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THE MAGAZINE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS



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*Surveying Condoleezza Rice's First Year*

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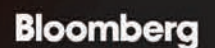
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**CENTER INSERT**

As this issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* went to press, Secretary of State Rice was scheduled to deliver a major speech on Jan. 18 elaborating her vision of "transformational diplomacy" and what it means for the Department of State. For AFSA's response to the Secretary's proposals, please consult the AFSA Web site at [www.afsa.org](http://www.afsa.org).

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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

## *Transformational Diplomacy Takes Shape, but Basic Questions Remain*

By J. ANTHONY HOLMES

"Transformational diplomacy." Secretary Rice's new term penetrated my consciousness last summer. I began trying to find out what it meant upon arriving at AFSA after Labor Day. No one was quite sure. Everyone knew it was important and that the focus was on promoting democracy in the Middle East. Beyond that, though, it seemed quite vague.



Slowly during the fall, various elements of the State Department tried to flesh out the concept. Less observing, analyzing, and reporting; more persuading, advocating, and effecting change. Focus on eliminating poverty, reducing disease, promoting democracy. Where have they been, I wondered? These changes began two decades ago and became mainstream practice after the end of the Cold War. The era of reporting for its own sake died in the early 1990s. "We don't need it; we watch CNN and use the Internet instead." "Economic reform? Let the international financial institutions and private banks analyze that."

At that point, transformational diplomacy seemed just a new name for established practice, raising the question if those promoting it were really in touch with what the Foreign Service has actually been doing overseas the past 20 years. For officers doing political, economic, or public diplomacy

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*J. Anthony Holmes is the president of the American Foreign Service Association.*

work not directly related to democracy promotion, as well as consular and management officers carrying out vital tasks, the concept created major issues of *raison d'être* and angst over whether they were included in the new paradigm. USAID officers, particularly those doing democracy/governance work, wondered if the leaders at State were aware of them. People working at embassies in developed countries and in existing Third World democracies saw themselves relegated to the periph-

*Unless our agenda has the necessary resources behind it, it won't amount to more than empty rhetoric.*

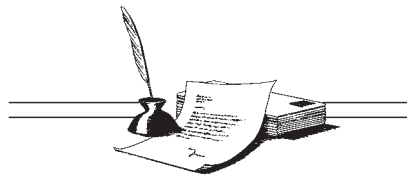
ery of the Secretary's agenda. They've been enlisting support of their host governments for U.S. policies all along. What about all the other important work they do? Given the widely-discussed exercise to review global staffing and shift positions from the European Bureau to large developing and other transitional countries, transformational diplomacy seemed more based on where one works than what one does. Some coherence was needed.

A little-noticed speech by Secretary Rice on Nov. 8, 2005, provided more definition. Key new elements included the shouldering by the U.S. of huge responsibilities for post-conflict recovery and subsequent nationbuilding, much greater focus by embassies on areas outside capital cities, more emphasis on public diplomacy, and a

level of involvement in the day-to-day workings of other governments ("It's kind of hands-on diplomacy") that raises some fundamental issues. Perhaps the three biggest are: How do we get sovereign governments to buy into our agenda and permit this? And, if they do, what are the resource implications and where will the money come from?

Last month I outlined our bleak budgetary outlook. Congress passed a FY 06 international affairs budget that was \$2 billion below the administration's request. The latter's modest proposal for FY 07 reflects acquiescence to the view that these expenditures for the necessary programs, personnel, and operating expenses are NOT central to our national security. Unless our transformational agenda has the necessary resources behind it, it won't amount to much more than empty rhetoric.

Sec. Rice has captured the attention and earned the admiration of many with her new approach. But to succeed she must find a way to reconcile transformational diplomacy with our enduring penchant to try to be a superpower on a shoestring. For it to work, transformational diplomacy must trump the eternal tension between our short-term domestic political imperatives and the inherently long-term nature of the solutions to the problems it is meant to address. But regardless of how this process to define the term and reconcile its inherent tenets with fiscal and policy realities concludes, one thing is clear. The Foreign Service is both central and indispensable to Secretary Rice and her team of appointees in achieving her goals. ■



# LETTERS

## **Baghdad, Paris and Incentives**

Having served briefly in both Afghanistan and Iraq, I read Steve Kashkett's remarks in the November 2005 *AFSA News* ("A Painful Family Quarrel") with interest. For the record, I have not been promoted lately and am currently serving in an assignment that was not even on my bid list — I went largely for the T-shirts. Kashkett appears to be taking a toned-down version of the approach that Louise Crane took when she held the State VP position. I find myself somewhere in the middle of this debate.

Kashkett is right that brief service in war zones should not be a means to rehabilitate an otherwise faltering career, but wrong to argue that service in places like Iraq and Afghanistan should be treated no differently than Paris or London.

To begin with, these "super-hardship" postings are different because the places tend to be understaffed and most people there are in stretch assignments working around the clock. Like it or not, people there will simply be doing more than their peers in more routine assignments, and it will show. The nature of the work will also generally look better to a promotion panel. It is difficult to dress up the delivery of a demarche, however important, so it will read as well as helping form local councils or setting up a ministry. Service in Iraq and Afghanistan is also different because of the simple hardships, the most important of which is the inherent danger that has led to three of our

members being killed. Iraq isn't the only place in the world where one can get killed, of course, but is among the most likely. And the situation will probably get worse before it gets better.

I can't imagine rational people being willing to take these kinds of risks knowing that the rewards are no different than if they had stayed in Paris. As for bidding, ever try making a case for a job from Khandahar with nothing more than a Hotmail account and a Thuraya phone as tools? Remote bidders do need some help, maybe even some preferential treatment, to be competitive with the well-connected folks on the 6th and 7th floors.

Where I would personally like to see AFSA spend its effort is in partnering with the administration to try to help the State Department as an institution adapt to this new environment, rather than just nipping at management's heels along the way. Yes, it was good to lay down markers that three months in Baghdad shouldn't lead to a promotion and a cushy follow-on assignment, but now what? How do we fill the 700 unaccompanied jobs that Kashkett wrote about in his October column? How do we step up to the plate to fill the new Iraqi provincial reconstruction teams, or other Iraq assignments, most of which have no bidders? And most importantly, how do we sustain all this over time, especially given that the well of people willing to go is fast drying up?

A few ideas come to mind to help facilitate our meeting the challenge.

Tacking on a super-hardship assignment at the end of an overseas tour in a way that allows family to stay in place would make such tours more palatable for some, as would allowing families to reside in nearby friendly countries. Also, going back to six-month tours as the norm (with incentives to remain for 12 months), while less operationally effective, is far more sustainable over time. Until recently, it was the standard for peacekeeping missions, even for entire military units. Finally, giving quotas to bureaus would change the current environment, where officers are often punished for volunteering, to one in which management breathes a sigh of relief that its levy has been filled.

This is the kind of dialogue I would like AFSA to have with management: a productive, helpful dialogue about how we step up to this ever-expanding plate.

*Keith W. Mines*  
FSO  
*Embassy Ottawa*

## **Don't Diss DS**

The diatribe against the Bureau of Diplomatic Security by retired FSO Stephen Muller (*Letters*, December 2005) contains numerous errors that propriety insists be corrected. Pay issues aside, Muller's description of a Diplomatic Security Service agent as merely "sitting outside a hotel room" does a grievous disservice to our dedicated corps of agents. They are there to protect the life of the Secretary of State and safeguard the area from unauthorized visitors, crime and ter-



## LETTERS

rorist attacks. If an attack were to occur, the FSOs Mr. Muller speaks of would be expected to do nothing more than take cover. Meanwhile, the agents will be defending the lives of those around them, possibly using deadly force and literally putting their lives on the line.

Mr. Muller's other point is to decry the fact that security has become a major issue in embassy design, location and access, as if this were done arbitrarily in a world free of crime or terror. We operate in a real world where diplomatic missions in Kenya, Tanzania and Saudi Arabia are attacked simply because they are there. DS is charged with providing a safe and secure work environment so that Foreign Service personnel are able to perform their duties, not to keep them from doing so.

Everyone is entitled to his opinion, and Mr. Muller has certainly expressed his. My disappointment lies in AFSA's decision to print a letter which contains nothing positive and libels a dedicated group of professionals.

*James M. Reynolds*  
*Special Agent, Diplomatic*  
*Security Service*  
*Washington, D.C.*

### Honoring Archer Blood

*Journal* readers may remember my "Appreciation" of Archer Blood (December 2004). Blood was consul general in Dhaka from 1970 to 1971, known for sending a series of well-crafted cables to Washington opposing Pakistani atrocities there. The cables resulted in Blood being recalled and his career being temporarily side-tracked.

In the months that followed publication of the Appreciation, other recollections of Blood appeared in the *Journal*. In the April 2005 issue, renowned war correspondent Joe Galloway told how Blood helped him cover the story of what was going on in Bangladesh in 1971. Although Blood himself was under a gag order, he made a room available at the consulate for Galloway to interview Foreign Service Nationals, many of whom stepped forward and related their own personal tales detailing the horrors under way beyond the consulate's walls. Galloway's letter was followed by a letter in the May 2005 issue from Blood's son, Peter, now a senior researcher at the Library of Congress.

Following Archer Blood's death in September 2004, the Liberation War



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## LETTERS

Museum here in Dhaka held a ceremony to commemorate his passing. Ambassador Harry Thomas Jr. delivered a moving speech in which he noted that Blood, too, was a victim of the war (because of the treatment he received under Nixon and Kissinger). But the State Department benefited because Blood's cables effectively established the Dissent Channel.

I have long believed that Embassy Dhaka should do more to recognize Blood's work. Originally, I submitted my Appreciation to the embassy newsletter, but it was rejected on the grounds that it was politically too sensitive to publish. Feeling very much imbued with the spirit of Archer Blood (and not wanting to take "no" for an answer), I submitted my piece to the *FSJ* and was delighted when it was accepted.

My wife, Michelle Jones, who is deputy director of the American Center here, then seized the initiative. With support from Amb. Thomas (before he left Dhaka this past summer), Michelle diligently and doggedly sought approval to have the American Center Library named after Blood. Chargé Judith Chammas and other senior officers here have played a vital role in support of this initiative. I say vital, because the idea was not without its detractors.

Bangladesh won its Liberation War on Dec. 16, 1971. Each year, Victory Week is celebrated with relish here. This year — perhaps for the first time — Americans were able to proudly participate in the weeklong series of events, because on Dec. 13, 2005, the Archer K. Blood American Center Library was dedicated during a ceremony held on a beautiful sunny afternoon on the library's front lawn. The dedication was attended by dozens of former war heroes and senior dignitaries. Archer Blood's

wife, Margaret, his son, Peter, and his daughter, Shireen, were in attendance. It was a wonderful event, one that seemed to help right past wrongs.

The embassy asked me to deliver a lunchtime seminar on Blood. (In some small way, I have become the Blood expert here.) Churlishly, I insisted that the embassy newsletter publish my once-rejected Appreciation before I would agree to participate. They did so without a peep of protest, and I delivered a talk titled "Blood Lines: Writings on Archer K. Blood." Thus, my own small (very small) wrong was righted too.

Infinitely more significantly, Victory Week 2005 was a high point for bilateral relations. Bangladeshis have always quietly and politely resented America's opposition to their independence and the Nixon administration's implicit acquiescence in the genocidal atrocities committed by Pakistan that saw perhaps three million people slaughtered and 10 million flee to India. But this year, by recognizing that Blood was correct and the Nixon administration was wrong, the U.S. has issued something akin to a mea culpa. The people of Bangladesh recognize that and deeply appreciate it. In the current geopolitical environment, these small high points of good-feeling and affection between America and a Muslim democracy like Bangladesh should be noted, dwelled upon and cherished.

Archer Blood's widow and two of his four children spent a hectic but enjoyable few days in Dhaka during Victory Week 2005. In a touching gesture, the embassy allowed the family to stay at the ambassador's residence. On their last evening in Dhaka, they hosted a small reception for Library of Congress staffers. Watching Margaret Blood elegantly host the event that night, with her

characteristic grace and aplomb, I saw she was every inch an ambassador's wife, and I felt quite satisfied that an error had been corrected.

*Douglas Kerr  
Dhaka*

### Standing Up for the Service

Bravo to AFSA President J. Anthony Holmes for his December 2005 column, "The Foreign Service as a Political Foil."

Secretary Rice's response to his request to defend the Service was disappointing. However, since she has taken a leading role in the conduct of foreign relations and has regular opportunities for interaction with the media, perhaps there will yet be opportunities for her to correct the record informally with reporters and other public figures who don't take the time to understand the work of the career service.

Her predecessor's willingness to stand up for the Foreign Service in public forums was among many notable acts of caring about the dedicated people who have served all administrations loyally and well. Such acts distinguished his tenure.

*R.T. (Ted) Curran  
FSO, retired  
Frankfort, Mich.*

### Another First Woman

Thanks for your informative article on women in the Foreign Service ("Breaking Through Diplomacy's Glass Ceiling," October 2005). While a PIT at Embassy Kathmandu from 1991 to 1992, I worked for Ambassador Julia Chang Bloch. Amb. Bloch immigrated to the U.S. from China at the age of 10, and continues to pursue a ground-breaking career in both public and private service.

Although I can't say unequivocally that she was the first Asian-American ambassador, I believe that

she was; certainly Amb. Bloch pre-dates Amb. March Fong Eu, whose service in Micronesia apparently dates from 1994.

Thanks again for the article!

Heather Guimond

FSO

Embassy Kingston

### More for the Book Roundup

I would like to recommend another title for the fine list of books reviewed in your November edition of the *Foreign Service Journal* ("In Their Own Write"). Just after that issue appeared, a new book, *Submerged Rage: The Hidden Grievance* (PublishAmerica), was published. It was written by William Beecher, a personal acquaintance and a longtime national security and diplomatic correspondent for leading American newspapers.

This book will be of particular interest to those who follow Korean affairs. It presents a South Korean view of Korean unification and nuclear disarmament wrapped in an adventure thriller. It is an interesting exposition of a Korean point of view that is presently considerably at odds with that of the United States, and explains in great measure the apparent diversion in the American and Korean approaches to the North. The novel also highlights the impediments that Japan encounters in its efforts to influence the direction of international affairs in the Far East.

*Submerged Rage*, Beecher's second book, will interest all those acquainted with Koreans. Such readers will recognize traits in the fictional characters that we have seen manifested in our own Korean friends and contacts. The book can also serve as an introduction to a complex set of issues and personalities.

Thomas Stern

FSO, retired

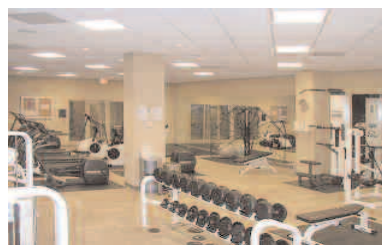
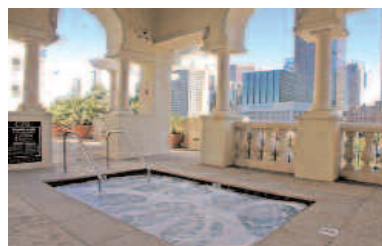
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# CYBERNOTES

## The 'Draft Rice for President' Campaign

In a mid-November poll of "Republicans 2008," Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice trumped Senator John McCain, R-Ariz., for presidential preference by three points — 24 percent to his 21 percent ([www.RasmussenReports.com](http://www.RasmussenReports.com)). Only former New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, who received a 26-percent rating among Republican voters, topped Rice.

It was only one of the more recent incidents in which Rice's name has figured in future electoral calculations. Though she has repeatedly said she is not interested in running for elective office, an active grass-roots "Condi for President" campaign and Web site ([www.Rice2008.com](http://www.Rice2008.com)) has been up and running for some time. Mathew Reid, who founded the effort, says his mission is "to persuade Condi to run for office and to help get her elected."

To some extent the assumption of Hillary Clinton's presidential ambition has fueled the "Draft Rice" campaign. "There is one, and only one, figure in America who can stop Hillary Clinton: Secretary of State Condoleezza 'Condi' Rice. Among all of the possible Republican candidates for president, Condi alone could win the nomination, defeat Hillary, and derail a third Clinton administration," declare Dick Morris and Eileen McGann in their book, *Condi vs. Hillary: The Next Great Presidential Race* (Regan Books, 2005), the first chapter of which was excerpted in the *New York Times* on Christmas Day ([\[times.com/2005/12/25/books/chapters/1225-1st-morris.html\]\(http://times.com/2005/12/25/books/chapters/1225-1st-morris.html\)\).](http://www.ny</a></p></div><div data-bbox=)

Whether a race between these two women is "a very real possibility," as the Morris book claims, is open to question. Should it come about, however, it would certainly be "one of the most fascinating and important races in American history."

## "Model" Development Plan Under Fire in Chad

On Jan. 6, World Bank President Paul D. Wolfowitz announced that all bank aid to Chad was suspended. The move came after Chad's parliament moved to officially weaken controls over the flow of oil revenues that had been a condition for World Bank support for the 650-mile oil pipeline project enabling the landlocked nation to export its oil (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/4588412.stm>).

It was the first serious test of the World Bank president's commitment to fight corruption, and he acted only after hours of discussion with Chad's President Idriss Deby proved fruitless. Wolfowitz emphasized that he hopes continued dialogue will find common ground.

At stake is a model oil revenue management program that was a showcase for the bank's commitment to transparency and poverty-eradication (<http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/200512060077.html>). Under the agreement, only 15 percent of the revenues could be directed to general government coffers. Another 10 percent were to be set aside in a Future Generations Fund for the post-oil era. The rest was to be channeled into priority sectors such as health, education, social services and rural development.

## 50 Years Ago...

Today foreign policy is carried out, or confused, also by contacts with ministries of commerce, finance, industry, interior, education, etc... In many foreign countries today the impact of our military personnel overshadows conventional diplomatic contacts. For most of my service abroad, I have been struck by one recurrent problem — lack of sufficient, trained regular Foreign Service officers ... In Washington one finds that foreign policy is made or influenced in a score of agencies besides the State Department, most of them without any Foreign Service officers at all.

— H.G. Torbert Jr., from "Increased Functions Demand a Larger Service," in Letters to the Editors, *FSJ*, February 1956.





# CYBERNOTES

The pipeline to Kribi, on Cameroon's Atlantic coast, was inaugurated in July 2003. It is fed by some 300 new oil wells at Doba, and currently delivers 225,000 barrels a day, destined for Western countries. According to the World Bank, as of the end of September 2005 Chad had received about \$306 million in oil revenues, \$27.4 million of which had been placed in reserve for the future (<http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/200512200736.html>).

Government officials have accused the World Bank of using Chad's people as guinea pigs to test different types of management. They insist that they want equitable development and peace in Chad, and need the funds to address immediate problems. But local watchdog groups and international NGOs charge that the money will only be used to buy arms to shore up the foundering regime.

Chad ranks 173th among the 177 poorest nations of the world, according to the 2005 U.N. Development Index, and is tied with Bangladesh for the worst corruption rating in the most recent survey by Transparency International ([www.transparency.org](http://www.transparency.org)). Aside from financial woes, the country suffers internal conflict, army desertions, betrayals and the risk of civil war along the border with Sudan's Darfur region.

## World Digital Library on the Drawing Board

On Nov. 22 Library of Congress head James H. Billington announced that Google was the first company to

embrace the LOC's campaign to build a World Digital Library, an online collection of rare books, manuscripts, maps, posters, stamps and other materials from its own holdings and those of other national libraries that would be freely accessible on the Internet. Google contributed \$3 million to the project (<http://www.loc.gov/today/pr/2005/05-250.html>).

"We are aiming for a cooperative undertaking in which each culture can articulate its own cultural identity within a shared global undertaking," Billington told the *Washington Post* Nov. 22. "This is the old dream of better international understanding. The dream is that this could make a contribution, particularly among young people brought up in the multimedia age." The initiative is envisioned as a public-private partnership in collaboration with UNESCO.

"To me, this is about preserving history and making it available to everyone," said Google president and co-founder Sergey Brin, who explained that he and Billington had been discussing the effort for a year. During the year, Google digitized some 5,000 books from the Library as part of a pilot project to refine techniques for making copies of fragile books without damaging them.

Google will only digitize materials from the LOC that are in the public domain and therefore free of copyright restrictions. This ensures that the project is not subject to the kind of legal action being pursued by a group of publishers and authors testing Google's claim that its scanning of

books from the collections of Stanford University, Harvard, Oxford and the New York Public Library is legal and in the public interest.

The World Digital Library initiative is separate from the LOC's already significant footprint on the Internet as the largest library in the world. Its Web site features catalogs of all holdings, periodic exhibitions of rare materials on different topics, a section devoted to "American Memory" and "Global Gateway," a portal to world culture and resources ([www.loc.gov](http://www.loc.gov)).

## New Risks in Life Insurance

According to testimony at the House Financial Services Committee in November, rejections based on travel to countries insurers consider risky is an increasingly common practice in the insurance industry. It is a trend that Foreign Service families will want to keep an eye on.

"Historically, life insurance was life insurance, no matter where you died," J. Robert Hunter, director of insurance for the Consumer Federation of America ([www.consumerfed.org](http://www.consumerfed.org)), told the *Washington Post* on Nov. 20.

But when Rep. Debbie Wasserman-Schultz, D-Fla., a mother of three, decided to boost her life insurance coverage, and applied to the American General Life unit of American International Group, she was denied. On the application, she had checked a box indicating Israel was a place she *might* visit. "We are unable to approve the policy ... because of potential travel to Israel,"

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## CYBERNOTES

AIG stated in its rejection letter. "We will be able to reconsider this decision once you have returned from Israel and there are no future plans to travel to countries of concern."

Other members of the committee agreed with Wasserman-Schultz that the risks involved in such travel did not justify the insurance companies' practice, and added an amendment to the federal Terrorism Risk Insurance Act then under consideration forbidding insurers to deny coverage or charge more on the basis of travel unless they can show that such action is actuarially defensible (<http://financialservices.house.gov/news.aspx?FormMode=release&id=735>). The Senate version of the bill does not contain the amendment, and it is unlikely to find a place in the final legislation.

But insurance regulation is primarily a state subject, and the practice of denying coverage based on travel has already become an issue in some states. Maryland banned the practice in 2005, and New York, California, Illinois and Washington have imposed restrictions.

### U.N. Greets 2006 with New Drive for Reform

U.N. officials greeted the New Year by resolving to act swiftly to enact essential reforms mandated by the world body's September global summit.

At the top of the agenda is establishment of a new Human Rights Council to replace the discredited Human Rights Commission. Negotiators resume talks Jan. 11, and must finish their work by March, when the

### Site of the Month: Words Without Borders

Calling itself the "Online Magazine for International Literature," *Words Without Borders* (<http://www.wordswithoutborders.org>) publishes stories, poems and essays by foreign authors translated into English. The site offers a unique opportunity to learn about a culture's indigenous literature without a language barrier. The translations into English are superb and maintain the authentic voices of the authors. From the simple, collected thoughts typical of China to the energetic and detail-oriented personality of Cuba, culture seeps through the words and infuses prose and poetry alike with the flavors of another world.

*Words Without Borders* gives the reader a rare opportunity to get a non-American perspective on different issues; little of these kinds of works get published in the U.S. through traditional channels. The site allows the reader to search by region or country, an especially helpful tool.

The site also has an Editor's Pick page of books in translation, with well-written reviews and helpful comments. Again, the books chosen represent a variety of ideas and histories from around the world. Additionally, the site offers a free newsletter.

The articles and other features of the site are completely free, though there is an opportunity to become a member and make a donation to keep the service running. Past issues of the magazine are also available.

— Caitlin Stuart, Editorial Intern

commission reconvenes in Geneva. “For the great global public, the performance or nonperformance of the Human Rights Commission has become the litmus test of U.N. renewal,” Mark Malloch Brown, chief of staff to Secretary General Kofi Annan, told the *New York Times* on Jan. 1.

Two other crucial steps toward reform are in place. On Dec. 20 the Security Council and General Assembly established a new Peacebuilding Commission, a body to prevent countries emerging from conflict from falling back into chaos (<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=16990&Cr=reform&Cr1=>). Three days later, U.N. members agreed on a \$3.8 billion budget for the next two years. After intense debate, a cap of \$950 million on spending in 2006 was accepted. The spending cap is tied to implementation of major management reforms by June, many of which stem from the findings of the Volcker Commission report on the manipulation of the Oil-for-Food Program released in October (<http://www.iic-offp.org/story27oct05.htm>).

Secretary-General Kofi Annan has articulated the need for massive reform since his election in 1997 (<http://www.un.org/reform/>). He starts his last year in office with a mandate for fundamental and lasting change in the international organization.

The Rice State Department and U.N. Ambassador John Bolton are actively pressing the case for the new Human Rights Council and management reform (<http://www.un.int/usa/reform-un.htm>). Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations Kristen Silverberg and the department’s adviser on U.N. reform, Ambassador Shirin Tahir-Kheli, have

Nothing in the [Geneva] Conventions [on the treatment of prisoners of war] precludes directed interrogations. They do, however, prohibit torture and humiliation of detainees, whether or not they are deemed POWs. These are standards that are never obsolete — they cut to the heart of how moral people must treat other human beings.

— John McCain, from *Torture: A Human Rights Perspective* (The New Press, 2005), <http://www.villagevoice.com/news/0550,hentoff,70898,6.html>.

toured Latin American and South Asia capitals, and the latter will head to the Middle East in January.

In mid-November, the U.S. called for a fresh start on plans to expand the 15-member U.N. Security Council, another reform item. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice reaffirmed U.S. support for Japan’s bid to become a permanent member of the Security Council during Foreign Minister Taro Aso’s visit to Washington in December. Rice and the Japanese foreign minister agreed that Japan and the U.S. should work together to accomplish reform of the United Nations, noting that Tokyo pays 19.5 percent of the U.N. budget, higher than the combined rate paid by permanent council members Britain, China, France and Russia ([\[mofa.go.jp/policy/un/reform/index.html\]\(http://mofa.go.jp/policy/un/reform/index.html\)\).](http://www.</a></p>
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Amb. John Bolton has said that the United States favors expanding the council as long as expansion was “in a way that strengthened the body’s ability to act rather than weakened it” (<http://www.upi.com/InternationalIntelligence/view.php?StoryID=20051111-050145-6910r>).

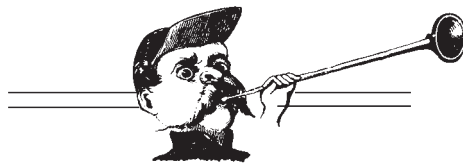
Bolton explicitly rejected all three earlier proposals for expanding the council, including the leading one put forward by Germany, Brazil, Japan and India — known as the G-4. Their plan would add six permanent seats, giving one to each of the G-4 and two additional seats to Africa.

However, the council cannot be expanded without the support of all five current permanent members and a two-thirds majority in the General Assembly, which is regarded as highly unlikely (<http://www.heritage.org/Research/InternationalOrganizations/bg1876.cfm>).

A comprehensive convention on terrorism is also promised before the end of the current session of the General Assembly on Sept. 30, 2006 (<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=16482&Cr=UN&Cr1=reform>).

For easy access to the news and issues involved in U.N. reform, there are a number of useful online resources. Among them is the Web site of Citizens for Global Solutions ([http://www.globalsolutions.org/who/who\\_home.html](http://www.globalsolutions.org/who/who_home.html)) and the United Nations Association of the USA ([www.unausa.org](http://www.unausa.org)). To follow developments concerning the new Human Rights Council, see the Human Rights Watch Web site ([http://hrw.org/doc/?t=united\\_nations](http://hrw.org/doc/?t=united_nations)). ■

— Caitlin Stuart, *Editorial Intern*



# SPEAKING OUT

*It's Not Who You Know, It's Where You Serve*

BY JOHN ALLEN QUINTUS

Recent issues of the *Foreign Service Journal* indicate that the always sensitive question of who gets promoted, and why, has become more contentious lately. As people rejoice or recover from another fall promotion list, I'd like to offer some views on the subject that differ from those of the State Department's Bureau of Human Resources and, indeed, from those of AFSA's leadership, as well.

In July 2005, I retired after 25 years in the Foreign Service, the bulk of them spent with the U.S. Information Agency. Over that quarter-century, I perused many promotion lists that occasioned in my own mind and, indeed, in the minds of others a conviction that the promotion system is neither fair nor designed to reward outstanding achievement. Further, after hearing countless talks given by HR representatives about competing against one's peers for promotion, I think it's time to talk turkey.

The simple fact is that FSOs compete as much, if not more, against assignments as they do against people. As AFSA State Vice President Steve Kashkett put it in his November 2005 *AFSA News* column, "Giving special 'promotion points' to those who serve in a few dangerous posts demeans the work being done by FS employees everywhere else. What about the person performing

*Mediocre work in hardship posts is often rewarded with promotions, while outstanding efforts in first-world postings go unrecognized.*

superbly at one of our many important hardship posts not quite as difficult or as high-profile as Iraq and Afghanistan? What about someone doing brilliant work on vital policy issues in Cairo, Port-au-Prince, Moscow or even Washington, D.C.? Don't these talented, dedicated FS employees deserve an equal shot at promotion?"

Former AFSA President John Naland made a similar point in a "President's Views" column in the *Journal* a few years ago when he observed that the difficulty of work — i.e., the hardship of the country of assignment — had become a primary factor in determining whether someone is promoted or not.

To put it bluntly, mediocre work in a so-called "difficult" (hardship) city or country is often rewarded with promotions, while even outstanding efforts in First-World post-

ings, or in Washington, go unrecognized.

## **"You Won't Be Promoted in Vienna"**

When I accepted an assignment in 2001 to be public affairs officer in Vienna, I did not anticipate that it would be my final overseas tour. But in retrospect, I realize that the handwriting was already on the wall. Indeed, the senior officer who offered me the job gave this caveat as well: "You won't be promoted in Vienna."

At the time I thought I would prove him wrong, but alas, I didn't. Indeed, none of the section heads at post, including the DCM, was promoted after three years in Vienna, and other deserving officers were denied promotion as well. Well, I suppose we had Mozart to console us.

When I asked my career development officer why I hadn't crossed the senior threshold despite a strong record as a FS-1, he replied that my last six years of overseas service were all in Western Europe. So much for the fact that I created a Dialogue Center in eastern Germany that exists to this day; that I organized major programs on a number of foreign policy issues that entailed a huge amount of work; that I instituted a training program in Vienna for city and state managers from Central



Asia. The list goes on, but you get the idea. None of these accomplishments got me promoted — despite being recommended twice.

Even my previous service in hardship posts like Yerevan and Belgrade, both at FS-1 rank, apparently couldn't overcome the prejudice against Austria, and other Western European posts, that clearly obtains among the panels and HR managers who decide our fate.

I can only conclude that regardless of the position held or the job performance, someone serving in places like Baghdad or Kabul, or indeed anywhere in the Muslim world — or even in a small Central American or African country — is far more likely to get promoted than a peer serving in Leipzig or Vienna.

To be sure, other factors are obviously present in promotions as well, and they include gender and race. Beginning during the Clinton administration and continuing to this day, both USIA and State have made concerted efforts to promote women and minorities. USIA's last senior list of promotions back in 1999 was so startling in this regard that even one of the more deserving individuals noted she was embarrassed to be among the group promoted.

Let me hasten to add that correcting historical imbalances is commendable; women and minorities deserve every opportunity to become senior managers. But the opportunity, in my judgment, should still be based on merit.

### **Work Is Hard in Europe, Too**

Anyone who thinks that putting together a multinational conference (to name one kind of program) is

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*After hearing countless talks about competing against one's peers for promotion, I think it's time to talk turkey.*

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easier in Western Europe than anywhere else is simply mistaken. Logistics may often be simpler, but the scale of work is enormous, especially since officers are expected to accomplish more in non-hardship posts than in more "difficult" work environments. I organized a day's conference in Graz on European Union expansion with speakers from seven countries, including an assistant secretary of State. I received an award for my efforts, but no promotion.

Dealing with the press in Western Europe is also especially challenging, unlike countries where there is no real press — i.e., most of the rest of the world. I took every key foreign editor in Vienna to lunch before the U.S. invaded Iraq, and got hammered by all of them. One even told me that her opinion of me had reached a new low. She then lit a cigarette and called Secretary Powell a liar. And I paid for the pleasure of those comments, which I wouldn't have heard in Yerevan.

Moreover, the importance of the country and its relationship to the

U.S. in terms of security and economics (to name only two spheres) should also be weighed. And I would submit that America's relationship with Austria, however small a place it is, is more important in these spheres than, let's say, our relationship with most Caribbean island countries. (For instance, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld is still mad at Austria for prohibiting U.S. troop movements over the country en route to Iraq.)

This may all sound like sour grapes, and no doubt to some extent it is. But I nevertheless left the Foreign Service with the belief that I had done good work and that I enjoyed a solid "corridor reputation" for my efforts. We all know a host of senior officers about whom this simply cannot be said. In fact, in my last domestic assignment I listened to numerous conversations among senior officers that clearly underscored the disdain they had for many of their rank.

Of course, I harbor no illusions that the department will alter its predisposition regarding promotion practices, notably as pressure to staff Baghdad, Kabul and other high-profile but undesirable posts mounts. Even backwater, low-profile assignments beg for bidders despite the department's efforts to reward people who go to these places.

But I would still like to voice the opinion that the promotion process is not really merit-based, that it is the proverbial "crap shoot" in which many individuals are given handicaps while others of comparable or perhaps greater merit are the victims of prejudice, and that service in non-hardship countries deserves far

*A time of service...a time of need*

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*SPEAKING OUT*

*I harbor no illusions that  
the department will alter  
its promotion practices,  
as pressure to staff high-  
profile but undesirable  
posts mounts.*

more consideration than it currently enjoys. ■

*John Allen Quintus was a public diplomacy Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Information Agency and the Department of State from 1980 to 2005. He served in Bonn, Port Louis, Toronto, Yerevan, Belgrade, Leipzig, Vienna and Washington. Since retirement, he has been teaching at the University of Delaware in Newark.*

### ***Need to Sound the Alarm About Something?***

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# TRANSFORMATIONAL DIPLOMACY: A WORK IN PROGRESS



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FOR MANY AT STATE, CONDOLEEZZA RICE'S FOCUS ON POLICY HAS COME AT THE EXPENSE OF MANAGEMENT.

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BY SHAWN ZELLER

uring gatherings with State Department employees, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice likes to tell a story about her first job at the department, back in 1977. She recalls that while studying at the University of Denver, she was an intern in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, reflecting her “very strong interest in public diplomacy.” Then she shares a lesson she learned from that experience: “Always be nice to your interns; you never know where they’re going to end up.”

The joke always seems to put the crowd at ease, but it also carries an important message for her State Department employees: I am one of you, and all of you — even the interns — are important.

“There are no unimportant jobs,” Rice has said repeatedly in laying out her vision of “transformational diplomacy,” a concept that has proven to be the overarching theme of her first year in office. That philosophy, which Rice illustrates with tales of the Foreign Service’s work during the darkest days of the post-World War II era and beginnings of the Cold War, is about furthering the spread of democracy — particularly in the “front-line” states of the Middle East and Asia — instead of just maintaining the status quo. For some State employees, the words have been inspirational. But to others, the pep talk just sounds like a slick repackaging of what Foreign Service officers have always striven to do.

That split in perception captures the overall debate within Foggy Bottom about Rice’s record after one year on the job. Some admire “Condi” for raising State’s profile after years in the wilderness during which the Pentagon dominated foreign policy. But others are equally adamant that she is mainly interested in defending President Bush’s policies and hasn’t shown nearly the same level of attention to management of the department, and receptiveness to employee input, that won widespread praise and admiration for her predecessor, Colin Powell.

With such differing views out there, it’s not surprising that there is no clear consensus within the Foreign Service about Rice’s management agenda, and its impact on the quality of life of officers and their families. In an online survey of active-duty State Department Foreign Service employees conducted last summer by the American Foreign Service Association, 32 percent said they believed working conditions were improving, 28 percent thought they were worsening, and 40 percent felt they were staying the same.

In contrast, two reports (2003 and 2005) issued by the Foreign Affairs Council — a coalition of groups representing current and former State employees — hailed Powell’s four-year tenure as “historic.” The studies cited his success in rebuilding a depleted Foreign Service through his Diplomatic Readiness Initiative, a focus on

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*Shawn Zeller is a senior staff writer for Congressional Quarterly.*

information technology that finally brought Internet access to every departmental desktop, and attention to training that reinvigorated officers through an intensive leadership curriculum.

The FAC hasn’t had enough time to make a fair assessment of Rice, says director Thomas Boyatt, a former AFSA president and ambassador to Colombia. But he does observe that “the Secretary has many times and in many public and private forums said that she wants to sustain Powell’s momentum. It’s sincere rhetoric, but it still has to be tested against the exigencies of reality.”

For Under Secretary of Management Henrietta Fore, Rice’s top management aide, Powell’s tenure is an important touchstone, but Rice only sees it as a first step. “We want to build on the building blocks and momentum left by Secretary Powell and his team, but we want to increase the pace,” Fore said in an interview with the *Foreign Service Journal*. (Rice’s staff did not respond to a separate interview request.)

Delays in filling two key positions have hampered Rice’s ability to put her own stamp on the department, however. Under Secretary Fore, a former U.S. Mint director, only took office in August 2005. And the Foreign Service Institute has had an acting director since Katherine Peterson stepped down last summer to become ambassador to Botswana. However, Fore says she expects a new director will be named shortly.

### **The Baker Model**

Among Foreign Service officers, the analogy most often drawn is between Rice and James Baker, a key player during the George H.W. Bush administration. (Colin Powell is most often compared to George Shultz, who earned his stripes during the Reagan administration more for improving management at Foggy Bottom than for his globe-trotting.) Rice, like Baker, has set records for overseas travel. “Rice has firmly established herself as Secretary of State, and the encroachment of Defense on State issues seems to have ceased,” says management officer Bruce Knotts. “She’s won that battle.”

But even as some officers take pride in that bureaucratic victory, others say that Rice has done it largely without the advice and guidance of Foreign Service officers, just as Baker did before her. That camp cites the assessment of *Washington Post* columnist Jim Hoagland, who wrote last August that President Bush “had sent Rice, his first-term national security adviser, to quell the hotbed of

rebellion that the State Department often was under Powell.”

Of one thing, there can be little doubt, however: Rice works hard and she can be tough when she wants to be. She has proven her mettle by playing an active role in key diplomatic negotiations overseas, and congressional tussles in Washington. Success in both areas, of course, will not only boost her legacy but also burnish her credentials as a manager of the Foreign Service as she seeks more profound institutional changes.

On the diplomatic front, she can point to several significant achievements in her first year. Last November she received accolades for working with Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas and Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon to conclude an agreement on Palestinian control over access to the Gaza Strip. For Rice, who has often left the hands-on work of diplomacy to others, it was an impressive showing. Few had expected that a deal could be reached, and she worked through the night to hammer out the details.

As the *Washington Post* put it last year, Rice “has demonstrated a willingness to bend on tactics to accommodate the concerns of allies without ceding on broad principles, what she calls ‘practical idealism.’ She also conducts a more aggressive personal diplomacy, breaking State Department records for foreign travel and setting up diplomatic tag teams with top staff on urgent issues.” While that approach can leave diplomats working in lower-profile areas feeling out of the loop and unappreciated, there is no denying that she has put her own stamp on U.S. diplomacy.

Take her approach to the remaining members of the “axis of evil,” North Korea and Iran. Rice convinced the government of Kim Jong Il to come back to the negotiating table and discuss his nuclear program by publicly describing Kim’s government as “sovereign.” She then authorized a key aide to meet several times with North Korean diplomats, well above the level of contact her predecessor was allowed to pursue with Pyongyang during Bush’s first term.

She has also worked to strike a deal with Iran, offering to permit it to apply for membership in the World Trade Organization and buy spare parts for aging passenger air-

***Some FSOs see parallels between Rice and James Baker, Secretary of State during the George H.W. Bush administration.***

craft in return for renouncing its nuclear ambitions. At the same time, she’s pushed European allies to back Security Council intervention if the negotiations on Tehran’s nuclear program don’t succeed. Powell, by contrast, failed to get the White House to exclude Iran from its list of three countries in the “axis of evil” or even to support talks on the nuclear issue.

Last spring, Rice canceled a visit to Egypt when the Mubarak government detained prominent opposition figure Ayman Nour, a move that paved the way for him to run in the September presidential election. However, following his defeat, he was again arrested and in December was sentenced to five years’ imprisonment on what many observers have denounced as trumped-up charges of forgery. In sharp contrast with its earlier signal of disapproval, the U.S. has not yet taken any public steps to secure Nour’s release other than issuing a statement questioning the fairness of the trial.

Elsewhere in the region, Rice has called on Saudi Arabia to allow women the vote and has sought to dissuade Israel from more settlement-building. In India, she boosted relations by promising to try to convince Congress to allow the Bush administration to sell nuclear technology to India for civilian uses. And she has worked with the United Nations to investigate war crimes in Darfur while also pursuing closer cooperation with Khartoum against terrorism.

**Initial Success on the Hill**

On Capitol Hill, Rice got off to a fast start, winning praise as she made the rounds of various congressional committees in January 2005. House Appropriations Committee Chairman Jerry Lewis, R-Calif., said her success was “really an incredible development for our country.” His Senate counterpart Thad Cochran, R-Miss., offered similar praise: “You’re off to a great start. You reflect credit on our country and every individual citizen in the United States,” he says. Even Democrats were quick to offer praise. Rep. Tom Lantos of California said Congress was “proud to have you [as] the face of America to the rest of the world.”

During her confirmation hearings before the Senate

Foreign Relations Committee, Rice did elicit skepticism from some Democrats. Sen. Joseph Biden of Delaware, the panel's ranking minority member, scolded Rice for sticking so assiduously to Bush administration talking points on the Iraq war. He expressed "reservations" and "frustration" before ultimately giving Rice a yea vote in committee. "You sort of stuck to the party line, which seems pretty consistent: You're always right," he said with more than a hint of sarcasm. Ultimately, the committee vote to send Rice's nomination on to the full Senate was 16-2, with only Sens. John Kerry, D-Mass., and Barbara Boxer, D-Calif., voting against her. She then cleared the Senate by an overwhelming 85-13 vote, with two senators not voting. That said, the 13 nays marked the greatest level of opposition to a Secretary of State nominee since World War II.

All that good will yielded some early victories, including a key battle last May: Sens. Robert Byrd, D-W. Va., and John Ensign, R-Nev., sought to strip more than \$100 million in funding from a supplemental appropriations bill that was intended for State's operations in Baghdad in order to redirect the money to border security. Rice went to the mat and won: State kept the funds.

Rice has also fended off efforts by other agencies to scale back their obligations to help pay for new embassy construction. A year ago, Congress approved legislation that requires agencies with employees serving in embassies abroad to contribute to State's Capital Security Cost-Sharing Program, which aims primarily to upgrade security at embassies. Under the program, agencies pay fees to the State Department based on how many staffers they have abroad, something that other departments such as Agriculture, Commerce and Defense had sought to avoid. With this financial assistance from other agencies, State expects to finish construction of 150 new, more secure overseas facilities in 14 years, rather than the 26 years it would have taken without the aid. "Everything is on track and on schedule," says Fore. "Everyone came to the table. No one was missing."

In recent months, though, Rice has had to deal with dwindling support on Capitol Hill for the war in Iraq. In October, she made a combative appearance at a Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing at which all of the committee Democrats and most of the Republicans raised questions about the administration's handling of the war. Rice staunchly defended current policy, insist-

ing that any call for a timetable for withdrawal would undermine efforts to hand over authority to a functioning Iraqi government. But members of Congress have become more vocal in challenging her about Iraq policy and, increasingly, have moved to distance themselves from it.

Rice is well aware that Iraq will be the defining foreign policy issue of her tenure. Thus, her transformational diplomacy initiative is tightly bound with her mission of ensuring that the United States leaves Iraq a peaceful and democratic nation.

### **Too Tight-Knit an Approach?**

The controversy over the war has also affected her relationship with Foreign Service officers, many of whom share the concerns raised in Congress, and further believe that some of the problems could have been avoided if the expert opinions of officers in the field had been taken to heart.

Bush administration appointees "have their policies and have a right to vigorously go after them," says one management officer in Washington who requested anonymity for fear of job repercussions. Expressing a view shared by many of his colleagues, he says: "But insights into who might be trusted or not, and which policies will fly or not fly — that kind of information is not getting to the seventh floor as it used to."

Those assessments match up well with a description of Rice and her approach to management that appeared in the *Washington Post* last year. Reporter Glenn Kessler wrote that before taking the job, "Rice concluded she did not want to be barricaded by a palace guard on the seventh floor of the State Department — but she also decided she did not want to let the building run her."

As a result, she early on "identified a few key priorities that she believes will define her tenure as Secretary of State, such as promotion of democracy. And then she put together an inner circle that draws heavily on longtime personal connections to her and one another. The result is a powerful and focused group of aides — and some grumbling in parts of the building that have felt their priorities ignored or played down."

The management officer says that one clear example of how Rice's tight-knit approach went awry is the case of Ahmed Chalabi, the Iraqi dissident leader who gained allies in the White House leading up to the Iraq War and

## F O C U S

is considered one of the main sources of faulty intelligence concerning weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. “He was never really trusted by the State Department,” says the management officer. “We thought of him as a bit of a shifty character, and I think time has proven us right in that sense.”

Rice’s insistence that officers who serve in Iraq should receive preference in future promotions and assignments has further rankled many officers. So has the “baby DAS” controversy, her promotion of some lower-ranking officials who served with her at the National Security Council to deputy assistant secretary positions (typically reserved for senior personnel). Those personnel moves have collectively fed the notion that Rice is disinterested in the views of the rank-and-file. But at a department town hall meeting last June, Rice vigorously defended the appointments.

### ***Sec. Rice can point to several significant achievements on the diplomatic front in her first year.***

“I think there are some times ... when you’re going to promote some people who have not gone through all of the steps,” she said. “It’s going to happen. It should happen. I think it’s a good thing if, once in a while, somebody who is a fast riser, somebody who has demonstrated that they are capable of doing a job that’s one or two grades ahead, gets that promotion. Because what you don’t want to do is to leave the impression that in an organization as esteemed as the Foreign Service that it’s just all about going through the ranks. It’s really about performance; it’s about willingness to take on challenges. We’ve had people who volunteered for some of our hardest posts. We’ve been in some really tough times. It’s tough to serve in Baghdad. It’s tough to serve in Kabul. It’s tough to serve in Colombia. We’ve had people who have been more

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## Transformational Diplomacy: What Exactly Does It Mean?

Since Secretary Rice took office a year ago, her remarks have been peppered with the phrase “transformational diplomacy.” The idea has sparked discussion in the media: just what does Rice mean? What will transformational diplomacy signify for international policy? In Rice’s vision, diplomacy “must be a conversation, not a monologue.” According to the Secretary’s statement at her first town meeting at State in January 2005, transformational diplomacy is the “effort to use our diplomacy literally to change the world.” The idea is to take the role of activists as well as analysts to engage societies and make necessary changes (<http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2005/41414.htm>).

Rice has also said that the idea is to be active with our partners in democracy to build “a safer and better and freer world.” This embraces initiatives to combat terrorism, strengthen democracy, increase global prosperity and provide aid to those who need it most. Instead of merely managing problems, the new policy looks at the source.

Derek Chollet, a fellow of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, wrote an article for the *Washington Post* last spring that described Rice’s diplomatic goals as the ambition not just to be a gardener, but a landscape architect. This vivid metaphor aptly describes the level of dedication and involvement that Rice has put into her post.

Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Legislative Affairs Tom Callahan offered a definition of transformational diplomacy in remarks at the George C. Marshall International Center in June 2005, describing it as the “effort of diplomacy not just to monitor, report, and cajole, but actually to transform societies into more functional, democratic and responsible members of the international community.” As he noted, the idea is not really new; the Marshall Plan was a model of transformational diplomacy (<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/dc/rks/47848.htm>).

The Foreign Service Institute has added new classes on conducting transformational diplomacy. While courses contained some transformational diplomacy ideas in the

past, some changes were needed to incorporate Rice’s vision, Ambassador Katherine H. Peterson, the former director of FSI, has said. “This requires additional skills that many Foreign Service employees don’t have at the moment — for instance, how to run a program and deal with grants — for which we must now train” ([http://www.washdiplomat.com/June-05/a1\\_06\\_05.html](http://www.washdiplomat.com/June-05/a1_06_05.html)).

A comment on what transformation means for many at DOS is posted on a forum at the *Tales from a Small Planet* Web site, an online magazine about living overseas ([www.talesmag.com](http://www.talesmag.com)): “Transformation must be thought of in more specific and functional terms than those expressed by Secretary Rice. I don’t think the change will be for the better until we start having candid discussion of the sometimes taboo topics of assignments and promotions within the department. Also, transformation must be about more than just how State does its work. It must be about what work the State Department does;

what role it plays in the larger drama of U.S. foreign policy formulation and execution.”

In remarks to State Department correspondents Jan. 5, 2006, Sec. Rice promised more discussion of the concept in the new year: “[We’ll talk more about] what it means for American diplomacy, and American diplomats, to be people who are now more involved and more engaged in the lives of people in countries where our engagements look more like what we do in Kabul or what we do in the Philippines. ... It’s a hands-on [effort] trying to help people create governing structures that work, rather than the way we traditionally thought about the Service, which is that you report on other countries, you demarche other countries.

“It’s not that that’s unimportant,” Rice continued. “But I think we’re seeing that around the world we are more engaged now on the ground, hands-on. And we’re looking at what that means for the training of our people; we’re looking at what that means for the deployment of our people, and I think it’s going to be very exciting.”

— Caitlin Stuart, *Editorial Intern*

*In Rice’s vision,  
diplomacy “must be  
a conversation,  
not a monologue.”*



than willing to take on some of our toughest tasks, and it's okay if that is recognized and not just time and service."

That argument hasn't gone over well with many officers, who argue that Rice's promotions of her former staff are more about rewarding personal allies than encouraging top performers. As for the Iraq promotions, many argue that it's unfair to boost those serving in certain danger posts over others who are doing good work in less-heralded parts of the developing, or even developed world. "It's a huge topic of discussion in our post," says one disgruntled officer in South America.

Fore says the issue has become overblown. Service in Iraq or Afghanistan may be used as a tiebreaker for selection boards in determining onward assignments, but service in those countries does not protect poorly performing employees. It is merely one of many factors the boards consider, including mastery of foreign languages and demonstrated leadership and management skills.

### **Battling Budget Cuts**

Rice may be able to make up some ground with disaffected employees if she can convince the Office of Management and Budget to allow State to pursue overseas comparability pay (also known as locality pay) for its employees. The American Foreign Service Association points out that officers at the FS-1 level and below who leave Washington to go overseas in 2006 will lose 17.5 percent of their income due to the lack of locality pay, a figure that rises by about a percentage point every year. Rice has said repeatedly that she supports the effort to obtain OCP for overseas personnel, but no progress was made on the issue in 2005. (Of course, Powell was unable to win that victory, either.) But Under Secretary Fore insists that Rice feels very strongly about pay equality, and advises skeptics to "stay tuned" for developments.

According to Fore, Rice "really cares about management," and realizes that transformational diplomacy cannot succeed unless employees receive the resources and support they need to carry it out. "She's very engaged

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and she's very effective," Fore says, noting that the two meet one-on-one every week.

Rice's first year at State witnessed management successes in several spheres: financial systems, passport and visa processing, embassy construction and security upgrades, training, diversity hiring, and collaboration between State and the U.S. Agency for International Development. Since taking office in August, Fore has laid out six management priorities:

- Improving training opportunities for employees;
- Boosting the quality of life for employees and family;
- Using technology to disseminate knowledge faster and more effectively;
- Rightsizing of overseas missions;
- Meeting goals set out in the president's management agenda; and
- Ensuring that America has open, but secure, borders.

Unfortunately, budget cuts now stand in the way. "We had across-the-board rescissions" in Fiscal Year 2006, Fore notes; the total appropriated for the Department of State and other international agencies was \$9.7 billion, 10 percent less than they received in 2005. State itself received \$275 million less than requested. Rice had sought funds for 221 new positions to meet core staffing and training requirements, and \$249 million for further investments in information technology, but Fore acknowledged that those investments are now in doubt.

Despite the austere budget climate, Rice has reiterated her commitment to maintaining the victories Powell achieved in launching the Diplomatic Readiness Initiative and boosting State's information technology investments. As she noted back in June, the department "can't afford to go back to the 1990s when we were missing whole classes of people. ... I realize how important the Diplomatic Readiness Initiative is. And we will try to continue it at a pace that meets at least the need to continue to bring fresh blood into the Service and to make sure that people are well trained and well taken care of."

As of press time, though, Fore says no firm decisions had been made about how the cuts would affect ongoing hiring and technology initiatives. "It will mean we will have to look at forestalling some of our programs and some new initiatives," she says. "With reduced resources, I think it's perfectly possible that in some areas we may not be able to refresh our hardware. We were on a four-year replacement cycle. It may have to slip. ... I know people

are concerned on the technology side. We are, too." As for hiring, Fore could only commit to "not dropping below attrition."

Nor has progress been smooth with the State Messaging and Archiving Retrieval Toolset (known as "SMART messaging"), which aims to upgrade the cable communications system. "We have been a bit delayed," Fore admits, but says the department anticipates additional pilots and rollouts in the second and third quarters of 2006. However, at least one consultant working on the project, who asked not to be identified, predicts that the entire initiative will have to be scrapped as unworkable.

Fore also points out that Foreign Service Director General Robert Pearson and Acting Foreign Service Institute Director Barry Wells have championed career development, training and operational readiness plans. Last fall, Rice attended a Foreign Service Institute course on democracy building, the first designed specifically to further her hallmark transformational diplomacy initiative. Fore says that other courses in the eradication of disease and promotion of the rule of law and human rights are now in the works at FSI. And in a recent cable Fore set out other goals, including boosting by 50 percent FasTrac course completions by the end of 2006 and increasing course offerings by 25 percent during the same time frame. "We are hoping to shift the center of gravity of our courses from having them here in Washington to using distance learning, so these courses will come to you at your desktop," Fore says.

To improve the quality of life for State Department employees, Fore says that the administration aims to expand telework opportunities by 25 percent and child-care capacity by 50 percent this year. Overseas, she says, the department will increase the amount of training and employment opportunities for spouses who want a job by 10 percent in 2006. "We have an enormously skilled eligible family member corps, and we should utilize it," Fore says. For children of Foreign Service officers overseas with special needs, she says the department hopes to increase the number of schools capable of meeting those needs from 116 to 120 this year.

Terri Williams, president of Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide, has nothing but praise for the Rice team's work on quality-of-life issues. Referencing Powell's attention to the issue, she says, "As near as I can see, it's continued [under Rice]. It seems to get better and better."

**Restructuring State ...  
and USAID?**

As part of her transformational diplomacy initiative, Rice has also launched an ambitious restructuring of bureaus aimed at better countering the terrorist threat. Last year, with Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Richard Lugar, R-Ind., standing at her side, she announced a plan to merge the Arms Control and International Security Affairs bureaus (known collectively as “T”) to create a new Bureau of International Security and Nonproliferation. The revamped bureau is to focus exclusively on the threat posed by terrorists seeking weapons of mass destruction. Taking personnel freed up by that merger, Rice then moved to strengthen the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs and to expand the Bureau of Verification, Compliance and Implementation.

The reorganization has angered many of the affected employees, who have expressed to AFSA strong concerns over the lack of transparency in the naming of acting office directors and deputies; the possible downgrading or elimination of Foreign Service-designated positions; and indications that political considerations (e.g., the perception of loyalty to a particular ideological point of view) are determining how individual employees fare in the reorganization. On their behalf, AFSA has requested from State management a written description of the reorganization plan; a suspension of personnel decisions pending the association’s opportunity to consult and/or negotiate them; and the appointment of an independent panel to review reorganization decisions with regard to EEO concerns and prohibited personnel practices.

In keeping with her theme of transformational diplomacy, Rice also changed the title of the under secretary of State for global affairs to the under secretary of State for democracy and global affairs, and removed from its oversight the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement.

Late last year, Rice announced plans to reassign responsibility for diplomatic relations with five countries that are key to the war on terrorism in Central Asia — Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan — from the Bureau of European and

*Some of Rice’s  
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the views of the  
rank-and-file.*

Eurasian Affairs to a renamed Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs (formerly the Bureau of South Asian Affairs). A department notice declares that “the new bureau will support a united regional strategy to advance democracy and stability.”

Meanwhile, the administration has continued its efforts to revamp foreign aid by strengthening the role of the Millennium Challenge Corporation, which aims to further development overseas by directing dollars only to those countries that have demonstrated a commitment to free-market economics and democracy.

Rice has been tight-lipped, though, about what the MCC means for the future of the U.S. Agency for International Development. In December and again in early January, the *Financial Times* reported that Rice and State’s Director for Policy Planning Stephen Krasner were planning to announce early in 2006 a major reorganization of foreign assistance programs that could involve merging State and USAID, and creating a second Deputy Secretary of State slot to oversee aid and development programs administered by both agencies. Fueling speculation, USAID Administrator Andrew Natsios — well regarded among the rank and file — recently announced a mid-January departure to accept a professorship at Georgetown University.

Fore denies that there are any plans for a merger of the two agencies. “We have been talking about ways we can better collaborate,” Fore says, adding that her goal is to further unify State and USAID’s planning and budgeting processes, which are partially joined now. Last fall saw the launch of a new Joint State-USAID Financial Management System, a long-term project that the department hopes will boost rightsizing efforts by allowing the department to pull out financial support personnel from critical danger posts to regional centers or to Washington. The system will also help managers to access financial information they need to make allocation decisions. “We have been operating without it for many years,” says Fore. “We are just at the beginning of a new era for financial management.”

Fore sees her own management agenda and Rice’s vision of transformational diplomacy as intertwined. Rice, she says, “means to make a genuine difference in how we

## The Rice State Department

**Secretary of State**

Condoleezza Rice  
1/26/05

**Deputy Secretary of State**

Robert Zoellick  
2/1/05

**U.S. Permanent Representative to the U.N.**

John Bolton  
8/1/05

**Chief of Staff**

Brian Gunderson  
1/28/05

**Executive Secretary**

Harry K. Thomas Jr. (FSO)  
7/25/05

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**Under Secretary for Political Affairs (P)**

R. Nicholas Burns (FSO)  
3/17/05

**Under Secretary for Economic, Business and Agricultural Affairs (E)**

Josette Sheeran Shiner  
8/23/05

**Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security Affairs (T)**

Robert Joseph  
6/1/05

**Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs (R)**

Karen Hughes  
7/29/05

**Under Secretary for Management (M)**

Henrietta H. Fore  
8/2/05

**Under Secretary for Global Affairs (G)**

Paula Dobriansky  
5/1/01

**Counselor (C)**

Philip Zelikow (FSO)  
2/1/05

**Director of Foreign Assistance  
USAID Administrator**

Randall Tobias  
Proposed 1/19/06  
POSITION PENDING CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL.

**Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (S/CRS)**

Vacant

**Inspector General (OIG)**

Howard Kongrad  
5/2/05

**Policy Planning Staff Director (S/P)**

Dr. Stephen Krasner  
2/4/05

**Civil Rights Director (S/OCR)**

Vacant

**Legal Adviser (L)**

John B. Bellinger III  
4/8/05

**Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs (H)**

Jeffrey T. Bergner  
11/14/04

**Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and Research (INR)**

Carol A. Rodley (FSO), Acting  
6/13/05

**Assistant Secretary for Resource Management and Chief Financial Officer (RM)**

Sid Kaplan (FSO), Acting  
6/1/05

**Chief of Protocol (S/CPR)**

Ambassador Donald Burnham Ensenat  
6/6/01

**Coordinator and Ambassador at Large for Counterterrorism (S/CT)**

Henry A. Crumpton  
8/3/05

**Global AIDS Coordinator (S/GAC)**

Randall Tobias  
10/6/03

**POLITICAL AFFAIRS**

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Jenkayi E. Frazer  
8/29/05

**Assistant Secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs (EUR)**

Daniel Fried (FSO)  
5/5/05

**Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern Affairs (NEA)**

C. David Welch (FSO)  
3/18/05

**Assistant Secretary for Western Hemisphere Affairs (WHA)**

Thomas A. Shannon Jr. (FSO)  
10/7/05

**Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs (EAP)**

Christopher R. Hill (FSO)  
4/8/05

**Assistant Secretary for South Asian Affairs (SA)**

Christina Rocca  
5/31/01

**Assistant Secretary for International Organizations (IO)**

Kristen Silverberg  
8/16/05

**Assistant Secretary for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement (INL)**

Anne W. Patterson (FSO), Acting  
11/28/05

# F O C U S

## **ECONOMIC, BUSINESS AND AGRICULTURAL AFFAIRS**

### **Assistant Secretary for Economic and Business Affairs (EB)**

Earl A. Wayne (FSO)  
6/1/00

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## **ARMS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS**

### **Assistant Secretary for International Security and Nonproliferation (AC-NP)**

Stephen Rademaker, Acting  
8/12/02

### **Assistant Secretary for Political-Military Affairs (PM)**

John Hillen  
10/11/05

### **Assistant Secretary for Verification and Compliance (VC)**

Paula DeSutter  
8/14/02

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## **PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS**

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Dina Powell  
7/11/05

### **Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs (PA)**

Sean McCormack (FSO)  
6/2/05

### **Coordinator for International Information Programs (IIP)**

Alexander C. Feldman  
6/14/04

## **MANAGEMENT**

### **Director, Offices of Rightsizing (M/R) and Management Policy (M/P)**

Vacant

### **Assistant Secretary for Administration (A)**

Frank Coulter (FSO)  
7/21/05

### **Assistant Secretary for Diplomatic Security and Foreign Missions (DS)**

Richard J. Griffin  
6/22/05

### **Assistant Secretary for Consular Affairs (CA)**

Maura Harty (FSO)  
11/20/02

### **Director of the Foreign Service Institute (FSI)**

Barry Wells (FSO), Acting

### **Director General of the Foreign Service and Director of Personnel (HR)**

W. Robert Pearson (FSO)  
10/7/03

### **Chief Information Officer (IRM)**

James Van Derhoff (FSO)  
1/9/06

### **Director of Overseas Building Operations (OBO)**

Major General Charles E. Williams  
3/12/01

### **Director of Medical Services (M/MED)**

Laurence G. Brown, M.D. (FS)  
4/21/03

## **GLOBAL AFFAIRS**

### **Assistant Secretary for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor (DRL)**

Barry F. Lowenkron  
10/14/05

### **Assistant Secretary for Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs (OES)**

Anthony Rock (FSO), Acting  
7/15/05

### **Assistant Secretary for Population, Refugees and Migration (PRM)**

Ellen Sauerbray  
1/4/06

*This information was assembled as of 01/20/06 from State magazine, the State Department Web site ([www.state.gov](http://www.state.gov)) and other online databases by Editorial Intern Caitlin Stuart and Senior Editor Susan Maitra.*

conduct diplomacy abroad. [Diplomats] need to be mobile and carry the skills and tools they need to carry out an outward-looking and outward-acting agenda.”

Rice has staked her legacy on making transformational diplomacy a reality, both around the world and within State. But most of her energy seems to be going into promotion of democracy in Iraq, Afghanistan and other “front-line” states, not improvements in the working lives of Foreign Service officers.

### A Star is Born

“Condi” is a genuine celebrity figure in Washington and elsewhere. Many State employees show admiration, even awe, during town hall meetings with her. More generally, rumors persist that she may run for the presidency as early as 2008. (She has carefully denied such ambitions, insisting she is focused on running State, but has not categorically ruled out seeking public office in the future, see *Cybernotes*, p. 10). But in Foggy Bottom, many remain skeptical of her role in formulating and implementing what they see as the Bush administration’s rigid, unnuanced

approach to foreign policy, especially in Iraq.

Citing concerns over her lack of attention to bread-and-butter management issues such as overseas pay and merit promotions, one Washington-based officer who is still an admirer of Colin Powell says, “It’s 180 degrees different with Rice. All the ideas that Powell brought, she’s given lip service to, but she hasn’t followed through.”

It is often true in Washington that the best managers don’t attract the spotlight. Rather, it tends to be the Cabinet secretaries with the most access to the president, and the most influence over policy-making, who are hailed as stars. That certainly seems to be the case with Rice. Last November, *Washington Post* columnist David Ignatius asserted that the new Secretary “has gone through a remarkable transformation since she took over the State Department,” and lavished considerable praise on her performance thus far. But he was careful to acknowledge that it is far too soon to come to a definitive verdict. Only in the coming months will we get a clearer picture of what the legacy will be for “the Bush administration’s second-term star,” he wrote. ■

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# ANYWHERE, ANYTIME DIPLOMACY

**T** CHANGES IN INSTITUTIONAL CULTURE AND AN IMPROVED IT INFRASTRUCTURE WILL HELP REALIZE CONDOLEEZZA RICE'S VISION OF TRANSFORMATIONAL DIPLOMACY.

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BY PETER S. GADZINSKI

he oldest of the federal agencies, the Department of State is a conservative institution with a risk-averse culture. State's steadfastness of purpose and avoidance of rapid swings in orientation are positive attributes that reflect its enduring commitment to the basic national interests of the country and its mission to create a more secure, democratic and prosperous world for the benefit of the American people and the international community.

Still, far-reaching changes in our foreign policy objectives have occurred in recent years. The Carter administration oversaw a greater emphasis on human rights; during the 1990s we paid more attention to global issues such as the environment; the Clinton and Bush administrations made heightened efforts to combat the scourge of HIV/AIDS; and now we face the threat of global terrorism. There is little doubt that America's foreign policy challenges are greater than ever.

At the same time, both the world and the department have witnessed profound changes in computing and communication power. Yet despite the demands and opportunities posed by these developments, modifications in the work process of the department

— its institutional culture — have been much slower to emerge.

## The Stage Is Set

Nonetheless, change is afoot. Former Secretary of State Colin Powell had a tremendous influence by introducing new ideas and new tools to the department. He won funding to hire over 1,200 new Foreign Service officers via the Diplomatic Readiness Initiative. And he encouraged a significant upgrade of State's information technology capabilities, including improved bandwidth and networking worldwide and access to the Internet from every department employee's desktop computer.

Drawing on his military career and personal proclivities, Powell stressed personal leadership, encouraged training (mandating mid-level management training for the first time) and urged employees to strike a better balance between official duties and their personal lives. In this connection, Powell actually forbade his top deputies to work in the department on weekends. Tellingly, however, this order forced many of them to depend on commercial services such as Yahoo and Hotmail for connectivity, because access to work-related information was not

yet available to them at home via official channels.

The combination of greater legitimacy accorded to learning, a willingness on the part of top officials to at least entertain the possibility of changes in the traditional cultural mindset, and an improved IT infrastructure has set the stage for the next phase in the evolution of the work of the Department of State: "Anywhere, Anytime Diplomacy." The enhanced access and work flexibility defined by this concept will help realize Sec. Rice's vision of transformational diplomacy.

The current five-year information technology strategic plan goals paper, covering Fiscal Years 2006 through 2010, and related documents envision nothing less than creating a knowledge-sharing culture at the Department of State. Specific goals include the increased availability of 24/7 remote access to unclassified information and greater attention to collaborative work, the latter encompassing improved interagency connectivity and establishment of "communities of practice" — networks of people who collaborate on common interests, tasks and needs. These communities may have a variety of goals and employ a variety of means to work on them, from e-mail to online home pages. The department's strategic plan for IT also envisions the introduction of knowledge management tools such as desktop search engines, expert and expertise locator systems and knowledge databases.

I have extracted the accompanying table (see p. 31)

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*Peter Gadzinski is an economic-cone Foreign Service officer who served in six overseas posts before returning to Washington in 2000. After serving in the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, he was a Pearson Fellow with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee before heading State's liaison office on the Hill. Presently, he is with the Information Resource Management Bureau's Office of eDiplomacy, where he seeks to represent the customer point of view in IT and knowledge management issues. The views expressed in this article are the author's and not necessarily those of the Department of State.*

***The lack of remote  
access forces many  
State personnel to  
depend on commercial  
services such as Yahoo  
and Hotmail for  
connectivity.***

from the strategic plan to highlight those trends and best practices that represent potential for change in the department's work practices.

**Behind the Curve**

Taken together, these items are not just the sum of the individual tools or concepts listed. They represent something much more: a fundamental shift in the conceptual model of how diplomatic work should be carried out.

As just one example, FSOs require access to unclassified e-mail and files outside of office hours, both at home and on the road. Working as we do in a global context, often coordinating closely with colleagues located several time zones away, restricting access to official e-mail and personal files to desktop computers during office hours at our primary duty stations represents a tremendous opportunity cost for American diplomacy.

In terms of remote access, we are behind the curve with respect to our colleagues in other national security agencies, not to mention foreign governments and the private sector. In the Government Accountability Office, all 3,500 employees have remote access to their work. In contrast, at a recent WTO negotiating session in Geneva, only the State representative lacked remote access within the U.S. government negotiating team.

Use of an encrypted means to log on to the Internet, OpenNet Everywhere, has only just begun to catch on at State. Currently available only in Washington, ONE has been undergoing proof-of-concept testing at selected posts overseas, and initial reports are positive. At present, some 2,000 employees in Washington, 10 percent of our global work force, have access. The goal is for this figure to rise to 5,000 ONE accounts, 25 percent of the total, by the end of the current fiscal year, including some overseas users. While the department pays for remote access for teleworkers, the relatively high annual cost for non-teleworkers must be paid by individual bureaus, which could impede rapid adoption of the technology.

Another area where change is needed in order to increase our diplomatic effectiveness around the world is collaborative work and knowledge-sharing. At



# F O C U S

## What's In, What's Out: Key Trends and Best Practices in 2006

IN	OUT
Enterprise-wide, governmentwide solutions	Single-bureau, single-agency approaches
Rapid technology change and adoption	Reluctance to innovate
Knowledge is a department asset, proactively shared	Knowledge belongs to individual bureaus and is not shared
Outsourcing of non-core activities	In-house for all functions
Wireless	Wired
Next-generation data mining and search	Fragmented data sources accessible only in restricted ways
Mobile computing and telecommuting; Voice-data integration/Voice over Internet Protocol	Separate networks tethered to the desk
Voice input and speech recognition	Keyboards
Leveraging partnerships	Isolation
Automated, real-time language-translation services	Limited ability to get documents translated
"Out of the box" commercial off-the-shelf solutions	Highly customized solutions, including overly customized COTS
Web-based	Client-server
Multimedia for effective communication	Rigid formats, cables
Enterprise-wide business continuity planning	Ad-hoc approach to critical infrastructure protection
Computing as utility	Non-standard, isolated IT environments
Adaptable networks — self-configuring, dynamic	Hard-wired static networks
Risk management	Risk aversion



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present, drafting and knowledge-sharing are largely stovepiped along the lines laid out by the formal organizational hierarchy, the connected boxes with which we are all too familiar. Incumbents with specific functional or geographic portfolios work in a largely isolated fashion. Reporting officers are frequently unaware of, or unable to easily access, relevant expertise near at hand within the department itself or at other posts, much less outside of the agency.

That having been said, there are already good examples within the department today of what can be accomplished.

- The Bureau of Consular Affairs is a leader in collaborative technology, using specialized software to link several hundred officers around the world in its Fraud Prevention Program.

- Another example is provided by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research's Humanitarian Information Unit. Setting up a collaborative Web-based workspace the day after the Asian tsunami hit, the HIU played a leadership role for other agencies as well as private-sector NGOs by providing an information clearing house and knowledge repository.

- The Bureau of Human Resources' Employee Profile Plus database has been used to identify officers with work and language skills in emergency situations such as the Asian tsunami and Hurricane Katrina. This innovation was recently recognized with a President's Quality Award, the top management honor for executive branch agencies.

### **Successful Adaptation Is Urgent**

Foreign Service officers are expected to be instant experts in our domestic or foreign positions, and we have an institutional/work culture that resists seeking advice or knowledge from others in the department. Those who do possess critical and hard-won knowledge find it difficult to share their expertise once they depart one pigeonholed position for another. Their successors do not routinely look to them for guidance and advice, nor do they automatically think to give it.

*Another area where  
change is needed in  
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around the world is  
collaborative work and  
knowledge-sharing.*

At present, communities of practice or communities of interest are in their infancy at State. Collaborative work tools are not well known, and data mining and knowledge database applications are in only limited use.

If we are truly to realize the promise of technology to transform the practice of American diplomacy, we must aim at nothing less than leveraging our collective knowledge and experience on a global basis. As Sec. Powell put it, "The success of U.S. diplomacy in this new century depends in no small measure on whether

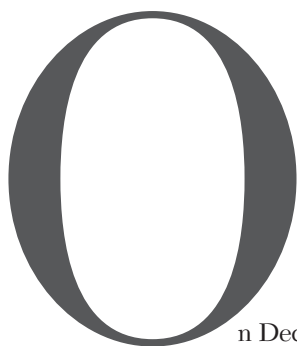
we exploit the promise of the technology revolution." People are beginning to talk about these possibilities and some experimentation is taking place in Washington and around the world.

The notion of modifying the "traditional" way of working — much less bringing about a more fundamental shift in State's work culture — meets with stiff resistance from many who are not comfortable with new ways of communicating and networking. This issue is frequently cited as troubling by more junior employees, who came to the department in recent years from more progressive information environments in the military, academia or the private sector.

A concerted effort is needed to make Foreign Service managers and their Civil Service colleagues aware of the possibilities and the potential for advancing the nation's interests via these new tools, and to convince them to take the first steps toward 21st-century diplomacy. We are not yet at critical mass, the "Tipping Point" of Malcolm Gladwell's book by the same name, but the forces of change are gathering strength.

State's handling of knowledge and information lags behind that of the private sector. We are indeed making progress and anticipate more, but it is vital that we not be left behind. Too much rides on our successful adaptation to the new technological and communication realities and the potential they represent to leverage information into strategic knowledge that can benefit the American people. ■

# PEACEBUILDING: A NEW NATIONAL SECURITY IMPERATIVE



DESPITE SEC. RICE'S SUPPORT, THE OFFICE OF THE COORDINATOR FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND STABILIZATION HAS NOT GOTTEN OFF TO A STRONG START.

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BY PETER H. GANTZ

On Dec. 7, 2005, President Bush issued a new directive (NSPD-44) that aims to improve U.S. government coordination, planning and implementation for stabilization and reconstruction assistance to countries and regions approaching, in, or transitioning from conflict. NSPD-44 establishes the Secretary of State as the lead actor of integrated efforts, involving all relevant departments and agencies, to prepare, plan for and conduct stabilization and reconstruction activities.

In cases of U.S. military involvement, the directive states, the Secretary of State shall coordinate with the Secretary of Defense to ensure harmonization with any planned or ongoing U.S. military operations. DOD Directive 3000.05 (released in late November 2005) establishes how the Defense Department will address and develop capabilities for stability, security, transition and reconstruction and commits the Defense Department to supporting U.S. stabilization and reconstruction efforts.

The new directives are the latest steps taken to fix the U.S. government's woeful capabilities for stabilization and reconstruction, an effort that began with the creation of the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization in August 2004. These reforms are a significant change for an administration that once dismissed peacekeeping as something other people should do. The

directives reflect acceptance of a critical lesson identified in the national security strategy of the United States: "The events of Sept. 11, 2001, taught us that weak states, like Afghanistan, can pose as great a danger to our national interests as strong states."

The implications should be clear: U.S. national security interests are served not just by military expenditures and actions, but also by civilian expenditures and activities. Foreign assistance involves much more than doing good things for people in need because of a moral imperative to do so. It should tackle the linkages between poverty, the failure of state institutions, violent conflict and terrorism.

Nevertheless, in November 2005 House and Senate conferees for the State and Foreign Operations appropriations bills failed to provide funding for S/CRS in FY 2006. The release of the new directives, combined with the funding failures, makes clear that in 2006, two things need to happen: the U.S. government must continue to build upon what S/CRS has begun, and Congress and the Bush administration must work to reorganize government funding channels to ensure that all national security support programs are adequately funded.

Formally established in August 2004, S/CRS initially operated on a shoestring budget with a small staff of eight full-time employees, supplemented by several dozen per-

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sonnel detailed from other agencies. S/CRS was granted \$7.7 million in a supplemental appropriation in April 2005, which helped allow for a staff expansion to 55.

S/CRS' responsibilities are straightforward, though not easy to accomplish. First, the office has put in place a process to identify potential states where a U.S. peacebuilding response might be required. Second, it has iden-

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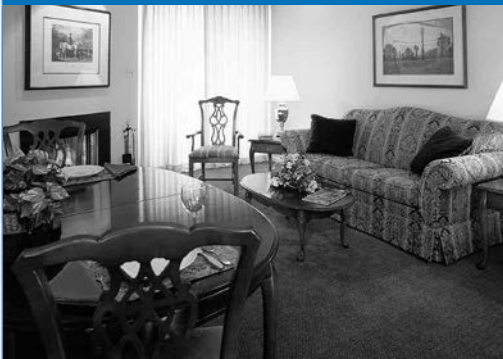
*Peter H. Gantz manages advocacy in the areas of peace operations, post-conflict rule of law operations and related foreign policy issues for Refugees International. RI generates humanitarian assistance for displaced people around the world and works to end the conditions that create displacement. Mr. Gantz also serves as the executive coordinator for the Partnership for Effective Peacekeeping, a Washington, D.C.-based policy network that supports public policy initiatives to improve national and global peace operations capacity. Before joining RI, he worked with Citizens for Global Solutions in Washington and the Carter Center in Atlanta.*

tified the critical tasks that must be carried out if peace is to become permanent, as well as the agencies and personnel best suited to implement them. Third, S/CRS is putting in place the interagency agreements, structures and plans to ensure that government agencies and personnel will be capable of providing a timely and effective response. One aspect of this is the creation of an Active Response Corps, a set of pre-identified personnel who can rapidly deploy to a crisis. Finally, S/CRS is trying to build the capacity to ensure that any U.S. peacebuilding effort is unified and well planned.

The planning framework for stabilization and reconstruction will be used jointly by the military and civilians. The development of an essential-task matrix has drawn from lessons learned, and has identified key issues that need to be addressed in the process of decision-making within the government. The development and testing of models of how to plan and work effectively with the military, NGOs and other actors will assist with mission planning, coordination with combatant commands, and inte-

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gration of civilian teams in the course of operations.

In a Dec. 14 press conference at the State Department, Ambassador Carlos Pascual, the first Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization, reported that S/CRS has also had a strong international outreach program over the past year. It worked with the U.N., particularly on issues related to Haiti, but also with the E.U. and NATO, as well as bilaterally with countries such as the U.K., France, Germany, Canada and some of the Nordic countries that are also creating similar offices.

Now, says Pascual, it is time to develop robust response capacities. Toward that end, for FY 2006 the administration requested \$24.1 million for operational expenses, \$100 million for a Conflict Response Fund and a transfer authority of up to \$200 million from the Department of Defense for emergency situations.

### **A National Security Imperative**

The case for the capabilities that S/CRS is meant to provide is strong. Throughout the 1990s, the U.S. continually responded to problems of conflict and human suffering in weak and failed states, whether in cooperation with other nations through the United Nations, in ad-hoc coalitions or on its own — but with decidedly uneven results. The record shows that U.S. responses to complex emergencies and peacebuilding have proved inadequate. For instance, the rule of law is a casualty in all post-conflict situations, yet every U.S. military deployment to such settings for the past 20 years has been unprepared for lawlessness and looting. This led to unnecessary loss of life, often extensive damage to infrastructure, and higher eventual costs for reconstruction and stabilization.

The complex needs of peacebuilding in post-conflict societies require a response that goes beyond any one single department or agency. The U.S. government needs a strong interagency office to plan for and coordinate reconstruction and stabilization operations, if permanent peace is to be achieved. Yet no such process is in place.

Multiple offices from within the Department of State and USAID, as well as from the Department of Justice, the Treasury Department and other agencies, are involved in the U.S. government civilian response to conflict and the kinds of emergencies that result from state weakness and failure. Once personnel from these agencies finally reach the country in question, which in many cases has taken critical weeks and months to accomplish, coordination and cooperation are often lacking.

An office like S/CRS that includes representatives from each major federal agency involved in post-conflict and stabilization operations could combine and manage to maximum effect the wide variety of skills, knowledge and capacities currently scattered throughout the government. This could enable the U.S. to manage two to three reconstruction and stability operations simultaneously. No less important, centralization of these capacities can better ensure that lessons learned by the different agencies can be recorded, analyzed, institutionalized and then applied to new situations.

Finally, the lack of an effective civilian response has often forced the U.S. military to take on duties it does not want, and has arguably prolonged the deployment of soldiers beyond what was necessary. It is therefore not surprising, perhaps, that one of the stronger supporters of S/CRS has been the uniformed military. High-level military officials have lobbied members of Congress on its behalf. The Secretary of Defense, in cooperation with the Secretary of State, even offered DOD funds to enable the new office to respond to a crisis if Congress agreed. So, in a bizarre twist, mere weeks after appropriators rejected funding for S/CRS, Congress approved an amendment to the FY 2006 Defense authorization bill that would allow DOD to transfer \$100 million to the State Department for purposes S/CRS is tasked with.

### **Support Laced with Skepticism**

While there is support for the reconstruction and stabilization office, there is also skepticism. Multiple reports from leading think-tanks, like the Center for Strategic and International Studies and the Council on Foreign Relations, have called for developing capabilities similar to those S/CRS is meant to fulfill. But these reports and others, by discussing the huge set of tasks and the many different government actors also implicitly or explicitly question whether one office in the State Department can really do the job.

In fact, some in the foreign policy community suggest that what is actually needed is a new Cabinet-level agency that includes parts of the State Department, the entire USAID, parts of the Justice and Treasury departments, and other agencies. Yet this sort of move could potentially lessen or eliminate the critical role of diplomacy in stabilization and reconstruction efforts by cutting the embassy and other State Department personnel out of the process. Others argue that the problem cannot be solved with a

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new office or a new agency, but instead requires a more in-depth consideration of the broader issue of the way the U.S. government funds and organizes development activities and programs.

The experience of S/CRS to date suggests that more ambitious reform may be necessary. Despite the leadership of the able Ambassador Carlos Pascual, who stepped down at the end of 2005, the office may lack the necessary clout. The evidence for this is anecdotal. S/CRS interacts with nearly every part of the State Department and the U.S. Agency for International Development, from State's regional bureaus and Bureau of International Organizations to USAID's Office for Conflict Mitigation and Management. While most people in these offices recognize the need to move away from an ad-hoc response to conflict and peacebuilding, numerous reports of turf wars and budgeting concerns do not suggest a productive response to and relationship with S/CRS. This, in turn, has hurt the case for the new office on Capitol Hill.

Still, support in Congress as a whole is widespread and

bipartisan, if neither strong nor deep. Before S/CRS was created, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee developed legislation arguing for the enhancement of U.S. government civilian capacities for post-conflict situations, and remains seized with the issue today. In the House, Sam Farr, D-Calif., and David Dreier, R-Calif., chair of the powerful Rules Committee, are supportive of S/CRS. In both the Senate and House, legislation has been introduced to support the office's functioning.

Despite this backing, Congress failed to appropriate any funds for S/CRS. In part it reflects narrow interests and responsibilities within the budget process. For example, supporters of the new office have argued that proper civilian planning before an intervention, coupled with effective management of the civilian response after it, could enable the U.S. military to bring troops home faster, resulting in huge savings. An investment of \$24 million for S/CRS operations and \$100 million for S/CRS surge capabilities in a crisis situation could save \$1 billion if one Army division were able to return one month earlier. Yet rather

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than embracing this argument, congressional appropriations staff members for State and Foreign Operations privately dismissed it as irrelevant because the \$1 billion did not come from “their” budget.

Another problem is that the foreign policy staff expertise in Congress is now largely confined to the majority and minority staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House International Relations Committee. The fact that appropriations staff for State and Foreign Operations also work on the budgets for Commerce, Justice and other agencies limits the time they have to grapple with the complexities of certain foreign affairs issues.

### **A National Security Support Budget**

The funding problem for S/CRS points to the need for a national security support budget. These funds could potentially be controlled by the Office of Management & Budget, and various State and Defense Department programs, as well as programs from other agencies, could be funded out of it. Aside from the S/CRS core functions budget and the Conflict Response Fund for surge response capacity, programs like the Global Peace Operations Initiative, International Military Education and Training, and Foreign Military Financing might also fall under its aegis. While it is impossible to know what such a budget might look like without knowing the complete spectrum of programs included, it is safe to say that stabilization and reconstruction activities are cheaper than war, but still not cheap. A national security support budget would require at least \$1 billion, and probably more than \$5 billion, a year.

At present, Congress funds the aforementioned programs — and many others relevant to U.S. national security interests — out of the tiny and often-cut 150 Account. The military is funded out of the huge 050 Account. Even the military recognizes the problems with this, and is trying to get around it by offering its own funds to the State Department. A far better solution would be for the Bush administration to propose a national security support budget, and press hard for the necessary dialogue with Congress to start the ball rolling.

Yet if this is to happen, the way the administration promotes its foreign policy goals must change. Even though various offices and individuals within the Bush administration are supportive of a new office for reconstruction and stabilization, the Bush team has been largely un-

successful in advocating with Congress for its avowed foreign policy goals in this area, whether it be funding for S/CRS or lifting the cap on U.S. funding for United Nations peacekeeping. The State Department’s Legislative Affairs Bureau is supposed to promote the administration’s foreign policy with Congress, but based on the results to date it has not done a particularly good job.

### **A More Public Dialogue Needed?**

Many observers suggest that if the Bush administration really wanted the money for S/CRS, it could have gotten it. This implies that obtaining the funding was not a high enough priority. Yet Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice is reportedly a strong supporter of S/CRS, and in fact helped push creation of the office when she served as national security adviser. She reportedly made phone calls to secure S/CRS funding, indicating a willingness to accept cuts to other department programs (the usual response of Congress when funding a new program in the 150 Account). In other words, she has made S/CRS a priority. Ambassador Pascual has been a tireless promoter of S/CRS, with excellent, articulate and frank portrayals of both why the office is needed and what he and his staff have been doing.

Clearly an assessment of why the arguments have not worked is in order. Perhaps new approaches will be needed to secure funding. This may require fostering a more public dialogue about why S/CRS is needed. Americans do not understand the full extent of what peacebuilding entails. Partly, this is because it is a new endeavor, and no one really knows exactly how it should work, but partly it is because no one has ever explained why the U.S. needs to do it.

The problem goes beyond the American public, however. Many members of Congress and even people in the foreign policy community remain unclear about what S/CRS is, what it is doing, and what it could do. One thing that is certainly necessary is a detailed report to Congress on what S/CRS has already done and what it will do in the upcoming fiscal year. The administration cannot rely on a “trust me and give me the money” message. Congress needs to better understand what the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization would do with a Conflict Response Fund, and how national security interests are harmed if an effective U.S. peacebuilding response cannot be ensured. ■



# MCKINSEY REDUX: WHAT IT GETS RIGHT AND WRONG

**T**HE MCKINSEY AND COMPANY MANAGEMENT CONSULTING FIRM'S LATEST REPORT GENERALLY GIVES STATE HIGH MARKS. BUT MUCH MORE REMAINS TO BE DONE.

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BY LOUISE K. CRANE

his past December, the Department of State released McKinsey and Company's recent update of the study it did for State back in 1999. The full text of the management consulting firm's report, "Winning the Next Phase of the War for Talent," is available on the intranet at: <http://hrweb.hr.state.gov/dg/pc/Docs/McKinsey2005ReportFINAL22July2005.doc>.

I was especially eager to read the report because of its important subject matter and because, while serving as AFSA VP for State, I was one of the 45 "current and former employees" the McKinsey researchers interviewed earlier in 2005 as they gathered data.

Not surprisingly, management is happy with the assessment, which credits State with substantial progress on talent management issues since 1999. McKinsey goes so far as to describe the amount of progress in recruiting and hiring, professional development, spousal employment and performance evaluation as "dramatic."

There is no dispute that State has made real progress on many fronts. From my perspective, however, having represented members of the Foreign Service with State management for four of the years the report covers, I see several serious flaws in the department's practices that have yet to be corrected. The report itself warns that despite significant progress, there is still more the

department should do to establish its commitment to people leadership. Yet it omits any mention of the single most important move the department could make to persuade employees it is truly committed to them: obtaining locality pay, also known as overseas comparability pay or OCP.

## A Question of Fairness

The gap between Washington and overseas salaries grows wider every year. In 2006, those transferring overseas will take a pay cut of 17.5 percent for doing what Congress created the Foreign Service to do: serve in foreign countries. Before the decade is out, those serving overseas at the FS-1 level and below will give up one-fifth of their income for the privilege. (Beginning in 2004, Senior Foreign Service salaries were set at the Washington locality pay level.) This ever-widening gap has significant implications for retention, motivation and productivity.

In light of this, McKinsey and Company should have issued a clarion call for the department, led by Secretary Rice, to secure locality pay for all members of the Foreign Service, regardless of where they work. Its failure even to mention the issue, even in a footnote, is a real disservice not only to thousands of hard-working

Foreign Service personnel overseas, but to the Service as an institution.

Try as I might, I can come up with no explanation for this missed opportunity. After all, AFSA identified the locality pay issue as our top legislative priority back in 2001, and has made significant progress in educating Congress on its importance. And I certainly stressed it in my own meeting with the consultants.

*Low-Ranking.* I was also deeply disappointed to read that McKinsey opposes lowering the low-ranking quota from 5 percent to 2 percent. Its report claims that reducing the number of low-ranked employees “would send the wrong message about the department’s commitment to maintaining a high standard of performance of its employees.” But as I pointed out to the consultants I met with, the arbitrary 5-percent quota does exactly that, stigmatizing competent employees. For example, there are people who are low-ranked simply because they’re suffering from a serious illness contracted abroad and are physically unable to perform at the level of their healthy brethren. Setting a more realistic target would allow the system to focus on weeding out the truly poor performers.

Let me be clear: I favor retaining the practice of low-ranking, and have no problem with setting a reasonable target. After all, even without a quota, the department would still identify poor performers and recommend some for selection-out. But 5 percent is simply too high a requirement. I think the McKinsey researchers got it wrong because they did not bother to study the facts or learn who actually gets low-ranked. Examining real cases would have opened their eyes to the quota’s inequity.

### **What McKinsey Gets Right**

The consultants rightly single out spousal employment as a potential bar to retention of the talent acquired under the Diplomatic Readiness Initiative, and praise the Family Liaison Office’s recent initiatives to help overseas spouses find employment. As they note, the Strategic Networking Assistance Program, operating now at 22

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*Louise K. Crane, who recently retired after 41 years in the Foreign Service as a public diplomacy officer, is the immediate past AFSA vice president for State, serving two terms (2001-2005). She served in Latin America and spent 10 years in Japan after becoming the first female officer assigned to two years of hard-language training.*

posts, has seen some success. However, neither the Global Employment Strategy nor the Manpower program has yet placed any spouse in a job. McKinsey rightly worries that the department may have raised expectations that spouses will find meaningful work overseas.

The lack of remunerative spousal employment is a major obstacle to retention when so many other comparable careers offer couples the chance to earn two incomes, contribute to two 401(k) accounts and collect two Social Security annuities. Factor in salary loss because of the lack of locality pay and you have the recipe for a serious problem.

*Promotion Rates.* I also applaud McKinsey for calling a spade a spade regarding slower promotion rates. The DRI bulge will most definitely slow promotion rates in the near- to medium-term. As we all know, the key to keeping promotion rates steady is “flow through” at every level. There is equilibrium between the number of FS positions at every rank and the number of employees who can be promoted to that rank. The DRI bulge means there are more employees than there are positions at the mid- and senior levels. Can steps be taken to ameliorate this problem? One step would be to upgrade all those mid-level jobs that were downgraded in the 1990s. Another could be reducing time-in-class for those at the officer-counselor and minister-counselor levels to six and 12 years, respectively, in lieu of the current seven and 14 years, thus allowing greater movement across the threshold. (I was with USIA before joining State, and the rule there was six and 12.) Lowering the number of OCs who are promoted to MCs would also help. State should also consider granting TIC extensions for more out-of-cone assignments and training.

In addition, reinstatement of the “training float” would increase the number of mid-level positions/promotion opportunities by 10 to 15 percent. Given that staffing demands in Iraq, Afghanistan and the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (40 slots alone) have already gobbled up nearly all the training positions available, there is a desperate need for a “DRI Two” initiative to restore the 10- to 15-percent cushion Sec. Powell put in place.

AFSA should ask its active-duty members what they think about this issue and what suggestions they may have for alleviating the problem. But at a minimum, the department should consider upgrading all the jobs it downgraded in the 1990s.

### Rethinking the Consular Function

*Consular Issues.* Bouquets to McKinsey for zeroing in on an issue I believe the department has shoved under the rug: consular assignments. Extending the time entry-level generalists spend in consular sections to three years is not the solution to maintaining the flow of visa work. (What message would adopting this practice send about the department's commitment to the new Career Development model?)

I understand that the requirement to interview all applicants poses a crushing burden on finite resources. However, it is a fact that the demand for visas won't slacken. As China and India's middle class expands and opts for more overseas travel, will the department be able to satisfy the demand for visas so Indians and Chinese can visit New York or Disneyland on their vacations? Absolutely not. (*The Economist* recently predicted that India's middle class would number a quarter-billion [!] at current growth rates by 2015.) Mexico alone currently accounts for 20 percent of all visas issued, and demand is

expected to double between 2008 and 2012.

The department cannot hire enough staff or build enough secure interview windows to meet rising visa demand. So the time has come for the department to take a very hard look at the consular function. It should solicit innovative alternatives to enhance the current system. One option is simply to restrict the issuance of visas, but even in the post-9/11 climate, that is likely a non-starter. Another solution might be to conduct "remote" interviews via some sort of television hookup, with adjudicators based elsewhere working various shifts.

Here's another option. Is there a way to link the need for good, remunerative, professional employment for spouses with the need for augmented consular staffing? It's worth a serious look to see if we can create jobs to fulfill spouses' need for income, Social Security earnings and a 401(k) plan plus professional advancement, and at the same time satisfy the need for more consular officers to adjudicate visas. The department was perhaps too hasty in downgrading the Consular Associates program

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after the 9/11 attacks. After all, consular associates were not responsible for issuing visas to the 9/11 hijackers: other government agencies' refusal to share information with the Department of State was the culprit. I suggest the department take a fresh look at the program with a view to upgrading it and providing greater oversight and accountability.

It may still be too soon after 9/11 to start consulting with Congress or sharing options with the public, but it is not too early to start an internal discussion/working group to anticipate the future. Visas are the grease of a global economy.

### **Career Development**

McKinsey zeroes in on several issues dear to my AFSA heart, beginning with implementing the new Career Development Program. McKinsey praises the CDP, but warns that the department must enforce the requirements that AFSA and management so painstakingly negotiated. There is a key sentence in the report I could not have written better myself: "The department should assign accountability for meeting these targets ... to the geographic bureaus." Clearly, the consultants share my concern that when a bureau pushes its own candidate at the expense of qualified bidders seeking to fulfill the CDP's requirements, "the department's leaders must be willing to overrule bureau staffing decisions."

I plan to stay healthy and live long enough to see how faithfully management sticks to the terms of the agreement. And I'll continue to pay my dues so AFSA will have the money to staff our labor management office with attorneys who can file grievances in those cases where management caves in to bureaus' rejection of such bidders.

McKinsey's report spends more time on one subject than any other: giving mid-level employees their due. This issue was dear to my predecessor's heart. John Naland, whom I succeeded as the AFSA VP for State, cared about mid-level employees and felt they were consistently given short shrift, both in terms of training opportunities and substantive assignments. Throughout his time with AFSA (both as State vice president and president), John sent management a stream of innovative suggestions on how this talent could be trained and groomed to mentor entry-level employees and succeed in crossing the threshold.

His concerns were prescient. A 2004 survey of entry-

level employees found that after "family-life issues," the quality of supervisors and managers was the most-cited drawback to an FS career. When asked what was the most important thing the department could do to retain them, the most often-cited answer was "improving the quality of supervisors and management." (Close behind was "Give me more challenging assignments/greater responsibility.")

I am therefore encouraged that McKinsey sees the commitment of middle-level managers to leading and nurturing their people as the driver of employee morale and productivity. Toward that end, it calls on the department to provide more coaching, training and mentoring to enable them to become better managers of people.

The report also singles out something I can relate to in my last assignment, a brief stint in a geographic bureau — the need to provide challenging work. I saw first-hand the lack of top-down communication regarding how staff work supports the department's mission. There was too much mind-numbing struggle for clearances of letters, memoranda, etc., on the least controversial of subjects. I certainly appreciate the need for myriad clearances on issues of high policy — North Korea's nuclear program, for example. But multiple clearances for letters replying to school children's inquiries? AFSA's mid-level members can provide countless examples of how the department fails to empower its experienced, seasoned officers.

Several of these issues require negotiations with AFSA, such as changes to the evaluation process and to assignment procedures, and implementation/enforcement of the Career Development Program. Other matters, such as the importance of leaders' communicating with subordinates, etc., do not require AFSA's concurrence, but I believe they would be profitably addressed from the association's bully pulpit. Almost 80 percent of State's Foreign Service employees are members, and they can provide valuable insights — if the department will listen.

### **What Is "Transformational Diplomacy"?**

McKinsey's study highlights, but unfortunately does not offer solutions for, a problem I warned about before I left office: finding qualified people for difficult-to-staff posts, which I refer to as 3-D work: dirty, difficult and dangerous.

There are currently 15 unaccompanied posts with 700 positions, in countries too dangerous for families, and the number will only grow. On top of that, half of all posts

are already classified as “greater hardship.”

The department already offers incentives in the form of R&R leave and onward assignment preferences to those who serve in front-line posts, but there are financial and logistical limits on what more it can do along those lines. Understandably, McKinsey does not offer any radical solution to the annual problem of recruiting 700 “volunteers” for these jobs. However, I foresee attempts to solve the problem by striking at the heart of the current assignment system; several recent trial balloons have already been launched in the media suggesting that directed assignments are in the offing.

I fear that as the number of volunteers for this 3-D duty diminishes, department leadership will be sorely tempted to alter the core of the Foreign Service — promotions based solely on the quality of performance, regardless of where performed. The political leadership does not necessarily have the best interests of the Service at heart; its primary goal is to implement administration policy, at whatever cost. If they thought promising pro-

motions to volunteers for front-line duty would work, I don’t doubt for a New York minute it would be tried. Personally, I would rather see directed assignments than witness the destruction of the Foreign Service as a system based on merit.

The McKinsey report describes the challenge of staffing front-line posts as a part of transformational diplomacy. But beyond that, the consultants seem as perplexed as many of us in the Foreign Service are about what Secretary Rice actually means when she uses that term. True, she told the consultants that she wants State to be “even more active in promoting the development of democratic institutions, the reduction of poverty and disease and the elimination of terrorism and violence.” But that definition doesn’t satisfy either McKinsey or me; after all, how are those goals any different than the ones pursued by traditional diplomacy? No wonder the consultants encountered a widespread belief within the department that transformational diplomacy boils down to staffing Iraq and Afghanistan and future front-line posts.

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## F O C U S

### Words to the Wise

Finally, a few words to the department's political leadership.

In its discussion of the department's enormous strides in recruitment and leadership training in just five years, McKinsey over and over cites the strong backing and personal involvement in effective management Sec. Powell and his leadership team displayed. The firm warns that to sustain the gains, Sec. Rice and her team must maintain the same level of commitment to strengthening and rewarding leadership skills. But it notes that employees who were interviewed had too little exposure to her team to judge its commitment.

They suggest she appoint a high-ranking member of her team to sponsor programs to implement and sustain the gains made in the "War for Talent." That person

*McKinsey's report  
appropriately spends  
more time on one  
subject than any other:  
giving mid-level  
employees their due.*

could also be responsible for ensuring that senior managers are held accountable for success. As one senior staffer warned McKinsey, "This will all fall apart if senior-level support doesn't exist."

I, too, have heard and read Sec. Rice's words on her team's commitment to leadership, management and morale, but as yet have not seen any concrete examples.

Summarizing the impact of Secretary Powell and his team on launching the recruitment and leadership initiative, McKinsey writes this: "[T]he department's employees perceived senior leaders' willingness to jump through necessary hoops to get additional funding as a sign they cared about employees, their development and morale."

Listen up, Rice and Company. These words apply equally to you. ■

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# LIFE AFTER THE FS: MORE RETIREES SPEAK UP

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RETIREES SHARE STORIES AND ADVICE ABOUT RETIREMENT FROM THE FOREIGN SERVICE.

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**D**ozens of Foreign Service retirees responded to the AFSANET solicitation the Journal sent out last November asking for insight and information on their experiences with retirement. In fact, the response was so great — and so varied and interesting — that we have presented it in two installments, the first in our January issue and the second in the pages that follow.

— Susan B. Maitra, Senior Editor



## When Is Retirement Not Retirement?

### A True Story

In 1998, I got the call from the director general that every senior officer dreads. “Jim,” he said, “you missed promotion to minister-counselor by three places. I’m sorry, but that means that by this time next year, you will be retired from the Service.”

As a career Foreign Service officer, and someone who had never even considered life after the Service, this news came as a tremendous blow. At first, I didn’t really know what I would do, and the idea of a future outside of the Service was certainly not appealing. Visions of Felix Bloch bagging groceries in North Carolina, and friends of mine who had already retired but had not quite found their niche came to mind. On the other hand, there were also plenty of stories of colleagues who had done quite well after the Service, so I was not entirely down-hearted.

Nor should I have been. As it happened, fate lent a hand.

As I was coming to the end of my final tour as DCM in Kiev, the conflict in Kosovo erupted. I was called back to Washington early and given a Limited Career Extension to help set up the Kosovo Implementation Office, which established our mission in Pristina and dealt with many of the region’s most pressing postwar political and economic issues.

In 2000, just as the office was well established and I was trying to figure out what to do next, I was “traded” to the Office of the Special Adviser for the New Independent States. That enabled me to use the remainder of my LCE to fulfill the position of “utility infielder” for the countries of the former Soviet Union, filling in senior overseas vacancies until suitable replacements could be found. In this manner, I filled in as chargé d’affaires in Minsk, and then twice as acting consul general in Vladivostok.

My LCE ran out, but then a strange thing happened: it seemed the Service wanted me back, after all. I was recalled to serve a final year as consul general in Vladivostok. After that, I worked for a few months as a senior adviser to the ambassador in Moscow, and then for a short time as acting consul general in Yekaterinburg. Then, just when it looked like things really were over, I was recalled again to serve as political counselor in Moscow.

By the time I had finally retired for the second time in 2004, my second career as an FSO had turned out to be even more interesting and fulfilling than my first. As I returned home to San Clemente, Calif., I couldn’t have been happier, or more clueless about where life would take me next. The months rolled by, and slowly I became convinced that maybe I really had retired for good. Once again, I was wrong.

One day in March 2005, I was relaxing on the beach

when my cell phone rang. It was an old colleague from the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs. "Jim," he said, "how would you like to go to Kiev?" I replied that I'd love to, but I had kept in touch with my friends out there, and no jobs were available. "Unfortunately, that's not correct," he replied. Our ambassador to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe office in Kiev, David Nicholas, had died tragically a few days earlier of a heart attack. Though not a career officer, Amb. Nicholas had been widely respected in the Foreign Service, and he had done heroic work during Ukraine's Orange Revolution. And now, only two months later, he was gone.

I thought about the offer for a milisecond before replying, "When do you need me?" I was on the next plane to Washington, and a few weeks later, found myself carrying on my predecessor's work at OSCE Kiev. These are exciting days in Ukraine and, once again, I'm having the time of my life. I have no idea how long I will be here or what comes next, but such questions have ceased to matter. I have found that all that really counts about a job is whether the work you are doing fulfills a worthy purpose.

After all my travels of the past few years, I may not be planning my personal future any better than before, but I have learned at least one lesson: the respect of one's colleagues is worth more than the decisions of any promotion panel. Good work will eventually be recognized.

*James F. Schumaker*  
Kiev



### **How Did I Ever Have Time to Work?**

I am happily and truly retired, and often wonder how I ever had time to go to work at the State Department. I spent the first four years of my retire-

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***It's not difficult for a  
truly retired FSO to stay  
busy — even while  
resisting department  
blandishments to come  
back as a WAE or  
a contractor.***

— ***Tom Wukitsch***

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ment as a dependent spouse at Embassy Rome, where I got back up to speed on the Roman archeology, archeometry (archeological tests and measurements) and history I had studied as an undergraduate and graduate student in Chicago in the 1960s.

Back in Arlington, Va., after the Rome tour, I fell in with a number of former State Department employees and other interested folks who had just organized the Arlington Learning in Retirement Institute as an affiliate of George Mason University, the Arlington County Board of Education and Elderhostel (<http://www.arlingtonlri.org>). ALRI is now three years old, has over 500 members and offers about 30 courses in each of two 10-week semesters each year. Membership is open to anyone over age 50, and there is no Arlington County residence requirement. The courses are university-level, but with no exams, no papers to write (or correct) and no academic credit. It's a real joy to teach people who are not trying to fulfill a degree requirement.

I've taught one course each semester covering ancient Rome, medieval

Rome, Renaissance Rome and, currently, Vesuvius and the destructive eruption of A.D. 79 (Pompeii, Herculaneum and all that). Some of the courses have been repeated. My classes generally run for two or more hours, once each week. In September 2004 I took my ancient Rome class on an eight-day field trip to Rome, where I served as the guide and instructor. Another trip is being planned for June 2006 to Florence and Venice, after a spring course that I will teach on the history and art of those two cities.

In conjunction with my teaching, I maintain an Internet site, dealing mostly with Roman history (<http://www.mmdtkw.org>). The site now runs to 2,100 pages and attracts over 700,000 visitors per month (although that goes down to about 400,000 during the summer academic off-season).

A smaller part of my time is spent as a member of the board of directors (and webmaster) of a multinational nonprofit organization called Scientific Methodologies Applied to Cultural Heritage (<http://www.smatch-international.org>). SMATCH is heavily involved with archeometry, but we are trying to broaden our scope. So far, the group has sponsored or co-sponsored research, seminars, presentations and exhibitions in Washington, Pittsburgh, Rome and Venice in association with the Smithsonian, the municipality of Rome, the Vatican Museums, the Gemological Institute of America and other American, Italian and Brazilian museums, universities and cultural institutions.

As you can see, it's not difficult for a truly retired FSO to stay busy — even while resisting department blandishments to come back as a WAE or as a contractor. I've always said that my previous experience as a historian and archeologist informed my work as an FSO rather than the other way around. My State Department experience was certainly valuable, howev-



er, as a means of finding interesting post-retirement activities: both ALRI and SMATCH are heavily populated by former U.S. government foreign affairs folks. Both always welcome new members — take a look at their Web sites!

*Tom Wukitsch  
Arlington, Va.*



### **Advocating for Abused Children**

I retired from the Foreign Service in 1985 after almost 29 years. My overseas assignments included Hong Kong, Vietnam, Jamaica, Angola and Morocco.

I have a law degree from The George Washington University, which I earned a few months after entering the Foreign Service. I had never practiced law but, fortunately, kept my bar admission alive by paying inactive dues. For a few years I practiced criminal defense in the District of Columbia, at the Superior Court, the Court of Appeals and the U.S. District Court, but that was not really emotionally rewarding. Then in 1990, I began practicing as an advocate in the realm of child abuse and neglect. The cases usually stem from the abuse of drugs by the mother, and sometimes by the father, or because of alcohol abuse. In a few cases, they occur as a result of mental illness.

In most cases, the children affected are immediately removed from the abusive situation by the court. They are placed, if possible, with a competent relative, often the maternal grandmother. If none is available, the child is placed in foster care or in a facility such as Sasha Bruce House. If an infant, the child is placed at St. Anne's Children's Home. The goal of the process is to provide services to the parent so that reunification with their children can be achieved. The services can include drug counseling and treat-

ment, including treatment in a residential facility, sometimes with the child. In the case of excessive disciplining of a child, parenting and anger management courses are required of the parent. The children are considered "endangered" for a variety of causes, such as beating, burning, starving and being kept in restraints (being tied to a bed, for example).

All involved are gratified if the program results in reunification. The reunified family is monitored for some months to demonstrate recovery, and to ensure that the child is no longer endangered. If such efforts fail, the legal process of termination of parental rights may follow. At that time, it is vital to have a fit family member prepared to care for or adopt the child. If none can be identified, other qualified persons, who have completed certain training, and have no significant criminal record, may petition to adopt the child. The matter can go to formal mediation, and the parent there often agrees to the adoption, especially in the case of an adopting relative.

Otherwise, the matter goes to trial, which is a painful and agonizing experience for all involved. It is necessary to involve both birth parents. Sometimes the birth father is not interested, and is willing to relinquish his rights. Some fathers are incarcerated for a long time, and have no ability to be involved in the life of the child. Often, the father is unknown and a complex procedure of publication must be followed, so that in the years to come he cannot come forward and challenge the adoption. The trial is an evidentiary hearing to determine if a parent is withholding consent to the adoption contrary to the best interest of the child. The wishes of the child can be considered by the court when the child is over 7 years of age.

Some children are abandoned at birth in a hospital, often by mothers

who give a false identity to the hospital. The mother has 60 days to change her mind, and come forward to claim her child. If not, the child is then available for adoption.

In many respects the work is sad and troubling, but it can also be very heartwarming. That is so whether the parent succeeds in rehabilitation, and is reunited with the child or, as is more often the case, a wonderful and loving home is found for the child. I have found service with the Council for Child Abuse and Neglect very different from a career in the Foreign Service. Yet, in some ways, it is similar, especially when compared to assistance to Americans in trouble overseas. My experience has included finding prospective adoptive parents, finding essential medical and dental care for the children and many tough court battles in working on the cases of over 900 children. I still keep in touch with some of the families.

I have also been active in AFSA, serving as a member of the Governing Board and, in 1978, as the association's vice president, and in Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired, where I have served on the Board of Governors since 1988. I also served as DACOR's vice president from 1997 to 1999 and president from 1999 to 2001.

*Ken Rogers  
Washington, D.C.*



### **From Private to Public and Back**

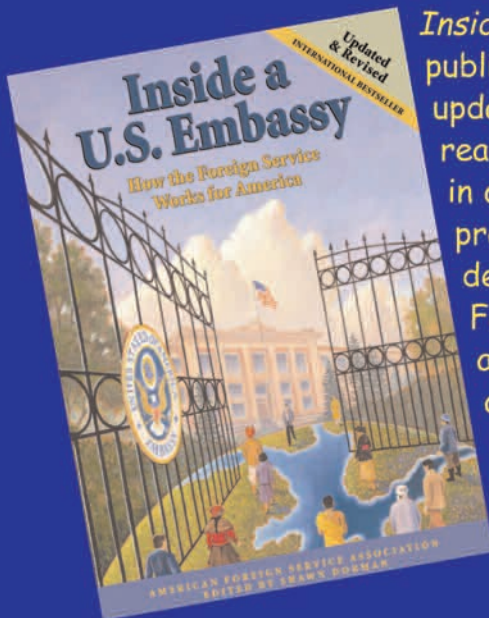
I retired in 1980 and entered the private sector for six years. After retiring a second time, I was called back in 1992 to assist USAID in opening up new offices in Moscow, Kiev, Yerevan and Almaty. For five months I worked in these four countries looking for office space and housing, transporting USAID manuals to the posts from the mailroom at Embassy

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Moscow, and carrying out other administrative duties. In 1993 I spent six weeks helping out in the USAID mission to Zimbabwe; in 1994 I assisted the USAID mission in Kazakhstan.

My advice on WAE appointments: Keep in touch with the people who do this type of personnel work. Because USAID called me to help out in the former states of the Soviet Union, its human resources office took care of my security clearance renewal and the paperwork. My salary in the private sector was commensurate with my former grade of FS-2, so there were no particular personnel or pay problems.

After my second retirement in 1987, I became a volunteer for the state office of Senator John McCain, R-Ariz., in Phoenix. That was very interesting work. Sen. McCain's office managers had no hesitation in using my administrative skills, as well as the age factor, to let me handle the paperwork and advise the much younger staff on problems of the aging. They later flew me from Phoenix to Washington, D.C., to work in the senator's main office.

Retirees are welcome in the state offices of any senator or representative; you just have to go in and volunteer. This applies to retirees from all branches of the Foreign Service, not just administrative counselors.

I also worked as a volunteer for a variety of agencies — including AFSA, which turned out to be the most interesting of all. I also worked for the Citizens Democracy Corps, which was set up by USAID to assist NGOs in transporting goods to Eastern Europe. After that assignment I worked for the International Media Fund, which was set up by USIA to establish centers in Eastern Europe for journalists. (Because there is no salary, I recommend asking for a daily stipend for lunch and parking.)

My advice to colleagues who are nearing retirement, to help ease the transition from work in the Foreign Service to the private sector, is: 1) attend every minute of the Retirement Seminar; 2) use the facilities of the department's Retirement Office to seek work in the private sector; and 3) use the department's Human Resources people to keep on top of vacancies for WAEs or contract employees.

I've only dealt with the Retirement Division on a few occasions, but I've always found them helpful and ready to serve.

*Joseph M. Kemper  
Phoenix, Ariz.*



### Exploring New Endeavors

I retired early in 1973, at the point that I had lost 80 percent of my hearing, and spent the next seven years

caring for my blind mother. By the time she died, in 1984, I was beyond employable age — employable, that is, at anything that would interest me. But I have been active in the League of Women Voters and other civic organizations. This includes being a founding member of a local environmental organization, the Cannon River Watershed Partnership.

In addition, I have done considerable translating from Norwegian for book projects (see, for example, David Laskin's *The Children's Blizzard*, Harper Perennial, 2005) and have written the introduction to a book published by the Norwegian-American Historical Association. I also wrote an account of my overseas experience during World War II for the Minnesota Historical Society's Greatest Generation Project. Over the years I have given speeches on my experiences, being sure that I kept up on events in the countries

that were the subject of my talks.

*Brynhild C. Rowberg  
Northfield, Minn.*



### No WAE!

Upon retirement, I worked in two different positions in the director general's office as a WAE. I fell into both of these jobs: I had been an FS employee working in policy coordination prior to retirement, and was asked to stay on as a WAE until a permanent person was hired for the job. Then the director of policy coordination recommended me for a WAE position in career development and assignments until I relocated to Wisconsin in April 2003. I enjoyed both positions and would like more.

Subsequent to this, however, I found it impossible to obtain WAE assignments overseas. Department assignments don't interest me because

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travel and per diem are not included, and this makes working in Washington, D.C., cost-prohibitive.

My efforts to obtain overseas WAE assignments consisted of sending my resumé to the regional assignments coordinators; repeatedly phoning to check on possible assignments; personally calling on the post-assignment coordinators when I was in Virginia in 2004 and 2005 on other business; and, finally, asking the under secretary for political affairs to intercede on my behalf.

Maybe the best way to obtain WAE jobs is to take the Job Search Program, which I did not do.

I relocated to Wisconsin because I own a house here, and wanted to live in it for two years and decide how to proceed. I enjoy living here; however, I miss the intellectual and cultural stimulation that the Washington, D.C., area offers, as well as the opportunity to find WAE work in the department.

If you are single, as I am, relocating to what once was your home will be a major adjustment. Chances are good that there will be no Foreign Service retirees living nearby. Moreover, the local folks haven't a clue about Foreign Service life and are only interested in their backyard happenings such as football, baseball, etc. I miss the connection to what was the major emphasis in my life for more than 36 years. I have learned that you can't just close the door and begin anew, because FS life has greatly altered your views on life and the world.

*Lois Luebke Bozilov  
Oconomowoc, Wis.*



### **Activities, Literary and Nonliterary**

When I retired from the United States Information Agency in 1986, I planned to write. And that is largely what I have done. Immediately after

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*Retirees are welcome  
in the state offices of  
any senator or  
representative;  
you just have to go  
in and volunteer.*

— *Joseph M. Kemper*

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retirement I spent a term at St. Antony's College, Oxford, researching foreign affairs, followed by three terms at Clare Hall, Cambridge, where I subsequently became a life member. I return there every summer. I am also an associate of the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University, where in 1992 I directed and edited a study of USIA published by the institute.

I have written two works of history, *The Vision of Anglo-America* (Cambridge, 1987) and *The Fall of Che Guevara* (Oxford, 1998), and one book of four novellas, *Impure Thoughts* (PublishAmerica, 2004). I have also written innumerable shorter items; e.g., commentaries for "Talking History," a program carried by a group of National Public Radio stations and by the Voice of America.

I have also done newspaper pieces on international affairs, written the introductions to two books about Che Guevara, and contributed a number of articles to *Government Executive* magazine. I planned and wrote the text for an exhibit and then a booklet produced by the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, *A Brief History of United States Diplomacy*. Part of

the exhibit was used in a wider display at the State Department. I have also worked as a consulting senior historian for History Associates Inc., mostly researching and writing background for legal cases involving ecological issues.

Among my non-literary activities, two stand out. In 1993, Peter Krogh, then dean of the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown, asked me to direct the development of a list of more than 100 books on the conduct of diplomacy and then get them shipped to institutions teaching diplomacy in the newly independent countries of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. USIA provided invaluable financial and logistical support for this program.

My other major non-writing activity lasted more than a decade, from the late 1980s to the late 1990s, and involved tutoring Washington elementary school children. An all-volunteer program, the Saturday Learning Extension Program provided one-on-one tutoring for some 140 children at its peak. We tutored on Saturday mornings at two locations, one in Northwest Washington and one in Southeast. I began as a tutor and soon helped manage the program, eventually directing it for about five years.

Finally, as an avocation, I write plays. Some have been produced in England — at Cambridge, London and Edinburgh — and some in Washington, D.C.

My advice for new retirees: beware of isolation, especially if you write. You can get carried away with your work and suddenly find yourself getting neurotic from lack of adult company, especially if your spouse is away most of the day, as mine was. Many organizations in Washington will gladly invite you to interesting programs. Look into them. They will help keep you sane.

*Henry Butterfield Ryan  
Washington, D.C.*

## Digging into History in France

When I retired from USIA, after tours in South Africa, Tanzania, Slovenia and Switzerland, and two postings to Paris, my wife and I could not agree on a place to settle in the U.S. But because we both liked France, that became our obvious choice. After 13 years, we have no regrets.

My writing and editing experience and FS media and international organization contacts were a definite help in landing post-retirement consultancy jobs at the *International Herald Tribune*, the International Energy Agency and MBA-Exchange.com.

As acting president of the French Association CSS Alabama and on behalf of the U.S. Naval Historical Center, I organized the summer 2005 dives to the wreck of the notorious Confederate raider sunk by the *USS Kearsarge* off Cherbourg, France, in 1864. It was the last great sailing ship gunnery duel in history and the only Civil War battle outside U.S. territory (see "A Captain, a Ship and a Final Battle: The Saga of the *CSS Alabama*," *FSJ*, May 1994).

My interest in this story began when I discovered the "Alabama Room" in the Geneva City Hall, site of the first international arbitration tribunal in history. Later, as cultural attaché in Paris, I served as liaison between the U.S. government and the government of France in negotiations over ownership of the wreck and its artifacts.

I have also started piano lessons as a beginner!

*Christopher Henze  
Neuilly, France*



## Part-time Work, Full-time Retirement

I have been on the WAE rolls for over a year but haven't had an assignment. Living outside Washington is a

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problem in that only overseas assignments make economic sense, and I can't spend much time in the department schmoozing. The basic problem, however, is no money, particularly no money for public diplomacy. When USIA was absorbed into State, the PD areas kept salaries in their budgets. This was probably wise, but they receive no central money to help out with unexpected gaps at posts.

I could, of course, fill other positions as I have experience in doing political work and have been acting DCM at two posts for considerable periods of time. A PD background isn't helpful here but, again, the basic problem is money.

Maybe next year.

In the meantime, I have an art gallery in my home. It's a "real" business in that it is registered, I pay taxes, and I have made a profit — though if I had to live on the proceeds, I'd be slim indeed. Basically, the income pays for travel, more art, some magazine subscriptions and gives me "mad money." It is difficult to determine whether the Foreign Service experience helped me (except in having gotten to know a number of artists over the years), or whether the qualities that made the Foreign Service fun for me also contribute here.

As I don't work full time, you might call me "fully retired." What am I doing? I am finally finishing my doctorate in Romanian history. I am active in the local Democratic Party organization and write a weekly news column for our local paper. I sing in a choral group. I organize tours to India and Romania, trying to help out friends in those countries. I am involved in a 4-H project that, we hope, will result in a partnership between Pamlico County, N.C., and Vilcea Judet, Romania. And, of course, my two horses keep me busy riding and taking part in horse associations and shows.

I am in North Carolina because my newly-acquired husband (the reason

for my retirement, in fact) was here. I like it. If I weren't here, I would be living in the mountains of San Diego County. In 22 years in the Foreign Service, I only lived in Washington three times for a total of less than two-and-a-half years — it's not home.

The Retirement Seminar was good and the followup has been spectacular, but dealing with the Retirement Division was like being a visa applicant in Nigeria.

I retired voluntarily, long before I would have been TICed out, so that part of the emotional process was not a factor. I anticipated problems in acquiring an identity: If I am not in an embassy or the Department of State, who am I? But it turned out not to be a problem here because people don't care who you were before. And most of them have never heard of the Foreign Service anyway.

*Kiki Harris*

*North Carolina*



### **Ambassador in the Yampa Valley**

"Oh, Mr. Ambassador, could you help me, please?" The voice of the skier came to me out of the swirling snowstorm. "Not bad," I thought, "a retirement job where I get some respect!"



I've traded in my blue pinstripe suit for a mango-colored Goretex ski parka with "STEAMBOAT AMBASSADOR" emblazoned on the back. My office is a stand of spruce trees at the top of Mt. Werner, where I gather my minions every Sunday morning to start the mountain ski tour (at 10,685 feet above sea level, it's considerably closer to heaven than the seventh floor of the State Department). My employee evaluation comes from the hundreds of guests I meet face-to-face every week, most of whom tell me that Steamboat's ambassador program is the best free service offered by any ski mountain in the business.

My volunteer "work" at the Steamboat Ski Area, overlooking the Yampa Valley in Colorado, requires spending time up on the mountain with the skiing guests, answering their questions, seeing to their needs. It's PAO stuff, without the staff.

Every day at 10:30 a.m., a hardy band of ambassadors takes small groups of skiers on a free two-hour guided tour of the mountain. We hit the skiing high spots, tell them some local lore, and point out where the best powder stashes are likely to be found when the next storm rolls in.



*Retired FSO Don Mathes traded in his pinstripe suit for a Goretex ski parka and volunteer work at the Steamboat Ski Area in Colorado.*

I love the exchanges; it reminds me of Ed Murrow's exhortation to my entry-level class in 1960 that the most important distance our communications have to cover is "the last three feet." As a Steamboat ambassador, I stay three feet from our guests for most of my day.

On occasion, I've gotten in over my head, like the time I was asked to take members of the Spanish national ski team on a tour of the mountain. For a couple of hours, I chased three Olympic ski racers in their 20s through the trees and down our black diamond terrain. I was 68 at the time and had never raced anyone but my 10-year-old. It didn't take long to realize that my skiing skills were not up to Olympic standards and that my S-4 in Spanish needed work. But at the end of the tour, they thanked me profusely for not getting in their way, and presented me with a national ski team cap that I treasure.

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***I anticipated problems  
in acquiring an identity:***

***If I am not in an  
embassy or the  
Department of State,  
who am I?***

— ***Kiki Harris***

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More commonly, however, my tour is composed of families and skiers whose skills are less advanced than those of the Spanish team. Also, they come from lower altitudes and are struggling to catch their

breath in the Rockies, whereas I sleep at 7,200 feet every night, ski about 100 days each season and hike the Mt. Zirkel Wilderness in summer. I take some pleasure in having a 30-something hotshot from New York or Washington beg me to stop for a break.

In addition to the mountain tour, we help the ski patrol clear the mountain at closing time. It's a highly structured operation because we don't want to leave any injured or lost skier out there overnight to freeze to death. Nothing compares to the beauty of "sweep" at the end of the day: making your way slowly down the mountain in the evening twilight, without another soul in sight; light snow gently falling, and not a sound but the swishing of your turning skis. It's pure poetry, a soul-stirring experience.

Retirement to a mountain town is not everyone's idea of paradise. The winters are long, the summers short.



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Denver's cultural life is 200 miles away, and I'm seldom called by anyone in Washington to ask my opinion on a policy matter. But I have a great ski mountain to play on for four or five months each year and an expansive wilderness region to hike and bike between June and October. Great golf, bountiful wildlife, rushing creeks and rivers, incredible wildflowers in the spring, no air conditioning required, and no Beltway traffic to deal with. For me the trade-off is easy.

The Ute Indians who inhabited the valley before white fur traders settled here spoke of the "Curse of the Yampa Valley." It was that anyone who spent a season in the valley would be cursed from then on always to return. I have suffered from the curse since my first season in Steamboat Springs; and each and every time I return home from a trip, I heave that knowing sigh of relief as I cruise over Rabbit Ears Pass and look down on my valley: Home in paradise, safe at last.

*Don Mathes  
Steamboat Springs, Colo.*



### **Walking Through Retirement**

Luck and an overseas experience played a role in our satisfactory retirement. First, the good luck: Our two children are creative, self-sufficient adults who profited from their Foreign Service youth (although they may not have thought so at the time). We are also lucky to have good genes, and are pretty hale and hearty at 78.

Second, the experience abroad: During the oil crisis of the 1970s, we were at the consulate general in Rotterdam. The sensible Dutch, faced with a gasoline shortage, declared "Autoless Zondags." So we cycled or walked on Sunday outings, even though diplomats were exempt from the restriction. That was the first

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*The sensible Dutch,  
faced with a gasoline  
shortage, declared*

*"Autoless Zondags."*

*That was the first time  
we gave serious thought  
to walking as a means of  
transportation.*

*— Jewell Fenzi*

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time we gave serious thought to walking as a means of transportation. Assigned to Washington soon after, we bought a house in the District where we could walk to everything, including the department. In addition, a narrow house with multiple stories and lots of stairs meant built-in aerobic exercise.

That was 1977, and our colleagues thought we had taken leave of our senses. The neighborhood had been abandoned by both the black and white middle class after the riots following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968. But beautiful old 19th-century residences and vibrant Dupont Circle were making a comeback. Today we stroll to U Street for designer pizza or to the 14th Street theater district, the Phillips Gallery or the Dupont Circle Cinema. Realtors tout the neighborhood: luxury townhouses in the low seven figures, ideal location, walking distance from everything.

For almost 15 years we walked Io, our beloved husky/German shepherd, up to Meridian Hill, down to Lafayette Square, around Roosevelt Island

and along trails in Rock Creek Park. When we visited San Francisco, we explored the peninsula's Coastal Range and the Berkeley Hills with Io. For many years my spouse was zoning chair for the Dupont Circle Citizens' Association, and Io provided cover as he prowled neighborhood alleys to check on questionable new decks or additions.

Rain, shine or snow, my spouse walks three round-trip miles to his job as a behind-the-scenes volunteer at the Smithsonian. For almost 20 years he has worked in the numismatic section of the American History Museum, where he catalogs and attributes one of the finest collections of Russian coins in the world. It was given to the Smithsonian by Willis B. Dupont in the 1960s and 1970s, and contains many great rarities. My spouse has published articles in the scholarly *Journal of the Russian Numismatic Society*; one of them, "Count Emeryk Hutten-Czapski, His Interest and Expertise in Russian Numismatics," was received with acclaim in numismatic circles. Although coins have been his first love since youth, my spouse insists he volunteers at the Smithsonian because he can walk to work.

My volunteer commutes, also on foot, to the Woman's National Democratic Club and to DC Vote to advocate full voting rights for residents of the District of Columbia are clocked in minutes. Shortly after settling in Washington in 1985, I began recording oral histories, first with Foreign Service spouses and later with members of WNDC. I could walk to conduct FS interviews in Georgetown and Sheridan Circle, and to transcribe interviews at the organization's historic mansion just off Dupont Circle.

We plan to stay in our house and keep on walking. More and more frequently I eye the basement, well aware that we should finish the roughed-in bedroom and bath for a caregiver, should walking ever



become a luxury for us. Meanwhile, when we are not driving annually across the U.S. to visit two energetic little grandsons in California, we only have to fill up at the pump about every six weeks.

*Jewell Fenzi  
Washington, D.C.*



### **20 Years in the Informal Reserve**

I served in the Foreign Service from 1952 to 1980, and in the “informal reserve” — on WAE and contract status — from 1980 to 2000. During the reserve years, I held a number of short-term assignments in offices concerned with freedom of information, political military affairs, political asylum cases, refugee matters, language services and, above all, human rights. I also had several contract assignments with NGOs holding contracts with USAID, one of which involved travel to Africa.

I was a member of the first Human Rights Country Reports Team assembled to edit and prepare the annual volume for publication. Mandated by Congress, these annual reports require sensitive handling and impose a heavy workload on embassies and the department. In 1984, then-Assistant Secretary for Human Rights Elliott Abrams decided to form a team of senior officers to coordinate this process. I served on this team for well over a decade, primarily editing the African reports. This was by far the most interesting and rewarding work I performed in the informal reserve. It involved four months each year of intense activity with various bureaus and embassies.

In my experience, the selection of officers for assignments in the informal reserve comes about through a casual process of keeping in touch with other officers, bureaus and publications. One assignment leads to

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another. There are many variables in the process — e.g., timing — but for those interested in such careers, it is important to start soon after retirement, while contacts are current.

The informal reserve seems to work reasonably well, except in times of major foreign affairs crises. In 1988, I recommended establishing a formal reserve system with the aim of rationalizing the reserve selection and assignment process and better preparing for major emergencies (see “Standing in Reserve,” *FSJ*, January 1988). Subsequently, the department initiated a semiformal reserve in the 1990s, but it never had much success due to a dearth of funding, limiting legal regulations and a lack of wide political support.

Today, as the budgetary squeeze is likely on, the cost of implementing a formal reserve, one in which officers could keep up language, area and other skills, would seem to be prohib-

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***I was a member of  
the first Human Rights  
Country Reports Team  
assembled to edit and  
prepare the annual  
volume for publication.***

— ***James F. Relph Jr.***

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itive. However, with the Iraq experience in mind, it might be useful for a task force or commission to take a serious look at the pros and cons of such a reserve.

*James F. Relph Jr.  
Laguna Woods, Calif.*

### **My Take on Retirement**

Within weeks of joining the Foreign Service in 1960 and going to Washington for training I knew I'd found my career. Everyone I met was uniformly friendly and welcoming, and the material was immensely interesting. My family, of course, thought it was just a “phase.” But from my first tour in Amman to my last in La Paz, I embraced the Foreign Service life and found every new post a unique experience.

When it came to retirement, my tours in the Middle East assured me that I would be happiest in a desert atmosphere. I therefore took quite a few trips exploring various areas in Arizona and New Mexico. The place I found most enticing was Santa Fe. But as my retirement date neared, everything I read indicated that life in Santa Fe might be more expensive than I would wish. So I used a book, *Retirement Places Rated: What You Need to Know to Plan the Retirement You Deserve* (John Wiley & Sons, 2004), to get information on other locales that might interest me. The book advises readers to think of their own personal interests — golf, bowling, medical facilities, even movies. What an eye-opener! I realized that a lot of the places that sounded interesting to me, for instance, had only one movie screen, which would not be sufficient to satisfy my cinematic interest.

While serving in La Paz, Bill and Lou Hedges and I discussed retirement quite a lot, and they mentioned Las Cruces, N.M., to me. They were looking seriously at that area and did quite a bit of Internet research on it. As they shared their gleanings with me, it sounded extremely interesting.

Contrary to the advice I was given at the Retirement Seminar, I really wanted to be in a town where I did not know anyone. I thought that if I lived where I knew even one person or couple, I would tend to hang back

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and do things with them instead of exploring. With 65,000 inhabitants, and a university and military facility nearby, Las Cruces certainly sounded like it would fulfill all my needs.

Upon retiring I came to Las Cruces and rented an apartment for a few months while looking the area over. I spent a day with a realtor in Albuquerque, too, but realized that city was just too big for me — and housing was more expensive than I wanted. After about four months I bought a house here. Still, I worried about becoming housebound, and made a point to have at least one thing each day that would require my going out.

I became acquainted with some people who played bridge and also joined a Hospitality Club. The newspaper provided information on many other things I found of interest. Through these activities I began building my circle of friends. There were also 12 movie screens, which

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*I have realized that,  
while I had fantastic  
experiences overseas,  
I missed many things in  
our own country.  
So I have made a real  
effort to see them.*

— Judy Chidester

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permitted me to feed that particular craving. Soon I was on the board of two social organizations and playing bridge often. I found a couple of evening classes at the university that

interested me. I've become active in a local "singles" club, and met even more people.

I find that my life is full — too full sometimes. I still play bridge often, play Trivial Pursuit with a club once a month and belong to the Cactus Club (where we learn about our native plants). I have a few friends that I regularly go to movies with, belong to a twice-monthly dinner group, volunteer at a hospital, play computer and PlayStation 2 games with another group and try to get out and take advantage of the numerous cultural events in the city. I also have become involved in our local "downtown revitalization" program.

I have found quite a few Foreign Service retirees here, two of whom I had met overseas. I have an annual party with them and others who have lived and worked overseas. The Hedges are retiring and moving here this year, so I can show them a little

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more of the city that I have learned.

I have realized that, while I had fantastic experiences overseas, I missed many things in our own country. So I have made a real effort to see them. I have driven to the East Coast three or four times, toured quite a bit of the Southwest, driven to California numerous times and have also traveled within New Mexico to see the wonderful, but little-known sites in this state.

There have been a couple of international trips as well. One of them was to Italy, where I was posted from 1967 to 1969. During that time I met quite a few friends who were working on degrees in art or art history. The trip was a good opportunity to visit my old haunts and friends in both Florence and Rome.

E-mail has permitted me to keep close relationships with Foreign Service friends all over the U.S. I attended the retiree luncheon in

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***I have at last found out  
what I wanted to be  
when I grew up —  
retired. It is such a  
wonderful life!***

**— Judy Chidester**

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Florida on a trip there, and it was a great experience to see so many people I'd known during my career.

I have at last found out what I wanted to be when I grew up — retired. It is such a wonderful life! I am so busy that I now cherish those days when I don't have to go out. I

have much in my home to interest me. Then there are all the homeowner responsibilities I did not have overseas. I now have a large and varied circle of friends, which permits me to explore my eclectic interests. I have lived in Las Cruces longer than I lived anywhere in my entire life. I recently took a driving trip of nearly a month through the High Sierras of Nevada and California, and was truly homesick by the time I got back. That is a feeling I never experienced in the Foreign Service, where each post became my home.

I hope that everyone's retirement experience is as enjoyable and rewarding as mine. I encourage people to "look outside the box" when considering retirement. An entirely new environment, with new friends and experiences, can turn the "end" of one's life into the beginning of a new one.

*Judy Chidester*

*Las Cruces, N.M. ■*

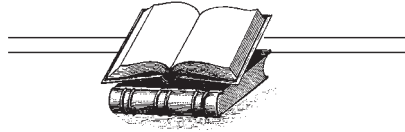


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# BOOKS

## Coming Up Short

### **The Truth about Camp David: The Untold Story about the Collapse of the Middle East Peace Process**

Clayton E. Swisher, *Nation Books*,  
2004, \$14.95, paperback, 455 pages.

REVIEWED BY WILLIAM B. QUANDT

The subject of this book, the historic summit held at Camp David in July 2000, brought together President Bill Clinton, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and PLO leader Yasser Arafat. The most sensitive issues in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict were discussed, some for the first time, but the issue of sovereignty over the Haram al-Sharif/Temple Mount area of Jerusalem proved to be a sticking point. After nearly two weeks, the talks ended in failure, despite attempts to revive them later in the year.

This much everyone agrees on. But on almost every other aspect of this intriguing historical moment, there is discord. The American and Israeli versions agree that Barak made an offer that went further than ever before, but Arafat was passive and refused to engage in real negotiations. (The Palestinians dispute this, of course.) Both sides had reservations, but those of Arafat, according to Dennis Ross, were outside the parameters laid down by Clinton. Thus, in what has come to be the standard version, Arafat bears the blame for the summit's failure.

*Swisher's book helps  
us better understand  
this sad story.*

Anyone who cares about Middle East peace would do well to try to wade through the various accounts of the summit. After all, for better or worse, U.S. policy toward the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in recent years has been based on an interpretation of those events that seems flawed in a number of ways.

Clayton Swisher's book ambitiously claims to tell us "the truth" about Camp David. This goal is beyond his reach, and beyond the reach of any author writing today. Still, his work is valuable because he questions the conventional story and places considerably more blame for the failure of the talks on mistakes made by the American side. A former special agent in the Bureau of Diplomatic Security who was assigned to the Secretary of State and visiting Arab and Israeli leaders in support of the Oslo process (including trips to Jerusalem, Ramallah, Washington and Camp David), Swisher has talked to many of the participants and usually quotes them by name. He has also had some access to documents. Sometimes he seems too ready to credit a single anonymous source for a telling anecdote, but on the whole, his picture of what happened has to be taken seriously.

I found him particularly good on the Israeli-Syrian track and the way it

affected the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations. His account of what happened when Clinton and President Hafiz al-Assad met in Geneva in March 2000 is insightful. But I think he is too quick to blame Dennis Ross for many of the mistakes on the American side. Instead, I would point the finger at the president himself. He had a poor sense of timing in calling the summit, which would have been far more promising had he moved the previous year.

Clinton also did not have a disciplined team or a tightly controlled approach to negotiations, believing that he could improvise, charm and cajole his way to an agreement. Sometimes he seemed impatient with details, and was afraid to put American ideas in writing until the very end. When he finally submitted his famous "parameters" on Dec. 23, 2000, it was much too late. He was on his way out of office; Barak and Arafat were both politically weak; and George W. Bush would be the next president. (Amazingly, Arafat seems to have thought he would get a better deal from the new president than from Clinton, perhaps because the Saudis had led him to believe that.)

There are no heroes or villains in the Camp David story as I read it. Each party made serious mistakes; each of the key personalities was problematic in important ways; each wanted peace, but on terms that the other would not accept; and the failure to reach agreement proved to be enormously costly for all of them. Clayton Swisher's book helps us better understand this sad story. It is not



the last word on the matter, but it is one that deserves to be read.

*William B. Quandt is professor of politics at the University of Virginia, and the author of Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967, third edition (Brookings, 2005). He served on the National Security Council staff dealing with Middle Eastern affairs in the Nixon and Carter administrations.*

## A Complex Relationship

### Liberty and Power: A Dialogue on Religion and U.S. Foreign Policy in an Unjust World

*J. Bryan Hehir, Michael Walzer et al., Brookings Institution Press, 2004, \$16.95, paperback, 119 pages.*

REVIEWED BY JOHN GRONDELSKI

If we should “give unto Caesar what belongs to Caesar, and to God what belongs to God,” who gets foreign policy? As recently as the 1970s, Caesar’s monopoly on relations with other Caesars would have been a given. But that is no longer true, as this collection of seven essays, Volume Four of the Pew Forum Dialogues on Religion and Public Life series, demonstrates. (Though the book was published nearly two years ago, its insights are even more relevant today.)

The anthology’s editor, J. Bryan Hehir, the Parker Gilbert Montgomery Professor of the Practice of Religion and Public Life at Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government, quotes the political philosopher Jean Bethke Elshtain: “American politics is indecipherable if it is severed from the interplay and panoply of Ameri-

*Renewing the dialogue with religion can only illuminate the forces by which humans order their affairs.*

ca’s religions.” He notes that the same is increasingly true of world politics.

The essayists all freely acknowledge that the relationship between religion and foreign policy is complex, and its analysis is rife with potential pitfalls. James Lindsay, vice president of the Council on Foreign Relations, cautions against the tendency for self-righteousness to creep into the discourse. For his part, columnist Charles Krauthammer seems dubious about “the question of whether religious convictions guide a moral foreign policy,” though admitting that internationally “we have no choice but to act ... by our own definitions of what is right and just.” Alas, he does not tell us whence those definitions derive. Professor Shibley Telhami argues that winning the war against terrorism ultimately depends on “speak[ing] with moral authority.”

The two central essays in the book, by Michael Walzer of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton and Hehir, will be perhaps the most useful for many readers. Walzer acknowledges the contributions religion can make to foreign policy (arguing, for example, that even so-called “realistic” debates over obliteration bombing in the British government during World War II employed “realpolitik” language to cloak the interlocutors’ ethi-

cal and moral commitments). But Walzer cautions against any conversation partners “lay[ing] claims to divine authority.”

Hehir points out that the exclusion of religion from foreign policy finds its roots in the Westphalian concept of state sovereignty that put an end to the Thirty Years’ War back in 1648. But he believes that approach needs fine-tuning. “... [T]here is a growing consensus that a complete secularization of world politics, or an analytical effort to divorce religion from the political order, yields a distorted conception of contemporary world politics. There is little support for a collapse of the distinction between the political and religious domains of life. The crossing of the fault lines resides in a more modest proposition that the public and social significance of religion, its potential for positive and negative effects on politics, must be given weight.” Still, systematic application of such a process, Hehir admits, is only in its incipient stages.

While the bogeyman of 17th-century religious warfare is often invoked to justify the exorcism of religion from the public and diplomatic spheres, the fact remains that the most egregious violators of international peace and human rights in the 20th century were regimes driven by secular, even anti-religious, ideologies. The dangers of the state as author and sole measure of its own morality were well documented at Nuremberg. Renewing the dialogue with religion can only illuminate the forces by which humans — individually, collectively, nationally, even internationally — order their affairs. These essays — balanced, probing and honest — are a good place to start in joining that ongoing dialogue. ■

*John Grondelski, an FSO since 1998, served in London and Warsaw. He is now on the Russia desk.*

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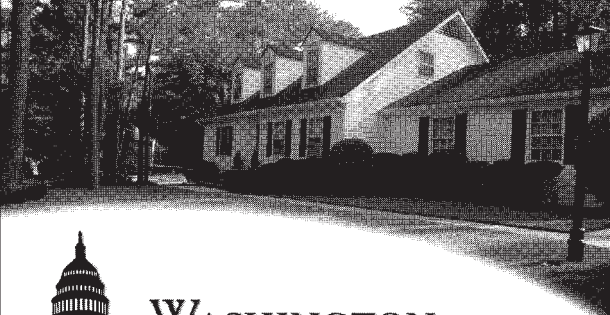

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# REFLECTIONS

## *Exceeding One's Grasp, Marine-Style*

BY WILLIAM V. ROEBUCK

It sounded like such a good idea over a few libations at the Marine House. “Do a little physical training with you guys early in the morning before work? Run through an olive orchard? Sure, I can do that.” I was also comforted (falsely) by the assurances of the gunny that “Hey, at PT, we’re only as fast as the slowest guy.”

It began to dawn on me on a cold, rainy morning the following week, as I dressed my tired, stiff body, that maybe it was not such a good idea after all. My reservations grew as I climbed into the van full of 20-year-old Marines.

We ended up doing PT at Damascus’ Tishreen Stadium. Access doors to the track and field were locked, so we circled up for warm-ups outside the stadium. It is hard to describe what happened next. I heard mention of some “daily sevens,” which apparently included a few calisthenics. “No problem,” I told myself. “I was doing jumping jacks before these boys (or maybe even their daddies) could ride tricycles.” Fifteen minutes later, I found myself with a distended tongue hanging out of my mouth and a severely collapsed lung that was no longer pro-

cessing enough oxygen to stop me from wheezing.

It turned out that the warm-up laps we did before the first round of exercises were at a pace that I normally reserved for my “kick” at the end of a leisurely run. The “daily sevens” revealed themselves to be seven sets of things like side-straddle hops, squat thrusts, “cherry pickers,” “steam engines,” and an insidious assortment of other exercises. One Marine did the cadence, the others did the count, and I puffed and groaned and cheated furiously on the 10 push-ups we were doing between each exercise. As we headed for two laps around the stadium, before another set of seven, I heard, “This time we’ll pick up the pace, guys” and saw a Marine go by me like a two-legged deer. I decided to shift into higher gear and show these guys what a former Rocky Mount Senior High School track also-ran was capable of. I quickly discovered that the clutch of my leg muscles and the transmission formerly known as my respiratory system were not going to cooperate.

It would be nice to report that I eventually found my rhythm and that I began catching up to — and even passing — a few of these young squirts. But that would be skirting the truth by a country mile. I gritted my teeth to get through the ten thousand calisthenics, hoping hamstrings wouldn’t snap or bursas burst, as I cursed myself for the foolish mistake

of venturing so far out of my age bracket (nearly always a fool’s errand).

As I climbed back into the van, it was all high fives and “good job,” but I was absorbed in my private thoughts: “What is the maximum number of Advils a person can take at one time without suffering major organ damage?”

Yet through the fog of pain and the miserable sense of having been the inspiration for the Allman Brothers ballad, “Tied to the Whipping Post,” I realized that I had enjoyed the crazy outing. (OK, maybe I was suffering from an exercise version of Stockholm Syndrome.) I appreciated the Marines’ organized drills, the playful wisecracking and their sympathetic individual suggestions that I “take it easy,” “maybe skip a set or two — we do this every day.” But I knew that once they were out of earshot, they probably added “... next time, get yourself a walker before coming out here.”

Would I do it again? Probably. I’m sure I wouldn’t hesitate if, as often happened with me, my ambitions became king-sized and the memories of my ancient glory days (such as they were) became hazily magnified, possibly by some strategic imbibing at happy hour. As I stepped out of the van, I was reminded of the poet Robert Browning’s famous adage (slightly paraphrased): “A man’s reach should exceed his grasp, or else what’s a Marine Corps push-up for?” ■

---

*William Roebuck joined the Foreign Service in 1992 and has served in Kingston, Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. He is currently assigned to Damascus. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair “Stamp Corner.”*



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