and far about what really went on in that meeting, and the range of perspectives reflected there?

If my experience is in any way representative, then a great deal of potentially useful public expression has been suppressed in our ranks.

Tapping into those useful perceptions and perspectives, and targeting them to fill the public information gap, would be the underlying goal of the new communications office. This, in turn, would help a broader public to understand, and even appreciate, the many little (and occasionally big) things that diplomats do on behalf of our country and people. ■

Alexis Ludwig joined the Foreign Service in 1994 and has served in Guatemala City, Tokyo, Kuala Lumpur, La Paz and Washington, D.C. He is currently political counselor in Lima.

FS KNOW-HOW

Effective Networking for Diplomats — Introverts or Not

BY RUTH M. SCHIMEL

Networking can be a misused and misunderstood process. For starters, many Foreign Service members think of it primarily in terms of planning a post-FS career. While it is certainly a useful skill for that purpose, cultivating and sustaining professional relationships contribute to professional development throughout one's career, as well as afterward.

Another common misconception is that networking "works" only for extroverts, who already tend to be gregarious. In fact, such skills are useful for a wide range of situations and personalities, including introverts — who are the main focus of this article.

Finally, some people disdain networking as shameless self-promotion. That may be true in extreme cases, but for most people, it is a win-win means of sharing skills, information and experiences with friends and colleagues.

Only Connect

It may be helpful to think of effective networking as a type of marketing, one that addresses shared needs and interests for mutual benefit. Start by being alert for possible professional relationships that could be beneficial, as well as pleasant. They can include people whose substantive interests are similar or complementary to your own.

For example, a political officer with particular geographic expertise can connect with an economic officer whose functional knowledge brings an important dimension to understanding the complexity in a region or culture. In assignments with a focus on community development, the managerial and organizational experience of administrative and consular officers is relevant. Other examples include security, public affairs and personnel officers, all of whom have access to useful contacts and information about the local scene and individuals.

Networking is a win-win means of sharing skills, information and experiences with friends and colleagues.

Such expansive approaches go beyond the tendency in marketing to focus on target groups or discrete categories of people. Given the complexity of today's national and global issues, effective networking needs to transcend compartments. At its best, it is a dynamic, sometimes even intimate process of mutual influence that enriches your current career and opens avenues to future work — both within and outside the Foreign Service — especially in areas that engage you most strongly.

Effective networking reaches beyond neat categories and immediate needs. Understanding what makes you and others unique is catalytic for focusing your efforts. This builds trust, whether with U.S. colleagues, Foreign Service Nationals, host-country representatives or everyday citizens — all potential sources of information, understanding and friendship. Conversely, avoiding such relationships because of superficial assumptions about a person's value means missing chances to connect and learn.

Networking for Introverts

If you consider yourself an introvert, keep in mind that behavior can range from asocial to quiet to just short of being an extrovert. It can also vary with how you're feeling, whom you're with, how many people are present and your environment.

Here are some examples of preferences among people who tend toward introversion. To test your own, do you:

- prefer to concentrate in a quiet environment?
- appreciate details over generalizations?
- want to know what's behind something?
- think about issues and situations a great deal before acting?
- feel tired after, and perhaps in anticipation of, intense social interaction?

Wherever you fit on the continuum of introversion, psychologist Carl Jung would probably have encouraged you to understand your tendencies, as well as to develop your own version of extroversion. "Know who you are, so you can determine how else you want to act," he might have counseled. In other words, rather than change who you are, experiment in comfortable situations with a wider range of behaviors in order to improve effectiveness and enjoyment.

There are many ways you can honor your introverted tendencies, even as you network to develop new or deeper relationships. Select any of the following suggestions that appeal to you, adapting them so they make sense for you and your situation. Then add your own ideas.

• Avoid noisy crowds in favor of sharing a meal, drink or simple activity, such as a walk, in quiet situations that support conversation.

• Experiment with writing e-mail and letters in which the content also gives recipients a sense of who you are and your interests through word choice, style, humor and information, for example. You might also consider social networking options, from LinkedIn to Twitter.

• Join groups where you can learn more about subjects that interest you, instead of feeling overwhelmed or bored by boisterous, superficial or self-congratulatory people. Check out various professional organizations and groups, both within and outside the Service, to see which ones are a good match for you. For external ones, scan the *Encyclopedia of Associations*, which is updated regularly and usually available in libraries. For a description, visit www.gale.cengage.com.

• Commit to fulfilling one goal when in a social situation.

Understanding what makes you and others unique is catalytic for focusing your efforts.

• Regularly attend functions you're likely to enjoy, to become more at home and to continue developing relationships.

• Connect with people who offer new experiences and perspectives in ways that are comfortable, or at least easy, for you both.

Networking Prep

• Identify several appropriate topics that engage you and decide how you can discuss them in the new setting.

• Imagine a short script for yourself before returning or making a phone call.

• Make sure you are well-rested before participating in larger functions.

• Go or meet up with a partner or someone you like when you attend a large gathering, as long as you don't stay joined at the hip. If possible, choose someone who can introduce you around and will not feel ignored as you engage with others. Of course, help them connect, too.

• Identify relevant information and ideas you want to offer and how you will elicit others' interests.

• Prepare several short, apt stories about your professional or personal life, possibly showing how you overcame obstacles or learned something, and tell them with energy, variety and originality.

• Remind yourself of the worst thing that could happen and how you'd handle it to lessen any anxiety you may feel.

While Networking

• Use your listening as well as your speaking skills. Practice asking open-ended questions starting with "what" and "how." Feel free to paraphrase what's said. Obtain useful information for gauging and improving a situation by attending to body language, including your own.

• Give yourself permission to leave a large, unproductive function, group discussion or conversation, as appropriate.

• Seek out people who seem kind and self-aware, as well as knowledgeable and curious.

• Walk up to individuals who appear alone; engage them in conversation.

• Stretch time when you don't have a pithy, quick response. Say something like, "I want to give this the thought it deserves. Can I get back to you?"

• Avoid, move away from, or manage "interrupters" and other pushy people. If you feel comfortable, say calmly with a smile, "Let me finish." And if you want to, add some confident humor: "You may find it valuable (interesting, worthwhile)."

• Brush up on your conversational skills, perhaps practicing with people whose company you enjoy and observing how people engage you effectively.

• Be true to yourself. Make apparent such strengths as integrity, a quiet sense of humor and authenticity — all part of building relationships and trust, the cornerstones of diplomacy.

I hope you will use these suggestions to develop a wider repertoire for effective communication and self-pre-

sentation, build professional relationships, better enjoy your social interactions, and define and meet your career goals — all while remaining true to yourself. ■

Ruth M. Schimel, a Foreign Service officer for over 20 years, served in Calcutta, Quito, Guatemala City and Washington, D.C. Since resigning from the Service, she has been providing career and life management consulting services for a range of clients. She speaks and writes on professional and personal development, and has started a series of books based on original research into how people discover their capacity for courage. She also manages The Schimel Lode, which supports innovation and collaboration for the public good in the Washington, D.C., area. Learn more at www.ruthschimel.com.

HELPFUL RESOURCES

In addition to practice, here are several books that may be helpful:

Introvert Power: Why Your Inner Life Is Your Hidden Strength by Laurie Helgoe (Sourcebooks, Inc., 2008)

Living Introverted: Learning to Embrace the Quiet Life Without Guilt by Lee Ann Lambert (self-published, 2009)

Goodbye to Shy by Leil Lowndes (McGraw-Hill, 2006)

The Art of Mingling: Proven Techniques for Mastering Any Room by Jeanne Martinet (St. Martin's Press, 2006)

Make Your Contacts Count: Networking Know-How for Business and Career Success by Anne Baber and Lynne Waymon (AMACON, 2007)

Just Listen: Discover the Secret to Getting Through to Absolutely Anyone by Mark Goulston, M.D., and Keith Ferrazzi (AMACON, 2010)

— Ruth Schimel

Letter from the Editor

By Steven Alan Honley

Happy holidays! With a new Foreign Service Journal Editorial Board and AFSA Governing Board, and a relatively new presidential administration, this seems an especially fitting time to issue our periodic invitation to take advantage of the many opportunities to contribute to the *Journal*. You'll find a full set of author guidelines on our Web site (www.afsa.org/fsj), but here is a basic overview.

Each issue of the magazine features a focus section examining various facets of an issue related to the Foreign Service, diplomatic practice or international relations. This month, for instance, we assess President Barack Obama's renewed focus on arms control agreements, and take a look back at how the State Department has carried out that function since absorbing the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency a decade ago.

Here is a list of the focus topics our Editorial Board has identified for the coming year (subject, of course, to revision):

2010 EDITORIAL CALENDAR for the *FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL*

JANUARY	Who Will Lead USAID? (cover story)
FEBRUARY	Life after the Foreign Service (PLUS AFSA Tax Guide)
MARCH	Iraq & Its Neighbors (PLUS AFSA Annual Report)
APRIL	Spotlight on Consular Issues
MAY	Future of the Foreign Service (Diplomacy 3.0, etc.)
JUNE	FSI/FS Training: What's New? (PLUS semiannual Schools Supplement)
JULY-AUGUST	FS Reflections: Tales from the Field (PLUS AFSA Awards coverage)
SEPTEMBER	How Does MED Measure Up?
OCTOBER	IBB/VOA & Electronic Diplomacy
NOVEMBER	In Their Own Write (annual roundup of books by FS-affiliated authors)
DECEMBER	Emerging Strategic Powers: Indonesia, Turkey, Egypt, South Africa (PLUS semiannual Schools Supplement)

Because of our lead time for publication, and the requirement for Editorial Board approval, we need to receive submissions at least three months (and preferably longer) prior to the issue's release date. Thus, we have already lined up authors for the January issue, but there is still time to submit manuscripts for later months. Submissions should generally be between 2,000 and 3,000 words, though shorter pieces are always welcome.

If those choices don't grab you, or if you feel we have not devoted enough space to a professional concern or functional issue, please consider writing a feature article (also generally 2,000-3,000 words long) for us.

We continue to welcome submissions for our **FS Heritage** department, which spotlights past U.S. diplomats (either famous or obscure), as well as issues related to the evolution of the Foreign Service as an institution.

Our annual **fiction contest** continues with the same rules that applied this year. Entrants are restricted to one story of 3,000 words or less, which must be e-mailed to us at journal@afsa.org no later than March 1. We will publish the winning story (selected by the FSJ Editorial Board) in our July-August 2009 double issue, and the other top stories over the fall months. For more details, see the ad elsewhere in this issue or contact us directly.

We invite those of you who expect to publish a book between now and next fall to send us a copy (along with promotional materials), for inclusion in our annual compilation of recently published books by Foreign Service-affiliated authors, "In Their Own Write." Sept. 1 is still the deadline for a listing in the roundup, which will run in November. For more information, contact Senior Editor Susan Maitra at maitra@afsa.org.

Share Your Insights

We take seriously our mission to give you "news you can use" — e.g., information about how to advance your career; tips on dealing effectively with the bureaucracy at State and the other foreign affairs agencies, especially when you are trying to resolve a problem; and updates on how AFSA is working to improve working and living conditions for Foreign Service employees and their families.

Much of that coverage is found, of course, within the pages of **AFSA News**. This section offers many different ways for members to share their experiences, thoughts and concerns regarding professional issues, including the following departments: Family Member Matters, Of Special(ist) Concern (a forum for specialists), Where to Retire, On the Lighter Side (FS humor), Memo of the Month (highlighting amusing or ridiculous notices — unclassified, please! — circulating at overseas posts), and The System and You (notes from inside the bureaucracy).

We take seriously our mission to give you "news you can use."

AFSA News Editor Francesca Kelly also plans to introduce a new department next year profiling AFSA post representatives. For more information about these departments, or any aspect of *AFSA News*, contact Francesca at kelly@afsa.org.

Another place to look for such items is our periodic **FS Know-How** department. We welcome contributions on topics ranging from managing one's career and cutting red tape to parlaying one's professional skills in retirement, as well as financial information and guidance for Foreign Service personnel.

There are many other ways you can contribute to our pages, of course. I hope you will share your reactions, positive and negative, not only to this issue but to what you read every month, by contributing to our **Letters** section. Just bear in mind that, as with all periodicals, the briefer and more focused your letter is, the more likely we'll be able to print it in full. (In general, 200 to 400 words is a good target.)

The **Speaking Out** department is your forum to advocate policy, regulatory or statutory changes to the Foreign Service. These columns (approximately 1,500 to 2,000 words) can be based on personal experience with a professional injustice or insights into a foreign affairs-related issue.

Our **Reflections** department presents short commentaries (approximately 600 words long) based on personal experiences while living or traveling overseas. These submissions should center on insights gained as a result of interactions with other cultures, rather than being descriptive "travel pieces." We are also pleased to consider poetry and photographs for publication, either in that section or as freestanding features.

Please note that all submissions to the *Journal* must be approved by our Editorial Board and are subject to editing for style, length and format. For information on how to submit a column, article or letter, please contact us at journal@afsa.org, and we will be delighted to respond. Other inquiries — changes of address, etc. — should also go to that address.

Let us hear from you. ■

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ORGANIZING FOR ARMS CONTROL: 1945-2009

Adam Niklewicz

PREVENTING THE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS REMAINS THE URGENT PRIORITY IT HAS BEEN FROM THE DAWN OF THE ATOMIC AGE.

BY PIERCE S. CORDEN

Arms control — typically through agreed measures to reduce or limit the possession or use of weapons — has been a component of national, and global, security for over a century. The invention and use of nuclear weapons stimulated a renewed and urgent international focus on arms control after World War II. The new United Nations provided a forum for initial efforts to ban nuclear weapons outright.

In 1945, the United States proposed the Baruch Plan, which would have established an international authority with

responsibility for all aspects of nuclear weapons and their constituent fissile materials, including peaceful uses of such materials. Enforcement would not be subject to veto by permanent members of the Security Council. Once the authority was in place, the United States would relinquish its nuclear weapons. In effect, this would create a world free of such weapons. The Soviet Union countered with the Gromyko Plan, reversing the order of steps so that the U.S. would first destroy its stockpile, and preserving Moscow's veto right in the Security Council.

Arms control cuts across the traditional bureaucratic structures for managing foreign policy and defense policy.

The unbridgeable divide between these approaches, together with the growing animosity between West and East, meant the failure of these first attempts at nuclear arms control. Had they succeeded in reliably banning nuclear weapons, their spread to other states ("horizontal" proliferation) and the nuclear arms race ("vertical" proliferation) would not have occurred.

Thereafter, both in the U.N. framework and among themselves, the major powers and other states sought ways to address the grave threat posed by nuclear weapons through partial, step-by-step measures.

Key Agreements, Old and New

The first agreement aimed directly at constraining the nuclear arms race was the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty, prohibiting nuclear tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water. That was followed five years later by a pact that remains a key element of the arms control (and nonproliferation) regime: the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Aside from India, Pakistan, Israel and North Korea (which has announced its withdrawal from the treaty and twice tested a nuclear explosive), the NPT has near-universal adherence, and has been a basis for related undertakings aimed at ensuring that nuclear weapons spread no further horizontally, and are ultimately abolished by those already possessing them.

The NPT assigns to the International Atomic Energy Agency the role of safeguarding peaceful nuclear activities to ensure that diversion of regulated nuclear materials to nuclear weapons does not occur. The current impasse arising from Iran's formerly secret enrichment program in violation of its safeguards commitments points to the critical role the IAEA plays in global nuclear arms control.

Beginning in 1967 at the Glassboro Summit, bilateral U.S.-Soviet nuclear arms control assumed an increasing role in addressing the "vertical" proliferation of nuclear weapons. The 1972 strategic arms limitation agreements (SALT I), the 1979 SALT II Treaty, the 1974 Threshold Test Ban Treaty and the 1976 Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty were early successes. These were followed by the 1987 Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty, the 1991 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty and the 2002 Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty.

Developments since the breakup of the USSR have prompted attention to security threats not previously focused on in the arms control regime. In particular, the prominence of terrorism in the past decade, and the shock of the 9/11 attacks on New York City and Washington, D.C., point to the necessity of strong international action to ensure that nuclear (or biological) weapons do not fall into the wrong hands and are then unleashed against mass civilian targets.

The proposals of former Secretaries of State Henry Kissinger and George Shultz, former Secretary of Defense William Perry and former Senator Sam Nunn published in the *Wall Street Journal* on Jan. 5, 2007, and Jan. 15, 2008, and the op-ed by the Reagan administration's chief nuclear arms negotiator Amb. Max Kampelman (*New York Times*, April 24, 2006), have given new impetus to the step-by-step process to achieve a nuclear-weapon-free world. Their sober articulation of the necessity of achieving this outcome for U.S. national security returns to the forefront the goal first articulated more than a half-century ago in the Baruch Plan.

These new proposals have clearly served as a point of departure for the Obama administration's approach to arms control. The president outlined his objectives in an address in Prague on April 5, committing the U.S. to the

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Pierce Corden is a visiting scholar at the Center for Science, Technology and Security Policy of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. *The author thanks Amb. James Goodby, Dr. Robert Rochlin, Mr. Dean Rust and Amb. Norman Wulf for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this article.*

eventual achievement of a world free of nuclear weapons. On Sept. 24, the president chaired a U.N. Security Council session that addressed nuclear arms control and nonproliferation and adopted UNSC Resolution 1889 (2009). And he is convening a nuclear security summit next March to consider ways of dealing with the threat of nuclear terrorism and related matters.

President Obama has made clear his determination to revitalize the U.S. commitment to arms control, while recognizing the many obstacles on the path.

In Prague, the president made clear that he recognizes achieving a nuclear-weapon-free world is a daunting task, but nonetheless challenged the world to move toward that objective. He pledged to negotiate a new bilateral agreement to follow the 1991 START Treaty, which expires in December. He urged bringing the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty into force, beginning with seeking the U.S. Senate's advice and consent. He also urged negotiation of a verifiable ban on the production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons (a "cutoff" treaty). Both agreements were first proposed in the mid-1950s, so the failure to achieve them yet is sobering evidence of the difficulties ahead.

The Genesis and Role of ACDA

As the American experience following World War II demonstrates, arms control cuts across the traditional bureaucratic structures for managing foreign and defense policy. In the 1950s and early 1960s, as the arms race led to several states acquiring nuclear weapons, the State Department (charged with foreign policy), the Defense Department (responsible for

deploying nuclear weapons) and the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission (tasked with developing such weapons) often had intersecting roles in the executive branch's focus on nuclear testing issues.

Nuclear arms control was sufficiently important that department secretaries and senior White House officials coordinated policy decisions for the Limited Test Ban Treaty negotiations, often with the direct involvement of the president. Congressional involvement, in addition to the Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees, included the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

Although arms control is inevitably an interagency effort, with final coordination by the National Security Council and the White House, for 38 years one U.S. agency had a specific mandate to advance U.S. arms control policies: the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

In 1961, recognizing that earlier bureaucratic arrangements were insufficient to address the threat of nuclear weapons, the Kennedy administration and prominent senators, led by Hubert Humphrey, D-Minn., created that agency to provide specialized support to, and leadership for, arms control matters. ACDA played an important part in the negotiation of the LTBT and most, if not all, of the subsequent nuclear agreements, including the NPT, SALT, the TTBT and PNET, INF and START, and the CTBT, as well as the 1972 Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention, the 1993 Chemical Weapons Convention and the 1990 Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty.

While ACDA was a separate agency, it was, of course, an integral component of the executive branch, and no freer than any other agency to go its own way. However, the Arms Control and Disarmament Act establishing ACDA provided that its director "shall serve as the principal adviser to the Secretary of State and the president on arms control and disarmament matters." It further stipulated: "In carrying out his duties under this act the director shall, under the direction of the Secretary of State, have primary responsibility within the government for arms control and disarmament matters, as defined in this act."

These provisions recognized both that arms control is sufficiently important to require a separate agency to take a leading role in its pursuit, and that the president needs to be directly advised on arms control issues, even if the Secretary of State has differing views. This duality is not unlike the role of the Joint Chiefs of Staff within the Department of Defense. The provisions also recognize that the products of the arms control process, typically treaties, are more in the provenance of the State Department than other departments or agencies in the executive branch.

The structure of ACDA evolved with the changing emphasis on issues over the years.

ACDA was mainly housed in the State Department, but maintained its own structure and, perhaps most importantly, its own — primarily Civil Service — personnel system. The front office had a director equivalent in rank to the Deputy Secretary of State, a deputy director and a counselor. The agency had four bureaus, each headed by an assistant director; a legal adviser's office that also carried out legislative liaison functions; and other components of a self-contained agency. The top positions were all subject to Senate confirmation. The structure and personnel mix supported teamwork among the civil servants, FSOs and military officers assigned or detailed to the agency.

ACDA's modest size (never more than 250 staff in total) resulted in flexibility across bureaucratic lines. Civil servants with science backgrounds framed issues in interagency studies and developed technically sound definitions and provisions for agreements under negotiation. They had opportunities to serve on delegations, where issues with a strong technical component such as constraints on ballistic missiles, nuclear testing and chemical weapons were considered. They acquired reporting skills and engaged in bilateral and multilateral diplomacy alongside Foreign Service officers.

At the same time, FSOs assigned to work on arms control could acquire in-depth experience with technically complicated negotiations. The mix of scientists, lawyers, diplomats and military officers, who could assimilate some of each other's skills and experience, was important to ACDA's ability to get results.

The structure of the agency evolved with the changing emphasis on issues over the years. The financial burdens of weapons programs faded as an issue to be addressed (though the devotion of such a substantial fraction of the federal budget to weapons suggests it should again be dealt with), and more prominence was given to nonpro-

liferation and verification. However, ACDA maintained its focus on bilateral nuclear arms control, a nuclear test ban and other multilateral issues.

The implementation of agreements (beginning with the NPT and its establishment of the IAEA), support for bilateral forums (such as the Standing Verification Commission for the INF Treaty) and leadership of delegations (to, for instance, the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, the U.N. General Assembly's First Committee and periodic review conferences of the NPT) were other important functions supported by ACDA. The agency's statutory authority also provided for the appointment of Senate-confirmed ambassadors and special representatives of the president.

From the 1960s until its 1999 merger with the State Department, the agency took the negotiating lead on many arms control issues. As a separate bureaucracy working together with the State Department and other agencies in the interagency framework under the National Security Council, it made important, if not unique, contributions to successful negotiations.

To cite an example from personal experience, ACDA was the key agency in gaining Soviet acknowledgement that there is no reliable distinction between nuclear explosions in a weapons testing program and nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, so that both would need to be banned under the CTBT.

The Merger with State

In the early 1990s, several studies evaluated ACDA's continuing role as a separate agency. Ambassador Thomas Graham, who served as acting director of ACDA in 1993, has given a detailed account of how these studies played out, leading to the Clinton administration's decision to maintain ACDA's separate status, in his book, *Disarmament Sketches* (University of Washington Press, 2002). Also of particular note is the study requested by Secretary of State James Baker and carried out by a panel led by Amb. James Goodby. This report endorsed the revitalization of ACDA or, failing that, its consolidation with

the State Department.

ACDA's subsequent merger with State was a consequence of politics in the Senate. Senator Jesse Helms, R-N.C., made the Clinton administration's acquiescence in the merger a condition for gaining Senate advice and consent to the Chemical Weapons Convention. There was, as well, a lessening of congressional focus on ACDA following the end of the Cold War. Finally, some arms control skeptics found it useful to silence a separate agency that had pursued measures they considered counterproductive.

ACDA was mainly housed in State, but maintained its own structure and, perhaps most importantly, its own personnel system.

The decision to merge ACDA with State was made in 1997, and implemented on April 1, 1999. The four ACDA bureaus were organized into three: nonproliferation, arms control, and verification and compliance (the latter resulting from legislation initiated by the Senate). Together with State's Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, they were placed under the Office of the Under Secretary for and Arms Control and International Security (familiarly known as the "T" Bureaus). There was, thus, a net loss in senior leadership devoted to arms control.

In 2005-2006, an internal review by State's Office of the Inspector General, which supported the Bush administration's predisposition, led to a second reorganization that combined the arms control and nonproliferation bureaus. This decision triggered another exodus of long-serving Civil Service staff.

Meanwhile, in 2001 the longstanding effort to negotiate a protocol to the Biological Weapons Convention to strengthen its implementation failed when the U.S. withdrew its support. The 2005 Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference (which followed the 1995 indefinite extension of the NPT and a successful 2000 review conference establishing an agenda for further control steps, including entry into force of the CTBT) failed — in part over U.S. unwillingness to support CTBT's ratification. It should be noted, however, that the administration continued to support the buildup of the treaty's international monitoring system via a preparatory commission.

On May 15, 2008, Senator Daniel Akaka, D-Hawaii, chairman of the Subcommittee on Oversight of Government Management, the Federal Work Force, and the District of Columbia, convened a hearing to review the consequences of ACDA's merger with the State Department and the subsequent reorganization of its 1999 structure. The hearing provided a troubling picture of the present situation: technical and policy expertise and historical memory have been substantially reduced. Sen. Akaka argued that U.S. arms control objectives had not been well served, and urged remedial action. His opening statement and the testimony of witnesses is available at www.senate.gov.

A Government Accountability Office report to Akaka's subcommittee in July 2009 found that the State Department could not show that it had achieved all its objectives for the 2005-2006 restructuring of the arms control and nonproliferation functions because of a lack of clearly defined goals and ways to measure their achievement. According to the report, the reorganization "appeared to lose credibility among staff, may have contributed to reduced employee morale, and created negative impressions among staff that continue to the present." The department agreed with the GAO's conclusions and recommendations, and undertook appropriate implementing measures.

In an article published in January in the Web edition of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, I discussed the findings of the 2008 Akaka hearing, concluding that, optimally, it would make sense to re-establish ACDA as provided for in the 1994 Arms Control and Disarmament Act.

But at his confirmation hearing on Jan. 22, in response to a question whether arms control functions should be taken away from State and assigned to independent agencies, Deputy Secretary of State-designate Jacob Lew stated: "Arms control and nonproliferation are central elements of our foreign policy and core functions of the Department of State."

The deputy secretary continued: " Success in negotiating a successor to the START Treaty and promoting, developing and securing consensus and progress on [weapons of mass destruction] proliferation requires bilateral and multilateral diplomacy, drawing on all the resources of the department and led by the Secretary, who has made clear the priority she assigns to these issues. These functions should be integrated into the department rather than be assigned to independent agencies. The de-

partment's capabilities to carry out these functions will be revitalized to support this effort."

Steps to Revitalize T

There is little chance that ACDA will be re-established. Accordingly, here are some proposals that would help strengthen the State Department's leadership on arms control issues. A similar and more extensive set of recommendations is contained in the report submitted by Amb. Norman Wulf to the Akaka hearing discussed above. That report was prepared by former nonproliferation and arms control officials of ACDA and State.

First, State should create an administrative structure that optimizes opportunities for career civil servants to achieve career advancement and to remain for longer periods than a typical Foreign Service rotation. This implies a personnel system different from that optimized for Foreign Service officers.

State should permanently staff this structure with individuals possessing strong technical backgrounds in the natural sciences and engineering disciplines, lawyers specializing in national security, and specialists in economics and international security policy. FSOs on assignment within this structure and detailees from the departments of Defense and Energy and the intelligence community should also be included. Although Civil Service employees would not typically rotate between foreign and domestic assignments, they should help staff overseas arms control positions — for example, those at the U.S. Mission to International Organizations in Vienna.

Leadership below the political level would be concentrated in the Civil Service. This would include ensuring that an appropriate number of Senior Executive Service positions, to which lower-ranking civil servants could aspire, are maintained or created.

Personnel of exceptional caliber should be recruited and sustained, regardless of whether negotiations are active or in a lull — just as the military services recruit, train and retain officers whether or not a war is being waged. Rotation of Foreign Service personnel works well abroad, in regional bureaus and in some functional ones. But this model is not ideal for ensuring the continuity necessary to address the history, breadth and complexity of arms control. A Civil Service path permits officers to acquire essential technical, scientific and diplomatic experience as they advance to higher levels.

In the Foreign Service, work in functional bureaus dealing with arms control should be viewed positively by promotion boards. Accordingly, FSOs should not be assigned to open positions in the T Bureaus simply because they are at the appropriate grade, but because they have the appropriate knowledge. This means creating a career path for FSOs that includes training followed by assignments to arms control positions in T and at posts abroad.

Another important factor was highlighted in an article by former Secretary of State George Shultz in the spring 2009 issue of the Yale Divinity School magazine, *Reflections*. Addressing the challenge of achieving a world free of nuclear weapons, Shultz observes: "Almost all the steps involved will require a major scientific and technical component. Foreign ministries, with all due respect to their great gifts of persuasion and intelligence, are seldom able to grapple on their own with these issues."

Citing technical issues in the nuclear fuel cycle related to proliferation, and in guarding against cheaters in going to zero nuclear weapons, he continues: "These questions highlight the importance of a combined diplomatic and scientific approach for scoping out alternative public policies. … Countries must consider ways of promoting this kind of diplomatic/scientific cooperation." The structure of the T Bureaus should ensure this combination of diplomacy and science.

Full Funding and Staffing

Second, the national security role of arms control is of sufficient importance that options should be fully vetted at the highest levels. Given the breadth of the Secretary of State's responsibilities and demands on her/his time, the under secretary for arms control and international security should be present at meetings with the president, as well as at meetings of the National Security Council and other senior policy groups dealing with arms control. As discussed above, there is precedent in the role of the ACDA director and that of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the Defense Department. The importance of arms control would also warrant consideration by the State Department of elevating the under secretary position to that of a third deputy secretary, thereby enhancing the bureaucratic clout given to the issues.

Third, full staffing and funding are required for:

- The current highest-priority START negotiations;
- The delegation to the Conference on Disarmament (for the cutoff treaty negotiations and discussions of outer

space and nuclear arms control);

• Representation to the IAEA, the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, the Preparatory Commission for the CTBT Organization, and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe;

• Dealing with the proliferation challenges of civil nuclear fuel cycle expansion in terms of the environment. (Adding technically trained personnel to the arms control bureaucracy who could look across the spectrum of renewable energy options and evaluate alternatives to nuclear energy would be useful.)

More than 40 years after its inception, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty still enjoys near-universal adherence.

•Preparing for multilateral negotiations on nuclear arms control. These will at some point involve, at a minimum, China, the U.K., France, India and Pakistan. The complications posed by Israel, and the possibility of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East, will need to be addressed. Thus, there should be a complement of staff to think beyond the current implementation and negotiating responsibilities, and to sponsor research on future steps.

As noted above, ACDA staffing never exceeded 250 personnel slots (full-time equivalents). The State bureaucracy devoted to these issues has never exceeded 500. Considering that there are 200,000 persons dedicated to intelligence missions, as stated by Director of National Intelligence Dennis C. Blair in September, the number of slots allocated to arms control could be greatly increased and still be minimal.

The U.S. share for funding international arms control organizations should be ensured. For treaties such as the NPT, START and CTBT, all key to maintaining global stability, the costs are modest compared to our expenditures on nuclear weapon systems or intelligence (which Dennis Blair estimated at $75 billion).

The U.S. contributes only 22 percent of the IAEA's annual budget of about $500 million — itself quite modest considering the importance to national security of the agency's safeguards. The resources to support a military response to every threat to national security are likely to dwarf those needed for arms control.

Fourth, within the separate administrative structures policy direction must be organized to optimize decision-making. Verification and compliance are key to effective arms control, for instance, but need to be considered in a wider context, so that the verification provisions of an agreement ensure that militarily significant violations are not occurring. In addition, both bilateral and multilateral issues need to be considered holistically. This includes, for example, understanding how Russia might consider linkages among implementation of the CFE Treaty governing conventional forces (which it has suspended), plans for ballistic missile defense in Europe and the prospective START follow-on agreement.

Fifth, State should provide expert staff for service in international organizations. The IAEA, OPCW, the CTBT Preparatory Commission and the U.N. Disarmament Affairs office should employ a substantial number of U.S. arms control experts, given the fact that such organizations are the international matrix for implementing or considering agreements. At the IAEA, individuals with backgrounds in the technical and policy issues related to North Korea and Iran are important. At the CTBT Preparatory Commission, of importance are backgrounds in monitoring technologies and systems and on-site inspection technologies. Some positions will be filled by FSOs, some by experts from DOD, DOE and its laboratories.

Still an Urgent Priority

In the half-century since the failure of the Baruch Plan, the world has witnessed a U.S.-Soviet arms race in which each side deployed tens of thousands of weapons, ready to be launched on short notice — just a single one of which could spell the destruction of a city, its people and its civilization. But it has also witnessed, mainly pursuant to negotiated agreements, rapid reductions in these deployments. Furthermore, nuclear "horizontal" proliferation has been held to less than a dozen states.

Negotiators have also succeeded in outlawing biological and chemical weapons, and made progress with respect to conventional weapons. But investments in military solutions to security concerns, including nuclear weapons, remain very large, far outweighing the investments to pursue arms control solutions.

For all these reasons, preventing the use of nuclear weapons, ultimately through the process of negotiating a world free of such armaments, remains the urgent priority it has been from the dawn of the atomic age. ■

A NUCLEAR REDUCTIONS PRIMER

Adam Niklewicz

THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION IS FOCUSING ON THREE MAJOR ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS. THIS IS WHAT YOU NEED TO KNOW ABOUT THEM.

BY SALLY K. HORN

In a landmark speech in Prague on April 5, President Barack Obama committed the United States "to seek the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons" and to take concrete steps toward that goal, including:

• A new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty with Russia that is legally binding and "sufficiently bold," and sets the stage for further bilateral reductions and the participation of all nuclear weapon states in subsequent reductions.

• U.S. ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, establishing a global ban on testing by any country of any nuclear weapon or nuclear explosive device.

• A Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty that verifiably ends the production of fissile material for use in nuclear weapons. Fissile material is the essential building block for such weapons.

Why the START Follow-on Treaty Matters

The most immediate and time-sensitive of the arms control steps is negotiating the START Follow-on Treaty. It is an urgent priority because the arms reduction treaty which it will replace, START, expires on Dec. 5 of this year. Once completed and ratified, the START Follow-on Treaty would be the fifth arms control treaty to come into force between the United States and Russia (and its predecessor, the Soviet Union) to limit or reduce the number and capabilities of nuclear weapons that each side possesses.

Like the treaties that preceded it, the START Follow-on Treaty will both reflect and advance military and diplomatic relations between the U.S. and Russia. Further, like its predecessors, it will be perceived broadly in the international community as a concrete indicator of the degree of commitment by the United States and Russia to their obligation under Article VI of the multilateral Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty to "pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to ... nuclear disarmament."

With the NPT Review Conference less than six months away — it will run from May 3 to May 28, 2010 — and the president's exhortation in his Prague speech for the international community to strengthen the rules against nuclear proliferation and to hold states that break those rules accountable, governments and peoples across the globe are watching closely to see if the U.S.-Russia "reset" button will re-energize the pace of bilateral efforts to cut nuclear force levels. For many global observers, U.S.-Russian nuclear arms control reductions are at least a hortatory, if not actual, prerequisite for them to join in strengthening nuclear nonproliferation rules and enforcing compliance when states such as Iran, North Korea and Syria break those rules.

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A Short History of Nuclear Arms Reduction Treaties

The first treaty to enter into force to directly limit the nuclear forces of the United States and Russia/Soviet Union was the 1972 Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, or SALT. It was followed by the 1987 Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles (INF Treaty), the 1991 Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (START Treaty), and the 2002 Treaty Between the United States of America and the Russian Federation on Strategic Offensive Reductions (Moscow Treaty). The 1979 SALT II and 1993 START II treaties were negotiated and signed but never entered into force.

Although quite modest in its accomplishments when examined through today's lenses, SALT represented a major breakthrough in cooperation for its time. While it permitted modernization, SALT halted and capped the numerical U.S.-Soviet nuclear arms race — that is, what (until then) was a continuing increase in the numbers of U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons capable of hitting each other's territory. Further, it established, as a principle of arms control relations, the legitimacy of using satellites and other remote means — so-called national technical means of verification — to confirm compliance with arms control obligations.

Because both the United States and the Soviet Union were quite wary of each other, with neither party willing to grant the other on-site visitation rights to monitor compliance, SALT constraints were focused exclusively on limiting those items that could be seen or for which there were surrogates that could be viewed remotely by satellite. Hence, the treaty focused on deployed strategic nuclear delivery vehicles that could carry nuclear warheads or bombs, that is, deployed intercontinental ballistic missiles (whose silos could be seen by satellite), submarine-launched ballistic missiles (the doors of whose

launch tubes on strategic ballistic missile submarines could be seen by satellite), and heavy bombers.

SALT included another innovation in bilateral arms control: It established a bilateral consultative body that would meet periodically to discuss and resolve questions relating to implementation and compliance. Subsequent nuclear treaties also established consultative bodies.

A 2009 START Follow-on Treaty would be the fifth arms control agreement between Washington and Moscow.

The 1987 INF and 1991 START treaties represented major breakthroughs on several fronts. First, they actually reduced — and in the case of the INF Treaty, eliminated — important categories of nuclear forces. In the case of the INF Treaty, the entire inventory (deployed and non-deployed) of ground-launched missiles belonging to the United States and the Soviet Union with ranges between 500 and 5,500 kilometers were eliminated, as were their launchers.

Moreover, the INF Treaty included provisions for the first-ever on-site inspections of missile bases, the first-ever negotiated (and directly observed) missile and launcher eliminations, and the first-ever continuous presence of nationals of one country to observe activities at a facility in the other country that was involved in the production of missiles. The inspections and continuous presence helped both countries develop confidence that the other was complying with the treaty. Just as importantly, this system created a new foundation of trust and understanding among the civil societies of both countries as they opened their arms to welcome inspectors from the other country.

The START Treaty, which was negotiated before the fall of the Soviet Union but entered into force on Dec. 5, 1994, built on the success of the INF Treaty. Its goals, however, were tempered by a strong appreciation that while it was possible to eliminate whole classes of intermediate and shorter-range nuclear forces, longer-range strategic offensive nuclear weapons still were required to deter nuclear attack and ensure national security and the security of friends and allies.

START required real reductions. It set an aggregate limit of 1,600 on the number of strategic nuclear delivery vehicles — deployed ICBMs, SLBMs and heavy bombers — that each side could have; a limit of 6,000 on the total number of nuclear warheads attributed to deployed systems and sublimits on the number of warheads that could be deployed on the various types of ballistic missiles (4,900 total, with sublimits of 1,540 warheads on so-called heavy ICBMs and 1,100 on mobile ICBMs). It also required a 50-percent reduction, to 154, in heavy ICBMs (SS-18 missiles), a reduction that applied only to the former Soviet Union since only it possessed these powerful missiles. When START was signed, the U.S. had 2,246 strategic nuclear delivery vehicles and the Soviet Union had 2,500; the U.S. had 10,563 attributable warheads and the Soviet Union had 10,271; and the U.S. had 8,210 attributable warheads on ICBMs and SLBMs and the Soviet Union had 9,416.

START contained an even more comprehensive set of definitions and confidence-building measures than the INF Treaty; called for an even more extensive array of on-site inspections; created new on-site inspection approaches to permit both sides not only to "see" the number of deployed missiles, air-launched cruise missiles and heavy bombers, but also to verify that the number of nuclear warheads was no more than the number attributed to a particular type of ICBM, SLBM and heavy bomber; and required an extensive exchange of technical information to help verify that the firepower of the strategic forces of each side stayed within agreed limits.

This array of provisions served three purposes. It limited the growth in capabilities, ensured that the United States could not only trust but also verify actions under the treaty, and facilitated predictability in U.S. relationships with the new states of the former Soviet Union (Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus), where nuclear weapons and nuclear weapons facilities were still located. In 1992, after the fall of the Soviet Union, those three nations agreed to transfer the nuclear warheads on their territories to Russia, and later joined the NPT as non-nuclear-weapon states.

The Moscow Treaty, which entered into force on June 1, 2003, is a treaty between only the United States and Russia. It reduced the levels of strategic nuclear warheads below those established in START. Reflecting the fact that Washington and Moscow no longer perceived each other as enemies, and the correspondingly higher

level of trust in the bilateral relationship, it set a range rather than a specific number for the acceptable level of warheads that the United States or Russia could deploy — no more than 1,700-2,200 warheads each by Dec. 31, 2012. What is most noteworthy is that this level is nearly two-thirds below that which existed in 2002, and that it has already been reached.

The whole world is watching closely to see if the U.S.-Russia "reset" button will re-energize the pace of bilateral efforts to cut nuclear force levels.

The Moscow Treaty also explicitly permitted each side to determine for itself the composition and structure of its strategic offensive forces consistent with the overall warhead limit. Thus, the United States and Russia were able to determine, consistent with the limit, how many deployed ICBMs, SLBMs and heavy bombers it would have and how it would apportion these warheads among its deployed strategic offensive arms. Finally, the two parties agreed in the Moscow Treaty that the START Treaty remains in force in accordance with its terms. Consequently, START's confidence-building measures and comprehensive verification regime will continue in force until the treaty expires.

START Follow-on Treaty: Limits and Benefits

The START Follow-on Treaty is intended to combine the predictability of START with the flexibility of the Moscow Treaty, but at lower levels of deployed strategic nuclear delivery vehicles and warheads than those in the START and Moscow treaties. While the final numbers are still being negotiated, in the Joint Understanding for the START Follow-on Treaty signed in Moscow on July 6, the United States and Russia agreed to reduce their strategic delivery vehicles from 1,600 to a range of 500-1,100, and their associated warheads from 2,200 to a range of 1,500-1,675, within seven years of entry into force of the new treaty. They also agreed that these numbers may be further narrowed during the course of the negotiations.

As with the Moscow Treaty, the new pact will permit each side to determine for itself the composition and structure of its strategic offensive stockpile, within stipulated limits. This flexibility is intended to give each side the freedom to determine how best to meet its nuclear security requirements. Additionally, recognizing the changed strategic environment and lessons learned from years of implementation of the START and Moscow Treaties, the plan is for this new treaty to adapt and simplify START provisions on definitions, data exchanges, notifications, eliminations, inspections and verification procedures, as well as confidence-building and transparency measures. The inclusion of these provisions (albeit simplified) will enable each side to monitor, with a high degree of predictability, the existing force structure and modernization programs of the other. Both sides historically have depended on such predictability to enable continued cooperation.

The significance of the START Follow-on Treaty extends beyond the bilateral military relationship between the United States and Russia. The deep reductions that it envisions and the concomitant commitment to seek even deeper reductions in the future also respond to international calls for demonstrated progress toward nuclear disarmament. That achievement is expected to enable the United States to lobby the international community more credibly and effectively to strengthen nonproliferation norms and hold violators of those norms accountable.

According to the chief U.S. negotiator, Assistant Secretary Rose Gottemoeller, "The ability of the United States to persuade other nations to act collectively against those states committed to developing nuclear weapons will be bolstered through reductions in the U.S. and Russian nuclear arsenals. It is a matter of moral suasion." (Gottemoeller's talk, "The Long Road from Prague: The Administration's Views on Nuclear Weapons Reductions and Arms Control" — an Aug. 14 address to the USAF/DTRA Conference on Confronting Global WMD Threats: New Direction of a New Administration — is available at www.state.gov/t/vci/rls/127958.htm.)

The Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty: Lineage and History

The five nations that the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty acknowledges as nuclear weapon states — the United States, Russia, the United Kingdom, France and the People's Republic of China — voluntarily halted nu-

clear weapons and nuclear explosive testing in the 1990s (Russia and the U.K. in 1991, the U.S. and France in 1992, and the PRC in 1996). Three other states — India, Pakistan and North Korea — have conducted tests since 1996. The entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty would effectively make the nuclear weapon states' voluntary commitments legally binding; prohibit any further nuclear explosive testing by India, Pakistan and North Korea; and ban nuclear explosive testing by any other states. It would thereby constrain both "vertical" proliferation (expansion of the nuclear weapons capabilities of the nuclear weapon states) and "horizontal" proliferation (development of nuclear weapons capabilities by other states).

The five states that the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty acknowledges as having nuclear weapons have not conducted nuclear weapons or nuclear explosive tests for more than a decade.

While the CTBT prohibits nuclear explosions, it would not prevent non-nuclear explosions or computer simulations to ensure the continued safety and reliability of existing nuclear weapons. Therefore, it should not preclude the U.S. from meeting Pres. Obama's Prague commitment to "maintain a safe, secure and effective nuclear arsenal to deter any adversary, and guarantee that defense to our allies" for as long as the United States requires nuclear weapons to deter aggression.

The CTBT is the fourth and most comprehensive treaty to constrain the ability of states to develop nuclear weapons by limiting their ability to test nuclear weapons or explosive devices. The multilateral Limited Test Ban Treaty, which entered into force in 1963, was the first nu-

clear testing treaty. It banned nuclear testing in the atmosphere, under water or in outer space. It was followed in 1974 by the Threshold Test Ban Treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union, which set a threshold of 150 kilotons for any underground nuclear weapons test, and the 1976 U.S.–Soviet Treaty on Underground Explosions for Peaceful Purposes, or Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty, which applied the same threshold to any explosion for peaceful purposes. The significance for disarmament of the former agreement is that the threshold essentially established a limit on the destructive power of new U.S. or Soviet nuclear weapons; the extension of the limit to peaceful explosions provided a protection against possible attempts to camouflage a weapons test as a peaceful explosion.

The CTBT was negotiated in the multilateral Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, and approved by the United Nations General Assembly and opened for signature on Sept. 24, 1996. The United States was the first government to sign the treaty, which prohibits any nuclear

OTHER TREATIES

While not a comprehensive listing of treaties that are in force, the following three agreements are particularly relevant to the goal of establishing the foundation for a world without weapons of mass destruction.

Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons: The NPT is a near-universal treaty — only India, Israel, Pakistan and North Korea are not party to it. It entered into force on March 5, 1970. It is a treaty of unlimited duration that commits the five states that possessed nuclear weapons at the time that the treaty was signed not to transfer their nuclear know-how to other states, and it commits those which did not possess nuclear weapons at that time not to seek or acquire such weapons. It also commits all member-states to facilitate access to peaceful uses of nuclear energy and to work toward nuclear and general and complete disarmament. The International Atomic Energy Agency implements its provisions related to peaceful uses and verifies that states do not divert material acquired for peaceful uses to other purposes. At its five-year Review Conference (May 3-28, 2010), member-states will focus on how best to strengthen implementation of its provisions related to nonproliferation, disarmament and peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

The Chemical Weapons Convention: The CWC, which entered into force on April 29, 1997, is a multilateral treaty of unlimited duration. It prohibits the development, production, acquisition, transfer, use and stockpiling of chemical weapons; prohibits member-states from assisting any individuals or states in these prohibited activities; and requires the destruction of chemical weapons by 2012. (The use of chemical weapons was banned by the 1925 Geneva Protocol.)

The Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons is the implementing body for the CWC. The CWC includes an extensive set of data declaration requirements and inspections, including of declared military and commercial chemical industry facilities and suspect sites. Currently, 188 states have ratified the CWC. The next Review Conference for the convention will take place in 2012. U.S. and international implementation activities currently center on encouraging universal adherence to the convention, aiding member-states in the implementation of their CWC obligations, working through technical impediments to the completion of destruction activities by the CWC's 2012 destruction deadline, identifying how best to address new and emerging chemical challenges that derive from advances in technology, and resolving compliance issues.

The Biological Weapons and Toxins Convention: The BWC, which entered into force on March 26, 1975, is a multilateral treaty of unlimited duration that bans the development, production, acquisition, transfer and stockpiling of biological agents and toxins and their means of delivery for non-peaceful purposes, and required their destruction within nine months of the treaty's entry into force. Use of biological weapons was banned by the 1925 Geneva Protocol. (Biodefense programs are permitted, however.) Currently, 163 states have ratified the BWC.

Unlike the CWC, the BWC does not have a standing implementing organization, require the mandatory exchange of information or include on-site verification provisions. In 1986, the parties agreed to exchange annually certain types of information in order to build confidence and increase transparency, but to date, not all of them have participated. Like the CWC, the BWC calls for states to consult and cooperate, bilaterally and/or multilaterally, to solve compliance concerns.

In 2001, efforts to develop a legally binding protocol were halted when states could not agree on whether such a protocol would aid in verification of compliance. Since the 2002 BWC Review Conference, member-states have met annually to discuss understanding of, and promote national action on, a variety of measures, including biosecurity, national implementation measures, suspicious outbreaks of disease, disease surveillance capacity building and codes of conduct for scientists. The next BWC Review Conference will occur in 2011.

explosions, for whatever purposes, in any environment (underground, in the atmosphere, under water or in outer space). It also establishes a comprehensive verification regime, including an International Monitoring System with technical capabilities to detect nuclear explosions; an International Data Center to process and distribute automatically the data from the IMS to all member states; confidence-building measures; and provisions for on-site inspections in the event that cheating is suspected.

The treaty establishes a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty Organization in Vienna to implement its provisions, including on-site inspections, and to address and resolve compliance concerns. In addition, the signatories to the treaty established a Preparatory Commission that is responsible for ensuring that by the time the treaty enters into force, the elements required for its effective implementation — the IMS, the IDC, training for on-site inspectors and operators of the IMS, related national contributions and an entity capable of assuming the role of the Technical Secretariat — are up and running. Finally, the treaty stipulates that it will enter into force once it is ratified by all 44 states (listed in Annex II) which, in 1995, were operating nuclear power or research reactors (and hence were judged to be technically capable of a conducting a nuclear explosion). Nine required ratifications are outstanding — China, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Israel and the U.S. have signed but not ratified; India, North Korea and Pakistan have not yet signed. Many states believe that U.S. ratification would encourage these other capitals to complete the process.

The Clinton administration submitted the CTBT to the Senate in September 1997. The Senate delayed consideration until October 1999, when it voted to withhold its advice and consent to ratification. The Obama administration has committed the United States to pursue U.S. ratification of the CTBT and to work with the international community to achieve the remaining ratifications to permit the treaty to enter into force. Toward that end, it is addressing the questions and concerns raised by the Senate in 1999, and by key domestic and interna-

tional stakeholders since then. The expectation is that this work, once completed, will enable the administration to return to the Senate to seek its advice and consent to CTBT ratification.

Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty

A Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty is the third of the Obama administration's proposed arms control steps toward a world without nuclear weapons. Its goal is quite simple — cut off the ability of states to produce the nuclear building block for new nuclear weapons — namely, the fissile material used in nuclear weapons and other nuclear explosive devices.

The goal of the Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty is to cut off the ability of states to produce the nuclear building block for new nuclear weapons.

FMCT negotiations have been "on again, off again" in the Conference on Disarmament since 1995. While the CD agreed on a mandate in 1995 for an ad hoc committee to negotiate a verifiable Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty, differences among conference members, including over whether and how to handle other proposed agenda topics, delayed agreement on establishing a committee to negotiate such a treaty until August 1998. FMCT negotiations were, however, short-lived, as some CD members reverted to the "negotiate everything or negotiate nothing" stance when the organization reconvened in January 1999.

Continued disagreements among Conference on Disarmament member-states over the subject matter for negotiation, as well as over the details (scope, content and verification) of a mandate for FMCT negotiations, deadlocked the CD for more than a decade. It was not until May of this year that CD member-states were able to agree on a compromise that called for substantive FMCT negotiations and "substantive discussion" of other topics. These include outer space arms control, nuclear disarmament and "negative security assurances." NSAs are individual political commitments by the five NPT nuclear weapons states relating to the conditions under which they would *not* use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapon states who have joined the NPT.

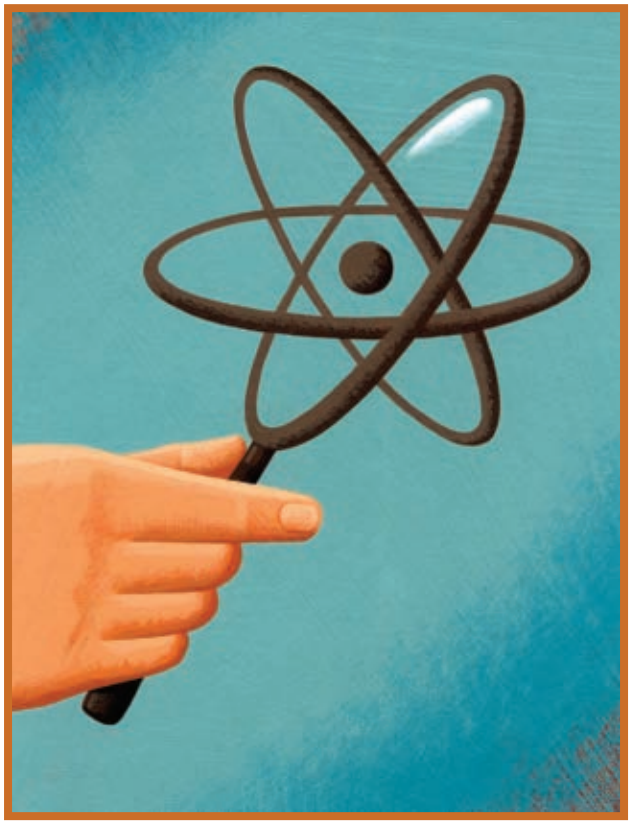
Even then, procedural maneuvering by Pakistan prevented the start of substantive negotiations earlier this year. When the next CD session begins in January, the U.S. priority will be to secure a consensus to begin substantive FMCT negotiations.

The intrinsic challenges of negotiating and achieving a Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty relate to which types of nuclear materials should be considered fissile for purposes of the treaty; what activities should be considered to be "production;" and what the scope of the proposed cutoff should be (only new material, which the U.S., Russia, China, United Kingdom, France and India support; or also existing stocks, which is the position taken by some other states). Then there are numerous verification issues: how to detect covert production facilities or the diversion of fissile materials from permitted uses on the one hand and, on the other, how to protect proliferation-sensitive information from exposure as a consequence of either exchanges of information or inspections.

Geopolitical and geostrategic challenges will continue to complicate substantive negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament. Some nations have expressed concern that a ban on production of fissile material for use in nuclear weapons could tip regional military balances disadvantageously. Some, notwithstanding their agreement to the 2009 compromise, would prefer to see negotiations deferred for some time, but have been reluctant to be explicit in their opposition. They could seek to block the start of substantive FMCT negotiations by insisting that the negotiation of an agreement can proceed only if there are parallel negotiations on other topics. The operating rules of the 65-member-state CD will be a factor in this instance, since they require annual consensus by all members to initiate or continue negotiations on any topic.

Notwithstanding these numerous obstacles, the Obama administration believes that a verifiable FMCT is not only achievable but an essential building block toward the goal of a world without nuclear weapons. The United States now is focused on identifying solutions to the technical issues, including those related to scope and verification, to bring forward in Geneva in January 2010. Furthermore, the administration is encouraging other states to keep the CD focused on the goal of achieving a universal, nondiscriminatory and verifiable treaty. Such an agreement represents the next logical multilateral step toward nuclear disarmament. ■

The Importance of Verification



Adam Niklewicz

No arms control agreement can succeed unless each party is satisfied with the others' compliance.

By Paula A. DeSutter

Arms control. Nonproliferation. Disarmament. Each of these issues is increasingly in the headlines, so Foreign Service personnel stationed overseas are likely to be queried about them.

Even more daunting, at least for Foreign Service personnel outside the Department of State's Bureau of Verification, Compliance and Implementation, they may be asked to deliver demarches regarding procedures for verification of arms control agreements. This is because all parties to such a pact must be confident that the other signatories are fulfilling their

commitments. In short, all arms control agreements must be adequately verifiable.

Fortunately, the United States has had more experience with verification of arms control agreements than any other nation in the world. In fact, we are the only government that produces published reports evaluating whether other nations have complied with the terms of existing arms control agreements. While other capitals and international organizations participate in arms control negotiations, inspection regimes and debates about verification, they are not required, as we are by Congress, to produce verification evaluations. As a result of this legislative mandate, both the executive and legislative branches in Washington have devoted decades to building up expertise on this critical issue.

When the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency was abolished and its staff merged with the Department of State in 1999, one major component that State retained, and indeed expanded, was the Verification and Compliance Bureau (now the Verification, Compliance and Implementation Bureau). A decade later, the experts in VCI are still a tremendous resource.

Even the most intrusive verification regime does little good if policymakers can't decide if an activity is permitted or prohibited.

The Verification Regime

Any plan for a verification regime includes several interrelated, critical elements. First, there must be an honest evaluation of the probable effectiveness of the proposed framework. Next, other nations' likely compliance (or lack thereof) with the obligations entailed therein has to be assessed. Finally, actions to bring potential violators back into compliance have to be pursued.

Under a truly effective system, each of these facets enlightens and strengthens the others. In some situations, after an evaluation that effective verification is not possible, the president and Congress have to make a policy decision about whether to proceed. For instance, the U.S. Senate ratified the Biological Weapons Convention even though it was judged throughout the negotiations to have a low degree of verifiability.

A common misperception is that a verification regime consists only of specific technical provisions that govern onsite inspections. Important as those sections are, an effective verification regime must also provide clear definitions of all terms, spell out all parties' respective obligations, and take into account the strength and applicability of our intelligence collection capabilities. Otherwise, obligations that negotiators may think are quite clear may turn out to be anything but that when the actions of one or more of the parties appears to be in conflict with them.

For example, the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty called for the elimination of specified missiles, including the Soviet SS-23. Possession of those missiles after 1988 was prohibited. In 1990, when East Germany announced that it was eliminating SS-23 missiles located there, the United States became aware for the first time of the existence of SS-23s and launchers in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and East Germany. None of these countries were parties to the INF Treaty, and the Soviet Union had insisted on provisions in that agreement for U.S. missiles that had been provided to our European allies.

Whether the existence of these missiles constituted a Soviet violation of the INF Treaty hinged on whether they were "possessed" by the Soviet Union. To answer that question, the United States obtained documentation about the missiles and when they were "given" to the three countries.

In the February 1991 Report to Congress on Soviet Noncompliance, the George H.W. Bush administration declared that the Soviet failure to inform the United States of the existence of the SS-23 missiles during the negotiations on the INF Treaty and prior to 1990 constituted negotiation in bad faith. But this did not resolve the question of who "possessed" the missiles.

The U.S. subsequently found that each SS-23 in these countries possessed a connecting section that would allow it to deliver a nuclear warhead, and conventional warheads

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were provided to each country for only half of the missiles. In September 1991, the United States judged that the Soviet Union had probably violated the INF Treaty and reaffirmed that the Soviet Union had negotiated in bad faith.

But even the most intrusive verification regime does little good if policymakers can't decide if an activity is permitted or prohibited. The proposed Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty provides a good example of this problem. The FMCT would prohibit the production, after a particular date, of fissile material for use in nuclear weapons. Production of fissile material prior to the cutoff date would not violate the treaty. Neither would production of fissile material after the cutoff date — if it is for non-weapon purposes.

Here's the rub: If, either through national means or inspection, a cask of fissile material is detected, in order to determine if the material was permitted or prohibited, you have to know whether it was produced before or after the cutoff date, and for what purposes it was produced. Using our best technology, we might be able to determine when the material was last processed, but not always when it was produced. Iranian claims that its uranium enrichment program is for peaceful purposes offer an example of the challenges of determining the purpose of fissile material production.

Similarly, if there were transparency visits or inspections under the Biological Weapons Convention, inspectors might be able to determine that, for example, botulism toxin was being produced. But that would not necessarily, or even in most cases, provide the data to determine whether the production is for weapons purposes or for "peaceful or prophylactic" purposes. In each of these cases, the limited item has to be weighed against the data one can reasonably expect to collect. This enables a determination of the degree of verifiability. This technical assessment must then be weighed against broader questions including the compliance record of each of the parties, the potential significance of violations, and the constraints the agreement places on U.S. programs that might offset noncompliance.

On-Site Inspections

Specifically, here are some basic questions that must be asked, and answered, early on. What is it that we are trying to limit or prohibit? What methods do we have to discover noncompliance? Are prohibited items big, unmovable and hard to hide, or are they small, mobile and easy to hide? And how great a threat do the limited or prohibited systems pose to the U.S.? The answers to all these questions should form the basis of developing a verification plan.

The methods for discovering noncompliance include satellite intelligence or other technical collection, data declarations and exchanges, cooperative measures where the verified party enables our satellite intelligence, and on-site measures. On-site inspections can be critical when satellite observation is unlikely to detect noncompliance. On the other hand, OSIs have significant limitations, starting with the fact that the verified party is a sovereign nation and has to agree to all elements of the inspection.

Even when the verified party does agree to an on-site inspection, that is essentially just a snapshot of activities at that particular time and place. The hope was that challenge inspections would remedy some of the limitations of on-site inspections, but they contain their own limitations. No agreement permits mere "fishing expeditions," so the party requesting an inspection must establish some relationship to the items governed by the treaty.

Because on-site inspections are conducted on the territory of a sovereign nation, inspectors must be granted visas to fly to the country and be transported to the inspection site by the inspected party. Depending on what activities are governed by an agreement, there may be miles of ground and hundreds of buildings within a facility that could contain prohibited items or activities. Are inspectors permitted to wander around each and every one, and all parts of all buildings? Not likely.

When the United States and the International Atomic Energy Agency were conducting verification activities at North Korea's Yongbyon site, they were only permitted to visit three of the many buildings at the site. Under the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, a country requesting an on-site inspection must produce evidence (some of which might be quite sensitive) and convince 30 of 51 member states of the Executive Council that an inspection is warranted. Politics often plays a role in this.

If the Executive Council does not approve the request, the party that sought the inspection may have to pay for the cost of any preparations made for it, may have its right to request inspections suspended, and may even be prohibited from serving on the Executive Council.

Given the control the inspected party will have over access to facilities in its sovereign territory, the inspection team can only be expected to find what the inspected party is willing to have them see (or unable to prevent them from

seeing). Space-based or other remote intelligence collection is the only way to try to discover whether prohibited activities are taking place at other times and locations.

As a general rule, the more intrusive the monitoring measures are, the more difficult they are to negotiate and the more costly they are to operate. Verifiers are well aware that negotiators are not eagerly awaiting the opportunity to try to get nations like North Korea to agree to intrusive measures. At the same time, they also appreciate the fact that any verification regime must be able to stand up the scrutiny of Congress and the American public.

On-site inspections can be critical when satellite observation is unlikely to detect noncompliance.

Assessing the Effectiveness of Verification

There is no such thing as a 100-percent verifiable agreement. But one can usually determine that an agreement is *unverifiable* by considering the following three questions:

- Do the existing capabilities of the United States and its allies to detect and confirm prohibited activities exceed the ability of potential violators to thwart verification?
- Does the treaty meet our verification needs given the compliance record of the other parties, the consequences of violations, and the impact of the treaty on the U.S.?
- Are there sufficient remedies that can be taken in a timely fashion to reverse the damage caused by violations?

If the answers to all three questions are affirmative, then it is fair to say that an agreement is "effectively verifiable."

The quest for certitude can sometimes fuel misguided efforts to negotiate some sort of inspection or transparency regime that gives the illusion of meaningful action. I call this "feel-good verification." The risk in this is that the existence of an on-site inspection regime, even one that has virtually no probability of detecting noncompliance, will mislead observers into believing that the verification problem has been solved and the threat the agreement was supposed to eliminate has been removed. If we believe (falsely) that a threat has been eliminated or reduced, we are unlikely to develop and apply other tools that might genuinely reduce the threat. And the inability to detect noncompliance may generate an incentive to cheat — thereby exacerbating the threat rather than reducing it.

It is worth noting that when the president submits a treaty to the Senate for advice and consent, the package must include a formal assessment of verification. This document is prepared by the assistant secretary for verification and compliance and signed by the Secretary of State, per Section 306 of the Arms Control and Disarmament Act.

Congress will likely also receive a monitoring assessment produced by the intelligence community that was requested by the Senate. If the administration's assessment is not rigorous and straightforward, that will have serious consequences. Accordingly, if effective verification is not attainable, it is best to say so. The United States can pursue the agreement anyway, if it is judged to be in our interest.

Determining Compliance

The U.S. is the only nation that conducts a formal assessment of other nations' compliance with their arms control obligations. Given the European Union's requirement that member-states prohibit trade with nations in violation of their obligations, we may see such assessments from some E.U. states in the future. It would be safe to say, though, that even we wouldn't do these assessments had Congress not mandated them in Section 403 of the Arms Control and Disarmament Act.

In preparing the assessments, the Verification, Compliance and Implementation Bureau reviews all available intelligence or other relevant information. A statement of the issue is provided, along with a list of the treaty obligations in question and descriptions of possibly noncompliant actions or programs. The compliance analysis then weighs the actions against the obligations to reach a compliance finding. Often the data or obligations are unclear, in which case the finding will have a caveat such as "likely violation," or "highly probable violation."

These assessments not only inform policymakers in the executive and legislative branches of possible serious threats, but may provide some early warning of a failure to deter actions inconsistent with our security. They can also help inform our expectations and standards for any future agreements with a particular nation or group of nations.

Simply put, U.S. verification requirements will ordinarily be far more relaxed in an arms control agreement with the United Kingdom than with North Korea. Unfortunately, particularly in a multilateral negotiation, there is usually a demand that agreements and their verification

regimes be "nondiscriminatory." So nations with a clear respect for the rule of law and a history of scrupulously complying with their obligations will be subject to the same requirements as nations with a history of violating their obligations, whether openly or clandestinely.

Punishing Violators

In a prescient January 1961 *Foreign Affairs* article titled "After Detection — What?", then-Director of the U.S. Arms Control & Disarmament Agency Fred Ikle declared: "The current debate on arms control and disarmament puts great stress on the problem of how to detect violations of whatever agreements may be reached. … Yet detecting violations is not enough. What counts are the political and military consequences of a violation once it has been detected, since these alone will determine whether or not the violator stands to gain in the end."

The basic problem Ikle identified nearly half a century ago is one with which we still struggle. Suppose there is a treaty or agreement, and suppose that it has a verification regime. Now also suppose that a party to that treaty or agreement is found to be in violation of its terms. What should the other state parties do about it? This is the dilemma the world's nations are currently facing in a number of cases.

There are two basic kinds of noncompliance: unintentional and intentional. If noncompliance is unintentional, one can expect that raising the issue will lead to a resolution. But when noncompliance is intentional, as in the case of North Korea and Iran, seeking a verifiable return to compliance will be more difficult.

How do you try to bring intentional violators back into compliance? You have to demonstrate to the violator that the cost of noncompliance exceeds the benefit. But you will not know the exact calculation the violator made about the probability its violation would be detected, the resources invested in the violation or the exact benefits it expected.

What you should know, however, is that imposing costs on the violator will almost certainly be more costly for those

that are complying and insisting on compliance, at least in the short term. For example, China, Russia and many European nations are engaged in significant trade with Tehran. Ceasing such trade may be a terrific tool for increasing the cost to Iran for its non-compliance, but it will also cause a loss of profits for the companies involved. One can well imagine the dilemma for politicians in any of these nations: Are massive job losses among voting constituents a price worth paying in return for amorphous progress toward strengthening a nonproliferation regime?

We are the only government that produces published reports evaluating other nations' adherence to existing arms control agreements.

And what if you *can't* bring them back into compliance? Particularly when dealing with a multilateral treaty, other parties may decide that ongoing compliance is feckless, at best, and potentially risky for their national security, at worst, weakening enforcement across the board.

Because of the detailed nature of the assessments, it is likely that civil servants will continue to take the lead on assessing noncompliance with arms control and nonproliferation agreements. But it is our Foreign Service personnel, working closely with Civil Service experts, who will be at the forefront of the most difficult challenge: trying either to persuade other nations to come into compliance or to persuade the rest of the international community to take action to enforce agreements.

To be most effective, Foreign Service officers need to draw upon not just political/military expertise, but also economic, trade, public diplomacy and regional experience. Other nations may not admit it, but they generally understand that the United States has great expertise in all of these arenas and they look to us for informed, respectful leadership. ■

THE CASE FOR THE CTBT

Adam Niklewicz

PROSPECTS FOR RATIFICATION OF THE COMPREHENSIVE NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY ARE MUCH IMPROVED. HERE IS WHY.

BY DARYL G. KIMBALL

A global halt to nuclear weapons testing has been a central, bipartisan national objective of the United States since the late 1950s, when President Dwight Eisenhower sought a comprehensive test ban. Following the end of the Cold War, Russia declared a moratorium on testing, followed by France, and then, in 1992, by the United States. The world's nations finally came together in 1994 to negotiate a comprehensive, verifiable treaty banning nuclear testing in order to help curb the spread of nuclear weapons and ensure an end to superpower nuclear arms competition.

In September 1996, the United States was the first nation to sign the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which "prohibits any nuclear weapon test explosion or any other nuclear explosion" and establishes a global monitoring network and the option of short-notice, on-site inspections to detect and deter cheating. To date, 182 countries have signed the treaty and 150 of them have ratified it, including three of the original five nuclear weapon states: France, Russia and the United Kingdom.

In the U.S., however, the Senate's 51-48 vote against the CTBT in October 1999, followed by the George W. Bush administration's opposition to the treaty, stalled ratification. While Washington had already been observing a voluntary moratorium on nuclear testing since 1992, opponents were concerned that the U.S. would not be able to maintain the safety and reliability of its nuclear arsenal without ongoing testing. They also doubted that national and international verification capabilities would be rigorous enough to detect low-yield nuclear explosions. And, finally, they did not believe that the treaty offered meaningful political or military benefits.

Today, however, 10 years after the first Senate vote, the prospects for U.S. ratification are much improved. Scientific and technical advances during the past decade that address the main concerns of opponents have led to a reconsideration of the issue by a growing array of Republican and Democratic national security figures. President Barack Obama has pledged to make ratification of the treaty a priority, and the benefits of doing so are significant.

Although there is now no technical need — nor is there any political support — for a renewal of U.S. nuclear testing, ratification of the CTBT is vital to reducing the risk that other nations might conduct nuclear tests that could improve their nuclear capabilities. In addition to the U.S., eight other states — China, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, North Korea and Pakistan — must ratify the CTBT to trigger its formal entry into force. Ratification will not only improve our ability to detect and deter clandestine nuclear testing; it will enable us to credibly prod these nations to join, as well.

Daryl G. Kimball has served as executive director of the Arms Control Association since 2001. He previously served as security programs director for Physicians for Social Responsibility (1989-1997), where he helped lobby for the U.S. nuclear test moratorium legislation of 1992 and negotiation of a zero-yield comprehensive test ban treaty. Kimball was also executive director of the Coalition to Reduce Nuclear Dangers (1997-2001), where he led a group of nongovernmental organizations in their efforts to win support for U.S. CTBT ratification.

Time to Take Another Look

In the past several years, bipartisan support for ratification of the CTBT has grown. In 2007, former Secretaries of State George Shultz and Henry Kissinger, along with former Secretary of Defense Bill Perry and former Senator Sam Nunn, called on the Senate to initiate a bipartisan process "to achieve ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, taking advantage of recent technical advances, and working to secure ratification by other key states." President George H.W. Bush's national security adviser, Gen. Brent Scowcroft, and former National Nuclear Security Administrator Linton Brooks have also recently endorsed U.S. ratification of the treaty.

During the 2008 presidential campaign, Senator John McCain, R-Ariz., promised to "continue America's current moratorium on testing" and to "[take] another look at the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty." Candidate Barack Obama pledged to "reach out to the Senate to secure the ratification of the CTBT at the earliest practical date and then launch a diplomatic effort to bring onboard other states whose ratifications are required for the treaty to enter into force."

In his April 5 speech in Prague, President Obama declared that his administration "will immediately and aggressively pursue U.S. ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty." As Gary Samore, special assistant to the president and White House coordinator for arms control and WMD, told the Arms Control Association annual meeting in May, the administration is "moving very deliberately in terms of doing the necessary technical and intelligence work to look at the important questions of verification, questions of American stockpile stewardship." Samore believes that the current pace could allow for reconsideration of the treaty by mid-2010.

The task will be very difficult, but is within reach. The Democrats' 60-seat majority in the Senate is far larger than the 45-seat minority they held in 1999. But to succeed, the president and his team must follow through on the pledge to make the CTBT a high priority and win the support of a group of approximately 10 skeptical senators.

While the final outcome will depend on the politics of the moment, it will also hinge on the administration's abil-

ity to make the case that: 1) U.S. ratification will, on balance, improve national security and advance progress toward entry into force; 2) technical advances in test ban monitoring make the treaty effectively verifiable; and 3) scientific and technical advances ensure the ability of U.S. weapons labs to maintain an effective arsenal without further test explosions. As George Shultz said on April 17, his fellow Republicans "might have been right voting against [the CTBT] some years ago, but they would be right voting for it now, based on these new facts."

The Security Benefits

For decades, nuclear testing has propelled the arms race. Since the beginning of the nuclear age, eight countries have conducted 2,052 test explosions. The U.S. accounts for half of that total with 1,030 tests. A verifiable global ban on nuclear testing is a vital step toward ending this dangerous competition. Given that it is highly unlikely that the United States will ever conduct another nuclear explosive test, it is in the U.S. interest to do all it can to ensure that other nations are not free to do so.

Limiting Other States' Capabilities. From a technical perspective, a ban on nuclear test explosions makes it harder for nations already possessing nuclear weapons — like China, India, Pakistan and Russia — to field new, more sophisticated nuclear warheads. Except for Russia, which already has an arsenal that is as large and sophisticated as that of the United States, testing could facilitate significant advances in the capabilities of other states. In China's case, a new round of test explosions would allow it to miniaturize warhead designs and put multiple warheads on its relatively small arsenal of strategic ballistic missiles — allowing it to rapidly increase its nuclear strike capability.

Likewise, without nuclear weapon test explosions, nations like Iran would not be able to "proof test" the more advanced, smaller warhead designs needed to deliver such weapons using ballistic missiles. Given Tehran's advancing uranium enrichment and missile capabilities, it is important to establish additional barriers against a sophisticated Iranian nuclear weapons capability in the years ahead.

Strengthening the Nonproliferation Bargain. Tangible progress toward U.S. ratification of the CTBT is also vital to restoring U.S. global leadership and strengthening international support for the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the bedrock of all efforts to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. In 1995, the U.S. and the other nuclear powers promised to deliver on the CTBT in exchange for the indefinite extension of the NPT — a good deal that must be honored. U.S. progress toward reconsideration and ratification of the CTBT before the May 2010 NPT Review Conference will be essential to achieving agreement on new measures to strengthen global nonproliferation rules.

The importance of the CTBT was reinforced on Sept. 24, when the U.N. Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1887. That wide-ranging resolution on nonproliferation, disarmament and nuclear materiel security calls on all states to refrain from nuclear testing and to ratify the CTBT to enable entry into force at an early date.

Accelerating Entry into Force. Some Senate opponents of the CTBT argue that U.S. ratification matters little because other key holdout states will not follow our lead. On the contrary, U.S. ratification will prompt other holdouts to follow suit. In June, Indonesia's Foreign Minister Hassan Wirajuda declared: "We share [Pres. Obama's] vision of a world in which nuclear weapons have been eradicated. We trust that he will succeed in getting the CTBT ratified — and we promise that when that happens, Indonesia will immediately follow suit."

The prospect of U.S. ratification has already begun to spur new thinking in India. In an Aug. 30 interview in *The Hindu*, National Security Adviser M. K. Narayanan was asked if India would join the CTBT if others did so. He said: "I think we need to now have a full-fledged discussion on the CTBT. We'll cross that hurdle when we come to it."

Ratification of the CTBT by the remaining holdout states would also significantly contribute to regional security. Ratification by Israel, Egypt and Iran would reduce nuclear weapons-related security concerns and bring those states further into the nuclear nonproliferation mainstream. Action by Israel to ratify could put pressure on other states in the region to do so.

Iranian ratification would help reduce concerns that its nuclear program could be used to develop and deploy deliverable nuclear warheads. Conversely, continued failure to ratify the CTBT raises further questions about the nature of Tehran's sensitive nuclear fuel cycle activities and could increase support for tougher measures to comply with Security Council and international safeguards requirements.

Detecting and Deterring Clandestine Testing

The U.S. capability to detect and deter possible clandestine nuclear testing by other states will be significantly

greater with the CTBT in force than without it. Ratification is essential to making short-notice, on-site inspections possible and maintaining long-term political and financial support from other nations for the operation of the CTBT's International Monitoring System and International Data Center. Over the past decade, national and international monitoring for nuclear weapon test explosions has become so effective that no would-be cheater could be confident that a nuclear explosion sufficient to threaten U.S. security would escape detection.

Additional Verification Tools. The CTBT establishes a far-reaching International Monitoring System to detect potential nuclear explosions using four technologies: seismic, hydroacoustic, radionuclide and infrasound. Since 1999, many more of these stations have been built and are delivering data. To date, more than 280 of the planned IMS stations have been built, including a new array of highly capable "noble gas" monitoring stations that can detect minute amounts of the radioactive gases emitted by underground explosions into the atmosphere. The International Data Center, based in Vienna, collects and analyzes information from the IMS and disseminates the raw and processed data to member-states for their own evaluation.

Under the CTBT, member-states are allowed to monitor compliance with their own satellites and other national intelligence means. In the U.S., new technologies such as interferometric synthetic aperture radar can now provide detailed monitoring of vertical deformations caused by underground nuclear test explosions. Thousands of high-quality civilian seismic stations around the world provide further detection capabilities.

Detection Capabilities. During the Senate debate on the CTBT in 1999, some critics claimed that the IMS could only monitor for underground explosions at yields at or above the equivalent of one kiloton of TNT. In reality, IMS capabilities were much better even then and have continued to improve; moreover, they are only intended to supplement the United States' very capable national monitoring and intelligence capacity.

In 2002, a National Academy of Sciences panel determined that "underground nuclear explosions can be reliably detected and can be identified as explosions using IMS data down to a yield of 0.1 kilotons (100 tons) in hard rock if conducted anywhere in Europe, Asia, North Africa and North America." Advances in regional seismology have provided additional confidence. For some locations, such as Russia's former nuclear test site at Novaya Zemlya, the use of new seismic arrays and regional seismic stations has lowered the detection threshold to below 0.01 kilotons.

Skeptics have also claimed that there is no certain method of detecting very low-yield nuclear explosions, including so-called hydronuclear tests. However, this argument misses the point on verification: explosions below a few hundred tons in yield — potentially low enough to evade detection — are not very useful in assessing a new nuclear warhead design.

High Confidence. CTBT skeptics have also suggested that it may be possible for some states to hide full-scale nuclear tests. But according to the NAS panel report, "those countries that are best able to successfully conduct such clandestine testing already possess advanced nuclear weapons of a number of types and could add little, with additional testing, to the threats they already pose to the United States. Countries of lesser nuclear test experience and/or design sophistication would be unable to conceal tests in the numbers and yields required to master weapons more advanced than the ones they could develop and deploy without any testing at all."

On-Site Inspections. The CTBT would provide, for the first time, the option of short-notice inspections, an important form of deterrent against potential clandestine nuclear testing. However, some critics complain that because the treaty requires 30 of 51 nations on its Executive Council to agree to an on-site inspection if there is evidence of a clandestine test, such inspections could be blocked by states unfriendly to the United States. In reality, the CTBT's OSI provisions were established to balance the need for rapid response to a suspected test against the possibility of "frivolous or abusive" inspections. OSIs would be approved as needed, but not by a small minority with questionable motives.

Similarly, to protect national security interests unrelated to the OSI, states are allowed to restrict access to parts of the inspection area no larger than four square kilometers each, or a total of no more than 50 square kilometers. However, if an inspected state restricts access it must provide alternative ways for the inspection team to carry out its mission. If the bar for OSIs had been set much lower, or if no allowances had been made for unrelated national security interests, one could imagine that there might be concerns in the Senate that CTBT on-site inspections unduly infringe on U.S. (or Israeli) sovereignty.

Zero Means Zero. Another misconception that is repeated by CTBT critics is that some countries, such as Russia, consider hydronuclear experiments (which produce a

low-energy yield from a self-sustained chain reaction) to be a "permitted" activity under the treaty. But as the Russian government made clear when it ratified the CTBT in 2000: "Qualitative modernization of nuclear weapons is only possible through full-scale and hydronuclear tests with the emission of fissile energy, the carrying out of which directly contradicts the CTBT." In other words, it is undeniable that the treaty establishes a "zero-yield" prohibition on nuclear test explosions.

Effective Stockpile Stewardship

Contrary to myth, maintaining the reliability of proven U.S. nuclear warhead designs does not depend on a program of nuclear test explosions. Instead, the U.S. nuclear arsenal has been — and can continue to be — maintained through non-nuclear tests and evaluations, combined with the replacement or remanufacture of key components to previous design specifications. Since 1994, each warhead type in the U.S. nuclear arsenal has been determined to be safe and reliable through a rigorous certification process instituted following the end of U.S. nuclear testing.

For more than 15 years, a nationwide infrastructure of nuclear weapons research, evaluation and manufacturing sites and laboratories has been maintained and enhanced for this purpose under the Stockpile Stewardship Program. The United States spends more than $6 billion annually on this program, which includes nuclear weapons surveillance and maintenance, non-nuclear and subcritical nuclear experiments, sophisticated supercomputer modeling and life-extension programs for the existing warhead types.

The 2002 National Academy of Science panel, which included three former nuclear weapons lab directors, found that the current Stockpile Stewardship Program provides the technical capabilities necessary to maintain confidence in the safety and reliability of the existing seven types of nuclear warheads in the stockpile — "provided that adequate resources are made available ... and are properly focused on this task." According to the NAS panel, age-related defects mainly related to non-nuclear components can be expected, "but nuclear testing is not needed to discover these problems and is not likely to be needed to address them."

Indeed, the U.S. nuclear arsenal has been — and can continue to be — maintained with high confidence through non-nuclear tests and evaluations and, as necessary, the remanufacture of key components to previous design specifications. Independent technical experts have determined that the United States can maintain its existing arsenal through a conservative program of warhead refurbishment rather than through new design "replacement" warheads.

Though the U.S. nuclear arsenal is aging, more is known today about such weapons than ever before, and confidence in our ability to maintain the warheads is increasing at a faster rate than the uncertainties. For example, in 2006 the Department of Energy announced that studies by the Lawrence Livermore and Los Alamos National Laboratories show that the plutonium primaries, or pits, of most U.S. nuclear weapons "will have minimum lifetimes of at least 85 years" — about twice as long as previous official estimates. In recent years, the weapons labs have begun to increase the reliability of existing warheads by adding more boost gas to increase the explosive energy of the primary stage of the weapon well above the minimum needed to ignite the secondary, or main, stage.

Contrary to the concerns of some CTBT skeptics, the cessation of nuclear explosive testing has not caused the laboratories to lose technical competence. Rather, significant advances have been achieved as researchers are able to study the physics underlying weapon performance in greater depth, undistracted by the demands of a nuclear weapons test explosion program.

Senate approval of the CTBT would strengthen bipartisan support for effective stockpile stewardship efforts to ensure that as long as the United States has nuclear weapons, they will remain safe and reliable without the resumption of nuclear testing. It will also ensure that should Washington ever decide to exercise the treaty's "supreme national interest" withdrawal clause, the United States will have the competence to resume testing.

For a Safe World

Leaving the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty unratified would increase uncertainty and reduce U.S. security. While it might be possible to sustain the unilateral moratoria undertaken by the major nuclear states for several more years, uncertainties and the risk of a resumption of testing will only grow over time. Moreover, concerns about clandestine nuclear testing might arise that could not be resolved in the absence of inspections provided for under the treaty.

The choice is clear: A world without nuclear testing is a safer world. The United States stands to lose nothing and would gain an important constraint on the nuclear weapons capabilities of others that could pose a threat to America's security. The time for the CTBT is now. ■

My Prague Secret Police File

A 30-year-old file brings to life a bygone era of dreary tension and gives one retired FSO an unusual perspective on his career.

By Frederick Quinn

One striking scene in "Other People's Lives," the landmark film about Cold War–era espionage, depicts Ulrich Muehe, a former high-ranking Stasi official, poring over his thick file in an East German secret police archives reading room. Inspired by this image, I decided to make a request for Czechoslovak records related to my time in Prague from June 1975 to May 1978 as the U.S. embassy's counselor for press and cultural affairs. Maybe there would be some astute commentary on my tenure there, as seen by the Czechoslovak Ministry of State Security.

In early 2008, I sent a letter to the Czech Embassy in Washington, asking how I could access such documents. Several months later, a brief reply arrived from the Czech Foreign Ministry Archives notifying me that about 60 documents with my name in them had been found and suggesting I contact the Ministry of State Security Archives, where the bulk of Cold War surveillance documents were stored. Eventually, someone from that institution wrote to say that they had found about 800 pages of material they would photocopy in time for my planned visit to Prague during the summer.

On June 22, 2008, I hired a rickety taxi and headed for the foreign ministry. The dark, grim palace on a hill overlooking Prague was much lighter now. I sat waiting next to an ATM as employees lined up for cash withdrawals. I remembered waiting in the exact same place in 1975; then it contained a photocopier guarded by a soldier with a rifle slung over his shoulder, who would allow only authorized officials to use the machine.

Next I headed across town to a new four-story building housing the archives of the Ministry of State Security, where two helpful archivists handed me three heavy stacks of documents. Then I had to find a translator. Fortunately, my wife and I were already planning to visit Oxford, and the university's modern language faculty gave me the name of Anna Fraser, who had fled Czechoslovakia after the Russian invasion of August 1968. Her father had been a leading Czech surgeon of the 1940s and 1950s, so Anna was well acquainted with the vocabulary of political repression that supplied the communist system with much of its ideology and imagery.

Paging Graham Greene

As a longtime reader of British mysteries and espionage novels, I hoped the files would contain some vivid prose worthy of Graham Greene or John le Carré. Instead, the files contained mostly dreary bits and pieces about my comings and goings that were boring and repetitive. But in fairness to the Ministry of State Security, when they turned their attention to an event they were thorough in documenting it. In our case, my wife, Charlotte, and I had held numerous film evenings for artists, writers and dissident intellectuals, and often the guest lists were there in the MSS files, complete with the attendees' names, addresses and dates of birth.

The Secret Service's political goal had been simple: to create a climate of fear among foreigners and citizens alike. The issue of the future of educational and cultural exchanges became more contentious in 1975 after Eastern and Western

Frederick Quinn spent three decades in the Foreign Service, serving as counselor of embassy for press and cultural affairs in Prague from 1975 to 1978, among other assignments. His most recent book is The Sum of All Heresies: The Image of Islam in Western Thought *(Oxford University Press, 2008).*

countries signed the Helsinki Accords. Those agreements called for increased educational exchanges, media freedom and respect for human rights.

Still, tight local controls remained in place in Prague. A police post across from the embassy displayed a camera visibly pointed at the front gate, and Czech visitors reminded us that our movements and conversations were constantly monitored. The American writer Philip Roth, who easily fit into the Kafkaesque landscape, was stopped by the local police after leaving our library because he was mistaken for a Czech intellectual whom the police hoped to bring in for questioning.

The tension gradually got to me, as it did to others. I developed a twitch on the right side of my face, drank too much Czech beer and Moravian white wine, and ate copious amounts of local fried and greasy foods in an unhealthy setting. "When did you stop smoking?" the physician who conducted my end-of-tour State Department physical exam asked. "I never smoked," I replied. The doctor said that inhaling the Prague pollution was the equivalent of smoking two packs of cigarettes a day.

Maj. Plicka had found a set of keys to our apartment, but was not sure they still worked.

Mystery Man

At first the report writers tried to figure out who I was. One said I was not a regular diplomat but a university professor who had been given the Prague position as a reward. Another said I was an impeccable dresser (I wore the standard Brooks Brothers suits that were common to a generation of Foreign Service officers, but different in cut, color and fabric from the Russian-Italian suits favored by local government officials).

Another report said I was careful to draw out the opinions of others in conversations while offering few of my own. I was "calm, serious and pleasant, and kept the conversation on cultural subjects." Did I really have a doctorate in history from the University of California at Los Angeles? Yes, the writer concluded, but added that I'd claimed to have played on the UCLA basketball team — the most glaring misstatement in the whole file. Charlotte, he stated, was "of high social standing" and also interested in history.

More than 50 pages were devoted to the few days I spent one summer at English-teaching seminars in the small provincial cities of Presov and Olomouc, site of a language school and a large Russian military base. Professor Milne Holton, who taught American literature at the University of Maryland, had been coming to Czechoslovakia for several years to teach at these seminars, and I accompanied him on one tour shortly after I arrived. One report said that Holton had taken a photo of a Russian soldier in Olomouc, but that I hadn't. A list of teaching materials on phonetics, the American short story, etc., that we distributed was reproduced, along with information like "his car was seen in front of the Palace Hotel and he carried two boxes of books and films inside."

Holton was given the code name COLUMBO. I was TANTAL, but have no idea what the word means. The names of informers and their targets appear to have been randomly selected. At least 20 different sources, identified by code names like MORAVA, VICTOR and PLUTONIUM, made cameo appearances over the years. And at least six different captains and majors wrote the reports. Occasionally a general was added when the contact was important enough, like the writer Pavel Kohout or the historian Josef Polisensky.

The reports followed a distinct format. A large bordered space in the middle of the first page contained the name of the person and the subject. Fine print at the bottom said, "Make each subject a separate paragraph, and underline any reference to money." Agents were also instructed to note whether the information came from an interrogation, a chance meeting, a gathering with several persons present, a third party, etc. Most documents were approved by at least two officers, and copies were distributed to at least four different offices. The reporting format was clearly designed to keep a trainful of line officers employed writing or passing memoranda to one another.

I kept looking for touches of humor or irony in the reports, but there were very few. One report on a visit to my hotel room in Bratislava when I was out to dinner said: "His desk contained a 320-page manuscript, which we photographed." It did not mention that the manuscript was a draft of *The French Overseas Empire*, a book I was writing at the time.

"Ideodiversional" Activity

After I had been in Prague nearly a year, Major Karl Plicka held a meeting to decide whether I was a CIA agent. He noted that I was increasingly busy with cultural and educational diplomacy, but speculated that this might just be a cover for espionage. "He is conducting ideodiversional activity against the Czechoslovak state," the report concluded. In the Communist Party lexicon, "ideodiversional" meant that U.S. educational and cultural programs represented a calculated political-ideological diversion; thus, "under cover of a diplomatic function he is carrying out activities against our socialist state."

So they decided to go back through my file and interview everyone I had met, especially participants in the English-teaching seminars I had visited. The Security Services also ac-

tivated a "T-144" program in our apartment. (There were several references to "T" programs, which probably were forms of technical surveillance.)

Maj. Plicka had found a set of keys to our apartment, but was not sure they still worked. He would try our telephone when we were in the High Tatras on a winter holiday with the children; if there was no answer, he and another major would enter the apartment and install the electronic audio equipment. As with so many other reports, there was no account of what happened next, if anything.

Some observations verged on the comical. One agent said I had displayed unusual behavior walking along a Prague street. While my wife and children were watching, he wrote, I entered first one building and then another, pretending to look for an address. "His wife and children were complicit in his actions," the report concluded, adding, "We must question all the people in the building."

One recurring observation in the file was that I constantly gave Czechs "suspect" publications like **Time, Newsweek** *and the* **New York Times.**

The report jogged memories of incidents that were not recorded. Once while walking along a Prague street, I encountered what must have been the local police block-watcher: a corpulent, elderly man in rumpled clothes with irregularly spaced teeth. I had just visited a Czech artist friend in an apartment overlooking the Vltava River. As I left, my friend mentioned in passing that the Havel family apartment was one floor up. I then descended the four flights of stairs (the elevator was not working, as often happened in Prague).

There, standing at the front door, was the neighborhood watchman, staring at me like a villager in a Brueghel painting. After exiting, I saw the open door of the next apartment building and, with mischievous intent, turned in and climbed its five flights of stairs, listening for the wheezing chest and plodding feet that followed.

RICHARD and PRAMEN

Many of the reports were from two code names, RICHARD and PRAMEN. Because RICHARD was identified as coming from Presov and I only knew one person there, I suspect he was Dr. Michael Frank, a talented Czech English-teacher. Later, one of the reports confirmed that was the case and appended a five-page dossier on Frank, including a list of his relatives.

Charlotte and I always assumed that we were being watched or recorded and that most of our contacts were being followed, as well. Our conversation with Michael was standard dinner fare, although the reports noted that I "gave him suspect literature to read on the plane." At some point, the secret police decided I was preparing to recruit him for espionage work, and they decided to do the same from their side.

Frank would pass me incriminating documents, according to the plan spelled out in one report, and they would photograph the exchange and then try to compromise me. One exercise had him showing me a list of five teachers from a summer seminar. He was to notice if I reacted to any of the names. That would be a telltale clue.

Another report cautioned, "RICHARD must always be aware of the large, black pen Dr. Quinn carries but does not use. It must be assumed it is a technical device." This was the long-serving Mont Blanc fountain pen I had carried with me for more than a decade.

Then suddenly RICHARD disappeared. I do not know what happened to him. I never returned to Presov, nor did he come again to the embassy or to our apartment. Perhaps talk of the relative merits of Faulkner and Hemingway had lost its charm for the secret police.

PRAMEN was Ivan Englich, an affable Czech cultural entrepreneur and omnipresent Mr. Fix-It who had been helpful to at least three of my predecessors, and who made little effort to hide his role. "They are everywhere," he once whispered to me about a number of Security Service agents who wore student clothes and joined guests at a bluegrass concert we had organized in the embassy garden. I knew PRAMEN was Englich because one of the early reports said the source had invited me to his family's chata (country house)

shortly after I arrived. The only such invitation had come from Englich.

Years later, I visited him on a return trip to Prague. Englich was older and heavier, and wore thick glasses. As before, he had a number of balls in the air, selling time for a newly licensed evangelical Christian radio station (even though he was Jewish), managing a record store for a startup local label, and working on another deal that, if it came through, would dwarf both of these. We talked some about our families, reminisced a bit about the old days and, after lunch, warmly shook hands. He briskly headed off though the hotel's revolving doors to meet a client. I never saw him again.

One recurring observation in the file was that I constantly gave Czechs "suspect" publications like *Time*, *Newsweek* and the *New York Times*. Part of the evidence in the trial of a dissident youth leader had been that he received a subscription to *Newsweek* from my predecessor. Another report said I had mailed several copies of the *World Almanac and Book of Facts,* and noted: "This sort of publication should not be allowed in Czechoslovakia."

The reporting format was clearly designed to keep a trainful of line officers employed writing or passing memoranda to one another.

Despite the file's length, I was surprised by what it left out — the visits of Benny Goodman and Johnny Cash and a steady string of journalists from the *New York Times* and other publications. Vaclav Havel came to one of our film evenings, but his name was not included in any of the reporting about them.

The Summing Up

The ministry's final report, nine double-spaced pages signed off on by six different officers, was compiled six months after I had left the country in 1978. The document's stated purpose was to examine whether I worked for the CIA and to determine whether there was any possibility of compromising me. But neither objective was mentioned further, apparently because nothing had come of such efforts over the past three years.

The opening section contained yet another biography of me. Next came a

Maybe we two former adversaries could meet, swap stories and come to some sort of closure.

comment about my family life: "He has good relations with his children, with whom he spends a lot of time." And: "He is attentive and respectful of his wife, perhaps because of her ill health." (Charlotte had the first of two back operations while we were in Prague.)

As for me, I "did not suffer from over-tidiness" — several embassy employees said so. I gave the appearance of being content, the report continued, but was not very skilled in social situations and became angry when criticized. There was "no evidence of an interest in other women," and I was careful with money. With other members of the diplomatic corps I had only polite contact.

A long section of the report was divided between official and unofficial activities. The latter section led off with one of the oft-repeated notations that when I arrived in June 1975, the cultural section had a stack of 200 copies of a book about the Russian invasion of Prague. Also: "He managed to smuggle a politically sensitive film showing the living standard of Czech émigrés into an English-teaching seminar." Much was made of my contact with Professor Holton, and that in one town he was spotted with a camera that had supposedly come from me.

"He organized various social occasions at his flat at which he invited various contacts from the right-wing cultural, technical, scientific and political spheres. Through these people he gained knowledge of Charter 77 [the Czech human rights and legal reform organization] and showed great interest in obtaining concrete information about it."

At these film evenings, the report continued, "he gave the people various suspect and unfriendly publications, many coming from right-wing émigré sources abroad." In the Kafkaesque communist political language of that era, "right" meant "left" in politics. Next came a list of towns I had visited, and 40 persons alleged to be my regular contacts. (I recognized only six of the names.)

Finally, the document ended with a conclusion in capital letters: WE RECOMMEND THIS FILE BE CLOSED FOR 15 YEARS.

That was it. At first I was upset. Charlotte and I had worked hard for three years both to affirm the worth of individual Czechs and Slovaks and to promote better relations between our two countries. The final report had little positive to say about me, and some of its comments were clear fabrications. Maybe I should find a Prague phone book and call Captain Richard Hoffman, the principal author, to see if he was still alive. Maybe we two former adversaries could meet, swap stories and come to some sort of closure.

"Forget it," an inner voice said firmly, "It's all over." Images floated in front of me, a set of black-and-white impressions of the Prague we knew: smog-filled air, streets slick with winter grime, people in heavy coats and funny hats shuffling along, laden with bulging plastic sacks. Then came images of today: younger people, bright neon lights, streets jammed with Western tourists and row after row of name-brand clothing shops where the headquarters of the Socialist Youth League and the Czechoslovak Sport Fishermen's Association once stood.

"Forget it," the inner voice said again, as if there were any question by now. "It's over," I acknowledged aloud, and quickly closed the file. ■

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • December 2009

AFSA PRESIDENT KEEPS UP THE MOMENTUM ON THE HILL

Beefing Up Resources & Readiness

BY CASEY FRARY, LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR

Throughout the fall, AFSA President Susan R. Johnson made the rounds of House and Senate committee hearings and association meetings, ensuring that the Foreign Service is recognized for its important work and advocating for fair compensation for FS employees' service to the country.

Johnson testified twice on behalf of AFSA and the Foreign Service in September. On Sept. 16, she appeared before the House Subcommittee on the Federal Work Force, Postal Service and the District of Columbia. The hearing, titled "A Call to Arms: A Review of Benefits for Deployed Federal Employees," examined the compensation and health benefits provided to civilian employees sent abroad.

AUSTIN TRACY

AFSA President Susan R. Johnson (right) and Amb. Ron Neumann prepare to testify before the Senate on Sept. 24.

On Sept. 24, Johnson testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Oversight of Government Management, the Federal Work Force and the District of Columbia in a hearing titled "A Review of Diplomatic Readiness: Addressing Staffing and Foreign Language Challenges Facing the Foreign Service." At this hearing, she cited two recent Government Accountability Office reports that examined, respectively, critical staffing gaps and language training deficiencies, both greatly affecting the work of overseas posts.

"Persistent and recurrent staffing gaps undermine the ability of overseas personnel to focus on their primary responsibilities," explained Johnson at the Sept. 24 hearing. "They are already impeding our effectiveness in some of the most important areas of the world."

Statistics documented in these newest GAO reports are in-

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CALL FOR 2010 AFSA AWARD NOMINATIONS

Honoring Dissent

BY BARBARA BERGER, PROFESSIONAL ISSUES COORDINATOR

Men in authority will always think that criticism of their policies is dangerous. They will always equate their policies with patriotism, and find criticism subversive.

— Henry Steele Commager, Freedom and Order *(1966)*

AFSA fervently believes that our Foreign Service values a culture of honest and vigorous debate in the formation of policies and positions within each of the foreign affairs agencies.

Therefore we are again calling for nominations for our constructive dissent awards, as well as for our exemplary performance awards. Winners receive a $2,500 cash prize and are honored at a ceremony in late June at the State Department, which typically is attended by the Secretary or Deputy Secretary of State. **The deadline for nominations is Feb. 26.**

JOSH

Constructive Dissent Awards

The constructive dissent awards were created to encourage those willing to offer alternative points of view on matters of policy, to question the status quo and to challenge conventional wisdom, regardless of the consequences. These are the only dissent awards in the U.S. government. They are not based on superior performance alone, for which numerous State Department decora-

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AFSA NEWSBRIEFS

Apply by Feb. 6 for College Scholarships

Awards ranging from $1,000 to $3,500 are now available for qualified tax-dependent children of Foreign Service employees (active-duty, retired or deceased). Applicants must be high school seniors or undergraduate college students. Unfortunately, grandchildren of Foreign Service employees do not qualify.

Go to www.afsa.org/scholar for complete details, or contact Lori Dec at dec@afsa.org if you have questions. The submission deadline is Feb. 6.

Life in the Foreign Service

■ BY BRIAN AGGELER

Welcome to Attorney Michael Willats

AFSA warmly welcomes Michael Willats, the newest face in the Labor Management office. Originally from Buffalo, N.Y., Michael received a B.S. in civil engineering from Bucknell University and subsequently was employed for two years in the field of storm-water management design. A recent graduate of The Catholic University of America's Columbus School of Law, he also has worked as a summer law clerk at the National Labor Relations Board. Michael lives in Arlington, Va., with his wife, Rebecca.

Foreign Service Parents: Get Educational Information at AFSA

Check out AFSA's online education resources page, including articles on college admissions, choosing a boarding school, taking a gap year, educating special-needs children, the International Baccalaureate program and study abroad. There's also video advice from Rebecca Grappo, educational consultant and former Family Liaison Office education and youth officer. Just point your browser to www.afsa.org/ads/school/ and you'll find a wealth of useful material.

Corrections

We love our interns here at AFSA, so you'd think we'd get their names right. Alas, not one, but *two* interns suffered the indignity of misspelled names in our November issue. We apologize to summer interns Claire Halbrook and Chelsea Hollstein.

We also want to make sure that you have the correct link to AFSA's Political Action Committee Web page, which was not clearly given in November's FCS VP column. (This was your *AFSA News* editor's fault, not that of FCS VP Keith Curtis.) The correct URL is: www.afsa.org/pac.cfm

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Pride and Prejudice

Long ago in Europe, tradesmen were not well-regarded by society. People who earned their living by buying and selling, making things or providing services were not people with whom the upper echelons of society associated. These days, our heroes are mostly successful businesspeople, and the self-made success story is the exemplar of the American dream.

Yet we see within our Service the same feudal attitudes that existed when I entered a quarter of a century ago. The number-one issue that I hear from members who are not generalists is that they do not feel respected. That insulting attitude appears across every skill code, and it affects morale as well as the cohesiveness of the Service. It is hard to imagine that posts are working at peak efficiency when there are strongly perceived divisions between suits and non-suits, officers and support staff, security personnel and the "ungrateful FSOs" they protect. And let's not forget those who are generally invisible to most FS members at overseas missions, such as the folks based in Regional Information Management Centers or elsewhere, who travel from post to post performing information technology or buildings operations functions, as needed.

The number-one issue that I hear from members who are not generalists is that they do not feel respected.

Ironically, as was the case with the tradesmen of old Europe, the specialists within the Foreign Service are often at least as well educated as the officers, and many possess skills worth far more in the outside world. Most importantly, both specialists and generalists are equally essential to the mission. My favorite ambassador began her career as a secretary (the kind that types) and rose to become, in her time, the highest-ranking woman in the State Department. Many equally qualified office management specialists would be happy to stay in that field, but seek greater recognition of their value and experience.

What can be done? As with any social issue, the first step toward a solution is acknowledgement of the problem. And, in fairness, we must acknowledge that many factors contribute to the problem, including some — like the Vienna Convention rules that often prevent "administrative personnel" from having full privileges — that are either beyond our control or require the cooperation of host-country governments to address.

Some sources of discontent are imposed by functional bureaus, which control their human "assets" more tightly than generalists are controlled. And there is no doubt that us-versus-them attitudes are perpetuated both within groups of specialists and even by the management of certain functional bureaus. Most generalists, in fact, are blithely unaware that much of this discontent even exists. That is not an excuse, just a fact. Good management, of course, must include awareness of the sentiments and perceptions of all sections of an embassy or office.

Understanding the roles within a mission can help. One post in which I served held a regular "Admin Night" for new arrivals, where different members of the administrative staff explained their roles. Many of these included interactions with host-country counterparts of value and other sections, as well.

Equating length of service with rank when considering issues such as housing assignments can also be an important equalizer. This would require changes to the Foreign Affairs Manual, but why should a mid-level officer with six years in service get better housing than an office management specialist with 20 years' service?

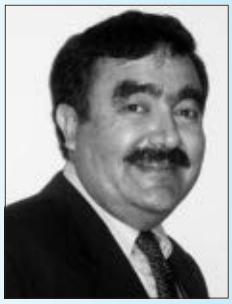
Importantly, the right to self-determination, for lack of a better term, must be expanded. Employees who enter the service in skill groups with caps on salaries and rank should be freer to expand their options as they move closer to those caps. And, if it is essential to the department that more experienced employees stay in those groups, then the department needs to lower or eliminate barriers to advancement (and raise salary caps), rather than forcing ambitious employees to look elsewhere.

As part of this, raters should always be aware of the elements for advancement within each group, and promotion boards should include members who understand the fine points of the work they are assessing. You would be surprised how many Employee Evaluation Report grievance cases AFSA sees where the rater actually does not understand the work being rated.

And most importantly, all of us should recognize that part of making the Foreign Service more representative of our nation is to know that, while all positions are not equal in rank or salary, they are all equally valuable to our mission. Equality in the Foreign Service is more than a matter of efficiency and management. It should be a matter of pride. ❑

V.P. VOICE: **USAID** ■ BY FRANCISCO ZAMORA

When the Solution Is the Problem



Conflicting interests are a part of life. In general, it is unreasonable to insist that one side is totally right and the other is totally wrong. Each side gets passionate about defending its position, so compromises, while necessary, never really satisfy everyone. This is the case with mid-career hiring at USAID, where the solution has become the problem.

Due to severe personnel cuts in the mid-1990s, the agency is now short-staffed in many of its mid-level positions. Ironically, the reductions were a result of our winning the Cold War, which inspired efforts to lower the federal work force. Experience and talent went out the door through a reduction in force and restrictions in hiring. However, foreign assistance actually tripled during the intervening time, creating a situation where more personnel — with more technical abilities — were needed to implement foreign aid programs.

To solve the problem, USAID decided to hire new employees at the FS-2 and FS-3 levels, hoping to fill in the gaps. This practice has always been a sensitive issue because the Foreign Service is a career-oriented profession, similar to the military, which begins at the junior-officer level and proceeds steadily up the ranks to the senior levels. Mid-level hiring is analogous to hiring majors and lieutenant colonels from the private sector to run military operations.

In spite of this, AFSA reluctantly agreed to the induction of a limited number of mid-level hires because of the urgent need for staff overseas. AFSA's position, however, is that these new mid-level hires are not to be treated as "trainees" and are not to supervise or formally evaluate other employees, at least initially. Also, unlike Development Leadership Initiative entry-level officers, who are sent to newly created training positions, new mid-level hires should bid and thereby compete with regular FSOs for overseas positions.

Not surprisingly, AFSA's position has upset the contingent of mid-level hires, who believe they are being treated unfairly because, unlike the trainees, they are not assigned to a country after their five-week orientation. We regret this, but hope that they realize that AFSA has much more to offer them as an organization that will defend their greater interests throughout their careers. By insisting that the agency respect its institutional agreements with AFSA — specifically, the Open Assignment System — we all win in the end. ❑

LEGISLATIVE UPDATE

AFSA Moving Forward on Key Issues

BY CASEY FRARY, LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR

AFSA had a busy and successful autumn on the legislative front. Federal workers, including Foreign Service personnel, will now get a break for not catching a cold; and Foreign Service members who are first-time homebuyers may get a tax credit.

Unused Sick Leave

The conference report for the Fiscal Year 2010 National Defense Authorization Act contained some key provisions which AFSA has long advocated. Specifically, it phases in the allowance of unused sick leave to count towards length of service when figuring retirement annuity under the Federal Employees Retirement System, and it allows former federal employees under FERS to repay withdrawn contributions upon reemployment with the government.

AFSA worked closely with other federal employee unions urging members of the conference committee to keep these important provisions in the final report, including sending letters to key members of Congress. The NDAA Conference Report passed the House on Oct. 8. AFSA would like to thank all conferees, but House Armed Forces Committee Chairman Ike Skelton, D-Mo., and Senate Chairman Carl Levin, D-Mich., played particularly crucial roles in moving this bill forward.

First-Time Homebuyer Tax Credit

On Oct. 8, the House passed a bill that will allow members of the Foreign Service and other intelligence community members to take advantage of the $8,000 first-time homebuyer tax credit. The Foreign Service community had formerly been excluded from this opportunity because of the rule attached to the tax credit that required buyers to make the home their primary place of residence for 36 months, a difficult obligation to meet when assigned overseas.

The original bill, H.R. 3590, the Service Members Home Ownership Tax Act of 2009, counts time served abroad toward primary residency. Additionally, it extends the tax credit for another year. Unfortunately, however, it is not retroactive; the language in H.R. 3590 only applies to residences purchased after Nov. 30, 2009. On Nov. 4, the Senate passed H.R. 3548, the Worker, Homeownership and Business Assistance Act of 2009, which included the exact same language as H.R. 3590. This bill has been presented to President Obama, and AFSA will advocate for his quick signature.

AFSA would like to express its thanks to House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Charlie Rangel, D-N.Y., Representative Earl Blumenauer, D-Ore., and Senator Claire McCaskill, D-Mo., for their hard work in getting this bill to the floor. ❑

A Year-End Message from Executive Director Ian Houston

Coupling the year's end with the holiday season offers a window for reflection. Foremost in my mind is appreciation for the many individuals who offer their time and talents to make our organization function at a high level.

I know firsthand that AFSA professional staff members are committed to serving our members to the best of their ability. That goal became quite challenging when the majority of our staff operated without any office space for the first several months of the year. But the staff put their shoulders to the wheel and pressed on. To their great credit, our level of service remained strong and we had many successes this year. Our members deserve — and receive — the very real dedication of our staff.

This year also brought to an end the tenure of an excellent AFSA Governing Board led by John Naland, and ushered in a vibrant new board under the first-rate leadership and energy of Susan Johnson. I am grateful for the opportunity to take direction from such fine professionals, whether on boards past or present. The high level of personal engagement of Governing Board members is a great example to me and keeps me on my toes, as it should. That spirit of commitment and volunteerism extends to the many standing committees of AFSA, such as: Finance and Audits, Scholarships, Elections, Awards and Plaques, and the Foreign Service Journal Editorial Board.

Finally, allow me to shine a spotlight on our association's vigorous Foreign Service retiree community. The support of this segment of AFSA's family is wide-ranging and touches the organization on many levels. We would be but a fraction of our current strength without our retirees. I thank them for their generous support.

Best wishes from AFSA to all members in 2010! ❑

V.P. VOICE: **FAS** ■ BY HENRY S. SCHMICK

Been There, Done That — No FAS Assimilation into State, Please

About every 10 years, someone (usually from a high-powered think-tank) floats the idea of consolidating all foreign affairs agencies into one "Super State" — perhaps a "Department of International Relations." Usually that bad idea dies a natural death, as it should this time around, as well.

The reasons for advocating consolidation seem appealingly obvious. Unfortunately, most appealingly obvious ideas don't turn out well in the long run. The theory is that having all the foreign affairs agencies (the Agency for International Development, the Foreign Agricultural Service, the Foreign Commercial Service and the International Broadcasting Bureau) under the thumb of the State Department would reduce purported disarray, improve command and control of U.S. foreign policy objectives, and bring "Super State" more attention and funding.

This was done to the U.S. Information Agency a decade ago. However, does anyone still think (especially after reading the October issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*) that our public diplomacy efforts were improved by the elimination of USIA? Meanwhile, the ongoing process of "death by open senior-level positions" is eliminating the role and effectiveness of USAID.

Mike Henning, my USAID AFSA colleague, explains: "When a smaller organization is more closely lashed to a larger one, generally that leads to the smaller organization's funding, unique perspective, knowledge and culture fading and being subsumed by the larger."

So, with apologies to Star Trek fans, resistance must not be futile; assimilation must not be permitted. In fact, we've been there and done that already.

The Foreign Agricultural Service was established in 1930 as an office in the Department of Agriculture to oversee a small network of agricultural officers stationed in key markets. In the run-up to World War II, over the strong objections of USDA Secretary (later Vice President) Henry A. Wallace, President Roosevelt folded the overseas attachés of FAS (and FCS) into State.

At first, the forced assimilation seemed to work, as the existing agricultural officers maintained their links back to USDA. But as the ag attaché work force rotated and new officers came in, those close ties to USDA were lost. The U.S. agribusiness community was not amused as the quality of agricultural reporting, marketing efforts and trade policy support dropped (see note above regarding loss of "unique perspective, knowledge and culture"). So in the late 1940s and early 1950s the agribusiness community stormed the Hill and, in 1954, Congress brought the agricultural attachés back to USDA and resurrected the Foreign Agricultural Service.

Today FAS has a presence in 98 countries, supports a wide range of USDA and U.S. foreign policy objectives and works with our private-sector partners to keep annual U.S. agricultural exports above the $100-billion level.

Despite noble-sounding arguments in various reports, we remember the past. Let's not be condemned to repeat it. ❑

LDF CONTRIBUTES $5,000 TO SECURITY CLEARANCE CASE

AFSA's Legal Defense Fund: There When Members Need It

BY SHARON PAPP, AFSA GENERAL COUNSEL

AFSA created the Richard C. Scissors Legal Defense Fund in 2007, naming it in honor of the late AFSA Labor Management attorney who assisted hundreds of AFSA members. The fund is a last resort for members involved in legal cases with far-reaching importance to the rest of the Foreign Service — cases AFSA's in-house attorneys do not have the specialized expertise or hundreds of hours of time to pursue.

The Legal Defense Fund can help members retain a private attorney to challenge egregious procedural violations committed by an agency, protect them from lawsuits arising from service abroad and enforce Foreign Service Grievance Board decisions.

This year, the LDF contributed $5,000 to retain a Washington, D.C.-based private attorney, Mark Zaid, an expert in security clearance matters, to represent a Foreign Service officer from the Department of Commerce. The department had proposed the revocation of the employee's clearance and subsequently revoked it based upon documents that it did not provide to the employee or his AFSA attorney. These records included write-ups of the interviews the employee had with security officials at Commerce. In other words, the department would not give the employee its summary of what he himself had said during the interviews.

Instead, Commerce instructed the employee to file a Privacy Act/Freedom of Information Act request to obtain the documents. He did so; but the FOIA office claimed the documents were not releasable because they were classified. The office also argued that because the employee's security clearance had been suspended during the security investigation and revocation processes, he was not authorized to receive them. The employee's appeal of the Privacy Act/FOIA request is currently pending.

> The fund is a last resort for members involved in legal cases with far-reaching importance to the rest of the Foreign Service.

In the meantime, the employee's AFSA attorney had written to two Commerce Department offices, the Office of Security and the Office of General Counsel, to seek their assistance in gaining access to the documents. She informed these offices that she had a top secret security clearance as well as a "need to know," because access to the documents was essential in order to intelligently respond to the "proposal to revoke," as it is called. Neither office assisted her in obtaining the documents, and the employee was forced to file a response to the proposal to revoke without access to the documents.

The Supreme Court has stated that employees are entitled to notice of the grounds for a proposal to revoke and the opportunity to respond. Without access to the documents that form the basis of the proposal and decision to revoke, the employee has been denied procedural due process, a right to which all Foreign Service employees are entitled.

The Legal Defense Fund is helping this officer get the specialized representation he needs. But the LDF only exists because of your generous donations. So far this year, active-duty and retired Foreign Service employees have contributed more than $14,000 to the LDF. If you wish to help, please send a check to the AFSA Legal Defense Fund at 2101 E Street NW, Washington DC 20037. For more information, send an e-mail to member@afsa.org.

AFSA is grateful for your support. ❑

Beefing Up Resources • Continued from page 53

strumental in strengthening the case for more funding, and Johnson pointed to some of the stronger figures in her testimony. She mentioned, for example, that as of September 2008, roughly one-third of mid-level generalist positions at posts of greatest hardship were filled by officers in up-stretch assignments. She also cited statistics about language training: as of October 2008, 31 percent of FSOs in language-designated positions did not meet foreign-language proficiency requirements for their positions — and the number jumps sharply in Afghanistan (73 percent not proficient) and Iraq (57 percent not proficient).

AFSA is currently exploring ways to work with State on implementing the recommendations made by the GAO.

Johnson also spoke at the Foreign Affairs Retirees of Northern Virginia luncheon in September, addressing the GAO reports and answering questions about the current atmosphere at the State Department.

AFSA continues to use every possible forum and vehicle to advocate for and support the Foreign Service, including making common cause with other unions, working with interested congressional representatives, issuing press releases and providing information. We will continue to update our *AFSA News* readers with the latest efforts and successes in the relatively open and welcoming climate on the Hill. ❑

Please Consider Supporting the Fund for American Diplomacy

BY ASGEIR SIGFUSSON, MARKETING AND OUTREACH MANAGER

Each year, AFSA partners with the nonprofit Fund for American Diplomacy in an appeal for donations to a worthy cause. The fund sponsors Foreign Service programs and helps us tell the story of the Foreign Service to the American public in a variety of ways. Through a tax-deductible donation to the Fund for American Diplomacy, you can support:

- AFSA's High School Essay Contest, where students can earn college scholarship money by writing an essay on a topic related to foreign affairs.
- The AFSA Memorial Plaques and annual ceremony at the State Department to honor our colleagues who died in the line of duty.
- Awards programs recognizing FS employee and spouse achievements.
- The AFSA/Thursday Luncheon Group Minority Intern Program, which places a deserving minority student in a summer internship at the State Department.
- *Inside a U.S. Embassy*, our popular book providing insights into the Foreign Service to individuals preparing for the FS exam, college students in international relations courses, and FS family members and relatives, as well as military and corporate personnel interacting with our missions abroad. A new edition is planned for the fall of 2010.
- Exploritas (formerly Elderhostel) programs on foreign affairs for retired Americans.
- AFSA's Speakers Bureau, where FS retirees draw on their real-life experiences in addressing business and community leaders and the general public across the country.

No AFSA dues support FAD activities, so we rely on your direct donations to the fund in order to enable these successful and vital programs to continue. For further information on the fund and its activities, please contact AFSA Director of Communications Tom Switzer at (202) 944-5501 or switzer@afsa.org. ❑

AFSA Award Nominations • Continued from page 53

tions already exist. They were established to recognize individuals who demonstrate the professional courage and integrity to ask tough questions on either foreign policy or management/personnel issues and to offer alternative solutions through the appropriate channels.

Foreign Service employees have been trained to give their best professional counsel. They should be encouraged to do so. As two-time dissent award winner Ambassador Anthony Quainton has stated: "The awards should recognize those men and women of the Service who are willing to tackle tough and complex problems head-on, to call the shots as they are, and to propose practical and creative solutions."

Please help AFSA continue to honor and recognize independent thinking and honest dissent by nominating a colleague for one of the constructive dissent awards described below, which fall into four categories:

- The Tex Harris Award for a Foreign Service specialist;
- The Averell Harriman Award for a junior officer (FS-4, -5 or -6);
- The William Rivkin Award for a mid-level officer (FS-1, -2 or -3);
- The Christian A. Herter Award for a senior officer (FE/OC-FE/CA).

Foreign Service employees have been trained to give their best professional counsel. They should be encouraged to do so.

Exemplary Performance

AFSA also offers three annual awards for exemplary performance of assigned or voluntary duties at an overseas post that constitute extraordinary contributions to effectiveness, professionalism and morale. The awards are:

- The Delavan Award, for a Foreign Service Office Management Specialist who has made a significant contribution to post or office effectiveness and morale beyond the framework of his/her job responsibilities;
- The M. Juanita Guess Award, for a Community Liaison Officer who has demonstrated outstanding leadership, dedication, initiative or imagination in assisting the families of Americans serving at an overseas post;
- The Avis Bohlen Award, for a Foreign Service Eligible Family Member whose relations with the American and foreign communities at post have done the most to advance the interests of the United States.

As with AFSA's dissent awards, winners receive a cash prize of $2,500 and are honored at the June ceremony.

Nomination Procedures

Information on nomination procedures and guidelines can be found on our Web site at: www.afsa.org/awards. There is a hyperlink to articles about the AFSA 2009 award winners, as well as a listing of all past award winners.

The AFSA Awards and Plaques Committee, chaired by Ambassador John Limbert, reviews all nominations. Submissions that do not meet the stated criteria, as determined by our judges and the Awards & Plaques Committee, will not be considered. All nominations will be acknowledged.

Questions about any of the awards may be directed to Barbara Berger, Coordinator for Professional Issues, at berger@afsa.org; by phone at (202) 338-4045, ext. 521; or via fax at (202) 338-6820. ❑

Employing Spouses Makes Everyone Happy

We've all heard the expression, "If Mama ain't happy, ain't nobody happy." This certainly pertains to my family and, according to Dr. Kenneth Dekleva, the regional medical psychiatrist based in Vienna, it applies to a lot of other Foreign Service families, too. Speaking to a group of Embassy Athens employees in September, Dr. Dekleva stated that "Family-member employment is the biggest morale issue facing the State Department." Of course, not all spouses are "mamas" (19 percent are male), or even parents; but the issue remains very important.

"If spouses or partners are unhappy about the inability to find meaningful work, family life suffers as well," says spouse Lynne Madnick, an attorney currently posted to St. Petersburg. In our family, no one feels settled until "Mama" has found her raison d'être — whether it's editing the embassy newsletter in Kampala, teaching in Kingston, volunteering at an orphanage in Niamey or writing magazine articles in Athens. As one experienced spouse advised on a popular Foreign Service networking site: "Rethink what you want to be when you grow up."

While the Department of State has made efforts to address the issue, negotiating bilateral and de facto work agreements with 109 countries, employment opportunities for spouses remain limited. According to the June 2009 Family Member Employment Report, issued by the Family Liaison Office, only 39 percent of spouses are working, either inside or outside of the mission. This contrasts with Department of Labor statistics for 2008 indicating that in 51.4 percent of marriages, both spouses were employed. In addition, according to FLO's *Employment Options for Foreign Service Family Members*, the majority of FS spouses — more than 80 percent — hold college degrees.

Despite its efforts, the Department of State has yet to take full advantage of this educated talent pool. "If posts can pay someone $30,000 a year to escort painters or answer telephones, why can't they pay me $30,000 to use my education and skills to do substantive work?" asks a long-term FS spouse who wishes to remain anonymous. In fact, the department is already funding programs to do that — but not for diplomatic spouses. It has eight programs to assist college and high school students with paid fellowships or internships working within the department, and recently launched a new Virtual Foreign Service Program to involve college students in current diplomatic initiatives.

If it can utilize and support students, surely the department can use the talent, expertise and experience of its diplomatic spouses to help fulfill the need for "dedicated, energetic and skilled people to help us succeed ... and to help renew America's global leadership and put us and our world on a path of peace and prosperity," as Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton declares on the department's Web site. One idea is to radically expand the department's Professional Associates program opportunities by having spouses with particular expertise, in conjunction with offices at post and the bureaus in Washington, write proposals for new initiatives or projects that advance posts' objectives.

Surely the department can use the talent, expertise and experience of its diplomatic spouses.

Artists, art historians or curators could work with local artists and museums to plan exhibitions and hold professional workshops. Librarians could instruct schools, universities and organizations on how to set up their own libraries. Archaeologists could assist museums and local dig teams, giving tours and lectures. Computer specialists could advise local nongovernmental organizations on how to use technology to advance their work. Lawyers, management, human resource and financial specialists could support startup businesses, universities and even local governments.

Spouses could be the answer to a dramatically expanded community outreach program; and most of these professionals could just as easily work in our own embassies. Democracy-building, promoting the rule of law, pursuing anticorruption efforts and human rights, and encouraging volunteerism are all areas where State could utilize the professionally educated and experienced talent already present at posts worldwide.

It also makes financial sense not to hire new people for whom the department must pay housing, transportation, security and medical costs, and instead use those already in place and familiar with the way overseas missions work.

Sec. Clinton's vision is that the State Department "will play a vital role in ushering in a new era in American diplomacy by advancing a foreign policy that is both smart and sound, pragmatic and principled." A spouse employment program is also smart, sound, pragmatic and principled: a win-win situation for everyone involved. And that would make Mama *very* happy. ❑

Dawn Sewell McKeever is on her seventh overseas assignment and her 17th "job" since she and her husband joined the Foreign Service 21 years ago.

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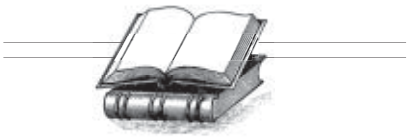

Books

Keeping His Head

The Day We Lost the H-Bomb: Cold War, Hot Nukes and the Worst Nuclear Weapons Disaster in History
Barbara Moran, Presidio Press, 2009, $26, hardcover, 321 pages.

Reviewed by Steven Alan Honley

On Jan. 17, 1966, a U.S. Air Force B-52 bomber exploded over the sleepy Spanish farming village of Palomares during what should have been a routine midair refueling. The explosion killed seven airmen and scattered the plane's payload — four unarmed thermonuclear bombs — across miles of coastline. Three of them were recovered within the first 24 hours without incident, but tracking down the fourth required the largest search-and-salvage operation in U.S. military history.

That operation is the subject of science journalist Barbara Moran's first book, *The Day We Lost the H-Bomb: Cold War, Hot Nukes and the Worst Nuclear Weapons Disaster in History*. But in keeping with that rather expansive subtitle, she weaves many other topics into her narrative: the evolution of the Strategic Air Command, the design and deployment of nuclear weapons around the world, life in Spain under the Franco dictatorship and depictions of the arms race in popular culture, to name just a few. While this hopscotch approach occasionally called to mind Victor Hugo's disquisition on the Paris sewer system during *Les Miserables*, it generally works well, conveying helpful background without bogging down the story.

The book's unsung hero is the U.S. ambassador to Spain in the mid-1960s, Angier Biddle Duke.

Gripping as the quest for the missing H-bomb is in Moran's telling, what Foreign Service readers will probably find most interesting is the role the U.S. embassy in Madrid played in the crisis (a facet only hinted at in the dust-jacket description, by the way). Indeed, I would argue that the book's unsung hero is Ambassador Angier Biddle Duke, though Moran does not portray him in quite so flattering a light.

Angie, as he was known, was the product of a century of American aristocracy. His grandfather, Benjamin Duke, helped found Duke University (and the American Tobacco Company). And his Uncle Tony — Anthony Joseph Drexel Biddle Jr. — was hailed in a 1943 *Time* magazine profile as the first "sextuple ambassador" in U.S. history.

With that lineage, it is understandable that Angie was drawn to diplomacy, though it is somewhat surprising that he wanted to work his way up the career ladder rather than be a political appointee. However, because he dropped out of Yale before graduating, he was not considered qualified to take the Foreign Service exam. He instead tried — and failed at — several other professions until an investment banker named Stanford Griffis, the Truman administration's new ambassador to Buenos Aires, took a shine to him.

Griffis pulled some strings so Duke could take the test, which he passed in 1949. Just three years later, he was named ambassador to El Salvador in 1952 at the age of 36, making him the youngest U.S. chief of mission up to that point.

Though Dwight Eisenhower's election cut short his tenure there, Duke took his responsibilities seriously, as he would continue to do throughout his diplomatic career. One Salvadoran reporter wrote: "He has dedicated more sewers, slaughterhouses and clinics than half a dozen politicians." But as Moran notes, "to his continued dismay, most of his colleagues considered him more adept at parties than policy."

That may explain why, in 1960, John F. Kennedy asked Duke to serve as director of protocol rather than giving him an overseas post. Despite his disappointment, Duke excelled at the job,

What could have been a terrible disaster instead had two happy endings.

acquiring skills that proved highly useful in Madrid when Lyndon Johnson sent him there in 1965.

As soon as he was notified about the missing nuclear weapon, the ambassador recognized the danger of stonewalling, as the military urged him to do. Instead, he met with a key contact in the Spanish Foreign Ministry and worked out press guidance that kept the two governments in sync. And once the news leaked that the bomb had landed in the sea and might not be recovered, he ably managed the situation on several fronts, minimizing damage to the bilateral relationship. (Chapter 13, "Spin Control," is quite funny in this regard, but it also makes Duke's diplomatic skills quite clear.)

What could have been a terrible disaster instead had two happy endings. Nearly three months after the accident, the fourth H-bomb (code-named "Robert") was safely recovered. And Angie Duke would go on to serve as ambassador to Denmark and Morocco before retiring from the Foreign Service in 1981, at which time he received the first Hans J. Morgenthau Award for his "exemplary foreign policy contributions to the United States."

On the evidence Moran presents in this highly readable account, Duke richly deserved that honor. ■

Steven Alan Honley is the editor of the Journal.

COMMUNITY COLLEGES — TIME TO TAKE ANOTHER LOOK?

THE NATION'S COMMUNITY COLLEGE SYSTEM HAS BECOME THE LAUNCHING PAD TO PROFESSIONAL CAREERS AND ADVANCED EDUCATION FOR MORE THAN HALF OF ALL COLLEGE STUDENTS.

BY REBECCA GRAPPO

Community colleges constitute the backbone of higher education opportunities for more than half of all college students (11.7 million) enrolled in the United States every year. Known as the great democratizer in education, community colleges have open enrollment policies promising that anyone with a high school diploma or general education degree can be a student. Opportunities abound for all kinds of students, from high school graduates hoping to transfer to a four-year institution to adults in the work force, displaced workers or those juggling work and family. And while many people think of community colleges as a place for part-time, non-traditional students, about 38 percent attend full-time.

Community colleges are also popular because of cost. According to the College Board, the average annual tuition cost of a private four-year institution is now $25,143; for a public four-year institution it is $6,585; but for resident students at a community college it is less than $4,000. As any parent who has recently paid tuition bills knows, the fees can be even higher than the averages cited here.

But what else draws students to these institutions? What kinds of programs, certificates and degrees are offered? Is community college a viable alternative for a high-achieving student who wants to pursue a four-year degree? What other services and opportunities are offered?

Types of Certificates and Degrees

Community colleges offer various certificate programs that range from entry-level to more advanced, covering a huge range of skills and fields. The best way to find a listing of what is offered is to go to the Web site of a specific community college and look for certificates and degrees.

Associate in Applied Science degrees can be vocational, occupational or technical. Students who choose this path can graduate in two years with professional skills that garner a reasonable wage in a high-demand area such as information technology, nursing or allied-health fields, among others.

Associate in Arts and Associate in Science degrees typically take between 60 and 63 credit hours to complete. The former has a greater emphasis on humanities and social sciences, while the latter focuses on math and science. Many A.A. and A.S. students complete these degree programs and then transfer on to a four-year university.

Many community colleges also offer opportunities to high school students who are looking for additional academic challenge. Most often known as dual enrollment, this pro-

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Q: What Do These People Have in Common … ?

George Lucas: film director, writer, producer
Jim Sinegal: president and CEO of Costco
Richard Carmona: M.D., U.S. surgeon general
Robert Gibson: space shuttle commander, NASA
Edward Stone: director, Jet Propulsion Laboratory; VP and professor of physics, California Institute of Technology
Tom Hanks: actor
Clint Eastwood: actor, mayor, civic activist
Arnold Schwarzenegger: governor of California, actor
Eileen Collins: space shuttle commander
Calvin Klein: fashion designer
Craig Venter: human genome scientist
And 28 members of Congress

A: All of the highly accomplished people listed here got their start at a community college.

gram sometimes goes by other names such as "Running Start." While still in high school, students can take advantage of higher-level coursework for credit. Courses and grades will appear on the high school transcript. Different institutions have different policies regarding class standing, credits and financial aid considerations for these programs. It is always best to ask for clarification on any of these policies, as they can vary greatly from institution to institution.

Regardless of the course of study, it is extremely important for any student wishing to pursue a certificate or a degree to work closely with an adviser in the community college system to be sure that all requirements are being met, that appropriate classes are being chosen and that the student is on track to complete the program. Furthermore, a student will find it difficult to transfer between an AAS degree and an A.A. or A.S. degree program. So proper advising is key.

Transferring to a Four-Year Institution

Many community colleges have what are called articulation agreements with state universities, in the same state or elsewhere, that provide for guaranteed admission for students who have maintained an established grade point average and met the

course requirements and any other criteria set by the university. In an economy weakened by recession and with the cost of college soaring, an increasing number of students who would have been candidates for a four-year institution directly after high school are taking a serious look at opportunities within the community college system.

For example, the 23 schools that serve more than 250,000 students taking courses for credit each year and make up the Virginia community college system have an agreement with the University of Virginia, considered one of the flagship universities in the state. Students who complete all requirements and maintain a 3.4 GPA are guaranteed admission to that institution. (The agreement can be seen at www.virginia.edu/undergraduateadmission/index.html.) Transfer Dean of Admissions Gregory W. Roberts says: "We are anxious to make the university more accessible to students who have not enrolled here immediately after finishing high school. The new agreement makes it possible for some students to realize their dream by earning a degree from the University of Virginia." Other four-year institutions in Virginia also accept community college transfer students.

"I tell all community college students that they are starting with a clean slate and they can open a whole new world for themselves. … "

— Bernice Dunn, counselor

In another example, Montgomery College in Maryland and Dickinson College, a prestigious liberal arts college in Carlisle, Pa., have entered into an agreement guaranteeing admissions and scholarship opportunities to qualified Montgomery College transfer students. Dickinson also has a Community College Partnership Program with other community colleges. Dickinson administrators have learned that by bringing in transfer students as a group, they are ultimately more successful, both socially and academically, because of the increased support these students receive.

The key to success at a community college is for the student to plan care-

fully and communicate frequently with his or her adviser. This planning is crucial. The adviser is most likely well-versed concerning the articulation agreements in effect with different universities, as well as any special requirements or mentoring programs available. If students are interested in transferring to other colleges or universities, they should investigate transfer requirements via Web sites, as well as through conversations with transfer admissions counselors at both ends. They must also do well academically.

"As a transfer counselor at a community college, it has been my experience that the student's grades at the community college are much more important than anything they did or did not do in high school," says Bernice Dunn, a counselor at Schenectady County Community College in New York. "I tell all community college students that they are starting with a clean slate and they can open a whole new world for themselves if they are determined to do so. … Some go on and transfer to such schools as Cornell or Union College or even Harvard." For a student who does well — i.e., excels in the classroom — the sky is the limit.

The key to success at a community college is for the student to plan carefully and communicate frequently with his or her adviser.

Academic Life at a Community College

Community colleges are often known for good teaching. Some faculty members prefer teaching in a setting free from the other responsibilities that come in a large research university. Others — especially those who may not yet be tenured — teach both in big research universities and community colleges. So at the local community college a student may get the same professor he would get at the more prestigious university in town.

At the same time, many adjunct professors commute from campus to campus. The upshot for students is that instructors' office hours might be limited, and they may not even have their own office space.

Community colleges work very hard to engage students in a variety of ways.

Smaller class sizes in a community college are a clear benefit. But students need to be prepared to get involved in class by having regular attendance, doing all assignments and class readings, and participating in class discussions. Vocational, occupational and technical classes tend to be very "hands-on," and those students seeking A.A. or A.S. degrees for eventual transfer need to demonstrate strong academic performance.

Community colleges are committed to open enrollment, which gives every student a fair chance. But not every student is equally prepared to take on the challenges of college-level courses. One way that community colleges and students help improve outcomes is by paying close attention to placement tests to determine the level at which a student should be placed. "Developmental courses" can offer remedial help to bring the student up to standard in certain areas to avoid being academically overwhelmed.

Many question the quality of programs and instruction at the nation's community colleges. The answer is, quite simply: "It depends." Both the expectations of students and the support provided to them vary widely in colleges and universities, says Kevin Carey, a research and policy manager at Education Sector, a Washington-based think-tank. In Carey's view, the key to increased student success is for professors to ask for more from them. In an article for the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, he asserts: "No one rises to low expectations."

Carey believes that community colleges need to do a better job of seeing to it that students complete their certificate or degree programs. But, he warns, for that to happen the colleges need to match their expectations of the students with support.

Special Programs

Community colleges work very hard to engage students in a variety of ways. Cessie, the Community College Survey for Student Engagement (www.ccsse.org), monitors ways that community colleges are accomplishing that goal and increasing outcomes of student success.

Cohort programs and study groups try to connect students with one another for support and study partners, as well as creating smaller learning communities. There are mentoring groups for students who want to transfer to four-year universities, as well as access to expert career assessment and planning, internship programs, study-abroad opportunities and selective honors courses.

There are mentoring groups for students who want to transfer to four-year universities, as well as career assessment and planning.

In addition, community colleges offer study skills courses and tutoring centers and labs for writing, math and computers. There are learning support centers for students with learning differences, as well as psychological and health services. Intensive academic advising is known to improve outcomes, and advisers and counselors are available to mentor and counsel students. Most professors maintain office hours in order to provide additional help for students, or to just be there for students who want to drop in and get to know them better.

Students can also get involved in a wide variety of activities on campus. There are opportunities to participate in sports, both intramural and competitive, as well as in musical performing groups, drama, student government and other organizations and activities. Many campus activities are proposed and organized by the students themselves. Joining the community also leads to higher student

engagement and outcomes.

Community colleges employ concerned professionals who want to help students succeed. Willingness to seek the support is needed, however. For example, studies show that orientation programs show better outcomes with student engagement, yet 60 percent of enrollees admit they don't take advantage of them. All the support programs in the world cannot help someone who does not know how to take advantage of them.

Too Good to Be True?

Despite all of this good news about community colleges, there is no question that in the current economic climate, most of them are battling the strains of overcrowding and funding cuts — even as the mission to serve a wide variety of students becomes even more important. Besides traditional students seeking relief from rising tuitions at public and private four-year institutions, there are displaced workers who want jobs that are more stable, higher paying and in demand. Veterans are also returning to college, using their GI Bill benefits to help pay for the cost. Joining the mix are increasing numbers of first-generation students and immigrants who seek vocational training and instruction in English.

Perhaps nowhere is the community college system more strained than in California, known for an outstanding institutional setup that has served as a gateway to the University of California and the California State university systems. This year, due to its fiscal and economic ill health, the state may have to turn away as many as 200,000 students; and those who completed two years in a community college may find there is no place for them as transfer students in the U.C.

Competing Priorities for Community College Students

Student enrollment:
- Part-time: 62 percent
- Full-time: 38 percent

Most students work:
- More than 20 hours a week: 57 percent
- 0 to 20 hours a week: 43 percent

Many students care for dependents:
- None: 44 percent
- Spend 1-10 hours caring for dependents: 23 percent
- Spend 11 hours or more a week caring for dependents: 33 percent

Most students commute to and from class:
- 1-5 hours: 69 percent
- 6 or more hours: 24 percent
- No commute: 7 percent

Sources: CCSSE data, 2008; U.S. Department of Education, 2006

or CalState system, either. Budget cuts have made it difficult to get into classes because fewer sections are offered or the sections that are offered are filled to maximum capacity.

The increasing numbers of students — as much as 20 percent more than the previous year in some systems — have also left many schools scrambling to find space for additional classes. This has led to alternative scheduling: e.g., dawn to late night or seven days a week.

In the Boston area's largest community college, Bunker Hill Community College, midnight classes are now being offered to handle the influx of students. The need for more classes has also put pressure on administrators to find qualified faculty. If such an instructor can't be found, the class cannot be offered.

California and Boston are not the only systems that are stressed from increased enrollment and budget crises. According to *Newsday* reporter Karla Schuster, Miami-Dade — one of the nation's largest community college systems, with 164,000 students at eight campuses around the Greater Miami area — may have to turn away 5,000 students this year. Colorado forecasts budget shortfalls of up to 10 percent for higher education. Maryland is reducing spending

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Community colleges are often known for good teaching.

Additional Resources:

www.VaWizard.org — provides a list of what courses do and don't transfer

www.ccsse.org — Community College Survey for Student Engagement

www.aacc.nche.edu/Pages/default.aspx — American Association of Community Colleges

www.usatoday.comnews/education/2008-11-16-CCSSE_N.htm — community colleges opt to participate in survey of programs, special offerings and student engagement

www.virginia.edu/undergradadmission/index.html — details transfer requirements to the University of Virginia under articulation agreements with state community colleges

Community College Transfer Guide by Don Silver (www.adams-hall.com)

SCHOOLS AT A GLANCE

Go to our Web page at www.fsjournal.org and click on the Marketplace tab for more information.

School Name	Page Number	Enrollment	Gender Distribution M/F	Percent Boarding	Percent International	Levels Offered	Common Application	Accepts/Offers ADD and LD	Miles to Int'l Airport	Int'l Students Orientation	Dorms w/E-mail & Phones	Holiday Break Coverage	Annual Tuition, Room & Board (USD)
ELEMENTARY/JUNIOR HIGH													
Burgundy Farm Country Day School	88	276	48/52	NA	NA	JK-8	NA	NA	30	NA	NA	Y	20,570-22,675
Cardigan Mountain School	94	200	All boys	90	40	6-9	N	Limited	130	Y	Y	N	42,200
Immanuel Christian School	66	380	50/50	NA	1	K-8	none	Y	5	N	N	N	7,200-7,600
Indian Mountain School	92	260	60/40	37	12	PK-9	N	Y	50	N	Y	N	41,500
Langley School, The	92	480	51/49	NA	0	PK-8	NA	N	15	NA	NA	NA	12,950-25,950
North Country School	72	92	49/43	88	23	4-9	Y	Y	125	N	Y/N	N	46,900
ELEMENTARY/JUNIOR/SENIOR HIGH													
Barrie School	74	400	50/50	NA	NA	PK-12	NA	Limited	31	NA	NA	NA	11,750-24,080
JUNIOR/SENIOR HIGH													
Grier School, The	75	220	All girls	100	45	6-12, PG	Y	Y	120	Y	Y	Y	44,500
Hawai'i Preparatory Academy	67	350	50/50	50	20	6-12, PG	Y	Limited	35	Y	Y	**	37,900
Southwestern Academy	90	160	70/30	60	50	6-12, PG	Y	Limited	29	Y	Y	Y	30,700
Webb School, The	94	280	55/45	33	12	7-12, PG	Y	Y/N	45	Y	Y	Y	27,250
SENIOR HIGH													
Annie Wright School	71	160	All girls	45	35	9-12	Y	Y	27	Y	Y	Y	39,000
Darrow School	79	100	60/40	80	15	9-12	Y	Y	40	Y	Y	N	42,150*
Episcopal High School	78	415	58/42	100	6	9-12	Y	N	10	Y	Y	Y	27,600
Fountain Valley School of Colorado	88	250	50/50	66	23	9-12	Y	Y	70	Y	Y	N	40,000
Garrison Forest School	79	215	All girls	40	10	8-12	Y	N	35	Y	Y	N	30,250
Hebron Academy	93	214	63/37	70	25	9-12, PG	Y	Y	45	Y	Y	N	43,995
Interlochen Arts Academy	74	475	40/60	89	18	9-12, PG	N	N	16	Y	Y	N	42,700
Lowell Whiteman School	72	97	55/45	50	4	9-12	Y	Y	195	Y	Y	Limited	32,250
Marvelwood School, The	73	167	64/36	92	28	9-12	Y	Y	80	Y	Y	Limited	43,000
St. Andrew's School	73	208	64/36	22	11	3-12	Y	Y	18	Y	Y	N	41,400
St. Johnsbury Academy	72	963	54/46	24	17	9-12	Y	Y	75	Y	Y	Y	39,990
Verde Valley School	93	123	49/51	84	47	9-12	Y	Limited	120	Y	Y	Y	39,990
Worcester Academy	95	660	54/46	31	15	9-12 PG	Y	Y	45	Y	Y	N	44,830
SPECIAL NEEDS													
Benedictine School, The	78	100	71/29	80	5	Ages 5-21	NA	Y	60	Y	Y	N	Call
Gow School, The	77	148	All boys	100	27	7-12, PG	N	Y	20	Y	Y	N	49,825
Kildonan School, The	66	140	70/30	46	7	2-12, PG	N	Y	90	Y	Y	N	54,500
Landmark School	84	447	60/40	50	10	2-12	N	Y	25	N	Y	N	Call
Melmark School, The	69	67	67/33	55	1	Ungraded	N	Y	19	NA	NA	N	Call
Riverview School	89	180	50/50	96	4	6-12, PG	N	Y	75	Y	Y	N	67,705
Vanguard School, The	89	131	70/30	85	30	5-12, PG	Y	Y	50	Y	Y	N	42,000

Notes: NA - Not Applicable ADD - Attention Deficit Disorder LD - Learning Disability PK - Pre-Kindergarten PG - Postgraduate
**Tutorial program additional. ** Thanksgiving only.*

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SCHOOLS AT A GLANCE

Go to our Web page at www.fsjournal.org and click on the Marketplace tab for more information.

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MILITARY

School Name	Page Number	Enrollment	Gender Distribution M/F	Percent Boarding	Percent International	Levels Offered	Common Application	Accepts/Offers ADD and LD	Miles to Int'l Airport	Int'l Students Orientation	Dorms w/E-mail & Phones	Holiday Break Coverage	Annual Tuition, Room & Board (USD)
Riverside Military Academy	77	300	All boys	90	30	7-12	Y	N	60	N	Y	Y	27,500
Army and Navy Academy	71	320	All boys	90	11	7-12	N	Y	75	Y	Y	Y	31,000

DISTANCE LEARNING

American Public University	68	30,000	50/50	NA	1	A.A., B.A., M.A.	N	Y	NA	N	NA	Y	(Tuition: 750 per 3 credits, 825 per 3 grad credits)
Clarion University	84	M.S., B.S. & Cert. programs online. Accredited. Accessible. Anywhere. www. clarion.edu/virtualcampus											
K12 International Academy	80	Online U.S. curriculum for K-12. Enrollment: 877. Percent International: 60. Tuition: 4,995 - 6,995. For more information go to www.K12.com/overseas.											
OC Global, a division of Odessa College	87	Associate degrees online. For more information go to www.myocglobal.com.											
		5,200	40/60	4	1	A.A., A.S.	N	Y	14	Y	Y	Y	2,600
University of Missouri - Ctr. Distance & Ind. Study	85	Independent study: Grade 3 through university. Bachelor's degree completion For more information, go to cdis.missouri.edu/go/fsd9.aspx											

OVERSEAS

American Overseas School of Rome	72	630	50/50	NA	65	PK-PG	N	Y	30	Y	NA	N	12,750-21,500
Berlin Brandenburg International School	75	580	49/51	5	55	PK-12	N	Y	25	Y	Y	N	12,700-45,900
Carlucci American International School of Lisbon, The	83	540	50/50	0	50	PK-12	N	Limited	22	Y	NA	NA	10,350-24,140
Country Day School, Guanacaste	91	150	50/50	15	80	PK-12	N	N	40	Y	Y	N	28,050
Escuela Campo Alegre	72	600	50/50	NA	80	N-12	NA	Limited	20	Y	NA	N	19,895
John F. Kennedy International School, Switzerland	71	70	50/50	50	70	K-8	N	Limited	90	Y	Y	N	39,500
Leysin American School in Switzerland	70	385	48/52	100	75	8-12, PG	Y	Limited	75	Y	Y	N	43,000
St. Stephen's School	84	250	47/53	15	65	9-12, PG	N	N	12	NA	Y	N	44,830*
TASIS The American School in England	84	700	50/50	26	47	PK-12	Y	Limited	8	Y	Y	N	8,650-45,000*
Woodstock School	90	470	50/50	85	56	PK-12	N	N	230	Y	Y	N	16,000-19,000

POST-SECONDARY

John Cabot University	96	750	60/40	66	40	B.A.	Y	Y	20	Y	Y	Limited	28,100
St. Mary's University	85	2,372	40/60	50	4.3	B.A., M.A., Ph.D.	N	Y	13	Y	Y	N	29,928

OTHER

Foreign Service Youth Foundation	89	A support network for U.S. Foreign Service Youth worldwide. Go to www.fsyf.org

*Notes: NA - Not Applicable ADD - Attention Deficit Disorder LD - Learning Disability PK - Pre-Kindergarten PG - Postgraduate *Dollar value is subject to exchange rate.*

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President Obama has proposed an initiative that would substantially boost funding to community colleges by $12 billion.

on higher education by $37 million, and Virginia (at the time of this writing) is looking at possible midyear cuts of 5 to 15 percent. Community colleges are already reducing student services and cutting staff, as well as leaving openings unfilled; even so, tuition hikes have become inevitable.

In October, the College Board reported that tuition and mandatory fees at public four-year colleges and universities had risen an average of 6.5 percent over 2008, with community college costs jumping by 7.3 percent, on average. According to College Board analyst Sandra Baum, that jump was caused in large part by California, which has 17 percent of all community college students in the country and which had the highest percentage-point tuition and fee increases. Virgina's community college costs also rose sharply, by 7.9 percent, higher than the national average. But 37 states had smaller cost increases.

And, Baum emphasizes, the federal government and colleges and universities themselves have been responding with increased student aid in the form of grants, tax credits and other support. About two-thirds of all college students receive financial assistance, she says, typically about $5,000 in grants and $4,600 in federal loans, each. "There is a lot of financial aid out there," she says. "But it is complicated, and you have to do some digging to figure out

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FLO PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT FELLOWSHIPS

In July, a Family Liaison Office–led selection committee that included representatives from the regional bureaus and the Bureau of Human Resources awarded $197,538 in fellowships to spouses and partners of U.S. direct-hire government employees under chief-of-mission authority around the world to further their professional skills while overseas. Of 195 eligible applicants posted in 91 countries, 120 were awarded fellowships.

The fellowships of up to $2,000 each are designed to assist those Eligible Family Member spouses and Members of Household (unmarried partners) who are not in a position to pursue their career paths to maintain, enhance or develop their skills. Qualifying activities include such things as continuing education, distance learning, professional development, participation in professional conferences and dues for membership in professional organizations.

Recipients must fund 25 percent of the cost of the proposed activities, while the fellowship stipend will cover 75 percent of the cost, up to the $2,000 maximum. Travel, transportation, lodging costs and per diem are not reimbursable under the program.

To be eligible, an applicant must be the spouse or MOH partner of a direct-hire U.S. government employee who is available for an overseas posting. Although eligible applicants residing in the U.S. may apply, preference is given to those currently posted or assigned overseas. Previous fellowship awardees who meet the eligibility requirements may apply again.

The selection committee considers the lack of employment in an applicant's profession at his or her current post, the correlation between the proposed activity and an applicant's professional development and, where applicable, the connection between the proposed activity and other, similar efforts the applicant has made to maintain or refresh professional skills. Further, proposals from applicants at historically difficult-to-staff posts and countries where no bilateral work agreement or de facto work arrangement is in place receive preference.

The FLO Professional Development Fellowships began in 2006 as a three-year pilot program with support from the Una Chapman Cox Foundation. Having proved its value as a significant contribution to family-member morale, the program was supported by appropriated funds in 2009. Contingent on renewed funding, the 2010-2011 program announcement will be posted on FLO's Internet and intranet sites in early 2010 (www.state.gov/m/dghr/flo/c25927.htm). ■

— Susan Brady Maitra, Senior Editor

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how to pay for college."

Gateway to Opportunity

In May, President Barack Obama called on Dr. Jill Biden, a community college professor, lifelong educator and the vice president's wife, to lead a national effort to raise awareness of the unique importance of community colleges to the nation. Expansion and improvement of the community college system are the focus of the administration's education initiatives and key elements in its plans for economic recovery.

"As a competitive advantage for the United States, the community college system is essential," White House Chief of Staff Rahm Emmanuel told a June meeting of the Democratic Leadership Council. In training workers in vocational, occupational and technical fields, as well as preparing students for access to four-year institutions, these institutions fill a critical gap for students and society.

With this in mind, some federal stimulus funds have been directed to support of community colleges. And, in early June, Secretary of Education Arne Duncan launched a $7 million competitive grant program to help community colleges and other organizations prepare the unemployed population, such as laid-off autoworkers, for a second career.

Speaking at Macomb Community College in Michigan in July, just one day after the Council of Economic Advisers released a report describing how the U.S. labor market will grow and shift toward jobs that require workers with greater analytical and interactive skills, Pres. Obama announced the American Graduation Initiative.

The AGI would boost funding to community colleges by $12 billion, with the goal of educating five million more workers, over the next 10 years. "Not since the passage of the original GI Bill and the work of President Truman's Commission on Higher Education — which helped to double the number of community colleges and increase by sevenfold enrollment in those colleges — have we taken such a historic step on behalf of community colleges in America," Pres. Obama said. "It will reform and strengthen community colleges like this one from coast to coast so they get the resources that students and schools need — and the results workers and businesses demand."

The program would establish a system of competitive grants to increase the effectiveness and impact of community colleges, raise graduation rates, modernize facilities and create new online learning opportunities.

Community colleges serve a wide variety of students and provide numerous opportunities. To make the most of the experience, students are encouraged to take advantage of all available special programs and support systems; plan their next steps by working closely with their academic adviser; forge ties with instructors who can help along the way; and pace themselves by not taking on too much work and other responsibilities.

For those students who wish to transfer to a four-year institution, it is even more important to plan carefully, take honors courses if possible, get involved in activities on campus — and remember that academic performance counts.

Despite the challenges the community college system currently faces, it remains the gateway to opportunity for almost 12 million students a year, and that number is expected to grow. It is worth another look. ■

THE ABCS OF EDUCATION ALLOWANCES

BY PAMELA WARD

Employees of government agencies assigned overseas are granted allowances to help defray the cost of an education for their children in kindergarten through 12th grade, one equivalent to that provided by public school systems in the United States.

In most cases, posts abroad are served by one or more English-language schools with an American curriculum. The majority of these are nongovernmental, nonprofit, nondenominational, independent schools, usually with a board of directors establishing policy and a superintendent, headmaster or principal as the senior administrator. Even though these schools may be called American, they are not entities of the U.S. government. Some receive government grants for specific purposes, but these grants represent a small percentage of the overall budget. Children of many nationalities attend these schools — including, in most schools, a significant percentage of host-country students.

The allowances for a specific post are determined by the fees charged by a school identified as providing a basic U.S.-type education. Parents may use this allowance to send their children to a different school of their choice, say a parochial or foreign-language institution, as long as the cost does not exceed that of the "base" school. If the alternative school is more expensive than the "base" model, the difference would be an out-of-pocket expense for the parents.

An allowance covers only expenses for those services usually available without cost in American public schools, including tuition, transportation and textbooks. Fees for lunches, trips, computers and school uniforms are not covered, even if required by the school.

Parents may also elect to homeschool their children while at post, using a home study program. They will receive an allowance to purchase materials and services while posted abroad, but this allowance will not be continued if they are reassigned to the U.S.

If a foreign post does not have a secular, English-language school with an American curriculum, or has such a school that goes only through certain grades, an away-from-post or "boarding school" allowance is provided. A

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The school is located on 15 acres of dry tropical forest, steps from pristine beaches along Costa Rica's Pacific coast. While only 19,730 square miles, or about the size of West Virginia, Costa Rica has been likened to Hawaii for its incredible diversity and beauty of natural environments, habitats, and micro-climates. We take full advantage of experiential learning opportunities found in our ecologically rich location, the Guanacaste culture and the Spanish language.

The school hosts Central America's only boarding program in a US-accredited school, enrolling approximately 150 students in Preschool through Grade 12. There are approximately 80 students in the high school, coming from North America, Europe, Latin American, and Asia. School facilities are entirely purpose-built with high speed wireless internet available throughout campus.

The area is rural with sparsely populated stretches of open savannahs and jungle-like mountainous terrain peppered with higher-populated and colorful towns, mostly along the beaches, containing diverse international and local populations. A number of nationalities are represented and a diversity of languages are spoken by our students and parents.

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lump sum, varying from post to post, is allotted to cover the estimated cost of tuition, room, board and travel to post during school vacations. Parents are free to choose the boarding school they prefer. There is no special funding for parents or students to visit schools in advance of application or for an interview, even if one is required. The allowance will not be paid for a child to attend a school in the United States if there is a parent (natural, adoptive or step) residing in the U.S. because the assumption in that case is that the child could attend a public school.

The U.S. government does not provide an allowance for college or other post-secondary education. However, one round trip per year to post is provided for students studying at universities in the U.S. In 2006, Congress amended the statute to also provide this allowance for students studying at universities abroad. Also allowed is the shipment of 250 pounds of unaccompanied air baggage or the equivalent cost in storage for each college or boarding school student.

All funding for education is processed by the financial management officer at the post where the employee is assigned. At some posts the embassy or consulate works very closely with the school or schools, and the billing is handled directly. In other instances, the employee will pay a school fee, or pay for an airline ticket or storage, and then submit bills to the FMO for reimbursement. Although a student may start school at the beginning of a semester if a parent has been officially assigned to a post, the parent may not be reimbursed for any school expenses until he or she arrives at post.

There are several offices in the Department of State prepared to help you understand how the educational allowances work, and what choices you have for your children. These include the Office of Overseas Schools (www.state.gov/m/a/os), the Office of Allowances (http://aoprals.state.gov) and the Family Liaison Office (www.state.gov/m/dghr/flo/c1958.htm). We hope that you will get in touch with us if you have any questions about your situation. Although these offices are part of the Department of State, the same allowances apply to most civilian federal employees under chief-of-mission authority overseas. For information or assistance, e-mail FLOAskEducation@state.gov or call (202) 647-1076. ■

Pamela Ward is a regional education officer in the State Department's Office of Overseas Schools. She served previously as the education and youth officer in the Family Liaison Office. Her article, originally published in the June 2007 FSJ, has been updated to reflect developments since then.

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…and more.

FROM THE DECEMBER 2008 SCHOOLS SUPPLEMENT

Rebecca Grappo,
"Building Resiliency in Global Nomads"

A Guide to Negotiating the Transitions of Foreign Service Life

"If one can generalize about Third Culture Kids, they have experienced life overseas, outside of their home cultures and comfort zones, and feel that their lives have been enriched by the many diverse experiences they have had. Most of these young people understand that they now possess a three-dimensional world view, and have become more flexible in their thinking as a result of the many transitions they have made.

"Despite the many advantages that come from growing up overseas, many TCKs wonder where they belong, and don't understand why they feel so different from their peers when they return to the country of their passport. Defining "home" is a challenge. It may be everywhere and nowhere. In addition to feelings of confusion about the sense of belonging and finding and keeping friends, there are the feelings of loss and sadness that accompany moves.

"The goal is to guide our families through the transitions in a way that enhances each member's resiliency."

USEFUL LINKS:

ASSOCIATES OF THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE WORLDWIDE
Web site created by Foreign Service spouses.
www.aafsw.org

EXPAT EXCHANGE
An online resource for information, employment, services and shopping overseas.
www.expatexchange.com

FOREIGN SERVICE YOUTH FOUNDATION
Provides information, advocacy and activities for Foreign Service youth.
www.fsyf.org

GLOBAL NOMADS WASHINGTON AREA
Activities, resources and information on Global Nomads.
www.globalnomads-dc.org

TALES FROM A SMALL PLANET
A Web zine for expats offering "Real Post Reports" and tales from around the world.
www.talesmag.com

TCK WORLD
Web site for the support and understanding of Third Cutlture Kids (TCKs).
www.tckworld.com

2009 COLLEGE RANKINGS: SERVING THE NATION

Washington Monthly's 2009 "College Guide" presents this pioneering ranking system for post-secondary educational institutions in a new format, including a lively blog and feature articles noteworthy education topics (www.washingtonmonthly.com/college_guide/index.php).

"While other guides ask what colleges can do for students, we ask what colleges are doing for the country," the *WM* editors stated in the introduction to their 2005 inaugural guide. This valuable alternative to the traditional "best" college rankings issued annually by *U.S. News & World Report* and other organizations ranks schools on the basis of three criteria: social mobility, research and service.

How does a school measure up as an engine of social mobility, as a producer of the scientific minds and research that develop new knowledge and drive economic growth, and as a promoter of an ethic of service?

The 2009 guide has an introductory narrative on the findings and information on the methodology used. Among the highlights from the 2009 rankings:

• While all of the top 20 *U.S. News* universities are private, as are nearly all its top colleges, 13 of *WM*'s top 20 universities are taxpayer-funded, with the University of California's Berkeley heading the list.

• Several world-class private institutions like Princeton, Duke and Penn were ranked 28th, 33rd and 59th, respectively. They were all beaten out by South Carolina State University, where 71 percent of students qualify for Pell Grants and an uncommonly large number participate in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps.

• Washington University in St. Louis is famous in higher education circles for aggressive marketing tactics, driving up applications and bringing it to number 12 on the *U.S. News* list. *WM*'s ranking tells a different story — it is 99th and dropping from previous years.

• *U.S. News* sticks minority-serving colleges like Louisiana's Dillard University and Tennessee's Fisk University in its lowly "third tier," but *WM* ranks them in the top 50 because they enroll many low-income students and — relative to other colleges with similar student profiles — help many of them earn degrees.

• Berea College — a small institution in Kentucky founded by abolitionists as an integrated, coeducational college that charges no tuition and is dedicated to helping first-generation college students — ranks 12th in the *WM* listing. Curiously, *U.S. News* relegated it to Tier 3. ■

— Susan Brady Maitra, Senior Editor

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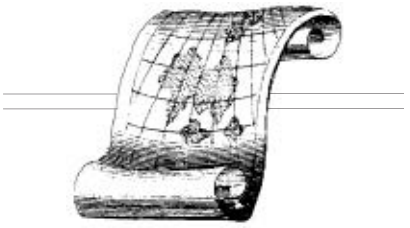

REFLECTIONS

A Day at the Races

BY GINNY YOUNG

My husband was dying.

"What do you want me to do with your ashes?" I asked Don, in the only serious conversation we had between a three-cancer diagnosis and his death 18 days later.

"Doesn't matter."

I decided his final resting place should be beneath the murky waters of the South China Sea, near the former British colony of Hong Kong where, some 20 years before, the Marines at the U.S. consulate had put us together on a blind date for their annual ball.

Don Young had taken me to Macau for our first weekend together. We gambled at the casino and dined at a Portuguese restaurant called Saludes, where Don's good friend Father Lancelot Rodriquez drank Scotch, played his guitar and lifted a lilting tenor voice in beautiful rendition of every schmaltzy, sentimental song ever written, from "Home on the Range" to "Danny Boy."

Now, at my request, Lancelot had commandeered the mayor of Macau's boat. We circled the Buddhist Statue of Hope in the bay where the Pearl River meets the sea. Lancelot donned a surplice and said a few solemn words. I kissed the red vase containing my husband's ashes and sent it spinning into the water.

Then I was back at my hotel in central Hong Kong for a dreary weekend before continuing on to Cambodia and Angkor Wat. There I would try to forget my grief — at least for the moment. Don's and my courting days had been full of friends, romance and glamour.

One name stood out: Strong Scotch.

Now that was all gone.

Impulsively, I called one of his Chinese friends, Yeng Pong. She invited me to dinner and asked if I'd like to accompany her family to the races in Kowloon the next day. Mama Pong had a horse running in the third race at Sha-Tin.

I was escorted into a private lunchroom with three round tables, each set for 12. An ice sculpture of a magnificent horse's head graced the buffet table. Waiters filled wineglasses as soon as a first sip was taken. Private betting booths were set up along the side.

A large red envelope with elegant Chinese squiggles on it rested at a table where I was to hold the place of honor. It contained "lucky money," Yeng explained. This custom ensured that a guest, obliged to wager cash that might be lost, would not be made to feel uncomfortable. My envelope contained $1,200.

My instinct was to take the money and run, but that would have been rude. Instead, I resolved to bet on every race, choosing a horse by name: the more American it sounded, the more likely I would be to place my bet.

By the last race, I had lost on every horse I'd chosen, including a hefty amount on the gorgeous, sorrel-colored filly owned by my hostess. I had only a few hundred dollars left.

Mama Pong glared intently at the racing form. She knew which jockey had gained a pound, who had done poorly or well in recent contests.

"Ask Don for guidance," she suggested, looking up. "I always ask my late husband what to choose."

"I don't know why," her daughter whispered. "Dad never won a race in his life."

I checked the listings. One name stood out: Strong Scotch. Yes, Don would like that one. Despite horrific odds, I put all the money I had left on this nag's nose.

He came in first. I paid for a week at the Mandarin Hotel with crumpled bills I'd won the afternoon before at Sha-Tin's last race of the season and left for Thailand and Cambodia, feeling somehow less sad than on arrival. The world wasn't totally drab, I decided. Even now, there was some adventure left.

Somewhere, I knew Don Young was smiling. ■

Ginny Young accompanied her late husband, Jim Carson, on several Foreign Service tours before his death in 1973. She then entered the Foreign Service herself. Ten years later, she married Don Young, whom she met on assignment in Hong Kong. Young accompanied her on further postings to Mexico and Romania. He died in 2002. The Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training will publish her memoir, Peregrina: Adventures of an American Consul, *next year.*

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