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J. KIRBY SIMON FOREIGN SERVICE TRUST

AN INVITATION TO PROPOSE PROJECTS FOR FUNDING BY THE J. KIRBY SIMON FOREIGN SERVICE TRUST IN 2011

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 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 2010 the Trust made its fourteenth round of awards, approving a total of 60 grants that ranged from \$890 to \$4,500 (averaging \$2,444) for a total of \$146,687. These grants support the involvement of Foreign Service personnel in the projects described in the Trust announcement titled "Grants Awarded in 2010" 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 children of underprivileged women learning marketable skills; specialized education equipment for the disabled; kitchen and other equipment for occupational training programs.

- **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; 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, security equipment and improved sanitation for maternity clinics and orphanages; a visual impairment survey among HIV-positive children; rebuilding homes of 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 2011. It is anticipated that few of the new grants will exceed the average size of the 2010 awards, and that projects assisted by the Trust will reflect a variety of interests and approaches, as illustrated by the foregoing paragraphs and by the Web site description of 2010 grants.

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 obtaining 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) play 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, its aims 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 2011 must be received by the Trust no later than March 1, 2011. 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

E-mail: Send to both (1) info@kirbysimontrust.org and (2) john.simon@yale.edu

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

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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Thinking About the Unthinkable

BY SUSAN R. JOHNSON

This month I want to give a shout-out for a 2009 book that still provides provocative perspectives on international affairs and diplomacy: *The Age of the Unthinkable – Why the New World Disorder Constantly Surprises Us and What We Can Do About It* by Joshua Cooper Ramo. Ramo, who serves as managing director of Kissinger Associates, was co-chair of the Santa Fe Institute's first working group on Complexity and International Affairs and is a co-founder of the U.S.-China Young Leaders Forum.



My intent is not to review his book here, but to use it as a call for each of us to take up his challenge to “think deeply about the forces now violently reordering the globe, and to try to change the corporations where we work.” By this he means thinking about redesigning our national security agencies, including the State Department, on the basis of a different approach from the one we have pursued for the past 50 or 60 years.

Here are a few of his propositions: We are in a “revolutionary era of surprise and innovation” and need to learn to think and act like revolutionaries. Instead, the “suits working in the NSC or the U.S. Army or IBM or Time Warner

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

are locked ... in a vision of the world that is out of date and inflexible.” Trust that our leaders understand or tell the truth about what we are confronting is “leaching away,” and “the sum of their misconceptions has produced a tragic paradox: policies designed to make us safer instead make the world more perilous.”

Ramo worries that the “most likely course for our future is the most dangerous: minor adjustments to policy and ... incremental changes to institutions that are already collapsing.” In his view, the “only hope of guaranteeing human rights and moral decency ... is radical new language and thought.” .. “In a revolutionary age, with rapid change, our architects’ tools are deadly — it is time to put them down” and instead to begin to “live and think as gardeners.”

The author’s background in complexity theory and international relations underpins his concept of “deep security.” This is based on “a way of seeing, thinking and acting that takes the best ideas from the playbook or revolutionary forces and combines them with the demands and responsibilities that established power places on us.” Deep security “functions like an immune system — always ready, capable of dealing with the unexpected and as dynamic as the world itself.”

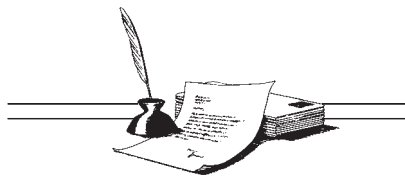
Ramo calls for “ceaseless reform and innovation” to begin immediately to develop “a new architecture of financial, environmental and national security institutions built with fresh language and stocked with new minds.” In other words, Ramo is not only, like Nietzsche, pronouncing the demise of an old order. He is calling on foreign affairs professionals to think in new ways, to address the gathering challenges and to develop a more dynamic and intense diplomacy.

You may agree or disagree with these propositions or Ramo’s analysis of how the world is changing, or why that a transformation of existing institutions is necessary and inevitable. But the important question he raises is: How can America come out a winner in the new game?

I would like to see new thinking and new language come from our own ranks, as well. AFSA offers a mechanism for gathering and conveying these ideas to management in a purposeful manner.

What would be the impact if books like this became a common touchstone for A-100 classes or mid-level professional development courses? The point is not whether any one book defines “truth” but, rather, whether it provokes us as professionals to think, debate and search for it.

Let me know what you think at President@afsa.org. ■



LETTERS

Letting Women Lead

When I joined the U.S. Foreign Service in the mid-1950s, I remember thinking the diplomatic career was one that would, like medicine, be particularly well served by virtues such as empathy and flexibility that were generally regarded as feminine. When one new female officer assigned to the office in which I worked became engaged and was reminded of the Foreign Service policy that women who married had to resign, I challenged the rationality of the policy at the most senior level of management I could contact.

I was confronted with a stern, explicit rebuttal: women were not the best fit for the rough and tumble of diplomacy, and such service was incompatible with their “natural” role as mothers and wives. The “softer” virtues of women were considered inadequate to a profession that required toughness and aggressiveness (attitudes that may account for some of the worst policy misdirections of our era). Women, it seemed, were testosterone-challenged; too conciliatory. The policy was roundly reaffirmed.

Only two Foreign Service women had achieved the career pinnacle — the rank of Career Ambassador — among the almost 40 people who reached that level during the 1900s. Spinsterhood was apparently the prerequisite for female promotion. The Foreign Service, as was the case with so

many other American institutions, was depriving itself of the capabilities of half the population.

When I received my first ambassadorship in the early 1970s, I chose a female officer as deputy chief of mission. The glass ceiling had begun to crack, but I still had the feeling I was breaking a taboo in the eyes of some of my seniors. Happily, the officer I chose went on to one of the most successful careers in Foreign Service history at that time. She brought to the position a mixture of assets that made a palpable difference to the mission’s success.

Later, when I was serving as chargé d’affaires in a major embassy, a non-career woman was appointed as ambassador. I began to receive condolences from many colleagues about the problems my new subservience would entail. We did have a rocky start, but that was more attributable to her inexperience than to her gender. As time went on, her presence and perspectives were to be highly valuable to an important relationship.

These antediluvian policies are now happily dead and buried. Today, by my count, approximately 30 percent of all career Foreign Service ambassadors are women. Of the 12 FSOs promoted to the rank of career ambassador since the turn of the current century, 25 percent have been women. American foreign policy, I believe, has been well-served by this rebalancing.

Now we need to spread recognition that diplomacy is a serious profession demanding skills in short supply, and declare that the continuing use of ambassadorships to reward financial or other political support — as military appointments once were — is a disservice to American foreign policy. If I am reading the statistics correctly, this administration has been moving in a contrary direction.

Ronald Spiers

*Career Ambassador, retired
Exeter, N.H.*

Let’s Help Reduce the Deficit

How many of us look with extreme disdain at the lack of courage displayed up and down and across party lines on Capitol Hill when it comes to addressing the structural budget deficit? Republicans reject anything that smells of a tax increase and insist on unidentified spending cuts — as long as they don’t touch programs favored by their constituents or treasured by their particular states.

Democrats want to protect the social safety net by taxing the wealthy but are cowed by their own constituency into rejecting any consideration of reducing social outlays even for those wealthy enough to make do with less.

Yet everyone agrees that the current projected deficits are unsustainable. So isn’t it time for some of those

LETTERS



constituencies feared by Republicans and Democrats alike to speak up and indicate what sacrifices they are willing to consider in the national interest?

Many of us in the retired or near-retired ranks have lived through a pretty good stretch of U.S. economic history and, for nearly 30 years, have paid taxes at historically low rates compared to the generation which preceded us. Is it not time for us to accept that we can do something to ease the future burden on our descendants who, at this point, appear to be facing much dimmer economic prospects as a result of wars waged on credit and social benefits to the elderly that are paid out regardless of economic need?

I propose that AFSA conduct a poll of its membership to determine what,

as a group, we are willing to put on the table in the great national debate over tax increases and spending cuts. Depending on the results, AFSA could be in a position to take the lead among public and private unions in providing some political cover to those members of Congress who are ready to consider some hard but responsible votes in a concerted effort to resolve our fiscal challenges.

Here are some suggestions:

1. Abolish the current cut-off threshold for FICA deductions.
2. Eliminate tax exemptions for Social Security income.
3. Continue graduated cuts to social security income due to earned income levels even beyond full retirement age.
4. Put a cap on mortgage interest

deductions, and begin a 30-to-50-year phase-out of mortgage interest deductions altogether.

5. Reconfigure our defense establishment to what is required to defend the United States, plus a reasonable reserve of naval, air and special forces to project severe but time-limited force in the event of truly critical foreign emergencies.

6. Levy an equitable carbon tax on any product or economic activity with high carbon emissions.

7. Recalculate government pensions to match the locality pay in effect for the location where we retire. (Why should a GS-15/10 employee from New York who retires to Mississippi have a higher pension than a GS-15/10 employee from Mississippi who stays put?)



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LETTERS



8. Trade full overseas comparability pay for dramatic reductions in the level and applicability of post differential. (My family's comfort level at non-hardship and 25-percent differential posts has been basically the same.)

9. Develop a two-tier per diem rate for overseas TDYs, using the current rate for stays of one week or less at any given location but dropping it by half after one week (while allowing up to the initial rate for fully documented claims).

I could go on, but if AFSA takes this up, I'm sure there will be no shortage of other ideas. The poll could invite additional suggestions.

Brent Schaeffer
USAID, retired
Washington, D.C.

Remembering Smith Simpson

The late Smith Simpson (as R. Smith Simpson was generally known) was a truly exceptional Foreign Service officer. He took an early interest in management back when that skill was not a standard feature of diplomatic expertise. A brilliant analyst of what was going on in the countries where he was posted, he advocated careful officer preparation that included instruction in all aspects of diplomacy.

One point that the otherwise fine obituary that appeared in the Sept. 9 *Washington Post* missed was that after moving to his retirement community in Charlottesville, Va., Simpson encouraged his alma mater there, the University of Virginia, to teach diplomacy (as he had previously done at George-

town). He established the annual Smith Simpson Debate on Diplomacy between the school's two debating clubs on major international issues.

He was an exceptional individual with a strong sense of purpose and a lifelong dedication to the Foreign Service.

George High
FSO, retired
Lake Ridge, Va.

Editor's Note: An obituary of R. Smith Simpson appears on p. 71 of this issue. ■

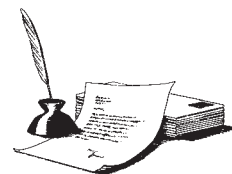
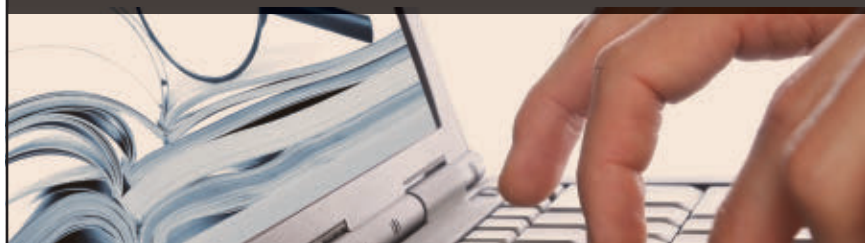
CORRECTION

Due to an editing error, the listing of the establishment of AFSA's constructive dissent awards in Ambassador Edward Peck's September Speaking Out column ("Recognizing Those Who Have Made a Difference") was out of sequence. The first of the four to be established was the William R. Rivkin Award, followed by the W. Averell Harriman Award, the Christian A. Herter Award and the F. Allen "Tex" Harris Award. In addition, Amb. Peck received the Rifkin Award in 1973, not 1974 as erroneously stated.

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CYBERNOTES

U.S. Foreign Assistance: Quantity, Not Quality

On Oct. 5 the Center for Global Development, which offers “independent research and practical ideas for global prosperity” in cooperation with the Brookings Institution, released a report titled “Quality of Official Development Assistance” (www.cgdev.org/). The assessment draws on data from the

23 donor countries that are members of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (www.oecd.org/dac). Collectively, these donors gave aid amounting to \$120 billion in 2009, disbursed through 156 bilateral and 263 multilateral agencies.

The study uses 30 indicators group-

ed in four dimensions, which reflect what it calls “an international consensus of what constitutes high-quality aid”: maximizing efficiency, fostering institutions, reducing burden, and transparency and learning. Rankings can be viewed in separate indices and in the *Quality of Aid Diamond*, which makes it possible to quickly compare countries and agencies across all four dimensions.

Although the United States fares poorly overall when compared with other countries and multilateral organizations, some agencies rate better than others. The U.S. Agency for International Development and the Defense Department get poor marks, but the Millennium Challenge Corporation does much better.

Study authors Nancy Birdsall and Homi Kharas say their goal is to help fill the research gap on what might be called aid agency effectiveness by concentrating on measures over which the official donor agencies have control. They express the hope that the report will be a catalyst for lively debates and, more importantly, for substantial improvements in how aid is provided.

— Steven Alan Honley, Editor

A Turning Point for Nigeria?

Africa’s largest oil exporter and most populous country is preparing for an eventful 2011 with elections that may determine whether it remains at peace or erupts in sectarian violence. In an

Site of the Month: www.meetup.com

Meetup.com is the Internet’s equivalent of a community center. It is an online hub that lets people create and find groups in their area based on practically any common interest or hobby. There are social and professional groups, groups for hikers, bikers, readers, poets and cat lovers. Just plug in your Zip code or city name to see all the different groups meeting in your area.

Because Meetup allows individuals to find, form and join groups with ease, its membership has exploded. The site has more than 7.2 million members who meet in 79,000 groups located in roughly 45,000 cities worldwide (although activity is mostly concentrated in the United States). Registration on the site is free, and each group has its own page with detailed information including a member count, the next meetup date and any membership fees (the majority of clubs are free to join). The interface is friendly and similar to Facebook in that users create a profile, post a picture, interact with other users on discussion boards and manage their memberships online.

Scott Heiferman, Matt Meeker and Peter Kamali started the site in 2001 “to revitalize local community and help people around the world self-organize.” A new addition to the site is “Meetup Everywhere,” which the creators describe as a way for “organizations, companies and movements to enable their fans/followers/customers/audience to create community about them, everywhere.” For example, Oprah Winfrey put out a worldwide call through Meetup Everywhere asking her viewers to band together to support American educational reform.

Those traveling abroad, whether for work, school or leisure can ease their transition into a new environment by linking up with one of *Meetup.com*’s numerous expatriate groups, located in major cities across the globe like Buenos Aires, Istanbul, Amsterdam and Seoul.

— Mohammad Alhinnawi, Editorial Intern



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50 Years Ago...

It is no longer sufficient for a supervisor to state that an officer does political or economic work, or is a reporting officer. The expanded Foreign Service of today embraces such a variety of jobs that almost any position warrants ... description in considerable detail. In some of the larger, less conventional Foreign Service offices (and most offices today tend to become larger and less conventional), exact delineation by the supervisor of what his subordinates are doing could bring out ways in which capacities of different officers could be better utilized. In some instances, this may result in a frightening increase in efficiency, but the risk is worth taking.



— Everett K. Melby, "Efficiency Reports," *FSJ*, December 1960.

article published in *Foreign Affairs* (www.foreignaffairs.com) in September, former U.S. Ambassador to Nigeria John Campbell explains why some observers are worried about the country's future.

Following the end of military dictatorship and a transition to civilian government in 1998, Campbell says, "An elite consensus formed around an unwritten power-sharing agreement, which dictated that presidential candidates would henceforth alternate between the Christian South and the Muslim North — a system designed to avoid presidential contests that could exacerbate hostility between the regions and religions." This system held until 2009, when then-President Umaru Yar'Adua, a northern Muslim, became fatally ill but refused to cede power to his southern Christian vice president, Goodluck Jonathan.

Yar'Adua died earlier this year and was succeeded by Jonathan, but uncertainty and dissatisfaction have only grown. "Nigeria's Coming Election," an editorial in the Aug. 19 edition of *The Economist* (www.economist.com) lists Nigeria's three biggest problems: electoral fraud, a woefully unreliable electricity supply and a violent insurgency in the oil-rich southern [Niger River] Delta.

While the government has allocated

money to improve election integrity through construction of a national voter registry, it seems unlikely that the registry will be completed by the January 2011 election date. At the same time, the country is struggling to keep up with growing demand for electricity as the economy is projected to grow by 7 percent in 2010. Equally fragile is Nigeria's shaky peace in the Niger Delta.

The Niger Delta region contains a staggering 80 percent of Nigeria's oil resources, but it has not benefited from that wealth. Instead, it has suffered from pollution and environmental disasters linked to oil extraction.

In the February 2007 issue of *National Geographic* (www.nationalgeographic.com), Tom O'Neill found a "sense of relentless crisis" in the Niger Delta, which he described in an article titled "Curse of the Black Gold." The 'crisis' stems from Delta residents' belief that the government has overlooked them, especially in distributing the country's oil wealth.

This longstanding grievance led to the formation of a separatist Delta rebel group in 2005, the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta, which launched crippling attacks on the country's vulnerable oil infrastructure. After several years of violent conflict, the government issued an amnesty for militants in 2009. This has temporarily



quelled the insurgency, but failed to resolve the underlying dispute.

Some experts take a much more optimistic view of the country's domestic stability, to be sure. On the *AllAfrica* news site (www.allafrica.com), Howard Jeter, a former U.S. ambassador to Nigeria, and Professor Gwendolyn Mikell of Georgetown University published a joint September column titled "Nigeria: No North-South Armageddon Over Elections."

Jeter and Mikell do not deny the high probability of electoral violence and the strain that the upcoming election will impose on domestic peace. But they criticize those who "reduce Nigeria to two monolithic, antagonistic and inexorably colliding blocs, one northern, the other southern. ... The political system has always had to contend with potential centrifugal forces, and Nigerians have shown exceptional ingenuity in making those accommodations that maintain the unity of the nation. ... When one engages in rigorous political analysis, it is clear that Nigeria is not inexorably on the brink of collapse."

One thing all observers agree on is that the run-up to the January election will be critical in addressing a number of questions. Does Yar'Adua's term, which was shortened by illness, entitle the Muslim north to extra political ruling time? Will the Muslim north's leaders be able to agree on a single candidate to run against the southern Christian incumbent, Goodluck Jonathan? And above all, can the civilian government ensure fair elections, avoid bloodshed and prevent a coup by Nigeria's powerful military?

For those interested in a brief primer on Nigeria's history and economy, the BBC News Web site (www.news.bbc.co.uk) features concise pro-

files of every country (and territory) in the world. For a comprehensive look at Nigeria, the CIA World Factbook (www.cia.gov) is an excellent and regularly updated resource.

— *Mohammad Alhinnawi,*
Editorial Intern

UNESCO Does the Right Thing

In the September edition of *Cybernotes*, we reported on the controversy over whether the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization would follow through on its initial acceptance of a proposal by Equatorial Guinean President Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo to establish a \$3 million fund to bankroll the UNESCO-Obiang Nguema Mbasogo International Prize for Research in the Life Sciences. Each year the fund would award \$300,000 to be shared by up to three laureates, with the goal of recognizing individuals or institutions conducting "scientific research in the life sciences leading to improving the quality of human life."

The prize was scheduled to be awarded for the first time this year, despite strong opposition from many quarters. Archbishop Desmond Tutu, author Chinua Achebe and Nobel laureate Wole Soyinka are among 125 African scholars and human rights activists who sent a letter to UNESCO calling for the prize's abolition. Presumably in response to such appeals, the organization's executive board decided on Oct. 21 to suspend indefinitely implementation of the program (www.unesco.org/).

Although UNESCO Director-General Irina Bokova was careful to announce that the board had reached its decision "by consensus and with respect and dignity toward all concerned parties," it seems clear that nearly universal



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The Norwegian Nobel Committee, by giving the Peace Prize to a convicted person in China, shows no respect for the judicial system of China. This is not only disrespect for China's judicial system but also puts a big question mark on their true intention. . . . If some people try to change China's political system in this way and try to stop the Chinese people from moving forward, they are obviously making a mistake.

— PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman Ma Zhaoxu, reacting to the Oct. 12 announcement that Chinese dissident Liu Xiaobo is the winner of the 2010 Nobel Peace Prize; <http://news.xinhuanet.com/>

condemnation of the idea of cozying up to a dictator lay behind the move.

Even so, the government of Equatorial Guinea is putting the best possible face on the rebuff. In an Oct. 22 interview with *Science Insider*, a magazine published by the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Mba Mokuy Agapito, Obiang's adviser on international organizations, insisted that "We will reach a consensus, because you can't have an issue in UNESCO pending forever."

Surprisingly, though, when asked whether his government would still sponsor the prize if Obiang's name were removed from it, Agapito said only, "That's not up to Equatorial Guinea; it's up to the board to decide if they want to change their own decision" (<http://news.sciencemag.org/>).

Praise for the board's decision came quickly. Senator Patrick Leahy, D-Vt., told the *Washington Post's* Al Kamen that "Pres. Obiang and his family have looted their country while its people barely survive." He added, "UNESCO [is] doing the right thing by disassociating itself from this corrupt, abusive regime" (www.washingtonpost.com/).

— Steven Alan Honley, Editor

2009 Move Act: Still Stuck ?

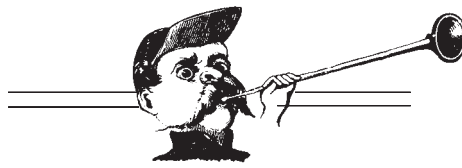
The Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act, enacted in

1986, protects the right of American expatriates to vote in federal elections regardless of where they reside. This law requires that states and territories allow members of the United States Uniformed Services and merchant marine, their family members and U.S. citizens residing outside the States to register and vote absentee in elections for federal offices.

On Oct. 28, 2009, President Barack Obama signed the Military and Overseas Voter Empowerment Act into law. The MOVE Act, as it is known, requires states to mail absentee ballots 45 days before Election Day to troops, government workers and other Americans who want to vote from abroad. National Association of Secretaries of State President Matt Dunlap declared on July 20 that "State and local election officials across the U.S. are vigorously working to ensure that military and overseas voters will be able to request and cast their ballots this November."

A year later, however, problems apparently persist in terms of compliance with MOVE. This fall the Justice Department has settled lawsuits against Alaska, Colorado, the District of Columbia, Guam, Hawaii, North Dakota, Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, Mississippi, Nevada, Kansas, the U.S. Virgin Islands, Wisconsin and New York (<http://blogs.usdoj.gov/blog/>). ■

— Steven Alan Honley, Editor



SPEAKING OUT

U.S. Foreign Economic Assistance in Perspective

BY RAYMOND MALLEY

The horrendous earthquake that struck Haiti this past January and the catastrophic flooding that hit Pakistan in the summer are just two examples of natural disasters to which the United States and other powers have once again responded with massive infusions of foreign assistance and expertise. Such situations, as well as the growing problems of refugee flows, pandemic diseases and global climate change — to say nothing of systemic issues like poverty eradication, economic growth, and the promotion of democracy and the rule of law — are increasingly addressed through economic assistance.

It is therefore quite unfortunate that views on this subject are often poorly informed. Indeed, there is a whole school of critics who churn out tracts and op-eds, and give lectures, claiming that foreign aid does not “work.” Yes, it is true there are disappointments and failures in the foreign assistance record of the U.S. and other public and private donors. But there are also numerous achievements.

Success Stories

There is a long list of countries in which economic assistance — from the U.S. and a wide range of bilateral, multilateral and private donors — has made a great and lasting positive difference.

Foreign aid does not always “work.” But there is a long list of countries in which our economic assistance has made a great, lasting difference.

Take Korea and Taiwan, for example. I worked with those countries at the beginning of my career with the U.S. Agency for International Development during the 1960s. Their development and financial officials would express amazement and have a hearty laugh if I told them today that our assistance over many years had not been effective.

Exactly the opposite is true. We financed technical assistance, machinery and raw materials for private-sector manufacturers; funded infrastructure, such as power plants, roads, ports and telecommunication facilities; helped agriculture with fertilizers and seeds; and vigorously promoted health and education. These types of assistance helped both countries become the prosperous democracies that they are today. And they long ago became aid donors themselves.

Other countries in which aid from the U.S. and others has made huge and lasting differences, both economically and politically, include Malaysia, Thailand, India, Mauritius, Botswana, Tunisia, Panama, Costa Rica, Chile, Portugal, Greece, Turkey, the Czech Republic and Hungary.

When assessing the results of foreign assistance, it is essential to look at the resolution of longstanding problems, not just the economic performance of specific countries. A great example is the control and partial elimination of onchocerciasis (river blindness) in much of Africa, a disease that had deprived countless people of their sight over the centuries. The affected countries and the international development community, including USAID, teamed up in the 1970s for a major long-term effort to understand and attack this scourge. Because millions of Africans still have their sight who would otherwise have lost it, vibrant villages exist and crops are grown on once-vacant lands.

Or consider world population growth, the topic of a Speaking Out column by Michael Fritz in this past January’s *FSJ*. Some 25 to 30 years ago, demographers were forecasting that world population would reach in the neighborhood of 16 billion people by 2050. To address this growing problem, the development assistance



community — most notably the World Bank, Scandinavian aid agencies and private groups — mounted complex, diverse, long-term population control programs in collaboration with numerous poor countries. Thanks partly to this great effort, today the world's population in 2050 is forecast to top off at about nine billion rather than nearly double that. Doesn't that constitute a great success?

Other examples of major problems successfully addressed by foreign aid in many countries that otherwise remain poor include the reduction of HIV/AIDS rates, the eradication of smallpox, substantial increases in agricultural crop yields, improvement of transportation networks, the creation of clean water and sanitation facilities, widespread increases in literacy, extension of women's rights, and successful stimulation of civic participation and democracy.

In addition, the development community continually (with varying degrees of success) provides humanitarian and reconstruction assistance to the victims of natural disasters and civic conflicts all over the world. In addition to Haiti and Pakistan, other cases often in the news are Gaza, Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Somalia, Timor-Leste, Bosnia and Kosovo.

Aid in Support of Political Objectives

Most critics of foreign aid overlook a key point concerning the use of bilateral foreign economic assistance: Such assistance often directly supports major political and strategic objectives being sought primarily through diplomatic and military means. Because of this positive reinforcement, it is perfectly possible for a U.S. aid program

If U.S. assistance does not achieve much because of a broader diplomatic and military failure, do not fault the aid program and its managers. Blame the failed policy.

not to achieve much poverty reduction or economic development in a given country, but still be a success if it helps achieve overriding political objectives.

And even if U.S. assistance does not achieve much because of a broader diplomatic and military failure, do not fault the aid program and its managers. Blame the failed policy.

Such was the case during the Vietnam War, where most of our economic aid was wasted in the course of ultimate policy failure. The current situations in Afghanistan and Iraq seem to have similarities with Vietnam. The U.S. and some other NATO members are pouring in vast amounts of economic assistance to support our military effort, but it seems that most of it is not producing economic development. We will only see the political and strategic results in due course.

It is primarily large countries with major bilateral economic assistance programs — such as the U.S., Britain, France and a few others — that fre-

quently use such assistance to support political and strategic objectives. Smaller bilateral donors and multilateral agencies, such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank, try to avoid making programmatic decisions on the basis of political objectives. That is why they have limited or no operations in wartorn countries.

During the Cold War, U.S. military bases in Pakistan, Turkey, the Philippines and elsewhere played very important roles. A quid pro quo for use of these bases was the provision of bilateral economic assistance to the concerned countries at much higher funding levels than we would otherwise have provided. I worked on many of these agreements. And we did our best to channel the monies into useful economic development activities.

Most of these activities were successful, but others, regrettably, had no long-term positive effect. Even so, our bases helped contain the Soviets and win the Cold War. So was our economic aid wasted? In the broader scheme of things, certainly not.

Or consider Egypt — another stark example of the use of economic assistance to support a political objective. The Camp David accords of 1978 established peace between Egypt and Israel, with the U.S. agreeing to provide substantial economic and military assistance to both countries.

For many years thereafter, economic aid to Egypt totaled just under \$1 billion per annum, and that to Israel a bit over \$1 billion. USAID maintained a large mission in Cairo to negotiate and manage a substantial portfolio of aid programs and projects.

In recent years the economic levels have declined, however. The administration's congressional budget justification for Fiscal Year 2011 requests



\$1.558 billion in total aid for Egypt, of which \$250 million is economic support and the remainder military. For Israel the request is \$3 billion, most of it in the form of military assistance.

These are substantial sums of the taxpayers' money, to be sure. But our political objective to date has been achieved — there has been peace between the two countries for over 30 years. Imagine how the Middle East would look today if Egypt and Israel had continued to be fierce antagonists all these years!

Improving the Efficiency of U.S. Foreign Aid

It is well-known that the U.S. foreign economic assistance program is not efficiently organized and administered today, and that this results in waste (though not nearly as much as critics claim). USAID, which once managed or controlled almost all assistance, is but a shell of the powerful, independent organization it once was. Most of its policy, program and budget functions have been subsumed within the State Department, and the USAID Administrator is a subordinate of the Secretary of State.

Meanwhile, numerous other aid spigots have sprouted. State itself runs huge programs outside the purview of USAID. The Millennium Challenge Corporation, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, the Trade and Development Agency, and the Peace Corps are all involved in development in some fashion. In addition, the Department of Defense and many other agencies (Agriculture, Treasury, Justice, Health and Human Services, etc.) have their own mini-foreign aid offices operating more or less independently of State and USAID.

Basic reform and centralized con-

USAID, which once managed or controlled almost all assistance, is but a shell of the powerful, independent organization it once was.

trol are overdue. And over the years, numerous studies and proposals for reform have been made by knowledgeable individuals and groups. Bills have been floated by Senator John Kerry, D-Mass., Senator Richard Lugar, R-Ind., and Representative Howard Berman, D-Calif.

Foreign aid lobby groups have been very active, as well, such as the Center for Global Development. Most of these efforts call for USAID to be reinvigorated and again put in control of most or all U.S. economic assistance programs. But thus far, at least, their advocacy has been in vain.

Recently the Obama administration, after long study, announced its economic development policy. To no one's surprise, it says that assistance remains a key aspect of U.S. national security policy, alongside diplomacy and defense. Such assistance must be substantial, results-oriented and sustainable.

But disappointingly, the report does not call for a reduction in the number of governmental aid spigots and the strengthening of USAID, although there is the usual lip service for greater coordination among agencies.

So it seems to me that the inefficiencies and waste in the process will remain. Perhaps the administration does not want to approach Congress for basic reforms on a secondary but contentious matter like foreign aid with so many more critical issues on its plate. And anyway, too many interests, including the State Department itself, profit from the existing situation and oppose a more powerful USAID.

Accordingly, the approach I laid out in my November 2009 Speaking Out column, "Merge USAID Fully into State," remains the only realistic way to improve matters greatly in the foreseeable future. To make that happen, the Obama administration could ask Congress to pass legislation incorporating the rest of USAID, and as many of the other aid spigots as possible, into State, then combine them to form a separate development assistance bureau.

Finally, that should then be made a specialty (cone) equal to other cones such as political, economic, administration, etc. Such legislation should also ensure that the other federal entities involved in disbursing foreign economic assistance are closely overseen and coordinated by this new bureau. ■

Raymond Malley, a former Senior Foreign Service officer, spent 23 years in operational and management positions with USAID. After retiring in 1983, he performed numerous consulting assignments for the agency during the next 20 years. He also had a long second career as a senior executive with a global Korean industrial manufacturing group. He now lectures, writes and teaches international affairs at the Institute for Lifelong Education at Dartmouth College.

WANTED: EXPERIENCED OFFICERS TO ADDRESS GLOBAL CHALLENGES



Curtis Parker

P MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY CAN BE VERY CHALLENGING, BUT IT IS OFTEN THE MOST REWARDING WORK A FOREIGN SERVICE PROFESSIONAL CAN DO.

By Glyn T. Davies

Perhaps this article should have been titled “Confessions of a Convert to Multilateral Diplomacy.” Why? My intensive, yearlong immersion in the occasionally frustrating, but increasingly vital, work America does in multilateral organizations convinced me of the importance of the United Nations system and our role in it. Where once it might have been argued that multilateral diplomacy was a mere addendum to the pursuit of the “real” business of engaging nation-states bilaterally, now that logic is fraying.

With the passing of the Cold War and the brief, heady “unipolar moment,” we now have ample evidence that our most productive path in the 21st century is to retool our institutions and retrain our people to succeed in a world where new regional powers are ascendant and are working with each other, and with many other nations, to shape outcomes multilaterally — and not always in line with our interests.

For those who opt to try multilateral diplomacy for a tour or two, here’s the silver lining: it is often the most rewarding work one can do as a Foreign Service professional. Ask anyone who has worked to sway votes on a high-profile resolution in a multilateral body. The Rubik’s Cube of national interests, bloc politics, rules, precedent and personalities creates a diplomatic degree of difficulty greater than the task of dealing bilaterally with representatives of a host government, even one riven by divisions of religion, language or brittle coalition politics. To advance an issue in a multilateral context, the emphasis you will place in your approach to a Central African envoy will differ from that to a Central American colleague, or a Southeast Asian.

I’ve come to see the importance of raising our game in the multilateral system during my time in Vienna, serving as envoy to the International Atomic Energy Agency and United Nations agencies here. Let me briefly describe the scope of our work and, through the example of our efforts over the last year to counter Iran’s nuclear challenge, illustrate both the stakes and the rewards of multilateral work. Then I will deliver my pitch to up-and-coming Foreign Service professionals to try multilateral work on for size. We need you, and you’ll like it.

Technical Mastery in the Service of National Policy

The United States Mission to International Organizations in Vienna, which I head, works with the organizations of the U.N. system based in Vienna. There are about a half-dozen of them, and I certainly didn’t know them all when fate first tapped me for this job (pop quiz: what do IIASA and UNCITRAL do?). But the key issues we handle are related to nuclear nonproliferation, arms control, organized crime, corruption and trafficking in drugs, and international outer space.

While UNVIE’s portfolios support some of the highest foreign policy priorities — notably, advancing President Barack Obama’s goal of achieving a world without nuclear

weapons — the work can be quite technical, requiring officers to become familiar with both policy and the science underlying it. Those working on the Wassenaar Arrangement on Export Controls for Dual-Use Goods and Technologies, for instance, must get a grip on what distinguishes civilian commercial use of remotely piloted vehicles or laser microphones from their military applications. Why is that Russian or French diplomat objecting to the language proposed for listing a controlled item? If you don’t know the physics underlying the gizmo in question, who makes it and what it’s used for (or, better yet, have contacts in the interagency community with deep technical background who can tell you what you need to know), you can’t represent Uncle Sam’s interests properly in a negotiation.

Another example of this is U.S. participation in the Preparatory Commission of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Organization. To be effective, U.S. representatives must understand the scientific principles underlying the network of the commission’s monitoring stations. How do the seismic stations work? What the heck is a “noble gas” and why is measuring its incidence in the atmosphere important?

Of course, our work entails extensive interaction with other U.S. government agencies, where there is a vast reservoir of expertise on these issues. In addition to collaborating closely with most of the State Department’s functional bureaus, we work with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the Department of Defense, to shepherd U.S. space policy priorities; with the Justice Department and Drug Enforcement Administration, to support efforts to combat organized crime, trafficking in persons and the illegal drug trade; and with the Department of Energy, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the National Labs and other agencies, to shape our nuclear policy. I had great respect for the Civil Service before coming to this job, but now I know even better how indispensable are the knowledge and talents of our colleagues who devote their careers to key subjects.

Let’s zoom out for a second and look at the broader challenge posed to officers considering entering the world of multilateral work. The Bureau of International Organization Affairs manages the State Department’s missions to the United Nations, providing the link between the numerous U.S. government offices that contribute to the multifaceted policies discussed there. From its primary organs in New York to its subsidiary bodies, like the U.N. Peacebuilding Commission; programs and funds such as

the World Food Program; and specialized agencies like the International Atomic Energy Agency, the global architecture of the U.N. system is impressively large and spread out.

The diversity and scope of the system pose a daunting challenge to newcomers. How do the various bodies, agencies, commissions and funds relate to one another, work together? To which does the United States belong? What are our obligations — legal, financial, political — to each? Most importantly, how can the U.S. work with these various bodies to successfully address new challenges requiring an international response?

Working in the U.N. system requires Foreign Service professionals to internalize the answers to all of these questions. They must also understand that the various United Nations bodies have relationships not only with the State Department, but also with other federal agencies and American private parties, state agencies and nongovernmental organizations. An FSO working in the U.N. environment has the challenge of bringing those disparate agendas and perspectives into productive, constructive focus.

Making “Atoms for Peace” More than a Slogan

UNVIE’s work with the International Atomic Energy Agency is our highest-profile account. Our efforts have been supercharged by President Barack Obama’s commitment, laid out in his landmark April 2009 Prague speech, to work toward a world without nuclear weapons.

Glyn T. Davies, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, has been the U.S. permanent representative to the International Atomic Energy Agency and the Vienna Office of the United Nations, with the rank of ambassador, since June 2009. Ambassador Davies previously served as principal deputy assistant secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific affairs, deputy assistant secretary of State for European affairs and deputy chief of mission in London, among many other assignments since joining the Foreign Service in 1980.

*“I’ve come to see the importance
of raising our game in the
multilateral system during
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United Nations agencies here.”*

— *Amb. Glyn T. Davies, UNVIE*

That clarion call, and the president’s vigorous follow-up gave new urgency to the work of those in the nuclear policy and nonproliferation fields. His Nuclear Security Summit in April 2010 was the largest gathering of heads of state in the United States since the 1945 San Francisco Conference establishing the United Nations.

The president’s commitment has intensified efforts by Washington, UNVIE and others to support U.S. ratification of the

Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty; to support the creation of an international fuel bank so that countries can access peaceful power without increasing the risks of proliferation; and to ensure that the IAEA has the resources and support it needs to accomplish its growing mission.

The president’s commitment also quickened U.S. efforts to reduce the nuclear threat posed by Iran. Tehran has failed to demonstrate that its nuclear program is meant exclusively for peaceful purposes. The IAEA Board of Governors has affirmed this noncompliance, and the U.N. Security Council has sought, by imposing sanctions, to persuade Tehran to work with the international community to end the attendant threat to global security.

Iran’s nuclear and ballistic missile activities pose a real threat to the security and stability of the Middle East. Its failure to comply with its treaty obligations and its eight-year game of cat-and-mouse with the IAEA threaten to undercut the nuclear nonproliferation regime and the agency’s authority — at precisely the moment we are working to strengthen both.

Last year, the foreign ministers and other senior representatives of the United States, along with the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Russia and China (called both the “P5+1” and the “E3+3”) sought to engage Iran to convince it to meet its international obligations and demonstrate that its program is peaceful. As part of our two-track approach, we have coordinated with the international community to apply pressure on Tehran.

When Iran failed to respond to our engagement efforts, Pres. Obama, accepting the Nobel Peace Prize in December 2009, explained our logic: “I believe that we must develop alternatives to violence that are tough enough to

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actually change behavior — for if we want a lasting peace, then the words of the international community must mean something. Those regimes that break the rules must be held accountable. Sanctions must exact a real price. Intransigence must be met with increased pressure — and such pressure exists only when the world stands together as one.”

The U.S. mission in Vienna played a key role in rallying the world to stand together to face the challenge posed by Iran’s nuclear noncompliance. In late 2009 the IAEA Board of Governors passed a resolution expressing ongoing, serious concern that Iran continued to defy IAEA and U.N. Security Council resolutions. This was the first such resolution in four years and was prompted, in particular, by the revelation that Iran was constructing yet another undeclared nuclear facility, an enrichment plant near Qom. The resolution underscored the unity of purpose among IAEA member-states and the E3+3, which took the lead in putting the resolution together.

An intensive American diplomatic effort went into gath-

ering support for the resolution, including active engagement by the president and Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton. At UNVIE our officers rallied support among member-states. As a result, only three countries on the 35-nation board voted against the resolution: Cuba, Venezuela and Malaysia. The stage was set for the Iran sanctions debate in the United Nations Security Council, and eventual passage of UNSCR 1929.

A Case Study in Engaging Iran: The Tehran Research Reactor

As exhilarating as our involvement in efforts to hold Iran to account was, mission officers also played a central role in a high-profile effort at positive engagement with Iran. Last October, the United States supported a proposal by the IAEA to provide fuel for the continued operation of the Tehran Research Reactor, a facility used, among other things, for the production of medical isotopes.

In June 2009, with the reactor fuel forecast to run out



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at the end of the year, Iran approached the IAEA asking for fuel for the reactor. Officers at UNVIE reported the request to Washington and recommended we support meeting it to test Iran's commitment to a civilian-only nuclear program.

The United States came to view the TRR proposal as a positive step to help build confidence between Iran and the international community. If successful, such a step could put Tehran on the path to compliance with its obligations under Security Council resolutions and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and to the IAEA, and help tackle the more fundamental question of its broader nuclear program.

UNVIE officers played a key role in shaping our policy on the matter. Mission staff met with senior officials in Washington and travelled with them to other countries to enlist their support in providing fuel to the reactor.

Together with our E3+3 partners, the United States delegation (led by Under Secretary for Political Affairs Bill Burns and including current UNVIE Deputy Chief of Mission Robert Wood), informed Iran's representatives in Geneva on Oct. 1, 2009, of our willingness to discuss items of concern to Tehran as well as our concerns about Iran's nuclear program. The Iranian delegation agreed to sit down later that month in Vienna to discuss the TRR proposal.

Three weeks later, four nations met with IAEA officials and experts to negotiate the terms of the proposal, including detailed technical points like the amount of uranium to be provided and under what terms. Following three days of talks in Vienna, chaired by then-IAEA Director General Mohamed ElBaradei, the U.S., France, Russia and, dramatically, Iran, agreed ad referendum on a project and supply agreement to refuel the Tehran Research Reactor. Deputy Secretary of Energy Dan Poneman led our side. A dozen members of the U.S. mission were involved in the effort.

The upshot was an agreement Iran could not refuse without putting the lie to its stated commitment to an exclusively civilian nuclear program. The Russian and French ambassadors and I joined together in a proposal, which IAEA Director General ElBaradei submitted to Iran, to send the country's own available low-enriched uranium to Russia for further enrichment and then to

Concerns among some generalists that a multilateral tour may not be good for their career are valid, but can be overcome.

France for fabrication into fuel, which would be returned to Iran for use in the safeguarded TRR reactor.

At the time, this plan would have significantly reduced Tehran's available stockpile of low-enriched uranium, which is itself a source of anxiety in the international community. It would also have addressed a humanitarian need of the

Iranian people, and served as a confidence-building measure to create an opportunity for further dialogue.

But in the end, Iran did not confirm the provisional agreement its representatives had made in Vienna. For almost eight months after the Vienna talks, Tehran twisted and turned, fulminated and raged, and threw up one specious reason after another why the TRR deal was unacceptable. That was the context within which we achieved such a strong result in the Board of Governors condemning Iran, and which represented an important prologue to our success in passing UNSCR 1929.

While the TRR deal was a whole-of-government effort, it was also, to a degree I have rarely seen in the Foreign Service, the result of a concerted intellectual, bureaucratic and diplomatic push by a relatively small number of officers at a modest-sized mission. Since I was new in town when all of this came to a head, I provided relatively little intellectual capital to the exercise; but boy, did I enjoy being along for the ride! The effort engaged officers in both high policy and meat-and-potatoes multilateral diplomacy. It required technical mastery of some pretty complex nuclear processes. We went toe-to-toe with Iran and gave better than we got.

The result? We have built an international consensus to put pressure on Tehran to meet its international obligations, an effort whose scope and importance extends well beyond the IAEA to include the Security Council and coordinated efforts to apply sanctions on Iran.

The Significance of Global Solutions

Despite the growing importance of this work, as the Iran nuclear example demonstrates, some Foreign Service generalists take the view that a multilateral tour may not be good for their career. Language training is usually not offered. Nor are most multilateral positions at hardship posts, which are generally considered more career-

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enhancing. And, an officer bidding for an onward assignment from a “functional” position can have a harder slog than one coming out of a mighty regional bureau.

These are all real concerns, but we must overcome them. While the learning curve in a multilateral tour is steep, State Department officers working with international organizations develop technical and substantive knowledge that will stand them in good stead as they advance in their careers.

Officers working in a multilateral setting will draw on skills they’ve learned in bilateral work: establishing good working relations with fellow diplomats; discerning who has the authority to act alone and who requires instructions from a capital; and evaluating the information we gather for reporting and policy recommendations.

But working in multilateral settings requires additional skills. Deciding what information to share with whom, and when, is a skill of paramount importance. Reporting on not just one country’s policies and plans, but those of many, requires detailed knowledge and intense coordination among numerous contacts, as well as the ability to sum up potentially dozens of country views concisely.

Working in a multilateral environment also requires skills that are unique to international organizations. Understanding the rules and mores of a body’s secretariat, and successfully enlisting its assistance, are challenges whose importance is matched only by their difficulty. Routinely coordinating meetings and positions among numerous countries, and negotiating with blocs and identifying their local leaders and fault lines, are all crucial skills.

Mastering U.S. policy on many countries and issues, not just one country or functional topic at a time, requires a high level of expertise and ongoing education. And coordinating public statements among many like-minded partners and reaching out to media in third countries to explain policy and garner support requires public diplomacy staff to think beyond their immediate operating environment and establish contacts all over the world.

Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton highlighted the significance of global solutions in her January 2009 confirmation testimony: “The best way to advance America’s interests in reducing global threats and seizing global opportunities is to design and implement global solutions.” The threats posed by nuclear proliferation and nuclear weapons, terrorism, organized crime and trafficking in persons are global in scope and require considerable coordination to combat. Our success in addressing ur-

gent challenges in international organizations hinges on the effective practice of multilateral diplomacy by officers experienced and trained in its challenges and intricacies. This has never been truer than now.

For all these reasons, FSOs should seek out a multilateral tour. Such positions add substantial knowledge and skills to an officer’s professional repertoire. Moreover, the State Department’s ability to effectively advance U.S. policy goals hinges on having a diverse cadre of skilled diplomats shepherding its efforts in multilateral fora.

As Pres. Obama declared to the United Nations General Assembly in September 2009: “This cannot solely be America’s endeavor. Those who used to chastise America for acting alone in the world cannot now stand by and wait for America to solve the world’s problems alone. We have sought — in word and deed — a new era of engagement with the world. And now is the time for all of us to take our share of responsibility for a global response to global challenges.” ■

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WORKING ON MANY FRONTS AT THE AFRICAN UNION

THE U.S. MISSION TO THE A.U. ADDRESSES REGIONAL PROBLEMS AND AIMS TO STRENGTHEN AMERICA'S TIES TO INDIVIDUAL AFRICAN COUNTRIES IN THE PROCESS.

BY MICHAEL A. BATTLE

The United States established its mission to the African Union in 2006 to engage more fully in multilateral diplomacy with the 53-nation organization headquartered in Addis Ababa that seeks to speak with one voice for the African continent. The mission (hereafter referred to as USAU) works with the African Union on transnational issues and can report a number of recent successes.

Strengthening Security Cooperation

One example of this work is USAU's effort to address the transnational issues inherent in securing the coastlines and the coastal waterways that have tributaries leading into the interior of African nations. With assets from the Combined

Michael A. Battle has been the U.S. ambassador to the African Union since September 2009. From 2003 to 2009, Ambassador Battle was president of the Interdenominational Theological Center in Atlanta, Ga. Prior to that, among many notable achievements, Amb. Battle served as vice president of the American Committee on Africa from 1994 to 1998, participated in 1994 as an observer of the first free election in South Africa, and was liaison between the Hampton University Ministers' Conference and the South African Council of Churches.

Joint Task Force for the Horn of Africa and the Africa Command, our mission is working with the African Union's Peace and Security Council to help develop a comprehensive continental maritime strategy.

USAU has led the effort to have African Union representation at U.S.-sponsored maritime conferences and training operations. We also provide technical assistance and capacity building in planning and operations. USAU secured participation by the African Union Commission and the A.U. Peace and Security Operations Department in an October conference in Stuttgart, sponsored by the State Department and AFRICOM.

Related to maritime security is the issue of drug trafficking. Responding to a request from the African Union Commission, USAU coordinated a conference in Addis Ababa that brought together State, AFRICOM and the A.U. commissions on peace and security, social affairs and political affairs. The conference focused on developing a strategy to address the problems related to drug trafficking from South and Central America through Africa en route to Europe.

Promoting Good Governance

To strengthen African democratic institutions, USAU used funds from the U.S. Agency for International Development to help the A.U. establish a Democracy and Elec-

toral Assistance Unit. The DEAU provides training in election processes for election monitors and observers, in addition to tracking the election calendar for the African Union. This direct support strengthens the Union's capacity and ensures the promotion of good governance.

The African Union has developed an African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance which, when ratified by 15 member-states, will begin promoting democracy, elections and good governance on the entire continent. USAU and other members of the African Union Partners Group meet regularly with A.U. member-states to encourage adoption of the charter and coordinate efforts with the A.U. commissioner for political affairs.

Through engagement with the African Union, the U.S. Agency for International Development is strengthening its own bilateral relationships with individual African nations while also developing the A.U.'s influence. An excellent example is USAID's support for the African Union's campaign to end the high rate of deaths related to maternity and child-bearing.

USAU, USAID and the A.U. signed a landmark agreement on this subject at the African Growth and Opportunity Act Forum in Washington, D.C. This agreement strengthens the capacity of the A.U. commissioner for social affairs, who carries the health portfolio, to garner the support of individual African parliaments to encourage changes in health policy and practice, eliminating the senseless deaths of mothers and children.

When the U.S. government hosted the first high-level talks in Washington in April between senior U.S. officials and the leadership of the African Union Commission, it not only solidified its evolving relationship with the AUC but underscored its commitment to helping the African continent. The talks offered the U.S. and Africa a platform to explore areas of mutual interest.

Fostering Economic Development

The April talks also established a valuable connection between the A.U. and the Corporate Council on Africa, an organization comprised of private companies with an interest in doing business on the continent. At the A.U. summit in Kampala this past July, the CCA signed a memorandum of understanding to promote American private-sector investment on the continent, something the A.U. has long sought. The MOU also identifies several projects that will encourage even greater U.S. investment in Africa.

As such successes demonstrate, U.S. diplomatic engage-

ment with the A.U. has expanded African engagement with the private sector in America and elsewhere. Such efforts are more efficient than brokering linkages on a country-by-country basis.

There is a pressing need for continental and regional integration of trade regulations, processes and procedures. One of the difficulties U.S. private business has in doing business on the African continent is trying to find ways to engage in one nation with the opportunity to move supplies and products across borders without the heavy and variable duty fees and the inconsistent laws in neighboring nations. Recognizing this, the African Union has launched an ambitious plan to achieve continental integration by harmonizing trade laws over the next 20 years.

The fact that regional integration has not been fully realized in the continent's various geographically based economic communities suggests that it will, in all probability, take more time than that to achieve full continental integration. By engaging in constructive multilateral diplomacy with the African Union, the U.S. helps the continent create a climate more conducive to private-sector investment, producing the best context for the development of democracy and good governance.

Africa's long-term future and the interest of the global community both require the continent's transformation from a net recipient of international aid into a region where investment benefits all. Africa has rich resources, but they require multilateral investment strategies to develop.

Utilizing Comparative Advantages

Multilateral diplomacy enables countries to leverage their comparative advantages, contributing the skills and resources they are best positioned to offer. The African Union's initiative to create a Pan-African University is based on precisely this principle. The idea is not to design a brand-new institution with a new facility, but rather to identify an existing, strong academic institution in each of the five regions of Africa (north, east, west, south and central) to serve as centers of excellence.

The A.U. plans to bring the five centers — focused on fields like science and technology, the humanities, business and industry, and agriculture — under a single administration. This will help ensure high standards, resources and uniform development for the overall university system. Several partner nations have agreed to assist in this endeavor, lending their support to areas in which they have significant expertise.

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The development of the Pan-African University system will increase opportunities for U.S. academic institutions to engage the African Union in a multilateral context, sharing their technological, scientific and creative skills. (U.S. land grant academic institutions are well equipped to assist the African continent in an agriculture explosion that will help feed the world.) As part of this effort, USAU is working with the A.U. Commission on Education to conduct a study on best practices for establishing a centralized administrative system for the proposed university.

The notion of comparative advantage also applies to conflict resolution. The nearly 20-year-old crisis in Somalia, for example, garners tremendous attention from the A.U. and partner countries, all of whom know that Somalia's status as a failed state threatens not only the safety and security of those living there, but the region and the entire world. Working multilaterally offers the best prospect of progress.

USAID funds helped the African Union establish a Democracy and Electoral Assistance Unit.

Toward that end, in July Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Johnnie Carson called a small group meeting on Somalia at the Kampala A.U. summit. Six African heads of state, the chair of the African Union Commission, and the leadership of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union all participated in this meeting. The assembly brought together a select group of A.U. member-states, partner nations and international organizations to discuss how each could help halt the vicious cycle of violence and decline, and stabilize Somalia.

Whether multilateral diplomacy is used to establish partnerships, create broad-based initiatives or resolve conflicts, it is a powerful tool that augments established bilateral diplomacy. It provides opportunities to apply resources efficiently, combining expertise, moral weight and insights. This, in turn, greatly enhances the odds of success for highly complex agreements. ■

Whether multilateral diplomacy is used to establish partnerships, create broad-based initiatives or resolve conflicts, it is a powerful tool that augments established bilateral diplomacy. It provides opportunities to apply resources efficiently, combining expertise, moral weight and insights. This, in turn, greatly enhances the odds of success for highly complex agreements. ■



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Leah Wallace, Education and Youth Officer

Elizabeth Robertson, Education and Youth Specialist

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A DAY AT THE U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL

T

he United States joined the United Nations Human Rights Council as a member-state in 2009 and recently completed its fourth session as a member. During the most recent HRC session — Sept. 13 to Oct. 1 — the U.S. delegation actively negotiated more than 20 resolutions and supported several major initiatives at the council, including establishment of a special rapporteur on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association, renewal of the mandate of the Human Rights Council's Independent Expert on Human Rights in the Sudan, and creation of an expert working group to address discrimination against women in the law and in practice.

The U.S. delegation and a cross-regional group of co-sponsors — Lithuania, the Czech Republic, the Maldives, Nigeria, Indonesia, Mexico and Argentina — spearheaded creation of the Office of the Special Rapporteur on Peaceful Assembly and Association. This mechanism will provide a strong, independent and credible voice to highlight growing threats to assembly, association and civil society, and will highlight and develop best practices for the protection of those rights. Establishment of this mechanism was a top priority for us, and will help to advance the cause

Sarah Ciaccia, an entry-level FSO, serves as a political officer at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations in Geneva.

THE U.S. IS NOW ACTIVE IN THIS UNUSUAL MULTILATERAL FORUM DEVOTED TO FINDING CONSENSUS ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES.

By SARAH CIACCIA

of human rights defenders worldwide.

The United States delegation actively supported the renewal of the mandate of the Independent Expert on Human Rights in the Sudan. This is a key tool for the international community's continued engagement in Sudan during the run-up to the referenda in early 2011 on whether southern Sudan should remain a part of the country or become independent.

On behalf of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations in Geneva, I served as action officer for the resolution, which was co-led by Colombia and Mexico, that created the expert working group on discrimination against women. Creation of this mechanism, a longstanding goal for many delegations and nongovernmental organizations, will help the international community highlight and develop best practices to address laws that discriminate against women worldwide.

Intense Workdays

Every day of the session brings a mix of meetings, resolution negotiations, briefings and frequent communication with colleagues in Washington. The six-hour time difference between Washington, D.C., and Geneva means that delegates have to wake up early to respond to e-mail messages and negotiation instructions that have come in

from the department overnight.

Our team in Geneva includes political officers focused on human rights, legal advisers and a group of human rights experts from State who have come from Washington to assist the delegation during the session. In addition, we work closely with colleagues from the Bureau of International Organizations and the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, as well as the State Department Legal Adviser's office.

The official workday begins with a daily morning meeting led by our ambassador, Eileen Chamberlain Donahoe, the U.S. representative to the Human Rights Council. During the meeting action officers brief the ambassador on the status of the various resolutions, and we discuss the statements the delegation will make during that day's public plenary sessions.

After the internal meeting, members of the delegation may also meet with colleagues from other delegations in the Western Europe and Others regional group. Although there is no common WEOG position on any given issue, this gathering is an opportunity to share information with our European partners and those in other parts of the world.

Seeking Consensus

The HRC session and most related meetings take place at the Palais des Nations in Geneva, which was built between 1929 and 1936 to serve as the headquarters of the League of Nations. Before the start of the plenary session at 10 a.m., many delegates, NGO representatives and U.N. staff gather at the Serpentine Bar. This is where much of the nuts-and-bolts work of the council takes place, informally, over coffee throughout the day, as delegates meet to negotiate bilaterally.

With the 6 p.m. closing of the plenary session, colleagues from the U.S. delegation return to the mission to discuss strategy for the next day and send e-mails and make phone calls to report developments back to our colleagues in Washington. The evening is also an opportunity to prepare notes from the day, review new resolutions and report texts, and catch up on developments in the news.

This September's plenary session included briefings by various Human Rights Council mechanisms (e.g., the Spe-

The U.S. delegation actively negotiated more than 20 resolutions and supported several major initiatives at the council.

cial Rapporteur on Human Rights in Cambodia), an expert panel discussion on how the council can better integrate a gender perspective into its work, a briefing by the Secretary General's Special Representative on Children in Armed Conflict and a half-day discussion on the human rights situation in Somalia. Many of these plenary session reports and discussions serve as the

basis for the negotiated resolutions that are ultimately passed.

On Sept. 17 Independent Expert on Human Rights in Sudan Justice Mohamed Othman reported that the situation there had deteriorated since the April election. Many delegations, including the United States, concluded on the basis of this report that continued engagement by the independent expert was necessary during the period leading up to and following the referenda in January 2011.

Similarly, the Sept. 20 panel discussion on how the United Nations system addresses discrimination against women highlighted the human rights implications of this issue; a report by the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights suggested that a mechanism at the council, such as a special rapporteur, independent expert or working group, could be a useful way to address this problem.

The plenary session generally breaks at 1 p.m. for lunch, but the work of the council continues. "Side events" often take place during the break — brief sessions organized by NGOs, delegations or the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights focused on thematic human rights issues or country-specific situations. In September the U.S. — together with France, Ireland, Mexico, Colombia, Uruguay, Timor-Leste and Romania — sponsored a panel discussion on ending violence and criminal sanctions on the basis of sexual orientation, which included a presentation by High Commissioner for Human Rights Navanethem Pillay and a video message from South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Many Forms of Negotiation

During the final week of the session, the U.S. worked with several other member-states to organize a discussion on the recent outbreak of sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, including a briefing by the Secretary General's Special Representative on Sexual Vio-

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lence in Conflict, Margot Wallstrom, who stopped in Geneva en route to the DRC. This session was an important opportunity for the council to address an urgent human rights situation in real time.

Negotiating rounds on resolutions take place throughout the session. Often several meetings are necessary before a resolution can be adopted by consensus or, in the case of those resolutions on which delegations cannot agree, a delegation may call for a vote. Such resolutions must pass by a simple majority to be adopted.

The delegations that sponsor resolutions host open negotiations during which all interested delegations, and often civil society representatives, are able to offer their views on the elements of a resolution text in an open forum. The sponsor delegations must then balance all contributors' comments in order to achieve a resolution text that hopefully can be adopted by consensus by all member-

Much of the nuts-and-bolts work of the council takes place informally, over coffee throughout the day.

states. Negotiations also take place bilaterally and in smaller groups of regional or like-minded partners.

The session draws civil society representatives from around the world and is an opportunity for us to meet with people working on the ground on the issues and causes that we promote in the council.

After nearly three weeks, the session concludes with the adoption of resolutions. This year, two new special mechanisms — on freedom of association and assembly, and on discrimination against women — were both adopted by consensus. The resolution on the human rights situation in Sudan was passed, renewing the independent expert's mandate for 12 months.

These results demonstrate the HRC's ability to act as the lead entity within the United Nations to promote and protect human rights throughout the world through a variety of mechanisms. ■



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THE WAY FORWARD ON NPT DIPLOMACY



little over a year before the 2010 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference (hereafter referred to as RevCon), President Barack Obama affirmed “America’s commitment to seek the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons,” and pledged that the United States will take concrete steps to create such a world. He also made clear that multilateral diplomacy is a vital instrument in the pragmatic pursuit of these lofty aims.

Central to the president’s agenda and his vision for a world without nuclear weapons is strengthening the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which calls for a conference of its parties to review the treaty and its operations every five years. RevCons are opportunities to strengthen the treaty by identifying measures to advance its aims. Past sessions have reached consensus on final documents or decisions that reflect strong international support for the treaty and identify steps the parties can take to promote its goals.

Susan F. Burk has served as the Special Representative of the President for Nuclear Nonproliferation since June 2009. A career civil servant, Ambassador Burk has held various positions within the Department of State since 1999, including principal deputy assistant secretary of State for nonproliferation controls.

FOR THE UNITED STATES, THE LATEST NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY REVIEW CONFERENCE WAS A MEANS TO REINVIGORATE THE PROCESS.

BY SUSAN F. BURK

Careful Preparations Pay Off

It had actually been 10 years since the NPT parties last agreed on a substantive set of conclusions and recommendations for strengthening the treaty’s implementation. As the United States began its preparations for the 2010 RevCon, Pres. Obama’s Prague speech clearly defined U.S. nonproliferation and disarmament priorities, and we approached the meeting as an opportunity to advance these priorities.

During the year before the conference, a State-led interagency team mapped out U.S. objectives and a strategy for achieving them. A key element of that strategy was the pursuit of an intensive program of bilateral and multilateral diplomacy to prepare the way for a conference outcome that would renew and reinvigorate the NPT, producing broad agreement on an agenda for the future.

During that time, American officials raised U.S. NPT objectives with their counterparts worldwide. The team working to prepare for the RevCon on a daily basis consulted with more than 80 NPT parties in capitals, New York City, Geneva and Vienna to share U.S. views and priorities, to learn about their goals for the RevCon, and to consider ways to work together to ensure a successful meeting.

We worked closely with the conference leadership, es-

pecially Philippines Ambassador to the United Nations Libran Cabactulan, who served as the president of the RevCon. We also participated in numerous workshops, symposia, conferences and other events aimed at preparing for the session, and met with foreign officials and representatives of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations. Our goal was to identify areas enjoying broad agreement that could be translated into a consensus at the RevCon.

Our embassies and missions played a vital role, supporting Washington in this extensive outreach program. These posts ensured that host governments had accurate information about U.S. policies and goals, while keeping the State Department apprised of relevant developments around the world. U.S. missions to multilateral nonproliferation and disarmament fora, particularly the United Nations, the Conference on Disarmament and the International Atomic Energy Agency, played important roles. We also briefed congressional staff on our efforts and established excellent contacts with nongovernmental organizations and civil society representatives, key stakeholders in our NPT effort.

Reinforcing the Three Pillars of the NPT

The tempo of U.S. diplomacy increased with the RevCon's opening on May 3, and remained intense as the approximately 190 NPT parties met in New York for the next month. The U.S. posture was reinforced by demonstrable and concrete progress on the president's Prague agenda, including release of the new Nuclear Posture Review, which clearly reflected a reduced role for nuclear weapons; the signing of the New START Treaty with Russia; and the successful conclusion of the Nuclear Security Summit.

In her opening statement to the RevCon, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton provided further evidence of the U.S. commitment to the three pillars of the NPT: nonproliferation, peaceful uses of nuclear energy and disarmament. She announced the U.S. intention to make public the size of its nuclear weapons stockpile and the history of nuclear reductions, which was done later that day. The Secretary also noted the administration's intention to submit to the U.S. Senate the protocols for the

Our goal was to identify areas enjoying broad agreement that could be translated into a consensus at the RevCon.

African and South Pacific nuclear-weapon-free zone treaties.

Finally, Sec. Clinton announced a new "Peaceful Uses Initiative" to enhance the safe application of nuclear energy, and techniques to better address the myriad humanitarian problems posed by energy shortages, unsafe water, hunger and disease. She demonstrated the extent of our commitment to this initiative

and to fulfilling the NPT's promise of peaceful nuclear cooperation by committing \$50 million to this effort, and challenged other countries to match the U.S. commitment, for a total of \$100 million over five years. In addition, the United States and the other four permanent members of the United Nations Security Council made clear their shared commitment to strengthening the NPT in all its aspects by issuing a joint statement during the RevCon's first week.

A shared determination on the part of most parties to demonstrate support for the NPT and to seek common ground, as well as strong leadership provided by the conference officers, led to a successful 2010 RevCon. Parties reached consensus on a substantive final document, including a forward-looking action plan that included measures in each of the treaty's three pillars. Intense negotiations, often conducted on the margins, were remarkably successful in reconciling the important and often conflicting priorities of the parties.

At the RevCon's conclusion, despite the unfortunate singling out of Israel in the final document, Pres. Obama welcomed the plan's "balanced and practical steps that will advance nonproliferation, nuclear disarmament and peaceful uses of nuclear energy, which are critical pillars of the nonproliferation regime." He also noted that the plan reaffirms many aspects of the agenda that he had laid out in Prague in 2009.

While the naming of Israel (and the omission of any reference to Iran's noncompliance) was lamentable, the United States joined the consensus of the parties because the final document, as a whole, advanced the president's nonproliferation and disarmament agenda.

Building on a Strong Action Plan

The action plan calls for the resolution of all cases of noncompliance with treaty obligations and for strength-

ening the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards system through universalization of the Additional Protocol, which enhances the agency's ability to detect clandestine nuclear activities. The document also directs parties to ensure that the IAEA has "all political, technical and financial support" needed to meet its responsibilities for NPT safeguards.

The plan's steps to advance disarmament include a commitment by all treaty parties to pursue policies necessary to establish the conditions for a nuclear-weapon-free world and to take concrete steps in that direction. Regarding the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, the document encourages all states in a position to do so to make additional contributions to the Peaceful Uses Initiative announced by Sec. Clinton and calls for further discussion of multilateral approaches to the nuclear-fuel cycle.

It also endorses a regional conference in 2012 to discuss issues relevant to the establishment of a Middle East zone free of weapons of mass destruction. As with many other parts of the action plan, this unprecedented element reflects the serious, long-term engagement of parties (e.g., the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, the European Union, and Egypt and other states in the region) in advancing the aims of the 1995 NPT RevCon's Middle East Resolution.

For its part, the United States has long supported creation of a WMD-free zone in the Middle East. But we have consistently maintained that such a zone can only be achieved in the context of a comprehensive and durable peace in the region, and by full compliance by all regional states with their arms control and nonproliferation obligations. To be effective, therefore, the proposed conference must include all states in the Middle East and other relevant countries, and have a broad agenda that encompasses regional security issues.

For the United States, the RevCon was not an end in itself, but rather an important opportunity to reinvigorate the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and advance its objectives. Work on the Prague agenda, including U.S. efforts to strengthen each of the NPT's pillars, must continue through sustained U.S. leadership, and active and constructive participation by parties, in bilateral and multilateral fora.

*A key element of
U.S. preparations for
the RevCon was intensive
diplomacy, both bilateral
and multilateral.*

The Way Forward

The 2010 NPT RevCon Action Plan is widely recognized as a significant international agreement that will reinforce the nonproliferation regime and strengthen the foundations for further disarmament. The three main U.S. objectives moving forward will continue to be: strengthening IAEA safeguards, addressing noncompliance

with the treaty's nonproliferation obligations, and forging arrangements to accommodate expanded interest in civil nuclear power that do not increase the risk of proliferation.

To act on Pres. Obama's call to strengthen the IAEA safeguards system and increase the agency's resources and authorities in general, the Obama administration has undertaken a comprehensive review of the IAEA safeguards system. The United States has begun to implement the review's findings by pursuing a strategy of engagement with states that have not yet concluded an additional protocol and by pursuing more robust use of the IAEA's existing authorities.

Efforts to strengthen safeguards will fall short if some states are permitted to violate their international legal obligations in pursuit of a nuclear weapons capacity. The United States continues to call for full compliance with the NPT's nonproliferation obligations by all parties, and will continue to pursue compliance through multilateral mechanisms, particularly the United Nations Security Council. (This includes the very difficult cases of Iran and North Korea.) All countries with a stake in a robust and credible Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty must join this effort, and work together to convince violators to return to full compliance.

Closely related to the problem of noncompliance is the concern that a party that has violated its NPT obligations might seek to withdraw from the treaty as a way to escape punishment for such violations. While a small number of RevCon delegations prevented consensus on actions to combat abuse of the treaty's withdrawal provisions, the debate in New York made clear that many parties believe we must address this issue in a collective manner. Many, including the United States, recognize that a party that withdraws from the NPT without remedying existing noncompliance must be held accountable

FOCUS

for its violations. To do otherwise would devalue the treaty as an instrument of national and international security. The United States will continue to engage on this issue bilaterally and in multilateral fora.

Multilateral cooperation, specifically at the IAEA, remains central to expanding access to the peaceful uses of nuclear power in a manner that minimizes proliferation risks. The United States looks forward to continuing discussions on multilateral fuel assurances in Vienna, with the aim of soon reaching a decision on establishing an IAEA fuel bank. Such action would help guarantee states possessing or seeking civil nuclear power that they have a reliable backup for nuclear fuel supply and do not need to develop costly and technically challenging fuel-cycle facilities.

We are collaborating with the International Atomic Energy Agency to turn the Peaceful Uses Initiative that Sec. Clinton announced at the RevCon into tangible projects that will benefit many countries, especially in the de-

veloping world. The United States and the IAEA are in the process of identifying appropriate projects for its first year (2011). The United States is also working with international partners to raise \$50 million over five years to match the \$50 million that United States has already committed to the Initiative.

The United States was gratified by the results of the 2010 RevCon. But it is only the beginning of renewed efforts to enhance the authority of the nonproliferation regime, so that it continues to be a bulwark against the spread of nuclear weapons.

Formal preparations for the 2015 NPT Review Conference will not begin until 2012, when a preparatory committee will begin its work. We cannot take a break, however, from our efforts to consolidate support for the NPT and the international institutions that sustain it. We will continue to work with our partners at the United Nations, the IAEA, and the Conference on Disarmament and elsewhere to carry out the RevCon's plans. ■

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GLOBAL METEOROLOGICAL SERVICES AS A PARTNER IN STATECRAFT

E

arlier this year, the Fargo, N.D., area faced a serious flood threat from the Red River. This was not unusual, to be sure; it is a recurring part of the region's history. The difference this time was the widening window of preparation time that U.S. National Weather Service warnings provided for the communities along the river.

NWS forecasts in November 2009 alerted the community to the potential for major flooding the following March; the NWS update in January 2010 confirmed its probability as greater than 90 percent. By the time the river crested at 37 feet in March (just one foot shy of the NWS prediction), North Dakota communities had used the two-month advance notice to avert disaster by stacking a defensive perimeter of sandbags along the river.

Similarly, the improving NWS capability to forecast other severe weather in the United States, such as flash floods and tornadoes, has widened the window for prepa-

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IMPROVEMENTS IN WEATHER FORECASTING WILL REDUCE THE COST OF EMERGENCY FOREIGN ASSISTANCE AND PROMOTE SECURE AND STABLE SOCIETIES.

By JOHN L. HAYES

ration. And the increased accuracy in predicting the tracks of hurricanes supports local authorities in making critical decisions such as whether to evacuate an area — preserving lives and saving money.

NWS is working with the United Nations World Meteorological Organization to bring about similar results internationally. Severe weather events and longer-term climate changes, such as severe drought, can play a major part in disrupting life quality and, as a result, economic and political stability in developing nations. Moreover, if meteorological information is not integrated with sound resource management and community protection plans, development investments to create stable, secure and prosperous societies can be easily lost.

Capacity-Building

Compiling weather observations and producing forecasts for high-impact weather events such as flash floods, hurricanes and severe thunderstorms are the foundation of effective meteorological services. Also important is training to increase understanding of user needs and to ensure that forecasts and warnings take the needs of decision-makers into account and reach the right people at the right time.

Following the Indian Ocean tsunami of Dec. 26, 2004,

the WMO and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission organized an international response. This included establishment of a global network to collect information needed to deliver early warnings of tsunamis, which threaten coastal zones worldwide.

This network now generates such alerts for transmission to virtually every country in the world within minutes of a significant seismic event. The WMO has developed similar initiatives aimed at providing early warning for severe weather in Central America and the Caribbean, southern Africa and the southwest Pacific, focusing on infrastructure, training and outreach to build weather forecasting capacity.

Sustaining weather observation networks and weather research depends on strong national hydrometeorological services, but in developing countries such organizations usually have limited resources. In these circumstances, WMO support for capacity-building can pay long-term dividends. Improving a nation's ability to predict weather and warn citizens builds economic value by protecting investments and development assistance. Major disasters, such as 1998's Hurricane Mitch, can depress the economic growth of a country for many years after the initial impact, leading to political and economic instability and, often, migration.

Major challenges to the creation of such capacities include training and retention of meteorologists, improving the ability to deliver services, and upgrading weather observation and communications technologies. In coordination with donor countries, the WMO facilitates projects that build these capacities and raise the proficiency of participants to become full partners in global, collaborative meteorological and environmental initiatives.

SWFDP: A Good Example

One example of a highly successful program to improve meteorological services and forecasting capabilities is WMO's Severe Weather Forecasting Demonstration Project. The initial regional subproject took place from November 2006 through November 2007 in southern Africa.

The WMO facilitated the acquisition of needed tech-

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nology and the NWS, through its Africa training desk, provided the forecaster training and continues to contribute products for use in the region. The Republic of South Africa served as the regional foundation through its weather service, providing weather forecasts to support meteorological services in the five developing countries that participated: Botswana, Madagascar, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zimbabwe.

At the conclusion of the project, the participants all noted significant improvement in their ability to forecast severe weather and in their warning services delivered to the general public, the media and disaster management organizations. As a result, the government of South Africa agreed to continue its support indefinitely and extend its service to all 15 member-states of the South African Development Community. A similar regional project has been implemented in the South Pacific, for Fiji, Samoa, the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu, with the weather service of New Zealand serving as the regional base.

While the SWFDP focused on improving the forecasting of severe weather in a time frame of one to five days, developing countries are also seriously vulnerable to longer-range climate changes, such as prolonged drought. Climate research is providing information and tools that offer the promise to improve agricultural production and the capacity to plan for sustainable agricultural development, enabling local farmers to stretch scarce resources for maximum benefit.

WMO members promote water-resource assessments and furnish the forecasts and climate information needed to plan water storage, agricultural activities and urban development. The SWFDP projects intend to expand or link to flash flood forecasting and agricultural services in regions where heavy rainfall or water shortages have disastrous consequences. New projects are now being developed for Southeast Asia and Eastern Africa.

Water Management and Early Warning

The WMO's Hydrology and Water Resource Program assists member-nations in maintaining their systems for acquiring water-related information and for disseminating it to decision-makers and other stakeholders. The WMO's

primary initiative in this area, the World Hydrological Cycle Observing System program, supports its members, especially in lesser-developed countries, in establishing accurate, timely and accessible knowledge for the sustainable development of freshwater resources. A key outcome of these activities is improved understanding of how water should be managed, distributed and protected.

In many countries, early warning systems are not an integral part of disaster risk management. Often, disaster risk management simply means “response and recovery.” The WMO is working to shift focus to the time periods prior to severe weather events, paying greater attention to and investment in preparedness through improved weather observations, forecasts and warnings, effective communications to populations, community preparedness,

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and early response by local authorities

One WMO program aimed at such improvements is the Disaster Risk Reduction program, which centers on effective communication to the public. The pilot’s primary focus is to improve the timeliness and accuracy of forecasts and facilitate rapid public response to warnings of severe weather. Improvements in disaster preparation will reduce the cost of emergency foreign assistance and support the central foreign policy objective of promoting secure and stable societies.

The WMO’s Vital Role

Casualties related to severe weather events have been decreasing steadily over the past 50 years as a result of increased knowledge and effective partnerships. During the 10-year period between 1956 and 1965, severe weather caused more than 2.6 million deaths; between 1996 and 2005, this number fell to 220,000.

Improvements in forecasting accuracy have increased the effectiveness of emergency preparedness and response. Forty years ago, science and technology limited accurate forecasts to about 24 hours, and generally to weather occurring locally. Since then, scientific research has produced predictive capabilities that enable skillful forecasts five to seven days in advance, and sometimes even beyond. These capabilities are based on the worldwide collection of weather information. Here again, the WMO plays a vital role in facilitating cooperation between countries to collect and share weather data internationally, benefitting not only the local area where the weather is occurring, but every country in the world.

U.S. representation in the WMO includes experts from the U.S. government, academia and the private sector. The United States administers the WMO’s Voluntary Cooperation Program and coordinates with the Department of State to enable the creation of mutually beneficial work for both the host nation and the United States.

Developing a lesser-developed country’s meteorological services capabilities helps to facilitate a shift in international investment from relief to rebuilding. In turn, the increased capacity in these nations helps the NWS: The better a country is able to observe and transmit weather data, the better our global models and our forecasts. ■

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PASSPORT

CLIMATE CHANGE NEGOTIATIONS: LESSONS FROM MONTREAL

T

he 1987 Montreal Protocol to the Vienna Convention on the Protection of the Ozone Layer was a pivotal agreement in the history of global environmental negotiations. What made the negotiation of that agreement such an iconic event? And what useful lessons does it hold for climate change negotiators today?

The Montreal Protocol and its amendments addressed the challenge of a deteriorating stratospheric ozone layer that threatened to expose life on earth to greatly increased and damaging levels of ultraviolet radiation. The protocol initially called for a 50-percent reduction by 1999 in the

IT WAS THE PROCESS THAT THE MONTREAL PROTOCOL SET IN MOTION, NOT THE AGREEMENT ITSELF, THAT LED TO SUCCESS.

BY RICHARD J. SMITH

production of chlorofluorocarbons, which had been identified as the principal cause of ozone layer deterioration. The agreement also set up a procedure for regularly reviewing and revising its provisions at subsequent conferences of the parties. These “review and revise” meetings led over the following decade to amendments that increased the number of controlled substances and set earlier dates for fully phasing them out.

The Montreal Protocol

A number of factors were critical to the success of the Montreal Protocol. Important among them was the leadership role played by the United States from the beginning, well before the start of negotiations on the protocol. The United States was among the first to recognize the threat posed by CFCs, and took early action, along with some of the Nordic states, to ban their use in most aerosols.

Secretary of State George Shultz named a chief negotiator, Richard Benedick, in the summer of 1986, more than a year before the Montreal Protocol was concluded in September 1987. As a result, Benedick, an experienced Senior Foreign Service officer, had ample time to shepherd the development of the U.S. position through a contentious interagency process, which he headed.

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This article draws on a policy brief that Mr. Smith prepared for the Petersen Institute for International Economics, which is available at www.piie.com/publications/interstitial.cfm?ResearchID=1645.

During that prenegotiation period, he had a constructive dialogue with the affected domestic industries, Congress, environmental non-governmental organizations and his foreign counterparts. For example, with strong support from the Environmental Protection Agency, Benedict used an offsite workshop in Leesburg, Va., to help persuade skeptical representatives of concerned industries that the threat to the ozone layer was real and gain their acceptance of pursuing an international agreement to deal with it.

Because the preparation was so thorough, the United States entered international talks on the Montreal Protocol with a coherent, well-thought-out negotiating strategy that had significant support among domestic stakeholders. U.S. negotiators also had substantial support in Congress. Then-Senators Al Gore, D-Tenn., and Tim Wirth, D-Colo., were among the leaders urging action to preserve the ozone layer.

Perhaps the greatest strength of the Montreal Protocol has been its built-in flexibility in accommodating new information. The parties established panels on science, environment, technology and economics, and committed themselves to periodically reconsider the operative provisions of the agreement, taking into account the findings of those panels.

A synthesis report incorporating the findings of these panels formed the basis of the negotiation of the adjustments and amendments to the protocol that were adopted at the London Conference of the Parties in June 1990. That report summarized a peer-reviewed process that involved the work of more than 500 scientists and other experts.

At the London COP the parties also established the Montreal Protocol Fund to assist developing countries in transitioning away from CFCs and other ozone-depleting chemicals. The fund, which operates under the guidance of an executive committee established by the parties, received pledges totaling \$2.1 billion during the period 1991 to 2005.

The parties met every couple of years over the following decade and added more chemicals, including methyl chloroform and carbon tetrachloride, to the list of con-

Thorough preparation for Montreal enabled the U.S. to craft a coherent negotiating strategy with significant support among domestic stakeholders.

trolled substances. In addition, the time for bringing down the production and use of the controlled substances was substantially shortened, and the total reduction was increased to a full phase-out. This “review and revise” process has been an essential element in achieving the goal of saving the ozone layer.

Another critical factor in the success of the protocol was the fact that, from the outset, all countries that were parties to the agreement made commitments to reduce the production and use of ozone-depleting substances. The developing countries were given an additional 10 years to meet those commitments, but there was no invidious distinction between countries making voluntary pledges and those making mandatory commitments. This created a negotiating climate in which the threat to the ozone layer was seen as a challenge to all, requiring every party to contribute to resolving the problem.

The negotiators of the Montreal Protocol faced the same argument from developing countries that climate change negotiators now encounter. Why shouldn't developing countries have the same opportunities to develop using CFCs or carbon-emitting fuels that developed countries had enjoyed? Shouldn't developed countries, who caused the problem, pay the cost of the transition to a more sustainable development path? The establishment of the Montreal Protocol Fund and the provision of a longer timeframe for meeting their commitments were essential elements in responding to this argument and overcoming the reluctance of developing countries, such as China and India, to become parties to the agreement.

The Kyoto Protocol

Negotiation of the 1997 Kyoto Protocol to the 1992 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change was handled differently, with much less satisfactory results. The chief U.S. negotiator, Under Secretary of State for Economic, Business and Agricultural Affairs Stuart Eizenstat, was not named until a couple of months before the meeting in Kyoto. This left no time for adequate interagency preparation for the meeting or for sufficient consultation with domestic stakeholders or with Congress. Thus, the U.S. delegation arrived in Kyoto

without clear guidance on what, if any, reduction in American carbon emissions it could accept.

The carbon emission reduction commitments in the protocol were negotiated in Kyoto among the representatives of the developed countries. Those commitments, which varied from country to country, were made more on the basis of political bargaining than on an evaluation of what would be required to deal effectively with the threat of global warming. Nor was the question of whether all of the countries undertaking those commitments would, in fact, be able to meet them taken into account.

The European Union, for example, could offset likely shortfalls by some member states with anticipated over-compliance by others in order to meet an overall E.U. goal for carbon emission reductions. In the case of Russia, its post-Soviet economic collapse in the 1990s had already reduced carbon emissions to a point where over-compliance with targeted reductions from the 1990 base year was assured. But countries like the United States and Canada, which had substantially increased their carbon output since 1990, had little or no prospect of achieving their targeted emission reductions under the agreement.

The protocol also contained no specific commitments by developing countries to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Six months before the meeting, in July 1997, the U.S. Senate had put down a marker in the Byrd-Hagel Resolution, passed by a vote of 95 to 0, that any agreement without such commitments by developing countries would be unacceptable. Therefore, it was clear from the time the deal was struck in Kyoto that there was virtually no chance that the United States would ratify the protocol and become a party to it.

Global Warming and the Montreal Model

The negotiators of the Montreal Protocol, like those now seeking agreement on how to meet the challenge of global warming, faced formidable difficulties in dealing with a problem whose effects, while perhaps tolerable in the short run, were likely to be catastrophic over the long term in a “business as usual” scenario. Moreover, as with climate change, they had to deal with skepticism about the science involved. In fact, at the time that the Mon-

Our delegation arrived in Kyoto without clear guidance on what, if any, reduction in U.S. carbon emissions it could accept.

treil Protocol was initially negotiated, the evidence for human-caused depletion of the stratospheric ozone layer was less compelling than the current case for global warming.

Clearly, climate change negotiators face a more complex and far-reaching challenge. The phase-out of CFCs and other ozone-depleting substances and related infrastruc-

ture involved major industries such as refrigeration, electronics, firefighting and aerosols, including medical inhalants, and cost billions of dollars. But dealing with global warming will require fundamentally restructuring our carbon-based societies and taking steps that will affect virtually every aspect of economic activity.

Notwithstanding this significant difference, however, there are important similarities between the two challenges, and climate change negotiators would be well advised to reflect on the Montreal Protocol and the lessons that can be learned from its negotiation.

In that regard, it is encouraging that the Obama administration moved early to name a capable and experienced chief negotiator, Todd Stern. He will need to ensure that the United States enters future climate change negotiations with a clear negotiating strategy that has adequate support domestically. It usually does not work for a U.S. administration to lead the development of domestic policy through international negotiations, as was tried in the case of the Kyoto Protocol.

As with the Montreal Protocol, we need to reach an agreement on climate change that creates a process that will over time move us to a desired result. Only 24 countries and the European Commission signed the Montreal Protocol in September 1987. These signatories did include nearly all the developed countries, which accounted for the vast majority of the global production of CFCs. However, they did not initially include many of the developing countries with rapidly emerging economies, such as India and China.

In addition, the provisions of the Montreal Protocol for reducing the production and use of ozone-depleting chemicals, as negotiated in 1987, did not go nearly far enough. It was only after returning to the table repeatedly over the following decade to revise those terms that the parties were able to do what was necessary to arrest the de-

F O C U S

terioration of the ozone layer and begin the process of rebuilding it. During that period, the parties to the protocol increased to several times the original number of signatories: the Montreal Protocol now has more than 190 parties and includes all the members of the United Nations.

Because of the extremely long persistence of CFCs in the atmosphere, it may take until about 2070 for the ozone layer to be fully restored and for the seasonal hole in the ozone layer over Antarctica to be repaired. However, commitments under the protocol have already been met or exceeded, and some rebuilding of the stratospheric ozone layer has been detected.

It was the process that the Montreal Protocol set in motion — not the initial commitments in the agreement itself — that enabled us to eventually achieve this remarkably

*It may take until about
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successful result. This is one of the central lessons that climate change negotiators can learn from the Montreal Protocol.

We won't get it right the first time. However, we do need to get started, with all the parties to an agreement, developed and developing countries alike, making specific contributions to the effort to limit carbon emissions.

Whether those undertakings are called “mandatory” or are political commitments volunteered by the countries concerned should not be the central concern. Once it is clear on a worldwide basis that carbon emissions come at a cost — and that the cost will increase — the world will be on a path to a much less carbon-intensive future, and we will have begun to address global warming in a meaningful way. ■



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THE ARMS CONTROL AGENDA OF THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION

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CURRENT U.S. EFFORTS ARE INTENDED TO RESTORE U.S. MORAL AUTHORITY IN THE WORLD, PROMOTE THE RULE OF LAW AND ENHANCE GLOBAL SECURITY.

BY EDWARD IFFT

The Obama administration has put forward a bold agenda in arms control, which is particularly noteworthy after the skepticism and reluctance of the George W. Bush years. Inspirational rhetoric and policy pronouncements are seen, for example, in the president's speeches in Prague on April 5, 2009, at the United Nations on Sept. 23, 2009, and in the Nuclear Posture Re-

Edward Ifft, a retired member of the Senior Executive Service, has been involved in negotiating and implementing many of the central arms control agreements of the past 40 years in various positions with the State Department, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and the Department of Defense. He served on the U.S. delegations to the negotiations on SALT, TTBT, START and the CTBT, was deputy chief negotiator during 1988 for the START negotiations in Geneva and served as a START inspector.

The author of many articles, as well as of chapters in two books published by the United Nations, Ifft works part-time for State and is an adjunct professor in the Security Studies Program of the Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. The views expressed here are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the policies of the U.S. government or Georgetown University.

view released in April 2010. This is matched by some specific achievements — completion of the New START Treaty, the Nuclear Security Summit held in Washington in April 2010 and the successful Review Conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty held in New York this past May.

Admittedly, efforts to resolve the nuclear proliferation problems posed by Iran and North Korea have been disappointing thus far. Moreover, there is a surprising degree of opposition to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, whose ratification and entry into force are a high priority for the administration.

Indeed, the administration places a high priority on both bilateral and multilateral consultations regarding arms control. For example, Ambassador Susan Burk met with representatives of more than 70 foreign governments in the run-up to the 2010 NPT RevCon and intensive consultations continued throughout the three-week meetings. (For more specifics, see “The Way Forward on NPT Diplomacy,” p. 28.)

The U.S. is active in other relevant multilateral fora, as well, such as the U.N. First Committee, the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna, the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, the Organization for the Prevention of Chemical Weapons in The Hague, the Nuclear

Suppliers Group and others. The Obama administration has also resumed participation in the work of preparing the onsite inspection regime for the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in Vienna, from which the Bush administration had withdrawn U.S. participation.

The Nuclear Posture Review

The Nuclear Posture Review is a major interagency assessment of U.S. nuclear weapons policies that is conducted about every 10 years. (The previous one, which was issued only in a classified version, was conducted in 2002.) The 2010 NPR, in which the White House played a major role, shows some continuity with the past, but also makes some important and interesting changes to U.S. policy as it relates to arms control. It places a high priority on combating nuclear proliferation and nuclear terrorism, and reduces the role of nuclear weapons in U.S. policy.

The document declares that the fundamental role of U.S. nuclear weapons is to deter nuclear attack. It does not identify that as its sole role, however, as many arms control advocates had urged, although it holds out the possibility that this could become the case in the future. It also makes clear that Washington will only use nuclear weapons to defend the vital interests of the United States, its allies and its partners.

The NPR also strengthens U.S. Negative Security Assurances — pledges by the five Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty nuclear-weapon states that they will not use or threaten to use such weapons against the non-nuclear weapon states except under specified circumstances. Note, however, that except for China, the other members of the P-5 have backed away from the pledges they had made in connection with the 1995 NPT Review Conference and the indefinite extension of the NPT itself.

The new policy is that the U.S. will not use, or threaten to use, nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapon states that are parties to the NPT and in compliance with their nonproliferation obligations. The review does not state who is to make such a compliance decision, but longstanding U.S. policy calls for individual states to make that determination.

The START I Treaty expired on Dec. 5, 2009, making a successor agreement essential, since neither the U.S.

One should not expect instant results on these complex issues, some of which have been with us for decades.

nor Russia was in favor of an extension. Negotiating teams led by Assistant Secretary Rose Gottemoeller and Ambassador Anatoly Antonov worked very hard in Geneva, but were not able to finish in time to avoid a gap in the legal regime and therefore in notifications and onsite inspections. They did, however, produce what is being called the New START Treaty, which was signed by Presidents

Obama and Medvedev in Prague on April 8, 2010. This was the logical next step after START I and is an essential component of overall international security.

New START Treaty

The treaty carries over many of the concepts, definitions and inspection procedures from START I. It reflects the more cooperative and transparent relationship that exists now between the United States and the Russian Federation. A major goal of the U.S. was greater flexibility, while the Russians were seeking a less burdensome verification regime. Both these goals were accomplished, along with some simplifications that both sides wanted.

New START returns to the idea that constraints on nuclear weapons should be effectively verifiable and reductions irreversible — principles that the Bush administration largely abandoned. It is also intended to replace the 2002 Moscow Treaty, sometimes known as SORT (Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty), which had been scheduled to be in force until Dec. 31, 2012.

The treaty calls for modest, but significant, reductions in both deployed warheads and launchers. There are three primary ceilings:

- 700 deployed Intercontinental-Range Ballistic Missiles, Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missiles and heavy bombers equipped for nuclear armaments;
- 1,550 warheads on these deployed systems; and
- 800 deployed and non-deployed ICBM launchers, SLBM launchers and heavy bombers equipped for nuclear armaments.

The purpose of the 800 limit is to provide some flexibility for both sides without undermining the 700 and 1,550 ceilings. Thus, up to 100 ICBM and SLBM launchers and heavy bombers may be retained without missiles or warheads, without being counted in the 700 limit. Such systems, which were not tallied by the U.S. under

SORT, might be used for testing or training or have had their armament removed, but without being converted or eliminated according to agreed procedures.

Comparison with the previous limits is difficult because of changes in the counting rules. A simple arithmetical comparison with the SORT limit of 2,200 deployed warheads would indicate about a 30-percent reduction, but this may be misleading because of the counting rules employed. The START I approach, which relied on “attribution” of warheads by types of systems, tended to overcount ballistic missile warheads and undercount heavy bomber weapons. The U.S. interpreted SORT as counting only “operationally deployed nuclear warheads,” but the Russians never agreed to this.

New START basically adopts the SORT rule for ballistic missiles. As far as heavy bombers are concerned, New START counts each deployed heavy bomber equipped for nuclear armaments as carrying only one warhead — a significant undercounting of the loads these aircraft are capable of carrying. Criticism of this rule by some American opponents is curious, given the traditional substantial U.S. advantage in heavy bombers.

START I could be considered to have been verification overkill, with 153 notification formats, elaborate exchanges of information, extensive onsite inspections, access to missile flight test telemetry, special provisions for mobile ICBMs and continuous onsite monitoring of the Votkinsk missile plant in Russia. By contrast, New START imposes an effective, but not overly burdensome, verification regime. The number of onsite inspections is reduced to 18 per year, with 10 at operational bases and eight at other locations. This should be sufficient for effective verification.

It should also be noted that the number of Russian facilities requiring inspection would be halved, from 70 under START I to 35. Access to telemetry is to be reduced and “discriminatory” provisions related to mobile ICBMs removed. In addition, there will be significant, but reduced, exchanges of data and the Votkinsk monitoring facility has been closed.

At the same time, a creative new provision to improve verification is the requirement that each ICBM, SLBM

With arms control front and center and quite exciting once again, there are good opportunities for FSOs to make these issues part of their career path.

and heavy bomber be tagged with a unique identifier. Criticism of New START on verification grounds is thus rather curious: SORT had no verification regime at all (beyond national technical means, of course), yet it was approved, 95-0, by the Senate.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved the New START Treaty, 14-4, but it proved to be surprisingly controversial during the spirited debate. In addition

to verification issues, Republican opposition focused on the seemingly innocuous statements in the preamble regarding the relationship between strategic offensive and defensive arms. The committee report declares that “further limitations on the missile defense capabilities of the United States are not in the national security interest of the United States.”

Given that further reductions beyond those in New START will almost certainly have to involve some (at least temporary) resolution of the offense-defense relationship, complications lie ahead. The SFRC also laid down a marker that strategic-range systems with conventional warheads should not be constrained, setting up another likely future conflict with the Russians.

Future Reductions

There is a widespread expectation, confirmed by the Nuclear Posture Review, that further deep reductions are on the way. This has been urged by the “Four Statesmen” — George Shultz, Bill Perry, Henry Kissinger and Sam Nunn — and has led to important studies on how this can be done by the Hoover Institution, Nuclear Threat Initiative, Stimson Center, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Carnegie Endowment and others.

It is thus surprising that the modest reductions under New START are scheduled to be carried out over seven years, which would take us beyond the end of a second Obama administration. It is also somewhat puzzling that the treaty itself does not promise further reductions, or even negotiations, aside from a vague reference in the preamble to “expanding this process in the future, including to a multilateral approach.”

A major problem standing in the way of further reductions is what to do about anti-ballistic missile systems.

As noted above, the treaty's preamble acknowledges that there is an offense-defense interrelationship and says that current strategic defensive arms do not threaten the viability and effectiveness of strategic offensive arms (satisfying the Americans), while noting that the relationship will become more important as strategic offensive arms are reduced (satisfying the Russians). These statements are obviously true, but have raised concerns among conservatives who advocate unconstrained ABM systems.

The same can be said of the unilateral statements related to the ABM issue each side issued. These impose no legal obligation on either side and merely reflect longstanding positions, but have been viewed with alarm by some on Capitol Hill. Thus the ABM can has been kicked down the road, but it must be dealt with, probably sooner rather than later, in future negotiations.

Other issues not dealt with in New START, but looming ahead on the road to deeper reductions include tactical nuclear weapons; monitoring non-deployed nuclear warheads, including their dismantlement and the disposition of their fissile material; the much more intrusive verification measures that will be needed at low levels; how deterrence (including extended deterrence) will operate at low levels; and when and how to involve other nuclear powers in negotiations. These are all fascinating issues being studied in the U.S. government, think-tanks and universities, but clearly beyond the scope of this brief discussion.

The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty

U.S. ratification and entry into force of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty is a high priority for the Obama administration, but the agreement is waiting its turn in the queue while the focus is on New START. Badly defeated in the Senate in 1999, the CTBT remains controversial.

One traditional concern regarding the CTBT is verification. While the treaty authorizes highly intrusive challenge inspections, opponents have zeroed in on evasion techniques and the utility of very small tests that might escape detection.

Led by the U.S., the world has spent roughly \$1 billion constructing an elaborate International Monitoring

Badly defeated in the Senate in 1999, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty remains controversial.

System, consisting of 337 facilities in about 90 countries, to address this issue. Four technologies are employed — seismic, radionuclide, hydroacoustic and infrasound — with data analyzed by experts at the CTBT Organization in Vienna. The system is about 80-percent completed and is already proving to

work considerably better than expected, detecting small North Korean tests in 2006 and 2009.

Another traditional concern is the viability of the U.S. nuclear stockpile in the absence of nuclear explosive testing. A number of authoritative studies have concluded that the stockpile can be kept safe and reliable, provided that there is adequate support for stockpile maintenance and that sufficient scientific and engineering expertise is retained. The NPR strongly supports warhead life extension programs and modernization of the relevant infrastructure and significant budgetary increases are being provided by the administration.

A more recent issue concerns whether the absence of a definition of a “nuclear explosion” in the treaty is a problem. Both U.S. and Russian negotiators have insisted that there is no misunderstanding regarding the basic legal obligation, but debate continues. Light should be shed on all these issues by an authoritative study being prepared by the National Academy of Sciences.

The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty currently has 182 signatories, of which 153 have ratified, including 35 of the 44 states whose ratification is required for entry into force. With virtually the entire world, including all the other members of NATO, urging U.S. ratification, failure to do so would be a major setback to the U.S. agenda, both for arms control and nonproliferation.

Promoting Nonproliferation

Preventing nuclear proliferation is a major goal of the Obama administration, as has been true for all U.S. administrations. The hope was that a more respectful and flexible approach to both Iran and North Korea, coupled with a more ambitious arms control agenda generally, would pay dividends in nonproliferation.

It is still too early to render a judgment, but results to date, at least so far as Iran and North Korea are concerned, have been disappointing. This has led to “I told you so” criticisms from advocates of the more muscular

Bush-Cheney approach, even though that also failed to make much headway. The Obama administration did succeed in imposing some new sanctions on Iran through the U.N. Security Council, and is likely to seek support for harsher measures, should they become necessary.

The administration is also implementing the U.S.-India civil nuclear cooperation agreement, which grants New Delhi access to nuclear technology generally reserved only for NPT states-parties. The agreement itself continues to get mixed reviews worldwide because it is seen by some as expedient for the U.S., but detrimental for non-proliferation in general.

At the Nuclear Security Summit this past April, Pres. Obama hosted representatives from 47 countries, including 38 heads of government. The summit produced a communiqué and work plan, whose highlights were a renewed emphasis on countering nuclear terrorism and a pledge to strengthen nuclear security — in particular, by securing all vulnerable fissile materials within four years. A follow-on meeting of national “sherpas” is planned for October, along with another summit meeting in South Korea in 2012 to help sustain the momentum generated by the Washington Summit.

Probably the most important recent nonproliferation event was the 2010 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference held at the United Nations in May. It was at least a qualified success, especially when compared to the dismal 2005 RevCon. One intriguing outcome was an agreement to hold a 2012 conference with the objective of establishing a zone free of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East. The United States will be one of the sponsors.

The success of such a conference, while by no means assured, would solve a key aspect of what has been an intractable problem for many years. Because it is not a party to the NPT, Israel was not involved in the earlier discussions to hold such a conference. Its attitude toward the idea is problematic, since it has traditionally maintained that a satisfactory Middle East peace settlement must precede negotiations regarding its “nuclear potential.”

The Conference on Disarmament

The Conference on Disarmament, based in Geneva,

New START returns to the idea that constraints on nuclear weapons should be effectively verifiable and reductions irreversible.

is the world’s principal forum for multilateral arms control negotiations. Although it has had notable achievements in the past, it has been essentially paralyzed for over a decade since completing the CTBT Treaty. The current blockage is largely due to Pakistan, which is unhappy over the U.S.-India deal and unenthusiastic about the conference’s proposed agenda.

The NPT Review Conference’s Final Document urged the immediate negotiation of a treaty “banning the production of fissile material for use in nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.” A Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty has long been a U.S. priority.

Moreover, there is a linkage between the FMCT and another recommendation of the NPT Revcon: the establishment of “a subsidiary body to deal with nuclear disarmament.” It is not clear how this body will operate or whether it will be able to produce anything of value. Both the Clinton and Bush administrations opposed formal discussions of disarmament within the CD.

Chemical and Biological Weapons Conventions

The Obama administration continues the strong support for the Chemical Weapons Convention and Biological Weapons Convention shown by its predecessors. About 60 percent of the world’s 71,000 metric tons of chemical weapons have already been eliminated, and more than 4,000 inspections have been conducted by the Organization for the Prevention of Chemical Weapons in The Hague, which the U.S. strongly backs. While Washington and Moscow are both behind schedule on eliminating their respective chemical weapons, both are making good-faith efforts to complete the task.

As for the Biological Weapons Convention, the Obama administration has shown some flexibility in its willingness to consider whether an effective verification regime might be established. Most countries have welcomed this shift from the Bush administration’s approach.

The Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty

The 1990 Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty — which the North Atlantic Treaty Organization frequently

hails as the “cornerstone of European security” — achieved its goals by eliminating more than 80,000 pieces of military equipment, conducting more than 6,000 inspections and essentially removing the possibility of surprise attack in Central Europe. However, the treaty is under considerable stress due to Russia’s “suspension” of its compliance since 2007.

The primary issue is Moscow’s displeasure at NATO’s failure to ratify the Adapted Treaty, which changes the obligations to reflect the new reality in Europe since the breakup of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact. NATO, for its part, insists that Russia fulfill promises given at the 1999 Istanbul Summit to remove its forces from Moldova and Georgia. The 2008 conflict in the Caucasus and its aftermath greatly complicate the situation.

Space Policy

The new U.S. National Space Policy, issued on June 28, updates Washington’s stance in an area that is critical for

Even partial success on the Obama administration’s ambitious agenda would be an important achievement.

both commercial and international security reasons. The new administration policy declares that “The United States will consider proposals and concepts for arms control measures if they are equitable, effectively verifiable, and enhance the national security of the United States and its allies.”

Washington is now showing a new flexibility regarding possible constraints on activities in, or relevant to, space. This impinges on both the security of U.S. space assets and the ABM issue. Every year in the United Nations, there is an overwhelming vote in favor of avoiding an arms race in space, with the U.S. frequently being a lonely vote in opposition.

A Daunting Agenda

The State Department is naturally playing a central role in the administration’s efforts on arms control. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton has assembled a strong and dedicated team, including U.N. Ambassador Susan Rice, Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security Ellen Tauscher, Assistant Secretary for Verification, Compliance and Implementation and Chief START Negotiator Rose Gottemoeller, Ambassador to the Conference on Disarmament Laura Kennedy, Special Representative of the President for Nuclear Nonproliferation Ambassador Susan Burk and former NATO Ambassador Victoria Nuland, who is working on CFE issues. At the working level in these areas, with arms control front and center and quite exciting once again, there are good opportunities for FSOs to make working on international security issues part of their career path.

The Obama administration has set itself an ambitious and daunting agenda for arms control and international security. One should not expect instant success on these complex issues, some of which have been with us for decades. After all, these noble efforts must compete with two difficult wars, economic distress and huge deficits, a resurgent Russia and a highly partisan atmosphere in Congress.

Rather, current U.S. arms control policies should be seen as part of the effort to restore U.S. moral authority in the world, promote and extend the rule of law and strengthen international security through the upholding and extending of international norms. Even partial success in this effort would be an important achievement in the overall conduct of U.S. foreign policy. ■

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IO AND THE ERA OF MULTILATERAL ENGAGEMENT

Q

IN THIS INTERVIEW, ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AFFAIRS ESTHER BRIMMER SPELLS OUT HER BUREAU'S PRIORITIES.

BY MARK M. SCHLACHTER

President Barack Obama has spoken about the need for an era of engagement with the United Nations and other international organizations. Can you describe its outlines and what it is intended to achieve?

A. The president's era of engagement centers on ensuring that multilateral diplomacy is core to the overall U.S. foreign policy effort. For him and his administration, this means more than just a return to the multilateral table. It means a leadership role for the United States wherever and whenever we can advance our national security. At

Assistant Secretary Esther Brimmer has headed IO since April 2009. Before that, she was deputy director and director of research at the Center for Transatlantic Relations at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at the Johns Hopkins University.

Mark M. Schlachter is deputy director of the office of Public Affairs and Outreach in the Bureau of International Organization Affairs. A career public diplomacy officer, he has previously served in Tanzania, Cameroon, Poland, Uganda and South Africa. He interviewed Assistant Secretary Brimmer on Oct. 18.

the end of the day, we engage because multilateral diplomacy can unlock progress on a host of transnational and global issues. We engage because international organizations, including the United Nations, offer unique opportunities to advance U.S. goals and objectives.

Consider, for example, nonproliferation, an issue on which the president has been active and outspoken. Well before being elected president, he recognized that multilateral avenues were crucial to the effective management of nuclear weapons and fissile material. He therefore committed the United States to working with other countries on these issues, and highlighted that commitment by working to bolster the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and hosting the Nuclear Security Summit, the largest multilateral gathering in Washington in recent memory.

Similarly, human rights are central to U.S. foreign policy and a priority in the Obama administration's return to multilateral fora. For that reason, the United States decided to run for a seat on the U.N. Human Rights Council, which is a flawed body but has important responsibilities. We were elected to a seat in May 2009 — not as an end unto itself, but in recognition of the fact that the best way to advance human rights priorities, and to improve the council, is by being a leading member of the organization.

Finally, consider the environment and climate change. Like the previous examples, they are challenging issues, none of which is easily or effectively addressed by unilateral or bilateral action alone. The United States must play an active role in multilateral efforts such as the Copenhagen process and the upcoming Cancun conference on global climate change.

We are also determined to synergize existing efforts, which is why the administration brought together the Major Economies process with the U.N. process, combining the conversations with major emitters with the larger conversation with the world at large.

When you examine the scope and scale of the challenges the world faces, there is only one possible conclusion: multilateral engagement must, and will, be central to addressing these problems and advancing our foreign policy goals.

Q: Given that centrality, does the United States have the tools and resources it needs to engage as fully as you envision?

A. I would say that we're on the right path. With the complexity and rapid growth of the multilateral architecture, we clearly need to prioritize our engagement; it would be entirely too easy to lose focus or squander opportunities. We are determined that this not happen, and have spent the necessary time contemplating, defining and refining our goals.

Addressing those goals in a coherent, effective manner will require a robust and nimble U.S. toolbox. IO is an important part of that toolbox, but it cannot do the job alone. In a world of growing transnational challenges, the Department of State, as well as the Foreign Service and the Civil Service, will have to adapt, evolve and respond.

In some important ways, that process is already well under way. I made it my early priority to ensure that our small but talented staff could communicate effectively on issues and events that often cut across a variety of U.S. priorities. So, for example, those officers working on issues that we can define broadly as "human security" — health, development, food and agriculture, etc. — are now more closely linked.

“Multilateral engagement must, and will, be central to addressing problems and advancing our foreign policy goals.”

— IO A/S Esther Brimmer

We've also added new staff at all levels to guide and implement our expanded engagement. You may not know, for example, that we now have an ambassador to the U.N. Human Rights Council (Eileen Donahoe), and a new deputy assistant secretary (Suzanne Nossel) overseeing our system-wide effort to amplify the promotion and protection of human rights. This evolution will inevitably have significant and lasting implications for the State Department.

Q: Tell us more about that. What does this era of engagement mean for the Foreign Service?

A. Well, first, I think it's important to recognize that multilateral diplomacy requires a particular skill set — a skill set not entirely distinct from that employed in our bilateral missions around the world, but distinct enough to warrant new training opportunities, recognition by promotion panels and other rewards.

IO has a great team of really talented people, and we enjoy the benefits of the department's greatest renewable resource: the Foreign Service officer. A growing proportion of those officers arrive in IO with multilateral experience, from assignments spent working with international organizations, negotiating in consensus-based processes and communicating in the language of the United Nations.

It remains our responsibility, however, to ensure that all IO officers and, hopefully one day, all State Department employees, receive the necessary training and assignment possibilities to create and sustain a cadre of seasoned multilateral diplomats.

Q: Would such skills be applicable outside the IO family?

A. Absolutely, and more so every day. Consider just the department itself, where a growing number of bureaus, functional and regional, work on multilateral issues in multilateral fora. Those fora include such organizations as the African Union, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the Organization of American States, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to name just a few.

Q: And presumably the growth in informal organi-

F O C U S

zations — the Group of 8 and Group of 20, for example — has implications for our engagement strategy?

A. That's correct. While IO spends a considerable amount of its collective energy focused on the United Nations system, we are sensitive to the fact that there are a large number of other international organizations out there, both formal and informal. One of our enduring challenges is to give thought to the fullest possible range of such organizations in which we can and perhaps should address particular priorities.

Part of that equation is doing a better job of tracking and understanding nontraditional or ad hoc organizations such as the G-8 and G-20, as well as nongovernmental organizations, the private sector, and relations among the United Nations and regional groups. Among my earliest actions was to establish a new office in IO dedicated to doing just that.

Of course, the Department of State, like other foreign ministries, was established to guide interaction with other governments in a world of nation-states. But the world

has changed, and the varied and growing number of actors with interest in and influence on international affairs is remarkable.

The global economic slowdown provided an interesting window into this phenomenon. I'm thinking, in particular, of the important role played by the G-20 in providing a forum in which major economies and major developing countries could grapple together with some of these serious economic issues. The G-20, like the G-8 and other ad hoc bodies, has proven to be a powerful vehicle, with convening power and influence on the larger international agenda.

Q: You are an outspoken advocate for improved effectiveness of international organizations as a means of advancing U.S. national interests. What does improved effectiveness look like?

A. The United States has long been active in terms of improving the management and oversight of the United Nations and other international agencies. Greater trans-

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parency in the workings of international organizations and their financial accounting, and deepening the ethics commitments by international civil servants who work in these organizations have been long-standing efforts.

The newest element of that effort is looking more systematically at evaluation. How do these organizations evaluate their own performance? How well are they able to look at the original objectives of a project or program and determine whether those were addressed? The United States has plenty of expertise in these areas, and we have offered it to the U.N. to assist in the creation of structures for evaluation in particular programs.

To support and complement that effort, we in IO established a new effectiveness unit to look at how we can improve our own evaluation of certain organizations based on the goals they establish, and how our capacity might help select organizations incorporate and employ evaluation strategies.

Q: Some have pointed to the U.N. response to the earthquake in Haiti as evidence of improved effectiveness. Would you concur with that view?

A. I would. Let me begin, however, by acknowledging that the response to the humanitarian crisis in Haiti, including the United Nations response, had and continues to have its problems. Given the scale of the disaster, one could hardly expect otherwise.

In that context, consider for a moment the scale of the response. Clearly, the immediate international reaction to the earthquake required unique capabilities, many of which were found in the U.S. military, which played a crucial role in getting aid in quickly, getting the airport open, getting the seaports open. To be frank, nobody else could have done that.

Organizing and applying the global response required established structures designed to provide comprehensive and sustained services. The world community recognized this need some years ago, and has invested over time in establishing those capabilities through the United Nations. The U.N. obviously has humanitarian expertise in a range of its agencies, and it quickly deployed that expertise in Haiti using a response cluster system, which

“International organizations, including the United Nations, offer unique opportunities to advance U.S. goals and objectives.”

divided key tasks — shelter, fresh water, provision of food, provision of health care and other basic needs — among its different agencies.

Importantly, that division of responsibilities has been long-established, so lead U.N. agencies are fully cognizant of and prepared for their roles in humanitarian crises. For example, the United Nations Children’s Fund takes the lead on providing fresh water, and the World Food Program handles food and related logistical support.

I want to be very clear here. There was no way the international community could have organized the response in Haiti on the scale needed and in the time required, on an ad hoc basis. Those systems must be already in place, and the United Nations provides that crucial architecture.

In a similar vein, its response to Haiti’s security needs was instructive. Because Haiti already has a significant international peacekeeping presence through the U.N. Stabilization Mission, the Security Council was able to take quick and decisive action to strengthen the mission in support of the humanitarian response. That couldn’t have happened if the world hadn’t invested in Haiti’s security earlier by sponsoring and deploying MINUSTAH.

Finally, I would note that the United Nations is playing more than a mere response role. The United States and much of the international community was well aware that the immediate response in Haiti had to be part of a longer-term effort to help the country build back better. But it was the U.N. that provided the mechanism through which that longer-term effort could be pledged and coordinated.

The bottom line is this. We need to continue to invest in, build and strengthen the sort of response capacity we saw in play in Haiti — a multilateral capacity that has proven effective in response to crises.

Q: Clearly, humanitarian crises will be a recurring challenge. What other areas would you highlight as emerging multilateral issues over the next 10 years?

A. Well, I think it’s safe to say that some of our current challenges will remain priorities for the foreseeable future. These include climate change, food security and global health issues.

FOCUS

In addition, let me highlight one longer-term challenge that is not yet at the forefront of the global agenda: urbanization. Consider the fact that for the first time in human history, more than half of the world's population now lives in cities. That proportion will continue to rise to about 70 percent by 2050. While we've always had cities, we've never had this kind of population concentration. That has huge implications for environmental policies, political organization, economic development and much more.

Clearly, there are benefits that stem from urbanization, sometimes including improved access to education and more varied employment options. But the very real and potential challenges associated with the rapid pace of urbanization — crime, economic exploitation, environmental degradation, public health crises — should prompt us to give more thought to how we manage this phenomenon at the local and national level, and how we can best cooperate in multilateral arenas to maximize the benefits and minimize the perils.

Q: What advice would you offer to Foreign Service and Civil Service personnel who are interested in working in a multilateral office or mission?

A. First, I'm convinced that diplomacy in the 21st century will have an increasingly large multilateral component. Given that, I firmly believe that our foreign affairs professionals need to seize all available opportunities to develop and flex their multilateral muscles. For Foreign Service officers, those opportunities include excellent, demanding positions at any of IO's seven missions.

As I've previously noted, however, all State Department bureaus and missions deal with multilateral issues, and seeking roles that allow you to develop those skills will serve you well throughout your career. I strongly encourage interested personnel to reach out to someone they know who is already working on multilateral issues to learn more.

Q: Thank you, Assistant Secretary Brimmer. ■



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AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • December 2010

Top Diplomats Discuss 20th Anniversary of German Reunification

BY AMY MCKEEVER



PATRICK BRADLEY

Amb. Rozanne Ridgway, journalist Marvin Kalb and former National Security Adviser General Brent Scowcroft (left to right) share their memories of the events surrounding the fall of the Berlin Wall and the reunification of Germany in an Oct. 28 panel at AFSA headquarters.

The memory of Leipzig still brings tears to Ambassador Rozanne Ridgway's eyes, even though it has been 21 years since the peaceful demonstrations. The march of tens of thousands of East Germans, carrying candles and daring the Soviet Union to bring out its troops, she says, was a thrilling event. Even more thrilling was that the Soviet Union did not bring out those troops.

"And with that, it was very clear that the wall was the next thing to fall," she said to a crowd of diplomats and academics at the American Foreign Service Association headquarters on Oct. 28.

Continued on page 56

Call for AFSA Award Nominations

BY PERRI GREEN, SPECIAL AWARDS AND OUTREACH COORDINATOR

Our Foreign Service currently faces one of the most challenging periods in its history. It is stretched thin, serving in increasing numbers of dangerous and difficult posts where members are using their skills to promote the nation's vital interests.

That situation makes AFSA's four-decade-old awards program more relevant than ever.

AFSA seeks nominations for our prestigious constructive dissent and exemplary performance awards. All the winners receive a \$2,500 cash prize and are honored at a ceremony in late June at the State Department; the Secretary or Deputy Secretary of State typically attends. We urge everyone to consider nominating a deserving

colleague for these awards. Anyone may send in a nomination, and the nominee may be a Foreign Service employee of any of the five foreign affairs agencies.

CONSTRUCTIVE DISSENT AWARDS

The arrival of the globalization age has engendered a host of "new connections and new contradictions among diplomacy, security and international policy," Daryl Copeland states in his book, *Guerrilla Diplomacy*. "Thinking these through leads inexorably to a simple conclusion: the old approaches won't do."

AFSA honors those who strive for change and don't just maintain the status quo. One way to do so is by nominating them for one of our AFSA constructive dis-

sent awards. We pay tribute to those who have the professional courage and integrity to speak out forthrightly, using the appropriate channels. Our past awardees have taken a stand for what they believe is right and have asked the tough questions; they've also offered alternative solutions and given the best possible counsel, as Foreign Service officers have been trained to do.

In recent years, AFSA has often not received qualifying nominations in all categories. Despite that fact, we are convinced Foreign Service members worldwide continue to practice constructive dissent but that perhaps these acts go unrecognized and unreported. We therefore encourage all members to think about colleagues who

Continued on page 58

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



AFSA Appoints New Governing Board Members

The AFSA Governing Board approved the appointment of two new members at its Oct. 6 meeting.

Stephen Morrison joins Vice President Keith Curtis in representing the Foreign Commercial Service on the Governing Board. While he is currently on assignment to the U.S. Export Assistance Center in Baltimore, Morrison was first appointed to the Foreign Service in 1991 and has served in various capacities in Dakar, Paris and Madrid.

State Representative **Raymond Maxwell**, who draws on a U.S. Navy background, became a Foreign Service management officer in 1992. He is the director of the Office of Regional Affairs in the Near Eastern Bureau, but has also served as deputy chief of mission and chargé d'affaires in Damascus and post management officer for East Africa, his all-time favorite job.

A Moment for Reflection

BY IAN HOUSTON, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

With Thanksgiving just behind us, the holidays approaching, and the year drawing to a close, I have a deep sense of gratitude for the spirit of volunteerism that permeates AFSA. It is a unique organization for many reasons, not the least of which is that many of our members voluntarily step forward to serve on a committee (and sometimes two or three) or a board, at an event, etc. Much of our strength and success is built upon that spirit of service.

On behalf of the professional staff that is here to serve our members, please accept my sincere thanks to all those who have volunteered time, expertise and resources to AFSA over this successful year. I appreciate your example and the opportunity to learn from you. It has been a pleasure working with you this past year and serving AFSA. I am also very appreciative of the multiple ways the professional staff has rendered service to advance the mission of AFSA and assist its members.

Thank you again for the multiple ways you support our association. I look forward to implementing our resolutions for the new year, but a moment of reflective gratitude is always appropriate at this time of year.

Foreign Service Journal Welcomes New Editorial Board Member

Foreign Service Journal Editorial Board member

May Baptista tendered her resignation from the board in October to pursue language training at FSI for an overseas assignment early next year. Former FSO **Jim Seevers**, whose nomination the Governing Board had pre-approved last summer, has agreed to fill the remainder of May's term, which runs through August 2011. Jim currently serves as Director of Studies and Training at the Georgetown University Institute for the Study of Diplomacy. The board and *Journal* staff join in thanking May for her service and welcoming Jim.

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Valuing Abilities, Despite Disabilities

This year marks the 20th anniversary of the Americans with Disabilities Act. In some ways, the State Department has made significant strides to increase career options for disabled employees. But there is still more to do.

The ADA requires employers to make reasonable accommodations for qualifying employees to enable them to perform the essential functions of their jobs. Such accommodations might include providing specialized equipment, modifying facilities, adjusting work schedules or job duties, and supplying readers or sign-language translators, or it might involve modifying examinations, training materials or policies. A whole range of solutions can enable qualifying individuals with a disability to perform their assigned duties.

State's Disability and Reasonable Accommodations Division, created in October 2009, assists employees with these and other accommodations, and liaises with other offices in the department to provide travel assistance, expedited shipping of required equipment and similar services. Under the guidance of Under Secretary of State for Management Pat Kennedy and Director General Nancy Powell, a Disability Leadership Committee makes and reviews policy. Representatives from the Bureau of Human Resources and the Office of Medical Services have also met with an employee affiliation group, the Disability Action Group, to hear their concerns.

It all looks very good on paper and, in truth, it represents a significant continuing effort and improvement over earlier times. The reality, however, is not as bright. Some of the difficulties are practical: equipment delays; miscommunication; questions over funding and ownership of equipment. We have seen employees unable to transfer equipment from one job to another because the bureau that bought it didn't want to let it go, and items returned to Washington because they were shipped unclassified from one post to another and were then no longer allowable in a controlled access area.

Some problems relate to communication. In order to qualify for reasonable accommodations, employees must formally identify themselves as disabled and apply. Some individuals do not do so, perhaps because they incorrectly believe that it is enough for MED or a career development officer to be in the loop. In a number of recent cases, the department has sought to justify disputed actions based on an employee's alleged failure to follow proper channels.

But a major set of issues is unique to the Foreign Service, and they are the ones we should highlight for our members.



The ADA was written with a specific scenario in mind: An employee has a job that does not change, in a place that does not change, with a specific set of duties that do not change, and may need an accommodation to perform those duties. This scenario is typical in much of private industry, as well as for jobs in the Civil Service.

In the Foreign Service, however, duties and job locations change often. Equally important, an up-or-out personnel system requires employees not only to perform their duties, but to do so competitively enough to be promoted before being selected out for "non-competitive" performance or time-in-class. Disabled FS members should be afforded the opportunity to advance, on a level playing field, to more senior levels. This implies a fair chance to serve in "promotable" assignments, and to be promoted by boards that give special consideration to hardship service.

While AFSA was successful in inserting wording into the precepts reducing the perceived disadvantages of too many domestic assignments, we still hear too many stories of rescinded handshakes and enthusiasm waning once the post or office learns of a candidate's disability. Apart from the employee's talent or experience, there is neither an incentive to accept a disabled candidate nor a disincentive for refusing one. The opacity of the assignment system makes it easy to couch a refusal in terms that do not appear to violate any law.

Complicating this is a lack of information and inadequate training regarding employee rights and responsibilities, as well as the roles of MED and HR in these processes. For those disabled employees who do not have Class 1 clearances, communications between MED, the Office of Career Development and Assignments, posts and employees can muddle distinctions between an employee with a disability and one who simply has a Class 2 or 5 clearance. Although MED is currently adding a position to work out such issues with HR, employees often assume there is greater coordination than actually exists. In addition, regulations intended to protect employees' privacy can hinder understanding of their abilities and limitations — and hide from a promotion board the true reason for an employee's reluctance to serve under certain conditions.

AFSA recognizes that the issues are complex, but we urge the department to devote greater attention to complying not only with the letter but with the spirit of the Americans with Disabilities Act. □

Developing Your People



A great example of a leader who looked after and developed his people was former Secretary of State Colin Powell.

Much has been said by our leadership lately about how we are to create — or, more accurately, recreate — USAID as the premier development agency.

There is certainly a need to aim for that lofty status, especially given that the latest federal survey on employee satisfaction ranks the agency at number 28 among the 34 smaller federal agencies. In addition, the first annual Quality of Official Development Assistance assessment made by the Center for Global Development and the Brookings Institution reports that the U.S. ranks almost dead last in quality of foreign assistance among 31 donor countries and multilateral agencies, as well as among 152 individual development agencies.

Yes, we have a way to go to be that premier development agency our leadership wants. But even the recently announced initiative known as “USAID Forward,” which focuses on seven major reform areas, does not get to the core of our problem. The most important ingredient — talent management — is conspicuously weak.

A number of steps are missing from the plan. These include upgrading meager entry-level salaries to reasonable levels, equalizing personnel benefits with those of the State Department and making a commitment to keep FSOs (who function in the “up or out” system) motivated by limiting Foreign Service mid-level hiring. USAID could also create additional Civil and Foreign Service positions to replace personal services contractors, and stop the practice of assigning non-Foreign Service employees to crucial overseas positions such as mission director in the Philippines and Namibia or senior development counselor in Rome. All of these Foreign Service positions are now filled by Civil Service employees.

A great example of a leader who looked after and developed his people was former Secretary of State Colin Powell, whom many Foreign Service officers still remember with nostalgia. Sec. Powell made it clear that he valued his employees and advocated successfully for additional positions and training under the Diplomatic Readiness Initiative. As for his relationship to USAID, he allowed us the freedom to run our own policy and budgeting operations. That was before his replacement, Condoleezza Rice, created the Directorate of Foreign Assistance at State, which dismantled USAID’s policy and budgeting function.

That was the start of USAID’s downward slide. We are just now beginning to slowly recuperate as some policy and budgeting functions return to us. To complete the process and really become that premier development agency, however, we need our leaders to make existing employees feel valued in this process. They can do so by genuinely responding to longstanding and legitimate needs. □

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

AFSA Offers New Membership Benefit through Zipcar Partnership

This fall, AFSA initiated a new partnership with Zipcar, the world’s largest car-sharing and car club service. AFSA members will now be able to take advantage of significantly discounted annual and rental fees.

Under the new partnership, Zipcar’s annual fee is reduced from \$50 to \$25 for AFSA members, and hourly fees start at \$8.25 rather than around \$10; hybrids are available starting at \$7 per hour. Weekend rates are slightly higher than weekday rates. AFSA members are also able to access additional discounted fees and special rates.

To make use of this benefit, please visit www.zipcar.com/afsa. You will need a valid driver’s license from any country, and you will be required to include your AFSA membership number. If you are already a Zipcar member, give them a call at 1 (866) 4ZIP-CAR (404-7227) and select Option 2 for account assistance, followed by Option 1 for billing. Let the agent know you’d like to be added to the American Foreign Service Association Zipcar for Business plan.

Volunteer to be an AFSA Post Rep!

AFSA relies on members to be its eyes and ears overseas, and we hope you will consider volunteering to be the AFSA post representative at your embassy or consulate. Post reps are active-duty Foreign Service employees who donate their time to assist fellow employees with management-related problems and professional concerns. They serve as a liaison with AFSA and pass on the views of its members from all the foreign affairs agencies.

We want to have a representative at every post, but there are a few vacancies. Please check out the list at www.afsa.org/postreps/replist.cfm and if your post currently has a vacancy, please consider stepping forward. All information on becoming a post rep can be found at www.afsa.org/postreps. We encourage active-duty AFSA members from all agencies to consider volunteering.

AFSANEWSBRIEFS

Global Disability Movement Awards Amb. Richard and Mrs. Sharon Miles

The Global Disability Movement of Bulgaria gave Ambassador Richard Miles and his wife Sharon Miles a spot in its 2009-2010 *Golden Book* “for their more than 10 years of support in the diplomatic and international political dialogue concerning . . . people with disabilities in Bulgaria,” as well as their leadership in rights for those with disabilities in the U.S. Congress.

Richard and Sharon Miles moved to Bulgaria in 1999 and began to advocate on behalf of a disabled community that had little to no voice. Sharon, winner of AFSA’s Avis Bohlen Award in 2002, says the laws and public perceptions surrounding the disabled in Eastern Europe are “light-years” behind what they are in the United States. While there is still plenty of work to be done, Sharon is gratified by the work of Bulgarian nongovernmental organizations, having watched them blossom over a decade.

“My work is modest, really,” she says. “But frankly, just a little modest work goes a long way in some of these countries.”

FSI and the University of Maryland Team Up for Foreign Language Roundtable

The Foreign Service Institute and the University of Maryland’s Center for Advanced Study of Language are teaming up on Dec. 7 for a conference on how video game technology can enhance language learning. FSI will host a Game Changers Roundtable, where major players in the California gaming community will discuss how gaming can support foreign language skills. Then on Dec. 8, CIA Director Leon Panetta, Secretary of Education Arne Duncan, and Under Secretary of State Patrick Kennedy will highlight the importance of learning foreign languages as the key speakers of the “Foreign Language Summit” at UMD. Find more information on the program at www.casl.umd.edu/GameChangers.

V.P. VOICE: FAS ■ BY HENRY SCHMICK

Revise the Expiration Date and Throw Out the System



Age is just a number; old is a state of mind. But still we groom Foreign Service managers through years of on-the-job experience, plus a few weeks of classroom training, only to quickly usher them out once they reach age 65.

In my October column, I reviewed a U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board report that noted the most effective way to improve organizational performance is to improve first-level supervisors. The second part of improving organizational performance is to retain those highly skilled supervisors and managers. This month, I will explore the mandatory retirement age issue, building on AFSA State VP Daniel Hirsch’s September column in *AFSA News*.

There is plenty of evidence to suggest that age is, indeed, just a number. *Washington Post* reporter Josh Tapper noted in an Aug. 10 article that “although adults older than 65 face challenges to body and brain, the 70s and 80s also bring an abundance of social and emotional knowledge, qualities scientists are beginning to define as wisdom.”

Barbara Strauch, deputy science editor at the *New York Times*, documents these same findings in her latest book, *The Secret Life of the Grown-Up Brain* (Viking, 2010). While the growing scientific research finds that raw processing speed may slow (meaning names are harder to remember), she writes, an aged brain is better at sizing up a situation, acting judiciously, and being wise rather than rash.

And, in fact, whom do we call when we have especially difficult diplomatic problems? We call upon the State Department’s top troubleshooters like Special Envoy George Mitchell (77) and Special Representative Stephen Bosworth (71). So much for the “youth and vigor” argument for the “up and out” personnel system. We need all the wisdom we can find to tackle Middle East peace and understand North Korea.

As AFSA State VP Daniel Hirsch noted in his September column, many AFSA members support raising the age of mandatory retirement (now fixed at 65) to at least 67, the age at which employees born after 1960 become eligible for full benefits. That small change would probably require some additional tweaks to the other variables (time-in-class limits, number of positions in each class, etc.) to ensure that entry-level officers are not adversely affected.

“AFSA thinks that there are a number of sound reasons to consider raising the age of mandatory Foreign Service retirement beyond 65, including but not limited to the expertise many older employees possess that is badly needed,” AFSA President Susan Johnson recently said. “It’s important to note that only career Foreign Service officers are affected by the mandatory retirement age — not political ambassadorial appointees. Why is this?”

While many FS employees are still young at age 65, the Foreign Service Act of 1946 (when we adopted the Navy’s “up or out” system) has proven outdated. As it turns 65 next year, it needs significant reform. Throw out the stale water, but keep the baby FSOs — meaning all those younger than George Mitchell. □

Reunification • Continued from page 51

AFSA was proud to host a special fall program observing the 20th anniversary of German reunification and its effect on diplomacy and the Foreign Service. The distinguished participants in the panel discussion were Ridgway, former ambassador to East Germany (1983–1985), and General Brent Scowcroft, who was national security adviser for President George H.W. Bush at the time of the fall of the Berlin Wall. Award-winning journalist and former “Meet the Press” host Marvin Kalb moderated the morning’s discussion.

AFSA President Susan Johnson and Executive Director Ian Houston opened the event with brief remarks before Houston introduced Jens Hanefeld, deputy chief of mission of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany. Hanefeld, who grew up in Berlin and witnessed the events of Nov.

9, 1989, firsthand, offered his gratitude to the United States for its actions leading to the reunification of Germany. Other notable audience members included Annette Lantos, wife of late Representative Tom Lantos who was chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, and Hungary’s Ambassador Bela Szombati.

Politics and Diplomacy

Conversation flowed easily among Ridgway, Scowcroft and Kalb, as each reminisced about the behind-the-scenes diplomatic overtures that led to Germany’s reunification, as well as their own surprise that it had happened at all.

Scowcroft recalled that many in the Bush administration, himself included, had been skeptical of Mikhail Gorbachev’s intentions, worried they might be lulled into complacency by the sweet-talking president of the Soviet Union. The U.S. had limited insight into the Kremlin, he said, which Ridgway later confirmed.

“Looking back on it,” she said, “we were woefully uninformed about the true state



Jens Hanefeld, deputy chief of mission of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, delivered opening remarks thanking the United States for its role in German reunification.



Amb. Rozanne Ridgway (right) chats with AFSA President Susan Johnson (center) and an audience member after the event.



One notable figure in attendance was Annette Lantos, wife of the late Democratic Representative Tom Lantos, who said “the world became once more accessible and unified” after the fall of the Berlin Wall. “It created a whole new possibility,” she added.

of the Soviet economy. We were woefully uninformed about the true state of the Soviet military.”

When Gorbachev went to East Germany for its 40th anniversary, Scowcroft said, U.S. officials were watching to see whether he would embrace leader Erich Honecker or step away from him. It turned out that Gorbachev did not do either.

“But the fact that he didn’t embrace him, I think, started the Leipzig [march],” Scowcroft said. “And that became overwhelming for the East Germans. They had to open the wall.”

And when it became obvious that Germany would reunify, Scowcroft says, the next question was how. Would Germany remain neutral? Or would it choose between NATO and the Warsaw Pact?

Scowcroft described what he calls a “surreal” meeting during which Pres. George H.W. Bush asked Gorbachev whether the Helsinki Accords permit countries to join any alliance of their choosing. Gorbachev replied in the affirmative, much to the dismay of his advisers, Scowcroft recalled. Gorbachev spent the rest of the meeting filibustering the question but not renouncing his answer, which Scowcroft says was “a real breakthrough.”

Following that meeting, Pres. Bush went to NATO for dinner with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who laid out his hopes for a unified Germany.

“I’m with you. Go for it,” Scowcroft remembers Bush telling Kohl.

The Role of Individuals

Midway through the discussion, Kalb asked Ridgway and Scowcroft to name some of the characters who drove the reunification effort.

“It’s hard to overstate the importance of personality in this whole thing,” Scowcroft replied, citing Kohl’s plan for unification that made it appear more like Germany was reassembling itself rather

than reunifying.

Ridgway commented that the fate of reunification depended almost wholly on Presidents Reagan, Bush and Gorbachev, and also noted British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's role.

But Scowcroft and Ridgway agreed that Soviet Union Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze was one of the more influential players, guiding his boss Gorbachev down the path of liberalization. When Shevardnadze left the administration, Scowcroft said, Gorbachev became much more resistant to reform. "It was noticeable, the difference when he left," Scowcroft said.

Is the American Foreign Service Prepared?

Kalb concluded by asking the two lifelong diplomats to assess the Foreign Service in terms of how it dealt with German reunification and how it is handling the challenges that face the United States today.

Ridgway noted that she met many Foreign Service officers who were prepared for the task during her travels to the new Eastern European countries during the 1990s. And it wasn't just FSOs, she said.

"I found spouses picking up part of the effort in a way that was vastly underappreciated," she said, recalling a diplomatic reception in Estonia during which the power cut out. Ridgway found the ambassador's wife in the kitchen, trying to make hors d'oeuvres in the dark. Together, Ridgway said, teams of spouses helped establish relationships with these new countries.

But while Ridgway believes Foreign Service officers are doing their jobs admirably and responding well to crises, she doubts that it is appreciated.

"We never had enough people, never had enough money or resources," Ridgway said. "And in a post-9/11 world where the demands are even greater I would say the shortages are monumental."

Scowcroft agreed, urging Congress not to starve the State Department. "Most of our problems in the world are going to be dealt with by diplomacy," he said. □

Agent Orange and the Foreign Service

BY BONNIE BROWN, RETIREE COORDINATOR

During the Vietnam War, Foreign Service employees served side by side with their military counterparts in a joint civilian/military command. The Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support program combined counterinsurgency and nationbuilding programs run by the military, U.S. Agency for International Development and the Central Intelligence Agency throughout Vietnam. As a result, civilian and military personnel faced the same war-zone dangers and hazards. One of these was exposure to dioxin, commonly known as Agent Orange.

According to the Department of Veterans Affairs, about 20 million gallons of the herbicide was sprayed across South Vietnam in an attempt to destroy crops and trees and foliage that concealed enemy forces.

A Presumptive Policy

The VA presumes that all military personnel who served in Vietnam were exposed to Agent Orange, and federal law presumes that certain illnesses are a result of that exposure. This "presumptive policy" simplifies the process of awarding compensation for these diseases, since the VA forgoes the normal requirements of proving that an illness began or was worsened during military service. However, there was no similar provision for civilian employees in Vietnam.

Recently, three retired Foreign Service employees who served with CORDS in Vietnam have reported developing illnesses that would have qualified them for health care benefits and compensation had they served in the military.

No Recourse for Civilians

Because the State Department has no authority or resources to cover treatment of these illnesses, the only alternative open to these former FSOs is an application for disability benefits under the Federal

Employee's Compensation Act, which is administered by the Office of Workers' Compensation Programs in the Department of Labor.

The department should inform retirees in general about the possibility of Agent Orange-related illnesses stemming from participation in CORDS and provide them assistance with any claims.

Any benefits under FECA, however, would be less generous than those under the VA program, and the applicants would have to show a causal connection between their service in Vietnam and their diseases. They would also have to prove to the satisfaction of OWCP that they filed timely applications. Through no fault of the applicant, the causal connection and timeliness may be difficult to demonstrate.

Will the Department Step Up?

We hope that the department, which already forwards FECA applications from its employees to DOL, will make a forceful supporting argument that assumptions similar to that of the VA should apply to Foreign Service employees who participated in CORDS. Additionally, the department should inform retirees in general about the possibility of Agent Orange-related illnesses stemming from participation in CORDS and provide them assistance with any claims.

Finally, we believe the department should ask for the same level of diagnostic and health care for civilian employees assigned to combat zones as is provided for the military. This would be a timely way for civilian leaders to show the same commitment to their employees that the military does. □

AFSA Continues Its Minority Internship Program

BY ASGEIR SIGFUSSON, OUTREACH/MARKETING MANAGER

Nkechi Ekwunife is no stranger to the Foreign Service or living abroad. She spent her high school years in Nigeria, away from her family in Los Angeles, calling it the best decision she could have possibly made. In 2009, she had a “transformative experience” interning at the U.S. embassy in Ouagadougou. And this past summer, as the AFSA/Thursday Luncheon Group minority intern, she worked for the Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs at the Department of State.

SCA, which coordinates U.S. policy in some of the world’s busiest political hot spots, such as Pakistan and Afghanistan, has hosted the AFSA/TLG minority intern for the past three years. This year they employed Ekwunife, a recent graduate of Notre Dame University, in the

When it comes to smooth transitions, Ekwunife is already as seasoned as any Foreign Service officer.

Office of India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Bhutan and Maldives Affairs, where she immersed herself in work immediately.

Ekwunife’s direct supervisor, Deputy Office Director Thomas Palaia, found her to be an outstanding addition to the staff and could not praise her contributions highly enough.

“She has set the bar very high for next year’s intern,” Palaia said.

Ekwunife left the office having made the most of her internship. She met both Secretary Hillary Rodham Clinton and President Barack Obama during her three months in Washington, and said she was most proud of her work on the U.S.-India Strategic Dialogue.

When it comes to smooth transitions, Ekwunife is already as seasoned as any Foreign Service officer: Her last day at State coincided with her departure for St. Louis, where she began her first year at the Washington University of St. Louis Law School in August.

Ekwunife’s SCA colleagues expect great things from her in the future, and AFSA hopes she will continue to consider the Foreign Service as her career path.

AFSA would like to thank the Thursday Luncheon Group for their continued sponsorship of this internship program. Particular appreciation goes to Ambassador Pamela Bridgewater, the outgoing TLG president, and Stacy D. Williams, the TLG vice president. We look forward to continuing this worthy program. □

Dissent • Continued from page 51

have taken a stand over the past year and nominate them for one of these prestigious awards. In the short time it takes to write a nomination, you can uphold the best traditions of our Service — what some have called “the highest form of patriotism.”

Dissent awards are offered in four categories. They may be awarded for speaking out within channels on either foreign policy or management/personnel issues:

The **F. Allen “Tex” Harris Award** for a Foreign Service Specialist

The **W. Averell Harriman Award** for an entry-level officer (FS 6–FS 4)

The **William R. Rivkin Award** for a mid-level officer (FS 3–FS 1)

The **Christian A. Herter Award** for a member of the Senior Foreign Service (FE OC–FE CA)

EXEMPLARY PERFORMANCE

AFSA also offers four annual awards for exemplary performance of assigned or voluntary duties at an overseas post that constitutes an extraordinary contribution to effectiveness, professionalism and morale. These awards recognize diplomats and family members who have gone well above and beyond their official duties. They are:

AFSA Post Representative of the Year, which honors the AFSA

post rep who has been most effective, most visible and most dedicated to serving AFSA members at post.

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 or 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.

NOMINATION PROCEDURES

Details on nomination procedures and guidelines can be found at www.afsa.org/awards. The deadline for submitting nominations is Feb. 28, 2011.

The AFSA Awards and Plaques Committee, chaired by Ambassador John Limbert, reviews and vets all nominations.

Any questions may be directed to Perri Green, Coordinator for Special Awards and Outreach, at green@afsa.org or (202) 338-4045, ext. 521. □

Journalist Tom Wicker Addresses New England Retiree Fall Meeting

BY CHARLES AHLGREN, FARNE PRESIDENT

Renowned political journalist and author Tom Wicker was the featured speaker at the Foreign Affairs Retirees of New England fall luncheon, held on Sept. 10 at the Three Stallion Inn in Randolph, Vt. Wicker, who was the *New York Times* Washington, D.C., bureau chief for many years and now resides in Vermont, spoke to about 60 FARNE members and guests on “The Presidency and Foreign Policy in the Modern Era.”

FARNE is one of a dozen regional foreign affairs retiree organizations associated with, but not a part of, AFSA. Formed in 1983, it is an informal organization of former foreign affairs professionals and spouses who, following service with one of the U.S. foreign affairs agencies, now live in New England. FARNE provides an opportunity for its members to come together — at three luncheon meetings per year held on a rotating basis among the

Continued on page 62



TOM FERREIRA

AFSA Initiates New Speaker Series in Southwest Florida

BY TOM SWITZER, DIRECTOR OF COMMUNICATIONS

AFSA kicked off a new pilot speaker series on American diplomacy co-hosted by the expanding University of South Florida in Tampa on Oct. 7-8. Our inaugural speaker was career Foreign Service officer and leading China expert Douglas Spelman, who is currently deputy director of the Kissinger Institute on China at the Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C.

Spelman discussed economic, political and security aspects of U.S.-China relations with deans, professors and students from four USF faculties, and the regional Confucius Institute on China. The highlight was his masterful talk on doing business in China at a luncheon hosted by the USF business school dean, in which Spelman discussed the complex challenges involved in successful trading with Chinese companies. His candid remarks prompted a vigorous dialogue with members of the audience, which comprised busi-

ness school faculty and some 10 regional corporate representatives.

A major goal of this new series is to expand AFSA outreach explaining the critical role of the Foreign Service, as well as

to promote possible corporate partnerships whereby companies can be encouraged to fund AFSA events in return for full attribution and recognition. USF is one of the fastest-growing universities in Florida, especially as it pertains to international relations and business. AFSA plans several more such partnership programs in Florida and other states in the year ahead. □



WALTER ANDRUSZYN

Leading China expert Douglas Spelman (left) was the inaugural speaker at AFSA's new series on American diplomacy that was co-hosted by the University of South Florida on Oct. 7-8. USF Dean Bob Forsythe (center) and AFSA Communications Director Tom Switzer (right) coordinated closely on the program.

From Beijing to a Bureau

Robertson Fellow with Chinese background aims for Foreign Service future

BY AMY MCKEEVER

The day after Matthew Southerland fled Beijing, Chinese soldiers driving along the nearby road shot at his home, a diplomatic compound. He was 6 years old.

Southerland doesn't remember all that much from the time, but some images remain: The throngs of people in the streets. Living in Hong Kong with his mother and his sister for two weeks following the crackdown. And the afternoon spent counting bullet holes in the edifice of their apartment complex with his father.

Matt's father, Dan Southerland, was Beijing bureau chief for the *Washington Post* at the time. He had been in the family's apartment when shots burst into the neighboring buildings in the complex on the morning of June 7, 1989. Dan immediately called his office in Washington, D.C.

"I don't know what's going on," he recalls saying, "but listen to this."

Only much later would Dan figure out what had happened. The soldiers seem to have taken deliberate aim at the diplomatic compound — and specifically gunned for the homes of military attachés. They apparently didn't appreciate foreigners observing their military operations in the middle of the city.

Life in Beijing was very confusing for a while after the crackdown, Dan says. But in July 1989, when things had calmed down and his wife and children had returned to Beijing, he went out to investigate. Dan, ever the reporter, needed to know how many bullets hit the buildings. So he brought his son to help him count the hundreds of holes notched by machine guns and small arms fire.

It would be enough to scare off anyone from returning to China. And, in fact, it scared off many.

"The shocking thing was the effect on [Matt's] friends, because



Matthew Southerland and his father, Dan, pose for a picture in Hangzhou, China, in 1987. Dan Southerland was Beijing bureau chief for the *Washington Post* at the time.

some never came back to the international school," Dan said. "The families just decided, that's it."

But the Southerland family remained in Beijing until 1990, when Dan's stint as bureau chief was up. Years later, Matt revisited China several times in pursuit of his academic studies. And now, with a generous grant from the Robertson Foundation for Government, he hopes to live in its capital once more, this time as a Foreign Service officer.

Matt Southerland is a member of the inaugural class of Robertson Fellows at the University of Maryland School of Public Policy. The fellowship grants full scholarships and internship stipends to a select group of students in exchange for their commitment to work for the federal government for at least three of their first five years after graduation.

"I think it's really exciting because I really believe in what the fellowship is all about," Matt said. "And I think it's fantastic they're supporting students and encouraging students toward public service with an international focus."

A Path to the Foreign Service

Matt didn't grow up wanting to be a Foreign Service officer. Like many children, he once wanted to be an astronaut. And when he studied anthropology at Georgetown University, he thought more along the lines of teaching. He even toyed with the idea of becoming a United Nations peacekeeper. But some-



Matthew Southerland (right) visits the Great Wall of China with a friend. His family was living in Beijing during the student-led protests and the subsequent crackdown in Tiananmen Square.

where along the way, things changed.

Dan and Muriel Southerland didn't let their son Matt forget about China when they returned from Beijing and settled into a life in Bethesda, Md. They shuttled him to study with a Chinese-language tutor, and even sent him back to Beijing in 1999 before his senior year of high school to stay with old family friends.

"I found I really loved learning Chinese and wanted to keep working at it," Matt said.

So he kept up his language skills at Georgetown, where he spent his junior year studying abroad in Beijing and reconnecting to the culture he'd been immersed in as a child. Then, upon graduation in 2005, Matt moved to Taiwan, where he remained for nearly two years of further study.

It was in Taipei, where he found a community of friends from all over the world, that Matt started thinking seriously about joining the Foreign Service. He even took the entrance exam there.

But conversations with his father may be one of the most important factors in Matt's decision to enter public service. Dan Southerland, now executive editor of Radio Free Asia, always shared his work with his son — reams of stories related to human rights issues and free speech. He



COURTESY OF MURIEL SOUTHERLAND

Matthew Southerland (second row, second from right) smiles with his kindergarten classmates in Beijing's Ritan Park. He attended several schools in China, but his favorite was Beijing International School for its diversity.

brought Matt on a trip to Vietnam in 2005, introducing him to an old friend who also happened to have been a Viet Cong spy. And he always had plenty of advice to offer: Take risks while you're young. There's more to Asia than China. Think in broad terms.

Over a recent lunch near Radio Free Asia's Washington headquarters, Dan couldn't resist giving his son more advice: "Everybody in this town has a degree in international relations," he said. "You have to go beyond that."

Becoming Foreign Service Material

Matt is taking his father's advice. Though he's only in the first year of his master's degree program, he already knows he wants to serve as a political officer in East Asia, from Japan and South Korea to Taiwan. He's studying a variety of issues from cross-strait relations and rule of law in China, to U.S.-China cooperation on environmental issues and the challenges of interagency cooperation within the U.S. government.

Matt had worked on some of these



HANBAN, CHINESE BRIDGE

Upon graduating from Georgetown University in 2004, Matt Southerland competed in the Chinese Bridge international speech contest, performing a musical number in Chinese. He made it to the final round.

issues over the past three years as a policy research assistant at the RAND Corporation, but he was eager to apply what he'd learned there to academic study at the University of Maryland.

So far, Matt is excited about his international security and economic policy graduate program. His classmates are diverse — an important factor for a kid who once attended an international school and has lived abroad several times since. He's hoping that he'll someday be able to put all the skills he's culled through his years of studying Chinese language and culture, as well as the more practical skills of economics and statistics, toward a career in the Foreign Service. In fact, he has already applied for a summer internship, a requirement of his fellowship, with the State Department.

"I really appreciate that part of the fellowship is doing an internship in an agency in the summer," he said, adding that the Robertson Foundation helps the fellows through the process through its great career center. They also provide a stipend for the internship, which is no small thing for Matt, a first-time homeowner who has been mar-

ried for slightly more than two years to a woman from Taipei.

There was no Oprah-patented "Aha!" moment for Matt in deciding the Foreign Service was his dream. But, like most people, it was the events of his life that led him here. Tiananmen. A diversity of friendships. A father who had covered six Secretaries of State as a journalist.

"Living abroad inspired me to pursue a career as a U.S. Foreign Service officer," Matt wrote last year in his application for the University of Maryland graduate program. "As a child, I developed an interest in cultures different from my own and a sense of comfort in being overseas. My father has always encouraged me to take risks, travel, learn new languages and interview everyone."

For more information about the fellowship program at the Robertson Foundation for Government, please visit www.rffg.org. □

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Dec. 2	MQ803	Realities of Foreign Service Life
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Dec. 8-9	MQ107	English Teaching Seminar
Dec. 13-14	MQ911	Security Overseas Seminar
Dec. 20-21	MQ911	Security Overseas Seminar
Jan. 3-4	MQ911	Security Overseas Seminar
Jan. 7	MQ950	High-Stress Assignment Outbrief
Jan. 12	MQ853	Rental Property
Jan. 19	MQ2030	Singles in the Foreign Service
Jan. 20	MQ703	Post Options for Employment and Training
Jan. 22	MQ116	Protocol
Jan. 24-25	MQ911	Security Overseas Seminar
Jan. 27	MQ119	Orientation to State Overseas
Jan. 28	MQ704	Targeting the Job Market
Jan. 31-Feb. 1	MQ911	Security Overseas Seminar
Feb. 2	MQ302	Transition to Washington for Foreign Born Spouses
Feb. 4	MQ950	High-Stress Assignment Outbrief
Feb. 7-8	MQ911	Security Overseas Seminar
Feb. 9	MQ220	Going Overseas Logistics for Adults
Feb. 23	MQ117	Tax Seminar
Feb. 26	MQ116	Protocol
Feb. 28-March 1	MQ911	Security Overseas Seminar

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Wicker • Continued from page 59

six New England states — in a relaxed and convivial atmosphere.

Members share experiences and knowledge with friends old and new while enjoying stimulating speakers and discovering new parts of the lovely Northeast. Earlier this year Marshall Goldman, associate director of the Harvard Russian Research Center, spoke to the association at the Wayside Inn in Sudbury, Mass., on the Russian petrostate; and retired Ambassador Don Petterson shared his experiences of returning to Africa as chargé d'affaires and ambassador after retirement with the group at the Hanover Inn at Dartmouth.

FARNE warmly welcomes retirees from all foreign affairs agencies. For more information, contact FARNE corresponding secretary Liz Barnett at barnett1895@hotmail.com. □

Charles Ahlgren, a Wisconsin native, discovered New England when assigned as State Department representative to the Naval War College. He returned to Rhode Island upon his retirement from the Foreign Service in 1997.

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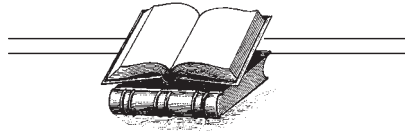
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BOOKS

An Age-Old Problem

Piracy: The Intellectual Property Wars from Gutenberg to Gates

Adrian Johns, University of Chicago Press, 2010, \$35/hardcover, \$19.25/Kindle, 626 pages.

REVIEWED BY DAVID DRINKARD

As soon as the printing press arrived in England in 1471, unscrupulous individuals falsely claimed authorship of and copied legitimate works. Among the first people to recognize a safer, more profitable, form of booty that didn't entail the scourges of sea travel, these scoundrels became known as pirates long before the term "intellectual property" was invented.

Piracy will be invaluable to anyone wishing to understand the history and development of intellectual property, and the relationships among industry, government and consumers in creating, using and enforcing property rights. Author Adrian Johns provides historical context for the development of these concepts, along with an excellent account of the anti-piracy industry (generally known as intellectual property enforcement).

This presentation of the dynamic, interdependent view of piracy and intellectual property in today's world

Johns' presentation of the dynamic, interdependent view of piracy and intellectual property in today's world constitutes the book's real value.

constitutes the book's real value. *Piracy* is at heart a history book, and although it is not a military history, it does document the war waged by industries and governments against pirates — whom Daniel Defoe called "a reproach to a well-governed nation."

But who is a pirate? In 16th- and 17th-century England, it was someone who reprinted works on private presses in "holes" or "corners." During the 18th and 19th centuries, the concept expanded to include anyone who appropriated a patent (most likely for the latest weapon), along with the printers of books, pamphlets and sheet music who never sought permission, let alone paid royalties. And in 20th-century England, listening to the BBC at home without paying a license could make one a pirate, as could the act of copying a record onto a cassette or a movie onto a videotape in America.

The inviolability of the home, privacy rights and "fair use" also shaped the argument and affected court cases and industry alike. The evolution of an equitable system remains a work in progress, as new forms of access to intellectual property continually emerge. For instance, the role of government in copyright and patent enforcement can be traced to the monarchy claiming ownership of all property. And the latest debate over Google's ambition to compile a universal library of works has its roots in the Enlightenment.

Bill Gates is mentioned in the book's title for his repeated denunciations of user groups and shareware users who didn't pay royalties to what was then Microsoft for copies of his BASIC programming language for Altair computers. He famously laid down the law in an *Altair Users' Newsletter* by claiming, "Most of you steal your software." In other words, what the Altair users saw as openness and collaboration was now "theft," pure and simple. Johns summarizes the debate as follows: "Gates' statement would go down in computer lore as the canonical declaration of a rift over intellectual property and access that would divide the digital world from then on."

And so ends *Piracy*. Johns does not aspire to address all aspects of intellectual property, but he does explain the major issues in the field: counterfeit

pharmaceuticals, use of the Internet to facilitate commerce and the transfer of illicit items, and the ties to organized crime and corruption that surround intellectual property crimes. Equally useful, he suggests ways governments can promote innovation without stifling creativity.

I should note that this is a scholarly treatise, intended for those with more than a casual interest in intellectual property and its role in society. The author expresses his hope that “readers who make it to the end of this book” will view any efforts to combat piracy with skepticism if they do not take into account the complexity of the world we inhabit. I sincerely hope that many *Journal* readers will fall into that camp.

David Drinkard is a Foreign Service officer working in the Economic Bureau's Office of Intellectual Property Enforcement. He has also served in Ankara and Tel Aviv.

An Inside View

The 188th Crybaby Brigade: A Skinny Jewish Kid from Chicago Fights Hezbollah
Joel Chasnoff, Free Press, 2010; \$25, hardcover, 269 pages.

REVIEWED BY DAVID T. JONES

Joel Chasnoff, an American standup comedian and writer, gives us a classic coming-of-age rebellion saga in this memoir. The self-described “skinny Jewish kid” had been entranced since childhood by heroic accounts of the exploits of the Israel Defense Forces. So after his comedy routine failed to get him gigs, he decided to travel to Israel

Chasnoff shows us the human dimensions of a society wrestling with itself, and confirms that such tensions can be laced with humor.

and join the army. His father wasn't thrilled at the news, glaring as though “I'd just announced that I was Republican. And Muslim. And gay.”

The bulk of *Crybaby Brigade*, whose title is derived from the derisive nickname directed at Chasnoff and other recruits undergoing basic IDF training, is a factual account of military instruction. It covers both basic and armored training in the Merkava-3 Bas Battle Tank, followed by advanced combat instruction. For anyone who has ever worn a uniform, the scenarios are familiar: commands to hurry up and wait; punishing physical training; baffling and interminable lectures; and individuals of dubious abilities promoted to positions of authority.

For the majority of people who have never undergone military service, this memoir provides insights into the focused frenzy and scatological humor epitomized by such an experience. At 24, Chasnoff was significantly older than most recruits, who endured their societal rite of passage with a year of military service at 18.

He offers perspective on the realization that only slightly civilized young

males were a major element of the defense of Israel. But he also feels pride that in place of the days of Jewish weakness, when anyone could kill Jews, now true Jewish warriors were able and eager to defend their people.

Chasnoff gives us other astute societal observations, as well. The Holocaust is no longer sacrosanct in Israel. Trainees are taught about it, to be sure, and one element of the instruction is a visit to the Holocaust Museum in Jerusalem. But it is far from a deeply solemn event: the recruits clown around and engage in teenage horseplay. Chasnoff concludes it is awesome that 60 years after Hitler, “There are now Jews for whom the concept of victimhood is so foreign that they can give one another wedgies” during the museum visit.

His Lebanon experience (1997-1998) was during the IDF occupation of a since-surrendered sector of Lebanon as a buffer zone against Hezbollah rocket attacks. It was a tense, semi-combat experience, awaiting attack while constantly patrolling and monitoring activity with high-tech scanners. But the entire military effort appeared pointless: making soldiers the target didn't reduce Israeli deaths.

In Chasnoff's view, nobody in Israel has forgotten, let alone forgiven, any wrong done during the many wars and insurgencies since 1947. He identifies the country's primary problem as religious rigidity exercised over much of society by the ultra-Orthodox — a trait epitomized by their control over defining who is a Jew. The intense regulation over such definitions, resulting in draconian rules regarding marriage and burial, along with the exemption of the ultra-Orthodox from military service, is increasingly divisive.

A defining moment for Chasnoff is

BOOKS



U.S. analysts too often view Israel as a combination of ancient history and current political “Gordian knots.”



a pre-marriage meeting with a smug Orthodox rabbi who, with the narrowest of interpretative parsing, declares that Chasnoff is not a Jew. Chasnoff's fiancée, who accompanied him to the meeting, memorably excoriates the rabbi. After extracting the fact that the rabbi's sons did not perform military service, she sneers at his insinuation that Chasnoff is good enough to die for Israel, but not good enough to get married there. One doubts if the rabbi will ever forget that encounter.

U.S. analysts too often view Israel as a combination of ancient history and current political “Gordian knots.” They miss the human dimensions of a society wrestling with itself and the fact that such tensions can be laced with humor. Looking back more than a decade at a seminal experience, Chasnoff does not make that mistake. ■

David T. Jones, a retired Senior FSO, is a frequent contributor to the Journal. He is the co-author of Uneasy Neighbor(s): Canada, the USA and the Dynamics of State, Industry and Culture (Wiley, 2007), a study of U.S.-Canadian relations.



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IN MEMORY

Nicholas G. Andrews, 85, a retired FSO, died on Aug. 27 at his home in Newport Beach, Calif., of complications from pneumonia.

Born in 1924, Mr. Andrews spent his childhood in Bucharest, where his father ran the Standard Oil Company's operations, and at boarding school in England. He interrupted his college years to serve in the U.S. Army during World War II. He was stationed in Romania, where he met his wife, and returned after the war a married man.

After graduating from Princeton University in 1949, Mr. Andrews entered the Foreign Service and began a 34-year career as a diplomat. He served overseas in West Berlin, Belgrade, Sarajevo, Ankara and Warsaw, where he was deputy chief of mission. In Washington, D.C., he served as director of the Office of Eastern European Affairs, among other assignments. Fluent in seven languages, he served as an interpreter for the 1963 meeting between President John Kennedy and Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito.

During the late 1970s, Mr. Andrews played a role in negotiating the return to Budapest of the Crown of St. Stephen, a Hungarian national treasure that had been held by the U.S. since World War II. Following his experience in Poland with the Solidarity movement from 1980 to 1981, Mr. An-

draws wrote *Poland 1980-81: Solidarity versus the Party* (National Defense University Press, 1985), a book that is still often cited by scholars of the period. He retired from the Foreign Service as a senior research scholar at the National Defense University in 1984.

Following retirement, Mr. Andrews spent seven years overseeing production of the sections of the Department of State's annual Human Rights Report to the Congress for Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. But his great passion during this period was the research and writing of his second book, *Ryland B. Andrews in World War I* (Chandos Press, 1997). A U.S. Army captain in World War I and a military intelligence officer, Andrews' father had died when he was just 13.

Mr. Andrews was an avid tennis player well into his 80s, and enjoyed chess and puzzles. He was a member of St. John's Episcopal Church in Chevy Chase, Md., the Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, and the Atlantic Council of the United States. In 2000, he and his wife moved from Chevy Chase to Newport Beach, Calif.

Survivors include his wife of 63 years, Dana Romalo Andrews of Newport Beach; three children, Suzanna Andrews of New York City, Benjamin

Andrews of Shepherstown, W. Va., and Gregory Andrews of Birmingham, Mich.; and five grandchildren.



Nicole Grace John, 17, the daughter of U.S. Ambassador to Thailand Eric John and Mrs. Sophia Yoon John, died on Aug. 27 in New York, N.Y., in a tragic accident.

Nicole was a freshman at Parsons The New School for Design. She was majoring in fine arts and was an avid painter and photographer. She was also very active in Habitat for Humanity in Thailand, and worked with underprivileged children. She had accompanied her family on assignments to Seoul, Ho Chi Minh City and Bangkok, as well as Washington, D.C. Friends of the John family remember her intelligence, creativity, beauty, poise and generosity of spirit.

In her memory, Parsons The New School for Design has established a scholarship fund to support deserving students in fine arts and photography. In lieu of flowers, the family requests that any donations people may wish to make be made to this memorial scholarship fund, at: The Nicole John Scholarship Fund, c/o The President's Office, The New School, 66 West 12th Street, New York NY 10011.

Condolences for the John family

IN MEMORY



may be sent in care of the Community Liaison Officer: Liz Schuster-Shoaf, Box 59/CLO, APO AP 96546.



Gwendolyn Louise Remick, 80, the wife of retired FSO Marlin W. Remick, died on July 28 in Fairfax, Va., of congestive heart failure.

Born and raised in Lock Haven, Pa., Mrs. Remick accompanied her husband on his overseas assignments for the U.S. Information Agency in the Soviet Union (three years), Iran (three years) and Yugoslavia (four years). There she hosted many receptions, lunches and dinners for visiting American officials, nongovernmental experts, academicians and performing artists, as well as meetings with host-country officials and other influential people.

In Moscow, she hosted a party for three famous Russian poets, Yevgeny Yevtushenko, Andre Voznesensky and Bela Akhmadulina, in her apartment. As Yevtushenko noted, it was one of the few times the three of them got together. Mrs. Remick also witnessed President Richard Nixon's historic visit to the Soviet Union in 1972. In Tehran, she hosted a reception for Werner von Braun.

Mrs. Remick did volunteer work at each post. In Belgrade she handled the finances of the embassy commissary, among other duties. She was present in Belgrade on the historic occasion of the death of Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito in 1980.

After the couple returned to Washington in 1982, Mrs. Remick worked for several years as a Fairfax City registrar. In addition to maintaining accurate and up-to-date voter registration records and hiring poll workers for

elections, she campaigned to encourage city residents to register to vote.

Besides her husband of 62 years, Mrs. Remick is survived by five children: Marlin II of Virginia Beach, Va., Marsha Brumgard of Hendersonville, N.C., Mark of Manassas, Va., Eric of Fairfax City, Va., and Steven of Purcellville, Va.; and 10 grandchildren.



Charles E. Rushing, 81, a retired Senior Foreign Service officer, died of complications from Parkinson's disease on Oct. 1 in Reston, Va.

Mr. Rushing was born in Cairo, Ill., and graduated from Augustana College in Rock Island, Ill. In 1954 he received his J.D. degree from Duke University, where he was also associate editor of the *Duke Law Journal*. That same year, he was admitted to the District of Columbia Bar.

Mr. Rushing served as an intelligence analyst in the U.S. Army before entering the Foreign Service in 1956. His first overseas assignment was as a consular officer in Naples from 1958 to 1960, after which he became the deputy principal officer in Asmara. From 1961 to 1963 he was a political officer in Salisbury (now Harare). He then served as an economic officer in Brazzaville before returning to Washington, D.C., to be the desk officer for Congo, Rwanda and Burundi from 1965 to 1968.

During this period, Mr. Rushing was one of the original members of the AFSA reform group dubbed the "Young Turks" and a contributor to the AFSA document, "Toward a Modern Diplomacy," which called for significant reforms within the Foreign Service.

In 1968 he spent a year as the per-

sonnel officer responsible for junior officers at the department.

From 1969 to 1971 Mr. Rushing was chief of the political section in Vientiane. He then served as the economic/commercial officer in Monrovia until 1973, subsequently attending the NATO Defense College in Rome as the only U.S. government civilian.

While posted to Copenhagen from 1974 to 1978 as the political counselor, he was instrumental in negotiating the sale of F-16s to the Danish government.

Transferred to Dublin, Mr. Rushing served as deputy chief of mission from 1978 to 1982, including one year as chargé d'affaires. He then spent a year in Washington as the director of a multi-agency program at State.

From 1985 to 1991 he was executive assistant to the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva. Mr. Rushing then served as the political adviser to the commander-in-chief of U.S. and NATO naval forces in the Atlantic and Caribbean from 1991 to 1993, before spending his final year with the State Department as senior political adviser in the Executive Secretariat.

Mr. Rushing spoke Italian, French and Danish, and was the recipient of numerous State Department performance and achievement awards. Including military service, he served the U.S. government for 40 years.

After retiring from the Foreign Service in 1994, he and his wife of 50 years, Maria, traveled, enjoyed the company of family and friends spread across the world, and pursued art, history and music. He was also a supporter of his alma maters.

In addition to his wife, Mr. Rushing is survived by two sons: Evan of O'Fallon, Mo., and Alex of London; and four

IN MEMORY



grandchildren: Adam, Natalie, William and Amelia.

Contributions in his name may be made to Capital Hospice or the Parkinson Research Foundation.



R. Smith Simpson, 103, a retired FSO, died on Sept. 5 at a retirement community in Charlottesville, Va.

Robert Smith Simpson was born on Nov. 9, 1906, in what is now Arlington County. He graduated in 1927 from the University of Virginia, where he also received a master's degree three years later. In 1931 he graduated from the Cornell University law school. He also completed all but his dissertation for a doctorate in international affairs at Columbia University.

After serving as a labor policy adviser in the National Recovery Administration during the Depression, Mr. Simpson taught at the University of Pennsylvania from 1935 to 1942. During World War II, he served in the War Shipping Administration and then as a labor expert in the State Department.

In 1945, he joined the Foreign Service, serving in Brussels, Athens, Mexico City, Bombay and Lourenco Marques (the former name for Maputo), where he was consul general. He retired in 1962 as the Foreign Service deputy examiner.

Mr. Simpson is best known for his forceful advocacy of special training for a career in international affairs. Just after retiring, he wrote an article for the November 1962 *Foreign Service Journal*, "Is the Service Ready for the Sixties? Are We Getting Our Share of the Best?" In it, Mr. Simpson reported that during his time as deputy examiner of applicants for the Foreign Service, "the great majority were wholly

unprepared for diplomatic work." He concluded that, apart from problems with the quality of education, the Foreign Service and State Department had lost its edge in terms of attracting the best graduates and would therefore have to devote attention and resources to communicating with the educational establishment and the general public.

In addition to articles in professional journals, Mr. Simpson wrote a book, *Anatomy of the State Department* (Beacon, 1968), further discussing how aspirants to a career in diplomacy should be trained, assigned and promoted.

During the mid-1970s, Mr. Simpson began a collaboration with Peter F. Krogh, a former State Department official who became dean of the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University in 1970. The result was the School of Foreign Service's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, which focuses on diplomatic practice rather than just on foreign policy. Mr. Simpson taught night classes at Georgetown University for many years. In 1992, he moved to Charlottesville.

His wife, Henriette Lanniée, whom he married in 1934, died in 2007.

Mr. Simpson is survived by two daughters, Margaret Maurin Stunkard of Bryn Mawr, Pa., and Zelia Broyles of Vinton, Va.; three granddaughters; and five great-grandchildren.



Arthur David Weininger, 90, a former FSO, died on Dec. 1, 2009, in Rye Brook, N.Y.

Mr. Weininger was born in New York on June 9, 1920, the son of Betty Singer Weininger and Sigmund Wein-

inger, Jewish immigrants from Romania. He graduated from DeWitt Clinton High School in the Bronx in 1937. Following graduation from The College of the City of New York in 1941, he enlisted in the United States Army, where he was selected to study Japanese at Yale University. He was later sent to Calcutta and Shanghai, where he prepared for the invasion of Japan.

After the war, Mr. Weininger returned to New York. He married Annette Rose Shor on June 21, 1947. Their honeymoon was cut short by Mr. Weininger's appointment to the Foreign Service and his immediate assignment to Washington, D.C.

He was sent to The Hague that September, where he was assigned to the political section and worked on the Marshall Plan. He returned to Washington in 1949, and thereafter served in Mexico City from 1951 until 1954. He then transferred to Madrid, where he served until resigning from the Foreign Service in 1955.

Mr. Weininger was then employed as a stockbroker for Merrill Lynch in New York, retiring as a vice president in 1982.

Mr. Weininger was an avid reader of history and literature. He and his wife loved to travel by car throughout the United States and enjoyed returning to Europe for visits.

Mr. Weininger is survived by his wife, Annette, of Rye; their three children, Robert Weininger (and his wife, Nancy) of Phoenix, Ariz., William Weininger (and his wife, Ellen) of White Plains, N.Y., and Ilene Jaroslaw (and her husband, David) of Brooklyn, N.Y.; and eight grandchildren. ■

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ONLINE HIGH SCHOOL COURSES

THE GROWING NUMBER AND SOPHISTICATION OF ONLINE COURSE OFFERINGS FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS MAKE THEM AN IMPORTANT NEW RESOURCE FOR FS FAMILIES.

BY KRISTI STREIFFERT

By the time they get to high school, Foreign Service teenagers have become some of the most resourceful people in the world. But even they can get discouraged by the enormous educational challenges they may face. Fortunately, FS families now benefit from technological advances that can help overcome many of the difficulties.

An array of educational issues confront teens in FS families. They have to deal with inconsistency in curricula due to frequent moves. And, despite the recognized advantages of overseas education, some international schools underperform compared to their American counterparts, and most have limited class offerings compared to large U.S. high schools.

Online classes can help solve those problems, and students don't even have to leave their international schools, activities and friends to take advantage of them. They can take individual classes online and receive credit from their schools (or at least receive transcripts to present to colleges).

The Linderman family, posted to Guayaquil used an online computer course to overcome a common logistical problem for FS families. "Our son was trying to take two routine courses that happened to be offered during the same period and at no other time in our small school," Patricia Linderman reports. He wanted to take Advanced Placement biology, but it conflicted with the schedule for a school-required computer course. So instead he took the biology class from the University of Nebraska Independent

Study High School. She notes that they would not have faced this problem at their large high school back in Virginia.

And FSO Marlene Nice's daughter, Andi, would have been unable to continue her Spanish studies in Zagreb without the online Spanish 4 course from the University of Nebraska during her sophomore year in high school. FS students often find it difficult to continue with languages when they move from one part of the globe to another, so such courses are among the most popular selection for online classes.

Part-time online high school class offerings have recently reached a new level of availability and sophistication, allowing FS families to jump in and realize immediate benefits:

- Specialized online teachers are now trained and confident in using technology to teach at a distance.
- Online educational services are accustomed to serving students all over the globe.
- Advances in the way classes are delivered have made them flexible, interesting and interactive.
- The U.S. system of regional accreditation is being extended to online programs, helping to bring them into the mainstream and enforce standards.
- Partnerships between online and brick-and-mortar schools are making it easier to take advantage of Internet-based opportunities.

Meeting FS Teens' Needs

Online classes offer the great gift of flexibility, both in pacing and timing. Some FS high school students miss out on summer school classes because of various travel constraints — moving, home leave, rest and recreation, or family travel may limit their ability to participate in either

Kristi Streiffert, a Foreign Service spouse, is a freelance writer from Durango, Colo. She writes about business, education, the environment and travel.

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***An array of educational
issues confront teens in
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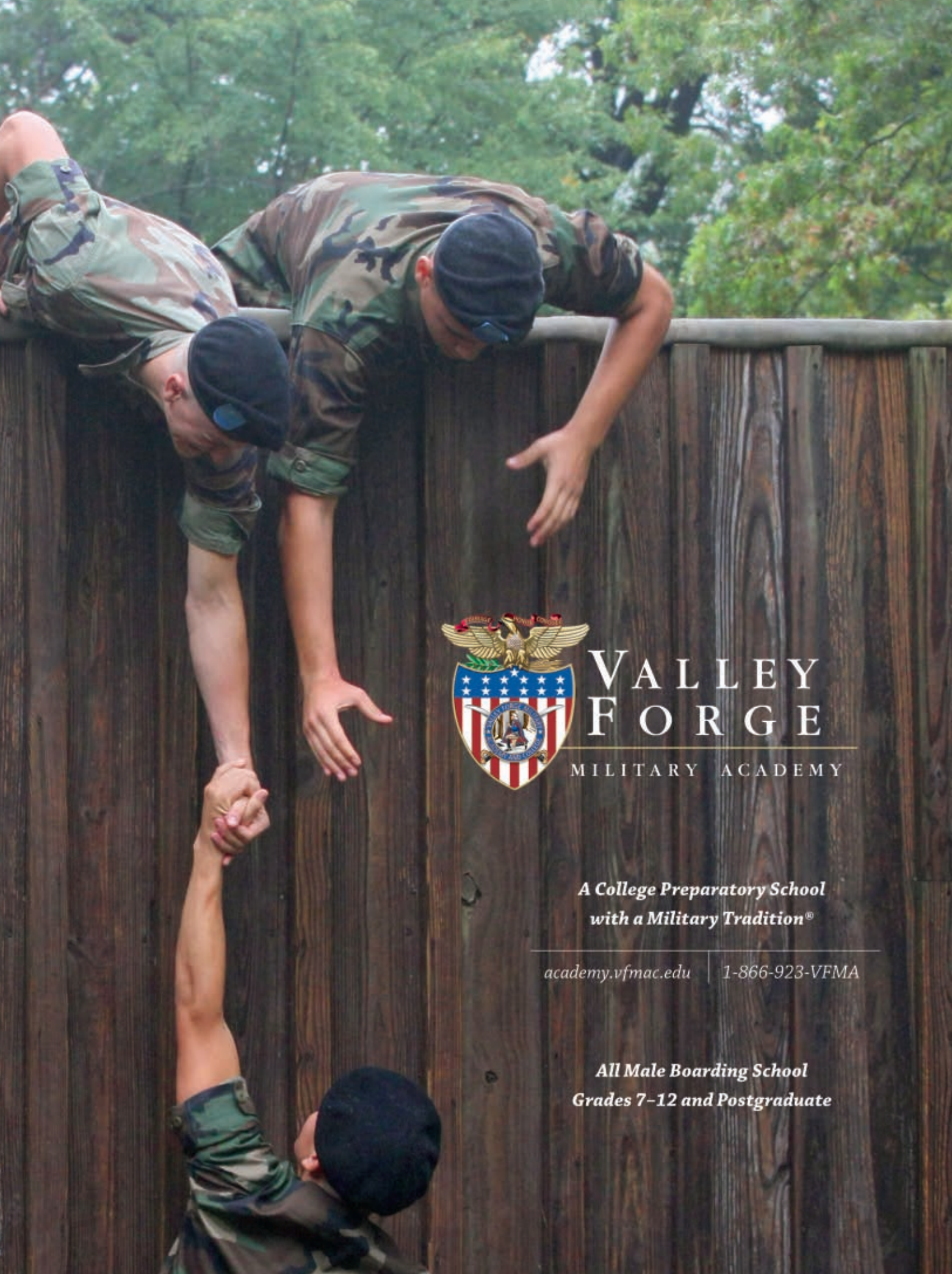
a catch-up class or a special-interest class.

During the regular school year, students with learning differences (dyslexia, attention deficit disorder or even being gifted) or special situations (raising their own children, participating in elite-level sports, dealing with difficult medical conditions) may not be able to adhere to the school's day-to-day schedule. Though these situations can happen to any teen, those who live at posts abroad find them even more challenging.

Online courses can meet other needs, too, says Julie Linn, director of international business development for K¹² International Academy, a private online school that offers a complete and nationally accredited high school program. "A ninth-grader working at a sixth-grade math level (but ninth-grade level in everything else), may feel more comfortable, and therefore be more productive, taking a lower-level math class online," she explains.

Numerous online schools offer classes at various levels. K¹², for example, offers four versions of the core courses: basic (for a struggling student), comprehensive (for an average student), honors and Advanced Placement.

Some exceptionally motivated students may not be sufficiently challenged in international schools, where many of their fellow students are struggling with just learning the basics in a second (or additional) language, for instance. Through online learning, students can access rigorous courses taught by native English speakers. In addition, overseas schools



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sometimes do not allow advanced students to take higher-level courses than their age cohort. Students who encounter this problem could choose to advance online.

Teenagers with special interests such as business, art or technology often do not have an opportunity at overseas posts to pursue these fields academically. "Our school is for students who have a knack for technology or business, and our certified teachers are highly experienced and passionate about technology. Students can attend either on a full-time or a part-time basis," says Cathy Shoaf, vice president of marketing at Giant Campus Academy.

A growing selection of courses gives FS kids opportunities to pursue passions. Liz Pape, the president and chief executive officer of Virtual High School, says that VHS courses enable international students to get

*Advances in the way
classes are delivered
have made them flexible,
interesting and
interactive.*


their feet wet in an intended college major, for instance.

"A student who has an interest in marketing could take our 'Marketing and the Internet' course or an entrepreneurship course," she says. "This also [might] help students to avoid wasting years on a major that doesn't end up being a fit."

**Partnerships:
A New Dimension**

Perhaps the most exciting new development in education for FS teens is the direct partnership between numerous international schools and online education providers, a way for overseas schools to enhance the variety and depth of classes they can offer. "K¹² started this about two years ago after visiting with American embassy students in India, where we picked up on a need for students to have extended course options," says Julie Linn. "Today we have partnerships with 40 schools, resulting in 600 course enrollments."

VHS also partners with 42 schools in 33 countries, says Pape, "to supplement in-person courses with online AP, enrichment and core courses." VHS has 464 enrollments from those international schools for this school year, she adds.



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The International Baccalaureate program has been slow in producing online versions of its highly regarded and very rigorous courses. But students attending an IB World School — one of the more than 3,000 schools in 139 countries that have IB programs — now have the option of taking limited online courses. (For a list of IB World Schools, see www.ibo.org/school/search/index.cfm?nextStart=2.)

In a related development, many American public school systems are now contracting with online schools like K¹² and VHS to provide options for their students. Families whose children have been in a school system in the U.S. and want to stay with that school system even after being posted abroad may be able to do so by taking full-time online courses.

A phone call to the school about residency requirements may even

Teenagers with special interests such as business, art or technology often do not have an opportunity at overseas posts to pursue these fields academically.

awaken a school system to the need for this service. Julie Linn says K¹² would be happy to work with Foreign Service families who want to stay within their public school system (for


the 32 states that K¹² serves). She adds that if the particular U.S. school system doesn't allow free attendance from overseas, the education allowance would cover the charge levied for this service.

What Are the Classes Like?

What does a typical online class entail? Only a few years ago, classes were primarily text-based. Teenagers often felt like FS teen Mazel Fernandez, who took math and science online while she was attending the International School in Iceland. "Online courses were okay, but they were just text and not really helpful. It didn't really have the feel of 'learning;' it was just reading. [So] I didn't really like it," she says. She also points to the lack of social interaction as a negative factor.


Though some online classes may still lack interactivity, typical online

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courses are now more collaborative and varied due to better technology and savvy curricula. Some courses are purely asynchronous — students work according to their own schedule and interact with their teacher and classmates via e-mail and message boards. Others require students to log in at a particular time for live presentation of a lesson, which may be followed by an online discussion.

Amy Valentine, global development manager for K¹², says that most classes feature both an online component and an offline component. Online, students frequently view video clips, listen to audio recordings, use multimedia tools and engage in video gaming with an avatar. Some of the text may be dictated to them, and they take engaging quizzes to check for mastery, she explains. Offline, they will have to write essays to demonstrate the ability to develop

Perhaps the most exciting new development in education for FS teens is the direct partnership between international schools and online education providers.

ideas, and prepare charts and written assessments.

Other features may include lab activities, collaboration with other students on a group project and live sessions, with the teacher using

screen-sharing technology to facilitate interaction among students. “The courses are designed to promote rich student-teacher and student-student interaction,” says Julie Linn.

Caseloads are similar to brick-and-mortar schools — class sizes average 200 students. But because the content is already established and electronically delivered, teachers can focus much of their time on communicating with students, assessing student work, providing individual feedback and offering live office hours, Linn explains.

Getting Started

Once a family and student decide that online classes are a good idea, they need to choose a provider. “Choose your online provider with care,” Dr. Jeff Keller, superintendent

Continued on page 86



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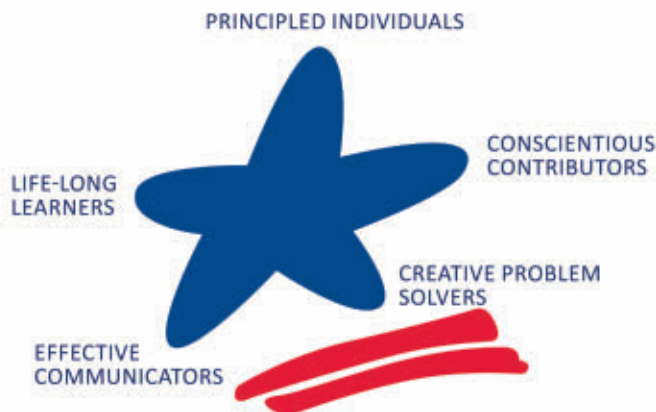
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SCHOOLS AT A GLANCE

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ELEMENTARY/JUNIOR HIGH

Fay School	90	450	50/50	25	17	PK-9	Y	N	25	Y	Y	N	47,550
Hampshire Country School	97	25	All boys	100	NA	3-12	N	Y	65	NA	N	N	45,500
Langley School, The	94	498	50/50	NA	NA	PS-8	Y	N	15	NA	NA	NA	13,440-26,940

ELEMENTARY/JUNIOR HIGH/SENIOR HIGH

St. Andrew's Episcopal School	92	527	56/44	NA	3	PS-12	N	Limited	25	Y	NA	NA	Varies
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JUNIOR HIGH

Cardigan Mountain School	78	200	All boys	90	40	6-9	Y	Limited	130	Y	Y	Y ¹	44,100
North Country School	94	92	53/47	88	23	4-9	Y	Y	125	N	Y/N	N	50,750

JUNIOR/SENIOR HIGH

Grier School	81	246	All girls	95	45	7-12	Y	Y	120	Y	Y	Y	44,500
Shattuck - St. Mary's School	93	438	61/39	75	26	6-12, PG	Y	Limited	18	Y	Y	N	38,450
Stoneleigh-Burnham School	88	140	All girls	70	40	7-12, PG	Y	Limited	68	Y	Y	N	46,180
Thomas Jefferson School	87	89	50/50	60	28	7-12, PG	Y	N	12	Y	Y	N	36,500
Valley Forge Military Academy	75	300	All boys	99	20	7-12, PG	Y	Limited	15	Y	e-mail	Y	38,290

SENIOR HIGH

Darrow School	76	110	55/45	80	25	9-12	Y	Y	40	Y	Y	N	45,600 ²
Fenster School	95	23	61/39	96	14	9-12, PG	Y	Y	20	Y	Y	Y ¹	34,500
Hebron Academy	93	223	63/37	73	28	9-12, PG	Y	Y	45	Y	Y	Y	46,195
Interlochen Arts Academy	80	475	40/60	89	18	9-12, PG	N	N	16	Y	Y	N	44,750
Oakwood Friends School	77	170	55/45	45	20	9-12	Y	Y	35	Y	Y	N	39,000
Olney Friends School	96	65	50/50	90	41	9-12	Y	Limited	100	Y	N	N	27,800
Oregon Episcopal School	98	314	50/50	18	15	9-12	Y	Limited	20	Y	Y	Y	42,200
Purnell School	93	110	All girls	98	10	9-12	Y	Y	35	Y	Y	N	49,182
Putney School, The	78	220	44/56	77	18	9-12, PG	N	Y	95	Y	phone	Y	28,700-44,000
St. Mark's School	91	340	55/45	80	18	9-12	Y	N	30	Y	Y	N	45,100
Storm King School, The	92	135	55/45	75	45	8-12	Y	Y	60	Y	Y	N	38,600
Verde Valley School	92	123	49/51	84	47	9-12	Y	Limited	120	Y	Y	Y	41,400
Wasatch Academy	95	250	55/45	85	45	8-12	Y	Y	100	Y	Y	Y	41,400
White Mountain School, The	89	100	50/50	80	30	9-12, PG	Y	Y	110	Y	Y	Y	43,600

SPECIAL NEEDS

Benedictine School, The	98	92	73/27	85	5	Ages 5-21	NA	Y	60	Y	Y	N	Call
Brehm School	82	91	71/29	89	11	6-12	N	Y	118	Y	Y	N	61,900
Chapel Haven	80	250	60/40	60	10	18 years + older	N	Y	50	Y	Y	Y	58,000-84,000
Gow School, The	86	136	All boys	100	27	7-12, PG	N	Y	20	Y	Y	N	52,075
Landmark School	96	449	60/40	36	1	2-12	N	Y	25	N	Y	N	45,000-59,000

OTHER

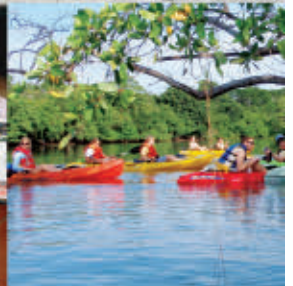
Family Liaison Office/Education Office	Page 24	Information and resources for Foreign Service families. www.state.gov/m/dghr/flo/c1958.htm
Foreign Service Youth Foundation	Page 27	A support network for U.S. For Foreign Service Youth worldwide. Go to www.fsfy.org

Notes: ¹Homestay Arranged. ²Tutorial program additional



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SCHOOLS AT A GLANCE

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CONTINUED FROM PAGE 83

MILITARY

Marine Military Academy	79	300	All boys	100	18	8-12, PG	N	Limited	1	Y	Y	N	33,000
Massanutten Military Academy	97	175	75/25	96	8-12	7-12, PG	N	Y	82	Y	Y	N	25,200

OVERSEAS

American School of Quito	90	2,116	49/51	NA	2.7	PK-12	NA	Y	5.7	Y	NA	NA	5,670-8,650
Berlin Brandenburg International School	77	230	50/50	10	65	9-12	N	Y	25	Y	Y	N	42,000 ¹
Carlucci American International School of Lisbon	81	540	50/50	NA	50	PK-12	N	Limited	22	Y	NA	NA	7,064-16,480
Country Day School, Guanacaste	84	150	50/50	15	80	PK-12	N	N	40	Y	Y	N	29,320
Escuela Campo Alegre	88	580	50/50	NA	80	N-12	NA	Limited	20	Y	NA	N	20,492
International School of Berne	92	250	57/43	NA	93	PK-12	N	NA	NA	Y	NA	NA	15,106-29,953 ³
Jakarta International School	72	2,400	50/50	NA	77	K-12	NA	Limited	30	Y	N	N	6,900-20,900
John F. Kennedy International School	96	75	50/50	30	70	K-8	N	Limited	90	Y	Y	N	30,000-53,500
Leysin American School in Switzerland	79	385	48/52	100	75	8-12, PG	Y	Limited	75	Y	Y	N	45,000
PTSI International School	87	400	55/45	27	71	K-12	N	N	15	Y	Y	N	26,000
St John's International School	89	905	50/50	NA	NA	PK-13	Y	Y	5	NA	NA	NA	9,000-32,000
St. Stephen's School	96	250	46/54	16	67	9-12, PG	N	N	12	NA	Y	N	41,030 ¹
TASIS The American School in England	91	730	50/50	25	41	PK-12	Y	Limited	8	Y	Y	N	48,000 ¹

POST-SECONDARY

Bard College at Simon's Rock	102	425	40/60	100	7	A.A., B.A.	N	Limited	70	Y	Y	Limited	53,982
Bryant University	103	3,606	59/41	85	6	B.A., M.A.	N	Y	18	Y	Y	Y	45,248
St. Mary's University	104	3,893	40/60	55	3.1	B.A., M.A., Ph.D.	NA	Y	13	Y	Y	N	32,800

DISTANCE LEARNING

American Public University	101	72,000	70/30	NA	1	A.A., B.A., M.A.	N	Y	NA	N	NA	Y	750-900 ²
Liberty University Online Academy	99	50,000	49/51	NA	3	3-12 ⁵	N	N	NA	NA	NA	NA	2,475-3,150
EPGY Online High School at Stanford University	74	296	55/45	NA	13.2	7-12	N	NA	20	Y	NA	NA	2,950-14,000 ⁴
Texas Tech University	102	K-12 and accredited HS diploma; Bachelor's through graduate programs. Visit http://www.de.ttu.edu											
University of Missouri - Ctr Distance & Ind. Study	87	Online learning: Grade 3 through university. Accredited HS diploma. Bachelor's degree completion. www.cdis.missouri.edu/global											
Walden University	100	Walden University serves the higher education needs of working professionals through online advanced degrees.											

Notes: ¹Dollar value is subject to exchange rate. ² 750 per 3 credits, 900 per 3 grad credits. ³ Depending on age. ⁴ Financial aid available. ⁵ Dual enroll/Coll & HS.

Continued from page 80

at the American School Foundation of Monterrey, advises. "Not all online providers are created equal." Keller adds, "The program we use (K¹²) is also accredited in the U.S., so credits earned from the online courses do count toward graduation requirements."

Experienced Foreign Service parents know that the best international schools meet stringent standards to receive accreditation from one of several regionally based accreditation boards in the United States. Many online schools receive the same regional accreditation, as well as accreditation by their home state. Accreditation matters in assuring quality and transferability of credits from high school to high school, as well as their recognition during the college admission process.

Academic integrity presents challenges for both traditional schools

"Choose your online provider with care,"
Dr. Jeff Keller, superintendent at the American School Foundation of Monterrey, advises.

and online classes. Dr. Doug Barnard, director of the Mesa Distance Learning Program, says: "We've been doing this for 11 years. I've learned that academic integrity is a big issue. Many programs are wide-open for students to cheat. We have several electronic ways to catch people not

being honest. The big question is: How do you know the person taking the final exam is the same person who did the work?"

Like the Mesa Distance Learning Program, the University of Nebraska uses proctors to ensure integrity. Proctors are required for closed-book tests. Family members cannot serve in that capacity, but teachers, counselors, administrators, head librarians and embassy or consulate officials can.

A teacher's knowledge of his or her students is another way to enforce honesty. "I was committed to knowing my students, knowing their performance abilities and the quality of work they present, and reviewing their work during the week, which helps ensure their integrity," says K¹²'s Amy Valentine, who was an online teacher for sever-

Continued on page 90

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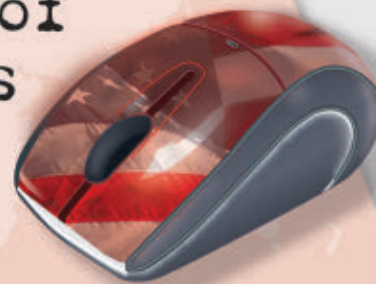


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Is Distance Learning Right for Troubled Teens?

We all know that the teen years can be tumultuous. For Foreign Service families, helping students who have gotten off track can be a very frightening challenge. When students are failing classes, making bad choices in terms of friends, drugs or alcohol, or becoming depressed or anorexic, their futures are at stake. In these worst-case scenarios, signing up for distance learning classes, hoping the student will catch up with their requirements, probably should not be a first response.

Instead, experts recommend that parents first seek professional help, sooner rather than later. Intervene before the situation reaches a crisis point. "The one mistake I see parents make is waiting too long to reach out for help and take definitive actions to assist their student," says Rebecca Grappo, a certified educational planner and founder of RNG International Educational Consultants, LLC. Make an early call to the Family Liaison Office or the Employee Consultation Services (www.state.gov/m/dghr/flo/c23134.htm) and ask for a list of educational consultants who work with struggling teens.

"Keeping up with school while struggling with serious problems requires a great deal of commitment and professional expertise," says Grappo. While distance learning may well be part of a therapeutic plan, she adds, don't try to go it alone.

— Kristi Streiffert

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Continued from page 86

al years. “If a student turned in an exam that went way beyond [his or her] ability, I knew it.”

How to Succeed

Success in online classes requires more motivation and independence, plus better organizational skills than an in-person school class. Karen Bingham, a high school history and social studies online teacher with K12, says: “Never be afraid to reach out. As a matter of fact, many students, I found, are likely to share more of themselves — their values, opinions, thoughts — online than if they were sitting in a classroom among their peers. This can be particularly helpful for shy students or those new to a school, who would normally quietly watch from a distance.”

Christopher Brown, the high school principal at Country Day
Continued on page 94

Starting Points

Here are a variety of online high school programs you might want to consider:

University of Nebraska Independent Study High School
<http://highschool.unl.edu/>

The Education Program for Gifted Youth (EPGY) at Stanford University
<http://epgy.stanford.edu/>

K12 International Academy
www.k12.com/schools-programs/online-private-school/

Mesa Distance Learning Program, Mesa Public Schools
www.mdlp.org/

Virtual High School
www.govhs.org/

Online Resource:

Center for Talented Youth at the Johns Hopkins University
<http://cty.jhu.edu/>

A Parents Guide to Choosing the Right Online Program
www.inacol.org/research/promising-practices/INACOL_ParentsGuide.pdf

Giant Campus Academy
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www.giantcampusacademy.com/

— Kristi Streiffert



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Continued from page 90

Online Education Costs

Class prices average about \$400 per semester. In some cases, classes can be paid for with the Supplemental Education Allowance. Check the State Department Web pages on educational allowances and call the Office of Overseas Schools and Family Liaison Office to see if you can tap into these funds. Be sure to coordinate with your finance officer at post before making any final decisions.

— Kristi Streiffert

School in Costa Rica, offers three suggestions for success: “Develop a disciplined schedule for yourself. Ask yourself many questions while taking a course, and have a purpose in taking a course.”

Many online schools receive the same regional accreditation as brick-and-mortar schools, as well as accreditation by their home state.

K¹² teacher Lisa Chaput notes that “while this is an independent experience, there is still full teacher support, so no student is on their own.” The independent part of the experience is that the students can ponder a topic longer if they like,

Chaput explains. Also, they can regulate how they spend their time studying during the day rather than following a bell schedule. But, she stresses, teachers hold live classes frequently, have study halls daily and are always there for support by e-mail, instant messaging or phone if the students need help.

The skills acquired through living overseas and moving frequently, such as independence, focus and resourcefulness, often make FS teens successful online students. This bodes well for their future success in higher education and the workplace, too, where online training is becoming very common. As Chaput says, “The age that we are living in requires that students be able to work in an online environment. Those who are successful will have developed a skill set that is invaluable and will help them excel in and out of the virtual world.” ■

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RANKING COLLEGE RANKINGS: A HANDY GUIDE

BY MOHAMMAD ALHINNAWI


Given the vast number of colleges and universities in the United States and the importance of higher education, parents and students have long sought resources that can help them choose a school that fits their needs. This is especially true for parents working abroad who cannot easily visit prospective schools.

A variety of private organizations are trying to meet this need by providing college rankings that evaluate schools on many different criteria, including graduation rates, financial aid and prestige. Here is an overview of the most well-known college rankings covering U.S. and world universities, as well as a brief guide to pursuing a degree online.

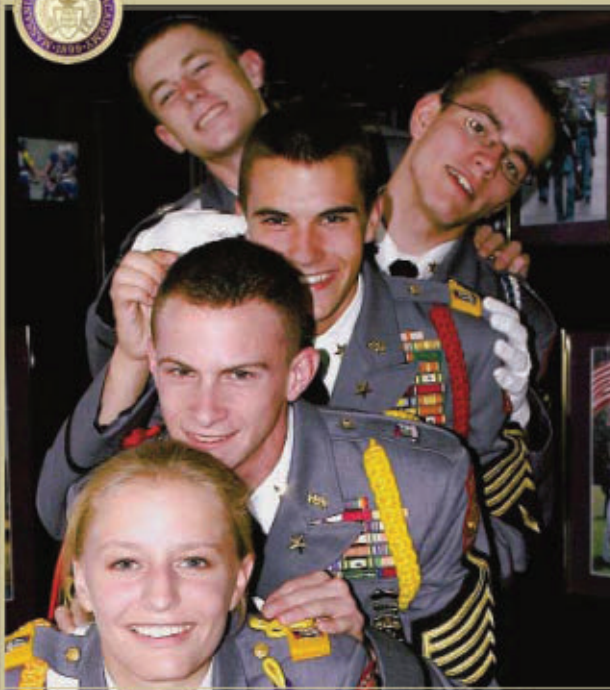
American Universities

The most popular college rankings are compiled by *U.S. News & World Report* (www.usnews.com/rankings), which releases a special issue every summer dedicated to the topic. The magazine ranks national universities and liberal arts colleges based on the SAT scores of incoming students, student-to-faculty ratios and research output, among other factors.

Although the vast majority of universities participate in the rankings by providing data on their students and spending — mostly for the extra visibility — these same universities have consistently criticized the *U.S. News* rankings for having a faulty methodology, which hurts lesser-known schools (usually buried deeper in the rankings) and can have perverse effects.



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*“Rankings and guides are
best used, if you’re going
to use them — at the
beginning, when you’re
starting your college
search.”*

— Tom Nichols,
assistant director of admissions
at the University of Richmond

The rankings certainly have their uses. For instance, the previously obscure George Mason University received a huge spike in interest and donations after *U.S. News* named it the top “up and coming school” in the country. But critics point out that many schools focus on making changes designed to boost their place on the *U.S. News* list rather than improving student education.

Bill Briggs of MSNBC reports that Clemson University in South Carolina artificially inflated faculty salaries and fudged class-size stats to move up in the *U.S. News* rankings (“Backlash Builds Against College Rankings,” August 2010).

Newsweek’s college rankings (www.education.newsweek.com/choosing-a-school.html) are based on criteria that are similar to *U.S. News & World Report*. But *Newsweek* uses different categories to describe them — like best campus, most diverse or most gay-friendly. Problematically, the *Newsweek* rankings cover a relatively small number of schools, so they are less useful than other assessments.

Other rankings emphasize the student’s perspective. The *Princeton Review’s* rankings (www.princetonreview.com/college-rankings.aspx) are based primarily on interviews with stu-



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dents. Along the same lines, College Prowler (www.collegeprowler.com) features personal evaluations from university students in addition to advice on the college admissions process.

Unique among the pack, *Forbes* (www.forbes.com/lists/2010/94/best-colleges-10_Americas-Best-Colleges_Rank.html) weighs student debt and post-graduation salaries heavily, producing a list of what it considers “best bang for your buck” schools.

A Very Different Approach

One set of college rankings that differs from all of the others is compiled by *Washington Monthly* (www.washingtonmonthly.com/college_guide/toc_2010.php). The magazine rates schools based on “their contribution to the public good in three broad categories: social mobility (recruiting and graduating low-income students), re-

Other rankings emphasize the student’s perspective.

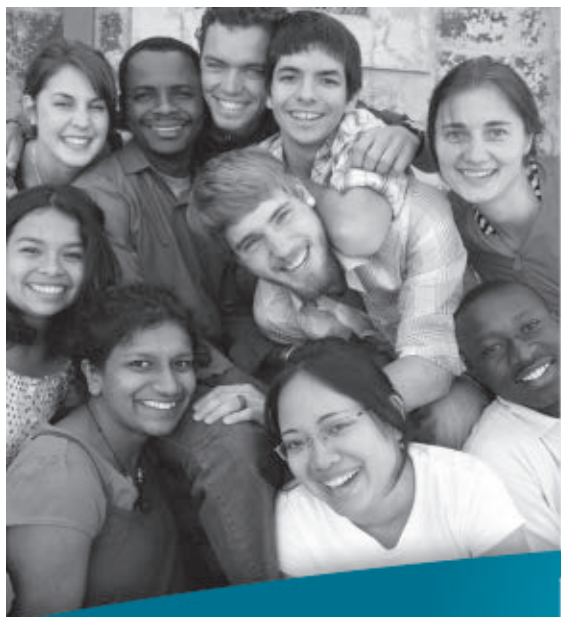
search (producing cutting-edge scholars and conferring doctorates) and service (encouraging students to give something back to their country).” The result emphasizes the social good provided by America’s universities. Interestingly, University of California campuses have consistently taken the top three spots.

With all the different lists and assessments of American schools, how should you use the rankings? Tom

Nicholas, assistant director of admissions for the University of Richmond, gives this advice on the university’s “Admissions Blog”:

Different college rankings and guidebooks can serve as a great introduction to a range of colleges and universities. They can give you the opportunity to encounter schools you might not otherwise consider, as well as quickly learn the basics about a lot of excellent schools (student body size, public/private, urban/rural, etc.) And this is where, in my opinion, rankings and guides are best used, if you’re going to use them — at the beginning, when you’re starting your college search.

[However] they probably should not be consulted extensively in making decisions about where to apply and enroll; rather, you should rely on your own criteria, experiences and feelings to make those choices.



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The International Scene

In the past few years, three prominent international guides to university quality have emerged. The first, put together by the Shanghai Jiao Tong University, is called the *Academic Ranking of World Universities* (www.arwu.org/ARWU2010.jsp). All international university rankings have a heavy bias toward larger schools, but ARWU especially favors those with strong science programs; 20 percent of its ranking of a school is based on the number of staff winning Nobel Prizes in Medicine, Chemistry, Physics and Economics (as well as Fields Medals awarded for achievement in Mathematics).

The *Times Higher Education Supplement* (www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/world-university-rankings/2010-2011/top-200.html) assembles the world's "Top 200" universities in one list based heavily on each school's

*A dramatically
different set of rankings
emphasizes the social
good provided by
America's colleges
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research volume and citations (representing 62 percent of the total score).

Finally, QS (www.topuniversities.com/university-rankings/world-university-rankings/2010/results) selects the world's top 100 universities on the basis of academic reputation, which it

calculates by soliciting peer reviews from university professors.

In a broad sense, the three surveys delineate a fairly similar picture. U.S. schools, both private and public, dominate the list overall, especially in the top 20 where they are mostly unchallenged, except for Oxford University and Cambridge University in the United Kingdom. The University of Hong Kong and the University of Tokyo usually crack the list in the top 25, and Japan has by far the highest number of entries among Asian countries in the top 100.

Even more interesting than who makes the list is who doesn't. For starters, some major regions of the world do not have a single elite university to represent them. Not a single Latin American country has a school in the top 100 worldwide, while South Africa's University of Cape Town is number 107 in the *Times* survey and

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the only African entry. And the Middle East has just one entry in the top 100: the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, ranked at number 72 by ARWU.

Canada, Australia, Germany, France and the smaller Western European countries make some respectable showings in the top 50, but Russia's only school in the top 100 is Moscow State University (74 in ARWU and 93 in the QS rankings).

The gaps between the developed and developing world are evidently still quite large. China has only one school that usually ranks in the top 50 (Peking University), and Asia's other giant — India — does not even crack ARWU's top 300 list.

Online Education

Online education has taken off as more schools create programs to attract students who cannot attend traditional courses. For example, Boston University has a full online program

that awards bachelors and masters degrees. Still, such an extensive online offering by a traditional school is relatively uncommon, since most online education is provided by newer for-profit universities.

In "Online Universities: Five Tips Before You Pursue a Degree," published in the October 2010 *U.S. News & World Report*, Brian Burnsed offers the following advice for students considering online education. The first step is to check that an online university is accredited by searching the Department of Education's database of accredited schools. This is important not only to ensure that the school is reputable, but also to make sure that credits earned there can be transferred to another institution.

The second step is to talk with students and alumni of online universities through social networks like Facebook, since they can offer a first-hand account of the online program's quality. Burnsed says that prospective stu-

dents should also talk to employers in their field of interest to see if they are receptive to applicants with online degrees.

The next step is to examine a school's loan default and payment rates, because according to Burnsed, "A high default rate or low repayment rate should generally raise red flags."

Finally, Burnsed recommends looking at student services provided outside the classroom, like academic and financial aid, advising and career counseling. ■

Mohammad Alhinawi is the Journal's editorial intern. A recent UCLA graduate, he plans to pursue a career in foreign affairs.

Handy Rankings Links

U.S. News & World Report
www.usnews.com/rankings

Newsweek
www.education.newsweek.com/choosing-a-school.html

Princeton Review
www.princetonreview.com/college-rankings.aspx

College Prowler
www.collegeprowler.com

Forbes
www.forbes.com/lists/2010/94/best-colleges-10_Americas-Best-Colleges_Rank.html

Washington Monthly
www.washingtonmonthly.com/college_guide/toc_2010.php

Academic Ranking of World Universities
www.arwu.org/ARWU2010.jsp


Times Higher Education Supplement
www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/world-university-rankings/2010-2011/top-200.html

QS
www.topuniversities.com/university-rankings/world-university-rankings/2010/results

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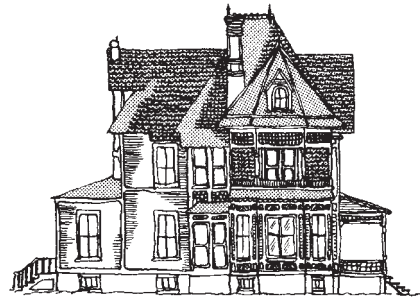
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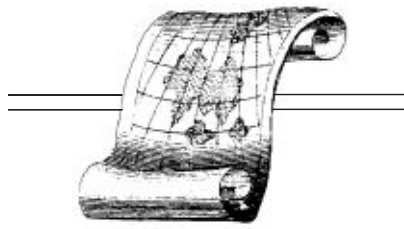
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Working in a Multilateral Environment: A Different Feel

BY ROSEMARY MOTISI

Working as an Office Management Specialist in a multilateral setting, I am reminded daily of why I joined the Foreign Service in 2005. I have always been keenly interested in foreign affairs, and this position has afforded me a bird's-eye view of the inner workings of our own government, as well as those of other nations. I am also privy to our interactions with the United Nations, as well as other important international organizations, many of which are headquartered here in Geneva.

The issues that are on the table here are large in scope and generally covered widely by the press. Moreover, they are often of interest to our less-foreign-affairs-oriented friends and family back in the United States — and that has been one of the most meaningful parts of this experience for me personally.

Although I was interested in, and quite satisfied with, my work in both my former posts — Conakry and Oslo — our mission in each was under the radar from the perspective of our family and friends in Colorado. For instance, while we were posted in Conakry, civil “disturbances” verging on riots rocked Guinea, but the all-consuming news at the time in the typical mainstream American media concerned the tragic death of a celebrity blonde in a foreign island paradise.

How much nicer to be able to share with them that we are witnesses to the New START Treaty process! Even if

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our Stateside group is not that familiar with the negotiations, at least they have heard of the Obama administration's nuclear nonproliferation efforts.

In just about every performance review I have had during my FS career, the phrase “in this busy office” appears. Here in Geneva, that is no exaggeration. Due to a staffing gap in the front office, I spent the first several months answering the chargé d'affaires' phone. Although I did not keep track, I would guess that in my first two weeks here I spoke to more ambassadors or their assistants than I had during my previous four years in the Foreign Service. The inquiries were constant, and the requests for appointments with, and invitations to, the chargé were nonstop.

The visitors we host run the gamut. A stranger you meet in the hallway might be a high-level guest hosted by one of the four entities housed here in Geneva. On any given day you might share the elevator or be in the cafeteria line with a U.S. ambassador here overseeing a large delegation. Or the

other person might be a new employee detailed to the World Health Organization office a block away.

The unfamiliar face might also belong to a new Foreign Service employee attempting to navigate our maze of six floors, or one of the several interns assigned here each year. Our local staff take care to get to know us, but the constantly changing cast of characters must be a special challenge for them.

Being part of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations in Geneva has broadened my worldview considerably. I am a big proponent of win-win solutions, but have found achieving them to be a much more knotty and hard-fought process in the multilateral world — mostly because there are so many stakeholders.

My appreciation for the sheer complexity of our mission has likewise only increased. And it has been a huge benefit for me to be able to share what we as a nation and a mission are doing here with my social network back home.

Serving in a multilateral environment definitely has a different feel to it — one I heartily recommend. ■

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