

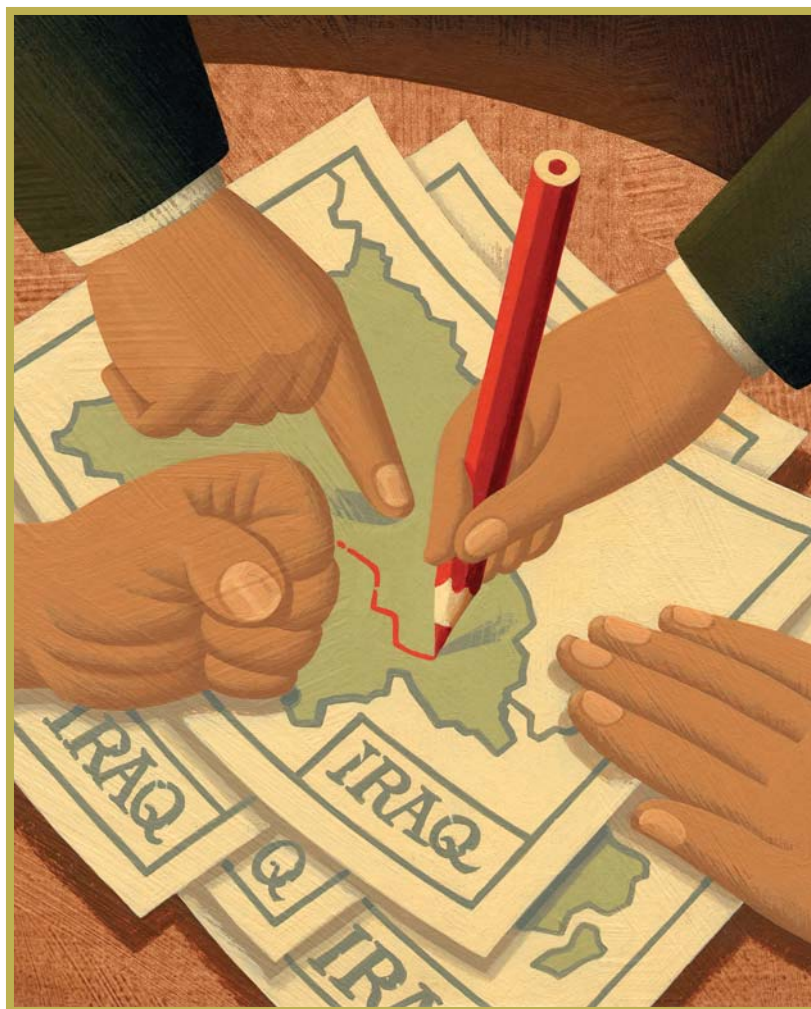
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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Defending Our Future

BY JOHN K. NALAND

Thirty years ago, a group of Foreign Service members sued the U.S. government, charging that the mandatory retirement age for the Foreign Service amounted to unconstitutional discrimination. The case went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, which ruled 8-1 in *Vance v. Bradley*, 440 U.S. 93 (1979), that Congress was justified in setting a mandatory retirement age in recognition of the fact that Foreign Service members are subject to uncommon wear and tear by extended overseas duty under difficult and often hazardous conditions.

If anything, that Supreme Court-certified "wear and tear" factor has increased in recent decades. Violent crime, health risks, terrorism and other difficult living factors have turned nearly two-thirds of our overseas posts into hardship assignments. An unprecedented number of posts have been designated as unaccompanied or "limited accompanied" due to extreme physical danger.

I mention this to underscore the fact that Foreign Service members really do earn their keep, including retirement benefits. But, looking forward another 30 years, it is safe to predict that the baby boomer retirement wave will put pressure on Congress to re-examine federal retirement benefits.

Thus, one of the most important



roles that AFSA plays, both for active-duty and retired members, is to keep our eyes and ears open for potential moves to trim back the Foreign Service's well-earned retirement benefits. Clearly, any cutback aimed at all federal employees would also be resisted by the large Civil Service unions and by groups such as the National Active and Retired Federal Employees Association. But, if a benefits cut were to be aimed just at the Foreign Service, it would be up to AFSA to lead the opposition.

For AFSA to exercise such long-term vigilance, we must continue to maintain our small but talented legislative affairs and retiree affairs staffs. To do that, we rely on member dues. Thus, it is alarming that only 25 percent of Foreign Service retirees pay AFSA dues.

There are several reasons for this low percentage. One is that AFSA membership does not automatically carry on into retirement; instead, retiring employees are asked to rejoin AFSA by filling out a form during their hectic final weeks on duty. Another reason is that some employees believe that retiring will mean an end to ever needing AFSA's help to rectify some bureaucratic glitch or investigate some question. Unfortunately, that is often not the case.

As documented in the AFSA Annual Report contained in this issue of the *Journal*, AFSA's Retiree Affairs

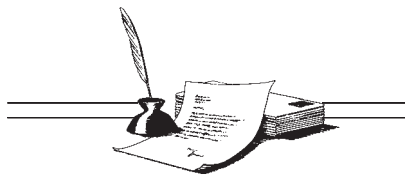
Coordinator Bonnie Brown is constantly working to assist individual retirees. Her 2007 casework count shows she assisted 452 individuals. For example, she helped 103 people with health care questions or problems, 46 people with annuity questions or problems, and 46 others who needed help getting a satisfactory response from some State Department office. She also publishes retiree guidance in plain English on a variety of helpful subjects and assists survivors when retirees die.

As you can see, the value of AFSA membership does not decline upon retirement. In fact, it is hard to imagine who would need AFSA more than a retiree living far from Washington faced with sorting out some problem with a non-responsive government office.

The bottom line, therefore, is that AFSA needs your help now (via membership dues) so we can be there to help you in the future. We need active-duty employees to continue their membership after they retire. We need retired members to maintain their AFSA membership. And we need lapsed members to rejoin.

If you know retirees whose membership has lapsed, please urge them to join you in supporting AFSA. They are benefiting from our advocacy of issues affecting Foreign Service retirees but are not contributing to the operating budget that funds that advocacy. Their support, added to yours and mine, will strengthen AFSA's ability to defend the future of us all. ■

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



LETTERS

Ambassadorial Power in NSDD-38

I greatly appreciated the articles on country team management in the December *FSJ*. Although Ed Peck is absolutely correct in describing the de jure line of authority from the president to the chief of mission, while serving in that position I certainly recognized that my de facto line was much more modest: i.e., my instructions — with only a few exceptions — originated with the assistant secretary for African affairs, and my performance evaluations were drafted by my desk officers.

I did find, however, one very effective instrument which, when deftly wielded, left no doubt that the COM was fully in charge of the entire mission. The National Security Decision Directive 38 process, requiring chief-of-mission approval for “any proposed changes in the size, composition or mandate” of all agencies at post, gives ambassadors tremendous leverage.

While a COM needs to be judicious in applying NSDD-38 to preclude being viewed as an irrational obstructionist by Washington, neither should he or she be a doormat. I found that by holding firm to my objections when I believed some agency’s plans were inconsistent with overall U.S. government priorities or exceeded administrative support capabilities, the agency would eventually back down. The same applied to country clearance requests for non-routine visitors (do you really need a five-person Defense Department team to conduct a 30-minute briefing?), and for approving (or blocking) the assign-

ment of heads of agencies. Though the line of authority from the president to ambassadors is mostly illusory, NSDD-38 and the president’s “Letter of Instructions” gives COMs all the power they need to effectively manage their missions.

Tibor P. Nagy Jr.
Ambassador, retired
Ransom Canyon, Texas

Those Who Never Apply

I’d like to comment on issues brought up in Mark Johnsen’s December article, “One Hand Clapping: The Sound of Staffing the Foreign Service,” and a letter in the same issue, “Modernize Hiring.”

I’m a geography professor specializing in geospatial techniques. About a year ago, I decided it was time to start looking into different career options. My shortlist included State, USAID, the National Science Foundation and the plethora of intelligence agencies. To learn more, in addition to visiting Web sites, I subscribed to a number of periodicals, including the *Foreign Service Journal*.

One thing I quickly learned was that State was not an option, and the content of the *Journal* only served to solidify that opinion. It is not that I don’t find the agency and its work interesting or important, but rather that there is no way that I am going to step back from an M.S. degree, a Ph.D. and 13 years of professional work experience (some of it international) so I can start at the bottom and stamp visas. Not a chance.

My point is to verify what has been stated frequently in the *FSJ*: there are many mid-career professionals out

there who have rejected State as an option because of its hiring and promotion policies. I am one of them.

Good luck meeting your staffing needs.

Dr. Robert Hickey
FSJ subscriber
Ellensburg, Wash.

Counterinsurgency and National Security

Counterinsurgency doctrine, policy and programs, usually referred to as COIN, are all the rage in U.S. government security circles these days. Sarah Sewall’s article in your September issue and Alfred Barr’s December letter are thoughtful examples of the discussion under way. However, a bit of caution is called for. That is, we must constantly keep in mind the distinction between military operations and governance on the one hand, and the difference between locals and outsiders on the other.

We should remember that the last time the United States conducted a successful COIN operation on our own was in the Philippines in the early 20th century — an experience we have forgotten about. The U.K. experience in Malaysia, commonly used as a model among the cognoscenti, was in a colonial situation where the British *were* the government. Attempting to conduct such operations where one is not the governing authority is dangerous: witness the French and American experiences in Vietnam, the Soviet episode in Afghanistan and, one could argue, our efforts in Iraq, at least up until very recently.

What the U.S. and other governments *can* do in such situations is



assist a government in conducting COIN in its territory, as with the Huk rebellion in the Philippines in the 1950s. The difference between doing and assisting is not a minor one; it is fundamental. Unfortunately, too much current commentary on the subject — including the Army's new COIN doctrine publication — does not make this important distinction clear. Yet it is crucial to recognize, as Clausewitz insisted, that war is a branch (not an extension) of politics.

It is the first obligation of political leaders to understand what kind of war they are intending to embark upon as well as being careful to identify the political objectives. For instance, although they may not have started out that way, Afghanistan and Iraq now appear to be experiments in conducting warfare (in this case COIN) while attempting to jump-start local governance (as opposed to profiting from local conflict to install a colonial regime). The historical record of this type of activity is not encouraging.

It is likely that many military professionals understand this. I am not sure that our political leadership does. After all, the American public and its leadership have grown up in a popular culture of movies, TV programs and popular novels that identifies only two heroic actors in foreign affairs: the soldier and the spy. (Diplomats are those stuffy characters who sternly warn Our Hero or Our Heroine that what they want to do is illegal, dangerous and probably immoral.)

With this mindset, COIN (and the equally fashionable Post-Conflict Stabilization and Reconstruction concept) can seem to emphasize the role of the military option in a successful foreign policy.

However, as Gerald Loftus points out in his insightful *Speaking Out* column (December), the military-diplomatic dynamic is currently badly

out of kilter. Not because our intelligent, serious, well-educated military professionals are over-reaching, but because our political leaders apparently too often think of the military option as the preferred option and our military professionals are, in addition to their other virtues, fervently obedient to civilian rule.

They are also, by and large, Type A activists who always feel obliged to “do something” in their areas of assignment. When called upon, they will go, and go and go. Told to run the world, military professionals will make an effort to do so. If you don't believe this, then you haven't spent any time around them. They have the faults of their virtues.

The new Africa Command is only the latest example of the expansion of the military instrument. It is supposed to be a new sort of bureaucratic creature not focused on military affairs; but if so, why is it in the Defense Department and headed by a military officer?

Expansion is the main issue, as military affairs have always been and always will be a significant part of foreign affairs, despite the traditional American view that peace was one thing and war the other and they should not be intermingled — the so-called American Way of War. The key is the relationship between the military option and the other instruments of national power, which many believe is currently out of balance.

A major political question for the United States is how to arrive at a sustainable equilibrium. One approach is to replace the National Security Act of 1947 and the resulting organization of the U.S. government for foreign and security affairs with a new National Security Act of 200X. In fact, there is a movement, the Program for National Security Reform (www.pnsr.org), that is attempting to do exactly that.

Yet even if the PNSR crowd comes up with a reasonable draft proposal for a new national security structure, there are enormous political obstacles to implementing it — President Eisenhower's military-industrial complex to begin with. Also, where will we find today's Truman and Vandenberg? Any nominations?

Edward Marks
Ambassador, retired
Washington, D.C.

Local Staff Kept Embassy Kabul Standing

Thomas Eighmy notes in his December article, “Remembering USAID's Role in Afghanistan, 1985-1994,” that Embassy Kabul “closed” before the Soviet military withdrew from that long-suffering country in February 1989. In fact, Embassy Kabul *never* closed. On Jan. 31, 1989, the embassy officially suspended operations and Chargé Jon Glassman lowered the flag. The American staff departed Afghanistan shortly thereafter, citing security concerns as making it too risky to maintain an American official presence.

Even with the Americans gone, the U.S. held on to its diplomatic facilities and continued to recognize Afghanistan's sovereignty. Local staff maintained the chancery's exterior and other embassy facilities throughout the tumultuous years of the Najibullah regime, mujahedeen rule and the Taliban. A local consular assistant at the embassy, supervised by Consulate Peshawar in neighboring Pakistan, provided limited services to the handful of American citizens living in Afghanistan.

Throughout those dark years Embassy Kabul's local staff, at great personal risk and with exceptional bravery and honor, did everything in their means to ensure that the U.S. mission's facilities would be in the best possible condition when conditions



allowed American personnel to return to the country and resume embassy operations, as they did in December 2001.

We should not forget our dedicated local colleagues who, often at tremendous sacrifice and scant reward, look after our country's interests in places and times where it is deemed just too dangerous to put American lives in harm's way.

David J. Katz

FSO

State Department Faculty

Adviser, Naval War

College

Newport, R.I.

Assistance for Afghanistan, Then and Now

Kudos to Tom Eighmy for his article on USAID's role in Afghanistan (December). The USAID team for Afghanistan, based in Pakistan, was in many ways unique in the agency's annals. The O/AID/Rep's leadership and staff were remarkably innovative, dedicated to their mission of assisting the Afghan people, and both bureaucratically and sometimes physically courageous. As special envoy to Afghanistan, I relied heavily on their expertise and perspective.

Eighmy rightly credits the team's director, Larry Crandall, for the team's accomplishments, though he himself deserves much credit. But Eighmy does not mention one area of the team's work which was to my mind important: building from scratch a demining effort that undoubtedly saved many Afghan lives.

Eighmy describes the team's "good relations" with Pakistani intelligence (the Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate). However, I recall from my time there (August 1988 to July 1989) that the ISI, with full backing from the U.S. embassy, periodically sought to manipulate aid flows to serve political purposes. In the fall of 1988, there

was ISI/embassy pressure to restrict provision of food to some of the mujahedeen parties deemed not to be sufficiently cooperative in the project to create the ill-fated Afghan Interim Government. I recall also that when the Kandaharis failed to rally to Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, a fundamentalist who was the favored leader of both the ISI and the U.S. embassy, as he marched toward Kandahar, the flow of aid to the area was restricted in retaliation.

This should not be read as criticism of the O/AID/Rep team, but rather as a testament to their dedication in the face of political pressures. Notwithstanding such pressures, the office's leadership and staff accomplished their humanitarian mission.

Eighmy is correct in assessing that the 1992 decision not to reopen Embassy Kabul was a very serious mistake that forfeited the opportunity O/Aid/Rep had created and maintained. That choice revealed an overly risk-averse posture by the Bureau of Diplomatic Security, as he suggests. But it also constituted a truly shortsighted strategic decision by policymakers and U.S. intelligence analysts at senior levels to leave Afghanistan's fate to the tender mercies of Pakistan and, particularly, the ISI.

Twenty years later, it is vital that we not abandon Afghanistan again.

Edmund McWilliams

FSO, retired

White Oaks, N.M.

Remembering Dick Scissors

The appreciation of the life of Dick Scissors in the December *Journal* brought back fond memories. Mr. Scissors was consul general in Cape Town during the middle 1980s, when I served at Consulate General Johannesburg. I made several reporting trips to Cape Town during that period and Dick was invariably helpful and generous with his time.

One sentence in what was otherwise a thoughtful and respectful obituary piece made me laugh out loud, however. The author stated that while in high school — obviously in the early 1950s — Dick "came to love film and music, especially classical, show tunes, jazz and anything by Stevie Wonder." If my slightly pre-baby boomer memory serves me right, "Little" Stevie Wonder had his first hit record, "Fingertips (Part 2)," in 1963, when he was 13 years old. That would mean he was 3 years old when Dick Scissors graduated from high school. I know Stevie Wonder was a child prodigy, but I don't think he was *that* precocious!

Nicholas Stigliani

FSO, retired

Falls Church, Va.

Utilizing Mental Health Services

On balance, MED/Mental Health Service and the Employee Consultation Service are to be congratulated for their steadfast attention and concern for employees suffering reactions from extremely stressful postings. I was most distressed, however, to read the account of unresponsive care back in 2006 as described in "Recovery: When Survival Isn't Enough" by Rachel Schneller (January), who experienced exposure trauma while serving abroad. I hope more options were offered to her than are listed in the article. As a therapist and former ECS staff member, I offer a sincere apology to any employee who believes that their PTSD treatment needs have gone unheeded.

From time to time the institutional memory of the State Department wavers, but there has been a consistent commitment to employee health and wellness by MED and ECS. During the years I served as a clinical social worker in the Employee Consultation Service, the other clini-

LETTERS



cal social workers and I assisted Beirut bombing victims, Iranian and Kuwaiti hostages, evacuees from Rwanda and other posts, those who experienced natural disasters while serving abroad and those who were individual targets of crime or terrorism.

We were well trained in PTSD and the strategies to mitigate it. We offered expert short-term counseling, support groups and referrals to employees and to their families. We provided this assistance in person in our offices at State, SA-1 and FSI, and also consulted by phone and, in those days, by cable. We routinely referred employees to appropriate treatment providers and maintained contact until we were assured that the employee felt that the help was sufficient.

Along with MED psychiatrists, we also did outreach to affected groups of

employees and family members and offered pre-departure training for high-risk posts. We were available for follow-up on an as-needed basis. And at no time was medical information shared with Diplomatic Security.

Dr. Raymond De Castro's article on PTSD in the same issue was written before the release of important new information recently provided by the military, the Institute of Medicine and the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs in the January 2008 issue of the American Psychological Association's *Monitor on Psychology*. We now know that the manifestation of PTSD may, in fact, be delayed and some of the treatments previously thought to be effective are not.

The good news is that treatments for PTSD are available and that the department appears recommitted to

the welfare of its employees. I encourage all employees to persist in utilizing these services for themselves and their family members, and in lobbying vigorously for policy change when it is needed. It is the least that is owed those professionals who serve with sacrifice and represent all of us.

*Rita Siebenaler, Licensed
Clinical Social Worker
MED/ECS Staff, 1984-1994
Arlington, Va.*

Human Rights and the Courts

Responding to Craig Murray's excellent article "The Folly of a Short-Term Approach" in the September *Journal*, I would say that no progress can be made on human rights in the U.S. or overseas until the composition of the Reagan-Bush Supreme Court is

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LETTERS



changed. I suggest that the future President Clinton pack the Supreme Court with 11 justices as FDR wanted to do. The Reagan-Bushites' recrudescence in the lower federal courts should be dealt with by limiting federal judges to 10-year terms.

David E. Henderson

FSO, retired

El Paso, Texas

Call for Peace Corps Stories

In three years the Peace Corps will be 50 years old. I know there are many ex-volunteers among active-duty and retired FSOs; indeed, it has become something of an old-school tie within State and USAID. I thought some might be interested in the project described below.

A number of current and former volunteers recently organized "Peace Corps at 50" to honor the upcoming anniversary. We are now actively seeking nonfiction stories to include in a four-book 50th-anniversary project. The four volumes — *Africa and the Middle East*; *After the Cold War* (focusing on Central Asia and Eastern Europe); *Asia and the Pacific*; and *Central America, South America and the Caribbean* — will feature contributions from past and present volunteers, staff and instructors.

Everyone who has served in the Peace Corps has a story. We tell them when we get together; indeed, our families know them only too well. We sometimes share them during job interviews and when we meet new friends. But we can lose even the best

stories over time; and, with their loss, important details about the experience may also be lost.

We are, therefore, looking for well-told tales that reflect the entire range of experiences in the Peace Corps — whether uplifting, scary or ethically murky — including the familiar dilemma of just what you do when presented with a plate of freshly fried crickets by a smiling girl from Chad.

Complete information on the project and the editors' and writers' guidelines is available at www.peacecorpsat50.org. The deadline for submission is April 1, 2008. I urge anyone interested to visit the Web site and contribute his or her own story. ■

Bernard Alter

FSO, retired

Washington, D.C.

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CYBERNOTES

Rent-a-Corps?

The Department of Defense is working on a \$19 million pilot project to create a new corps of individuals fluent in critical foreign languages who could be called upon in an emergency (www.govexec.com). If all goes according to the 2007 Defense Authorization Act mandate, at least 1,000 people will be members of the National Language Service Corps by 2010.

So far, a concept of operations, including how to recruit, test and certify people with foreign language skills has been determined, DOD Director of the National Security Language Program Robert Slater told *Government Executive* on Jan. 15, and the list of languages deemed critical is being finalized. Arabic — “a heavily recruited language already,” says Slater — will not be on the list, however.

Incentives for recruitment include, according to Slater, competitive compensation and the advantage of being identified with an organization that values foreign-language skills, as well as the use of government-funded software to maintain those skills.

According to Gail McGinn, deputy undersecretary of Defense for plans and head of the Defense Senior Language Authority, the project has benefits for the rest of the government even though it's being run within DOD.

“We looked at other agencies to determine what their needs might be,” she said. “We're working to under-

Protecting our nation from the dangers of a new century requires more than good intelligence and a strong military. It also requires changing the conditions that breed resentment and allow extremists to prey on despair. So America is using its influence to build a freer, more hopeful and more compassionate world. This is a reflection of our national interest; it is the calling of our conscience.

— President George W. Bush, in his Jan. 28 State of the Union address, www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2008/01/20080128-13.html

stand how [other agencies] can use this corps of people and bring them in when there are national needs.”

A Step for FS Victims of Terrorism

On Aug. 7, 1998, terrorists targeted the American embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. It was the most devastating attack ever launched against any U.S. diplomatic facilities and, arguably, the opening of al-Qaida's global offensive against the West. More than 5,000 individuals were seriously wounded, and 224 people lost their lives — Foreign Service, Foreign Service Nationals and

local citizens alike.

After a decade of lobbying by the families of the victims, on Oct. 2 the House of Representatives passed the Foreign Service Victims of Terrorism Act of 2007 (H.R. 2828) almost unanimously. The legislation institutionalizes a comprehensive compensation scheme for the victims of the 1998 attacks. The measure also enhances death-gratuity compensation provisions for current Foreign Service employees killed by acts of terror.

The measure is, however, stalled in the Senate. After it passed through committee, a hold was placed on the floor by an unnamed senator for reasons unknown, according to AFSA's sources.

In a Jan. 29 op-ed in the *Washington Times*, Howard C. Kavalier, a retired Foreign Service officer and representative of the victims' families who lost his own wife, FS officer Prabhi Kavalier, in Nairobi, excoriates the State Department's lack of support for the legislation.

“Absent a comprehensive program to compensate Foreign Service victims of international terrorism,” he writes (www.washingtontimes.com), “is it no small wonder that members of the Foreign Service with familial responsibilities are not beating down the doors to serve in wartorn areas?”

Foreign Policy and the 2008 Elections

With primary campaigns shifting gears and the choices in the Novem-

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CYBERNOTES



ber election becoming clearer, it's not a moment too soon to review the many excellent Internet resources to help voters choose the right candidate. For those who want to make sure they choose a candidate who will get foreign policy right, in particular, there are a number of helpful sites.

The Foreign Policy Association's "Forum for the 2008 Presidential Election" is a blog that will follow developments leading up to the November contest, focusing specifically on foreign policy and international affairs issues (<http://election.foreignpolicyblogs.com/>). Hosted by Erin Dian Dumbacher and Mark Dillen, a former senior FSO with the State Department, the blog offers candidates' profiles, with major issues and notable quotes, as well as updated commentaries and news in more than a dozen categories.

The Council on Foreign Relations' "Campaign 2008" page features links to a wide variety of news and views on the campaign focused on issues of international policy (www.cfr.org/campaign2008/index.html). With daily analysis, profiles of candidates' policies and links to relevant speeches and the debates, as well as features tracking specific issues such as immigration and nonproliferation, links to selected polls and election "must reads," the site has much to offer.

Also providing an array of useful links is *About.com's* "Presidential Candidates and U.S. Foreign Policy" (<http://usforeignpolicy.about.com/od/2008presidentialrace/a/2008potus.htm>). Keith Porter, the director of communication and outreach and executive radio producer for the Stanley Foundation and *About.com's* guide for U.S. foreign policy, maintains this page.

In addition to profiles of the candidates and their positions on various foreign policy issues, this site contains a link to lists of the candidates' foreign

policy advisers and links to sites such as *Real Clear Politics* that are monitoring the election process, as well as related material on foreign policy-making.

An Urgent Call to Action on Transformational Diplomacy

On Jan. 30, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's Advisory Committee on Transformational Diplomacy presented its final report (www.state.gov/secretary/diplomacy/). This bipartisan group of lawmakers, academics, businessmen, FSOs and other foreign policy professionals, led by former Senator John Breaux and former Governor John Engler, began work in June 2006. Its recommendations are now offered as the basis for action to ensure that American diplomacy can effectively meet the challenges of the 21st century.

Among the recommendations agreed to unanimously by committee members is a call for "ultimately" doubling the work force of the State Department and USAID; creating an integrated Global Affairs Strategic Plan and Budget to facilitate alignment, joint planning and rational funding of all government overseas activities; consolidating the technology infrastructure by building a world-class knowledge-management capability and institutionalizing innovation; developing strategic public-private partnerships; consolidating selected bureaus and offices and driving decisionmaking authority downward; and strengthening performance measurement and analysis (www.state.gov/documents/organization/99903.pdf).

Before introducing individual committee members attending the ceremony, Sec. Rice welcomed the recommendations. In fact, her office had already begun acting on them, she said, pointing to the recent creation of the Global Partnership Cen-



50 Years Ago...

Expanding and diversified overseas activities, public and private, of our energetic nation mean today that 1 percent of all Americans are living in foreign countries and that all government agencies have interests and responsibilities in this microcosm. In this radically changed post-war environment State cannot, although admittedly with prime responsibility in the foreign field, singly muster the cohesive pull upon its various peers in Washington.



— Roy M. Melbourne, “Coordination for Action: On the Operations Coordinating Board,” *FSJ*, March 1958.

ter to actively engage the private sector, schools and universities, NGOs and private individuals in the work of diplomacy.

“This is a critical national security priority, and to succeed we will need the support of the Congress, the American people and of concerned men and women throughout the country,” Rice declared. “We will be saying more about the need for support from Congress in the next month as budget

times approach,” she added.

In his remarks, retired Ambassador Thomas Pickering, who served as co-chair of the committee’s State Department in 2025 Working Group, pointed out that the report increases the department’s already great responsibility, giving the Secretary of State four separate organizational hats: diplomacy, foreign assistance, public diplomacy and reconstruction and stabilization.

Site of the Month: www.overseasvotefoundation.org

Overseas Americans have a unique new advantage in this year’s election in the form of the Overseas Vote Foundation and its one-stop, free online resource (www.overseasvotefoundation.org). A nonprofit founded in 2005 with the help of a grant from the Pew Charitable Trusts and run on a volunteer basis since then, OVF’s mission is to increase overseas and uniformed services voter access to registration and associated services by safely leveraging the Internet.

The OVF Web site, launched last October, helps guide overseas voters through the maze of rules to successfully register and participate in federal elections. OVF promises to do this “faster, more easily and accurately than ever before” with a user-friendly registration and absentee voter application, an election officials directory and a voters’ help desk. The site also offers updated news on overseas voting and links to nonpartisan information on candidates and issues.

An estimated four to six million Americans, civilian and military, live and work abroad. Yet a federal study in September found that barely one-third of the nearly one million absentee ballots requested by Americans overseas in 2006 were actually cast or counted.

That the committee felt its mission to be critical is clear throughout the report, which concludes: “Urgent steps are needed to ensure that the Department of State has the financial and human resources necessary to effectively represent America’s interests in an increasingly complex world. The committee believes that its recommendations represent a rare and critically important opportunity for bipartisan institutional reform of our foreign affairs institutions. Seizing this opportunity is an urgent American imperative.”

Kenya: Understanding the Election Crisis

More than a month after the disputed Dec. 27 national election, with more than 250,000 people displaced and about 1,000 dead, unrelenting violence threatens to unravel one of Africa’s leading nations.

At this writing, former United Nations chief Kofi Annan had made some progress in bringing President Mwai Kibaki and opposition leader Raila Odinga into a structured dialogue that aims to resolve immediate political issues within four weeks. Annan confidently asserted that the damage caused by prolonged chaos and destruction could be resolved in a year.

It is, by all estimates, a tall order, as Annan knows. “We must tackle the fundamental issues underlying the disturbances — like equitable distribution of resources — or else we will be back here again after three or four years,” he told journalists in Nairobi.

The December election pitted Kibaki’s Party of National Unity against Odinga’s Orange Democratic Movement. In addition to the presidential contest, more than 2,500 candidates vied for 210 seats in the National Assembly. Members of local councils were also elected. The turnout was the highest on record, about



70 percent of those registered. And it was apparently “free and fair” until the last stage, when vote tallying at polling stations in more than 35 parliamentary constituencies broke down. Kibaki was re-elected with a 230,000-vote margin.

Though the election dispute apparently follows ethnic lines — with Kibaki, a Kikuyu, representing that dominant ethnic group and Odinga, a Luo, representing the Luo and other, smaller groups — the reality is more complex (<http://allafrica.com/stories/200801290020.html>). “Access to land, housing and water are the real issues that appear in the guise of ethnicity and are triggered by political disputes,” a Danish aid worker who was part of an emergency assessment team in the Rift Valley, told the Inter

Press Service.

Kikuyus, who constitute 22 percent of Kenya’s population and who dominated the post-independence administration of Jomo Kenyatta, were favored with loans to purchase the land left by departing British colonials. As a result, they hold most of the country’s land, even in the midst of other tribes and especially in the fertile Rift Valley, which has been the focus of turmoil in every wave of electoral violence Kenya has witnessed since introducing a multiparty system in 1992.

Nairobi exemplifies the larger, underlying problem: there are no middle-class neighborhoods, only slums and posh localities. Though Kibaki’s administration from 2002 to 2006 is credited with boosting tourism and reaching a per capita economic growth rate of 6 percent in 2006, that is not the whole story. The gap between the few rich and the vast majority of marginalized citizens has widened over the past decade, statistics show. For the majority of the population, the availability of housing and fresh water are still urgent, daily concerns.

The way out of the crisis, according to CSIS analyst Joel Barkan (<http://forums.csis.org/africa/?cat=7>), will ultimately depend on Kenya’s political class recognizing what civil society and the diplomatic community has made clear — that Kenya is at the proverbial fork in the road. One path leads to continued chaos and the loss of much of what the country has gained since the reintroduction of multiparty politics in 1992, and especially since the end of the Daniel Arap Moi regime in 2002. The other leads to the consolidation of democracy, renewed economic development and the continued emergence of Kenya as one of the most significant countries in Africa.

As the anchor state of greater East Africa, Kenya matters. Barkan ob-

serves that a stable and prosperous Kenya raises the prospects for peace and development in Uganda, Rwanda, Eastern Congo and southern Sudan. Kenyans are being tested to the limit by the current crisis; yet if a deal can be reached, including at least minimal constitutional reforms, they may eventually look back on the events of the first week of January 2008 as the time when their country turned the corner and became an example for the rest of Africa.

There are a number of valuable online resources for information and analysis of Kenya and the current crisis. On Jan. 10, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, in collaboration with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, brought together a panel of speakers to assess the current situation and discuss options for the international community to respond to the crisis. You can view this event, moderated by Ambassador Johnnie Carson, a retired FSO and ambassador to Kenya from 1999 to 2003, at the Wilson Center Web site (www.wilsoncenter.org).

For background, see “Understanding Kenya” by Garrett Jones (www.fpri.org/enotes/200801.jones.understandingkenya.html) and “Breaking the Stalemate in Kenya” by Joel D. Barkan (www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/080108_kenya_crisis.pdf). The Council on Foreign Relations also provides background and current analysis (www.cfr.org/publication/15322/understanding_kenyas_politics.html).

To follow news developments in Kenya, go to www.allafrica.com. The BBC online also carried regular news and feature articles with links to background material at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/>. ■

This edition of Cybernotes was compiled by Senior Editor Susan Brady Maitra.

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SPEAKING OUT

Member of Household Policy: Failing Our Families

BY MICHAEL GUEST

Last November I left the Foreign Service, frustrated by the State Department's continued failure to revise Member of Household policy to reflect the needs of today's diplomacy and to support the families who accompany us in our duties abroad.

Certainly I never felt ostracism from any of my colleagues, Foreign or Civil Service, over the fact that I am gay. I very much miss being part of the State Department team, and I miss serving my country in meaningful and tangible ways. My partner felt the same sense of mission that I did, even moving to a more portable career — in no small part to support me in my chosen profession.

But let's be clear. MOH policy is strikingly out of date with today's workplace dangers, realities and needs. And by not taking action, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and her senior management team are putting lives at risk. They're impairing the effectiveness of our diplomatic platforms. They sanction workplace inequalities, in spite of the equal service requirements we all share. And they stand against the principles of equality, fairness and respect for diversity on which America was founded — principles America's diplomats are charged with promoting abroad.

A Catch-22

The creation of "Members of Household" as an official category

If this administration took its management duties seriously, it would have instituted a thorough review of MOH policy at some point within its seven years in office.



was announced in a Dec. 26, 2000, cable from Secretary of State Madeleine Albright in one of her final acts. The designation embraces a wide range of individuals: aging parents, adult children and unmarried partners, both straight and gay. All MOHs are allowed to accompany their loved ones to any overseas posting where spouses and children are able to reside with Foreign Service employees.

Current policy essentially gives ambassadors leeway, within heavily drawn limitations, to make modest accommodations for Members of Household in our overseas diplomatic communities. Variations abound from post to post; in all cases, though, MOH treatment is vastly inferior to that accorded "Eligible Family Members."

If this administration took its

management duties seriously, it would have instituted a thorough review of MOH policy at some point within its seven years in office. Some long-overdue revisions should be applied to all MOH categories. For instance, common sense would surely dictate that all Foreign Service community members be required to take the Security Overseas Seminar, so they can learn how to avoid terrorist threats and intelligence traps. Yet incredibly, Members of Household are not even allowed to enroll for that training, no matter how many spaces are open in the classroom.

While all MOHs deserve greater consideration, my particular focus has been on the unequal treatment accorded gay and lesbian employees and their partners. After all, parents who are more than 50-percent financially dependent on a Foreign Service employee can be added to travel orders. Adult, non-dependent children might be expected to carry their own weight in a grown-up's world. And while some (including me) believe it unwise for personnel policies to force marriage on a young, untempered relationship, straight couples at least have the option of marriage, by which they can obtain the spousal benefits that MOHs are barred from receiving.

In contrast, gay and lesbian employees are caught in an impossibly unfair Catch-22. Though they cannot marry, their partners are, like spouses, core family members. The



department's choice to make marriage the fulcrum on which training, protections and benefits are bestowed thus discriminates against a group of employees who have no recourse, yet whose service commitments are identical in every way to those of their straight colleagues.

Real Impact

Consider the real impact of the department's outdated MOH policy.

Security. Partners aren't offered the protections that diplomatic passports afford. They aren't guaranteed access to embassy medical facilities, even in places where State's own medical professionals consider local facilities inadequate. Under current rules, Members of Household would not be given Tamiflu in an avian flu outbreak, thereby inviting vulnerability into our households. And in places where dangers and uncertainty are facts of life, the government offers gay and lesbian employees no assurance that their families, too, will be evacuated in hostile situations or imminent danger.

Effectiveness. Partners of ambassadors and deputy chiefs of mission aren't allowed to sit in otherwise vacant Foreign Service Institute seats to learn the informal community leadership roles expected of them — a deficit that's detrimental not only to them and to us, but to the communities they're expected to serve. Partners aren't taught the language and culture of the country in which they, as much as spouses, will cast impressions of America through their daily interactions. Without spouse-equivalent priority for post employment, partners can't compete fairly for jobs for which they may be ideally qualified — depriving missions of the talent match they should be seeking.

Service equity. When gay and lesbian employees answer the call to

*Why is discrimination,
in any form or degree,
tolerated in the
institution that
this Secretary of
State leads?*

duty in Iraq and elsewhere, their partners don't receive the separate maintenance allowances that spouses receive. Are our service and our families' sacrifices of lesser value? Although State now generously reimburses the transportation of pets to and from post, gay and lesbian employees' partners must pay their own way — a telling suggestion that the department values domesticated animals more than it does our family members. Similarly, visa support for partners is not offered.

As ambassador to Romania, I was interrogated by a Republican Hill staffer as to whether my partner's socks and underwear were carried to post in my household effects shipment or his luggage. And this was in the days after 9/11, when my focus needed to be on our nation's security needs. Should anyone have to endure such demeaning treatment?

Diversity. Although Sec. Rice and other senior department leaders say they value diversity, their inattention to these matters renders that claim hollow at best. No one, of course, would suggest that the discriminatory workplace policies I've described compare even remotely in scope or magnitude to the discrimination that she so often recounts

having witnessed in Birmingham, Ala., as a child. But these policies nonetheless *are* discriminatory — and all the more so because the only remedy offered (marriage) is not available to gay and lesbian employees. Why is discrimination, in any form or degree, tolerated in the institution that this Secretary leads?

A Leadership Deficit

Those who lead our public institutions are accountable for addressing problems that impede the safety, effectiveness and morale of their organizations. If they truly care about keeping talent, they should want to catch up with America's private sector, which is so far ahead of the federal government in these matters.

For three years, a succession of senior State Department "leaders" have told me that I'm absolutely right to call for revisions to MOH policy, but that the issues are complex. Recently, they've taken to pointing out that the department doesn't discriminate in hiring and promotions. What a clever dodge! That's never, in fact, been charged. Rather, it's State's discriminatory treatment of a group of employees that's at issue, as rights and protections are being accorded to families on the basis of a criterion that gay and lesbian employees can in no way meet.

As the late Rep. Tom Lantos, D-Calif., chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, said on Dec. 19, 2007, with specific reference to the Foreign Service: "There is no rational explanation for a same-sex domestic partner to be treated as a second-class citizen. ... These dedicated men and women serve their country, yet our government does not honor the basic rights of the benefits they have earned for themselves and their families."

The State Department's failure to address these issues reflects, quite

SPEAKING OUT



The State

Department's failure to address these issues reflects, quite bluntly, a seventh-floor leadership deficit.

bluntly, a seventh-floor leadership deficit. It's time for the department to step up to its leadership responsibilities to colleagues who give our country their best, yet who are denied the equal and fair treatment promised by the flag under which they serve. ■

Michael Guest, a Foreign Service officer from 1981 to 2007, served as ambassador to Romania (2001-2004), among many other postings.



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IN RESPONSE

Toward a Post-2012 Approach to Climate Change

BY PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY

Last month's issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* usefully highlighted one of the great challenges confronting us in the 21st century: global climate change.

As understanding of this issue continues to grow, so, too, does understanding of the means to address it. U.S. climate change policy has been one of constant innovation, action and flexibility. In his first major speech on the subject in June 2001, President George W. Bush said, "We will act, learn and act again, adjusting our approaches as science advances and technology evolves."

Armed with the recent findings of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, global leaders are increasingly recognizing the importance of climate change. As a result, the world community has never been in a better position to create a comprehensive, effective new path for reducing greenhouse gas emissions, providing for energy security and supporting economic prosperity.

December's constructive United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change discussions in Bali marked the beginning of a process toward creating a post-2012 arrangement on climate change, and the United States is already engaging enthusiastically and constructively in this important work.

We worked tirelessly in Bali with both developed and developing countries to reach consensus, and we welcome the resulting roadmap. We view it as a critically important first step in the process of achieving a

The United States is committed to working hard over the next two years to ensure that the Bali roadmap is fully implemented.



global, comprehensive and effective approach to climate change.

We had three objectives going into the talks: to launch the negotiation process; to reach consensus on a comprehensive roadmap that would include meaningful actions, not only by developed countries but also by developing ones; and to agree on a schedule for the negotiations. And on each of these objectives, I am confident we succeeded.

Bali also reflected the importance of establishing a long-term global goal for emissions reductions, by developing and financing clean technologies, assisting countries in adaptation and addressing deforestation.

For the first time in such negotiations, the developing world agreed to consider, in the words of the roadmap, "measurable, reportable and verifiable" actions to mitigate climate change. It was in large measure due to the efforts of the United States that developing countries made this unprecedented commitment in Bali. Overall, the results in Bali were a win, not just for the United States, but for all participants committed to seriously

addressing the challenges of climate change. In the months ahead, we are firmly committed to advancing the United Nations-sponsored negotiations, including a serious and detailed contribution to those negotiations through the president's Major Economies Process by this summer.

Leading by Example

The United States is already leading by example, with ambitious national targets for reducing emissions. We have set mandatory targets in such sectors as fuel efficiency and appliance efficiency. In addition, Pres. Bush has signed the Energy Independence and Security Act of 2007. The bill responds to the challenge of the "Twenty in Ten" initiative, which he announced in January 2007, to reduce gasoline use by 20 percent.

The new law requires fuel producers to use at least 36 billion gallons of biofuel in 2022 and sets a national fuel economy standard of 35 miles per gallon by 2020, which will increase fuel economy standards by 40 percent and save billions of gallons of fuel. The energy bill demonstrates U.S. leadership in setting robust targets and will produce dramatic cuts in greenhouse gas emissions.

As the international community develops a new post-2012 approach, the United States will continue to highlight several key elements that must be addressed in any successful climate arrangement: comprehensiveness, respect for diverse circumstances and efforts, the accelerated uptake of clean technologies, sustain-



able forestry and land use, investment and support for climate adaptation.

These components are so important to any agreement that I would like to discuss each in greater detail.

Comprehensiveness

The United States supports an approach on mitigation that reflects the need for concerted international action, with all parties contributing to shared global goals in ways that are environmentally effective and economically sustainable.

No approach will be environmentally effective if it excludes a significant percentage of global emissions. Similarly, it will not be economically sustainable if it undermines individual countries' efforts to develop and achieve higher standards of living for their citizens. But we firmly believe that economic development and reduction of greenhouse gas emissions are not incompatible.

Countries in the developing world are rightfully focused on economic growth and providing for the health, education and other needs of their citizens. Engaging them in a broader discussion that encompasses increasing economic development, strengthening energy security, reducing air pollution, and addressing climate change is more effective and can lead to a common vision for concrete actions that reduce greenhouse gas emissions and increase economic development.

Respect for Diverse Circumstances and Efforts

To attract comprehensive global participation, a future climate approach should respect the differing domestic circumstances of all countries. A diversity of national plans is appropriate because of our differing national characteristics, including, but not limited to, economic, geographical and constitutional systems. Di-

verse approaches will help us to replicate success as we learn about each others' efforts. Simply put, one size does not fit all.

The United States has been stressing the importance of a diversity of approaches through the Major Economies Process that Pres. Bush announced in May 2007. The first Major Economies Meeting last September was attended by the personal representatives of leaders from 17 major economies — representing roughly 80 percent of global economic output, energy use and greenhouse gas emissions — and the United Nations.

In his speech during the MEM, Pres. Bush emphasized, among other things, that these countries would work within the U.N. process to strengthen programs addressing energy efficiency and to advance the global transfer and adoption of clean energy technologies.

Progress toward a global emissions reduction goal will be underpinned by midterm national targets and programs. In addition, participants in the MEM will work on sectoral approaches to low-carbon power generation, transportation and land use, as well as on steps to disseminate technologies by creating an international clean energy fund and removing trade barriers. The president also proposed strengthening climate-related efforts that benefit all countries, including promoting adaptation to climate change, reversing deforestation and promoting clean energy technology.

Accelerating the Uptake of Clean Technologies

The world's economy currently depends on carbon-intensive energy sources such as coal, petroleum and natural gas. Advanced low-carbon technologies are key to reducing emissions in a way that allows for continued economic growth. A new climate change arrangement needs to increase

support for the development of transformational new technologies across a range of sectors. It also needs to speed the global adoption of proven, market-ready clean technologies.

Thanks to our work as part of the Asia-Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate, the U.S. knows that the acceleration of clean energy use in the international arena is feasible, and that the potential benefits are considerable. Our flagship partnership in this field, the APP engages the governments and private sectors of Australia, Canada, China, India, Japan, Korea and the United States to facilitate deployment of, and investment in, clean energy technologies. This innovative public-private partnership is achieving real results through activities in public-private sector task forces in eight energy-intensive sectors — aluminum, buildings and appliances, cement, cleaner fossil energy, coal mining, power generation and transmission, renewable energy and distributed generation, and steel.

For example, the Aluminum Task Force is working to reduce highly potent greenhouse gases, such as perfluorocarbons, through sharing best management practices. Participants will work to implement cost-effective, technically feasible opportunities to optimize anode effects in electrolytic cells, the primary source of PFCs during aluminum production. This is accomplished by providing relevant tools for developing PFC inventories and reporting regimes to facilitate the development and adoption of smelter-specific PFC-emission reduction strategies. This work has the potential to eliminate the equivalent of 15 to 20 million tons of CO₂ per year in China alone — the equivalent of the combined emissions from 20 medium-sized coal power plants.

In addition, the Renewable Energy and Distributed Generation Task



Force is leading efforts to tackle the policy and regulatory barriers surrounding clean energy technologies. Focusing on the Indian states of West Bengal, Gujarat and Punjab, the task force is working to support grid interconnection standards and other policy structures critical for the growth and replication of innovative energy technologies. The result will be improved awareness at a state and regulatory level of the finance and policy mechanisms that must be in place to support cleaner energy infrastructure.

Sustainable Forestry and Land Use

Cleaner technologies alone, however, are only part of the puzzle. Science tells us that how we use our land and manage our forests has a major impact on net greenhouse gas emissions. Promoting sustainable forest management and smart land use is good for our economies and the natural environment, and essential to any successful climate approach.

Combating deforestation and sustainably managing forests are priorities for the United States. We are already a global leader in both fields, providing between \$80 million and \$100 million a year in direct assistance. We are committed to working with partner countries and organizations at all levels to conserve and sustainably manage forests and halt deforestation and forest degradation.

Forest loss and degradation are significant emissions sources that deter sustainable development, reduce resilience to climate change, represent significant lost revenues and destroy the economic, social and environmental goods and services provided by forests on which many of the world's people depend. A comprehensive climate approach should recognize and encourage all efforts that have a significant impact in reducing or avoiding deforestation.

The U.S. is already leading by example, with ambitious national targets for reducing greenhouse gas emissions.

Investment

There is a critical need for financing our transition to a new global energy system, and promoting adaptation and sustainable land use. This requires financing tools that support the development and adoption of new technologies as well as existing clean technologies. Open trade and investment in this sector are vital. The United States is committed to enhancing our own efforts, and Pres. Bush has proposed a new fund to promote international investment in clean energy technologies.

This fund will be supported by contributions from governments from around the world, and will help finance clean energy projects in the developing world. Pres. Bush has asked Treasury Secretary Hank Paulson, who is currently reaching out to partners to further develop this concept, to coordinate this effort.

In addition, we recently joined the European Union in submitting a ground-breaking proposal in the World Trade Organization for eliminating tariff and non-tariff barriers for environmental goods and services. WTO members currently charge duties as high as 70 percent on certain environmental goods, impeding ac-

cess to and use of these important technologies. A recent World Bank study on climate and clean energy technologies suggests that by removing tariffs and non-tariff barriers to key technologies, trade could increase by an additional 7 to 14 percent annually.

For maximum sustainability and effectiveness, a new climate approach should ensure that the private sector will generate the bulk of the investments required to address climate change. Other key financial features such an approach should highlight are the importance of governance in attracting private investment, as well as the need for public- and private-sector investments in low-carbon technologies, especially in the early stages of development.

Support for Climate Adaptation

Regardless of the efforts countries make to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, individual countries will have to adapt to the impacts of climate change. Supporting countries' ability to respond and adapt to climate variability and change must be part of the equation. Effective adaptation strategies go hand-in-hand with the sustainable development agenda of which our climate strategy is part.

The United States undertakes a broad range of activities to assist countries in developing robust societies, economies and ecosystems with the capacity to address the challenges and opportunities of both current and future climate conditions. These activities include analyzing data from Earth observations, developing decision-support tools and integrating climate information into development programs and projects. We support disaster preparedness, mitigation and relief, and coastal-zone management activities around the world, including efforts to address severe weather, storm surges and sea-level rises, as

IN RESPONSE



well as ecosystem, coral reef and natural resource protection. We place a high priority on assisting populations and regions that are particularly vulnerable to the adverse impacts of climate change.

For example, the United States is leading efforts like the Global Earth Observation System of Systems, a partnership of more than 70 countries that gives communities early warning of natural disasters and improves decisionmaking for agriculture, coastal development and other economic sectors affected by climate variability and change.

Developing countries are increasingly concerned about their vulnerability to climate change, and adaptation is a key issue at climate negotiations. By exerting leadership to build

developing countries' capacity to adapt to climate change impacts, we build coalitions of support for "mainstreaming" adaptation into climate-related policy and development efforts across the globe.

A Common Responsibility

As Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice has said, climate change has truly global implications for every nation. We have a common responsibility to address climate change, and we will all need to make appropriate contributions to achieve our common goals.

We took a first step in Bali in beginning an important discussion about how to achieve a truly global solution. This is a new and exciting chapter in climate change diplomacy. The United States is committed to

working hard over the next two years to ensure that we implement the Bali roadmap in a way that achieves this end. In this work, we are engaged, serious and pragmatic. We accept the leadership role we know we must play as we all work together to develop and implement practical and effective solutions to the challenges of climate change and energy security.

(Note: Additional information about the U.S. approach to climate change is available at: <http://www.state.gov/g/oes/climate>.) ■

Under Secretary of State for Democracy and Global Affairs Paula J. Dobriansky led the U.S. delegation to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change discussions in Bali this past December.

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AFTER THE SURGE: TOWARD AN 18-STATE FEDERATION



Adam Niklewicz

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FOUR MAJOR PROPOSALS FOR A WAY FORWARD HAVE BEEN ADVANCED, BUT THEY ALL IGNORE IRAQ'S POLITICAL CENTER OF GRAVITY.

By KEITH W. MINES

he conflict in Iraq is multifaceted — alternating between insurgency, civil war, local factional violence and criminality. The insurgency itself is multidimensional, part indigenous resistance to occupation and part resistance by the losing faction in a power struggle. The best way for an outside power to intervene in such a situation is by forcing a settlement to the underlying political issues that are driving the conflict. A second-best solution is to engage local proxies who know the conflict — the terrain, the culture and the cloudy internal politics — and who

will not generate the nationalistic reaction that fuels a key part of it.

Only as a last resort should a big power take part directly in internal conflicts over an extended period of time, and only in cases where there is a vital national interest involved that can only be attained by being on the ground. This is especially true when a regional conflict is but one piece of a global struggle in which opposing sides feed on a narrative of religious nationalism.

Because of how the Saddam Hussein regime was deposed, the Iraq war unavoidably began as the worst of the three models, and we have had a difficult time moving it into the other two. Proxies have not developed as a coherent force, and the political process has been muddled and uneven. We seem perpetually stuck in first gear.

The recent success of the “surge,” however, leaves us ready to change gears, and the overall development of Iraqi security forces could get us to second. But to go beyond that, a long-term strategy must focus on the underpinnings of the conflict and seek political solutions, bolstered only secondarily by force and economic reconstruction.

In its current configuration, Iraqi citizens’ core political identification is ethnically based, and politics is a scramble for power at the national level. But this confessional system a la Lebanon, where political power is based on religious, sectarian groupings, can never produce stability in Iraq. The only way the country can be functional over the long term is if it is organized around a federation model for its 18 governorates, which breaks down confessional groups (e.g., Shia, Sunni) at the local level, leading to provincial political identification that

Keith Mines was the Coalition Provisional Authority governance coordinator for the Al Anbar province of Iraq in 2003-2004, with responsibility for overseeing all CPA economic, political and security programs. His previous experience as a Special Forces officer and FSO includes service in Tel Aviv, San Salvador, Port-au-Prince, Budapest, Mogadishu, Kabul and Darfur, with a focus on countries in political and economic transition. He currently serves as deputy political counselor in Ottawa.

The views presented here are his own, and do not reflect those of the State Department or Embassy Ottawa.

A long-term strategy must focus on the underpinnings of the conflict and seek political solutions.

facilitates national unity. If this model is rejected by Iraqis, then partition becomes much more likely, if not inevitable.

Four Flawed Proposals

Four major proposals for a way forward have been advanced over the past months, all of which ignore

Iraq’s political center of gravity.

The first is the proposal, advocated by Sen. Joseph Biden, D-Del., and analysts Peter Galbraith and Leslie Gelb, to partition Iraq into three ethnic states divided among Shia, Sunnis and Kurds. This is unquestionably where the country is headed, and unless concerted force and effort are applied over an extended period of time, it is where Iraq will end up. Partition would not be a complete catastrophe for the United States. It is not a given that these three states would fall under the sway of outside powers, or that any would provide a haven for al-Qaida. The post-conflict relationship between southern Iraq and Iran is not clearly established, and the invitation to outside terrorist groups in western Iraq was very short-lived. As long as the three new states controlled their territory, could be coerced to follow international norms of behavior and regional spillover was minimized, it would be a manageable outcome. The U.S. would be able to disengage over time, hopefully with the approval of the three new states and without fighting a rear-guard withdrawal.

There are other, two-state variations of partition. One envisions a Shiite-Sunni state in the south and a Kurdish state in the north. This has some advantages over the three-state model because it allows the most historically alienated of the three groups, the Kurds, to go its own way, while keeping the oil-rich south tied to the less well-endowed west, and averts the question of what to do with Baghdad. Another, a proposal of utter desperation, calls for a Sunni-Kurdish state in the north and west and a Shiite state in the south. Still, given the downsides of partition in any configuration, it would seem to be a last resort, not something to be proactively sought. And, significantly, there appear to be few Iraqis outside of the Kurdish region who support partition.

A second proposal, from the Iraq Study Group chaired by James Baker and Lee Hamilton, ignores the fundamental internal political issues that are at the heart

of the Iraq conflict and focuses on issues that appear easier to control. In its first core recommendation, the “New Diplomatic Initiative,” the ISG tries to impose a regional formula on the gritty, street-level issues of political stability inside Iraq. But Iraq will defy this kind of solution, assuming regional players agree to play their assigned role in the first place. The second core recommendation, to embed large numbers of American advisers inside the Iraqi security forces, is similarly flawed if done in isolation from a larger political arrangement. Even if the security forces improved significantly, they would still be fighting for a political order that pits Sunni against Shiite against Kurd; their improved capability will quickly fall into fighting for confessional groupings, not the Iraqi nation. Engaging regional players and transitioning to Iraqi security forces are supporting pillars in stabilizing the nation, but they are not the central pillar.

A third proposal is simply to empower the Shiites and encourage them to crush the Sunnis, establishing a Shiite variant of the Saddamist state. Desperation, it would seem, leads to desperate proposals. The Sunnis may be only 15 percent of the Iraqi populace, but they are the most capable 15 percent, the most violent 15 percent and the most militarily experienced 15 percent. They will not go quietly. A Shiite-Kurdish alliance to gain forcible control over the Sunnis would require the level of violence that Saddam used to control the Shiites and Kurds, with the same negative impact on the country, the region and, now, on U.S. credibility, as well.

The fourth proposal centers on the troop surge. As posited by AEI resident scholar Frederick Kagan and defense analyst Jack Keane, the political piece is too complicated and the reconstruction piece too uncertain, so we should focus on what we can control — security. To date, the troop surge appears to have produced a fairly dramatic turnaround in conditions in Baghdad and its environs. Coupled with positive development in Anbar, it has bought some breathing space.

But it would be a mistake to look at the surge in isolation: it will only yield fruit if it produces a viable political structure. In this light recent developments are less encouraging. While there has been some reconciliatory

***Given the downsides
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progress of late, it does not appear deep-seated or lasting. Of perhaps more importance, the troop surge has created greater dependence on outside forces by a government that will only survive if it can burnish its nationalistic credentials. Moreover, the nature of our counterinsurgency operations perpetuates a degree of anger toward the coalition that empowers religious nationalists, who are one of the most significant pieces

of the political puzzle. In this sense, stability is a question of fewer, not more, troops.

De-Baathification: The CPA's Original Sin

The real locus of stability is in how the Iraqi government facilitates political interaction and identification among Iraqis. In this regard, the current political structure is seriously flawed. Although it is doubtful it can be made to work in its present form, it can *possibly* be fixed.

The political process, which first the U.S.-led Coalition Provisional Authority administered and then the U.N. oversaw through elections, created the conditions for Iraqis to identify with their confessional groupings rather than with the nation. It marginalized the Sunnis, empowered the Shiites, and allowed the Kurds their independence. This was the result, first, of the deep de-Baathification program administered by Ahmed Chalabi in 2003 and 2004 and continued under the new government, which included the disbanding of the army and intelligence services and the dismissal of most senior and mid-level Sunni officials. The message to Sunnis was not just that their dominance of Iraq was over, but that they would now be dominated by the other groups. The confessional structure was perpetuated by Ambassador Jerry Bremer's concession to the Kurds, allowing them to form a subregional grouping as part of the Transitional Administrative Law — something the Shiites also took advantage of to a lesser degree in the south.

Finally, Iraq's de facto tri-state confessional division was given formal structure when the electoral process was conducted through the use of national lists, around which Iraqis naturally rallied to their respective ethnic groupings, rather than a locally based system that would

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have broken down the confessional groupings and forced political participation and accountability through provincial identification.

We should not perpetuate the fiction that there are military, regional or economic solutions to a problem that is fundamentally one of internal Iraqi political structure and identification. Nor should we assume that an Iraq consisting of a Shiite-dominated core with a semi-independent Kurdistan and a marginalized Sunnistan will eventually be stable. The current political program for Iraq is to attempt to garner concessions from the Shiite government on behalf of Sunnis. The very nature of this process perpetuates and hardens the ethnic divisions that are at the heart of the dysfunction in the Iraqi state.

The only viable prospect for a unified and stable Iraq at present is to change the political framework so that the basic organizing principle is 18-state federalism. This,

The provinces as political units have simply never taken off in post-Saddam Iraq.

ironically, is where Amb. Bremer was headed with his caucus system in the fall of 2003, before the plan was aborted. It is not clear whether it would have worked then, but it is doubtful that anything else will work now. The structure of the Iraqi state must change fundamentally in order to break up ethnicity

as the country's core organizing concept.

A federation will not emerge as the result of a 10-step program. The process will be messy and circuitous, and there will be innumerable diversions along the way. It starts with clarity about the current state of the country, which is this: Although it maintains the fiction of 18 administrative units, Iraq is increasingly a federation organized around its three confessional groupings. Even when acting locally, Iraqis generally do so along sectarian lines. The provinces as political units have simply never taken off in post-Saddam Iraq. But it should also



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be noted that a formal three-state federation, as some imagine Iraq could become, will probably not work either. Among other things, federations generally require a minimum of seven or so units, lest the various entities simply consider the hassle of federation not worth the effort and go their own way.

Getting There

Getting to an 18-state federation will require, first and foremost, the will of the current Iraqi government. Absent this, it would be difficult to even get started. One of the strongest arguments for a timetable for withdrawal is that it would get the attention of the government and cause it to make the necessary concessions to move the country in the right direction.

Second, the process will require a skilled U.N. envoy who has the neutrality and competence to work with all sides to the conflict and garner the concessions to move Iraq onto a new political path. The U.S. would have to promote this individual and allow him to take the lead on political reconciliation.

Third, there must be a conference of national unity, with delegates drawn from the provinces to represent their province, not their national party or ethnic group. Stability in Afghanistan flowed from the 2001 Bonn Agreement and the subsequent Loya Jirga (national conference), where Afghans could see their nation as a nation, and where they were given a governing structure that was national, not ethnic, in character. Iraq has never had anything like this. It went from a full-scale foreign occupation to an internationally chosen Governing Council that lacked national credibility, and then to legislative elections structured in a way that pushed Iraqis into their respective ethnic corners — leaving them suspicious, angry and increasingly violent.

The challenge will be to change the structure of the country without ignoring the hard-fought elections and without starting over on the constitution. A number of experts believe this is possible. It will not be sufficient, however, to simply have the current ethnically based government grant concessions to the opposing ethnic groups.

Fourth, in addition to a conference of national unity

In any plan for a way forward, U.S. forces must begin to unilaterally disengage to get out of the way of the evolving security and political dynamic.

that would deal with the issue of how the Iraqi government is selected, serious work on the constitution, which determines how Iraqis are governed, is needed. Both issues must be addressed. Federation expert David Cameron describes the current constitution as “a gigantic worksite,” that is “incomplete, unclear and evolutionary.” He sees the key issues that need work as “rectifying the imbalance in power between the center

and the regions, establishing key institutions (in particular the upper house and the Supreme Court) and clarifying the distinction between regions and governorates.” Cameron believes that “if the opportunity is creatively seized, the amending process could both extend the national consensus on the constitution to include the disaffected Sunni community and also improve the workability of its federal provisions.”

Fifth, in any plan for a way forward, U.S. forces must begin to unilaterally disengage to get out of the way of the evolving security and political dynamic. This is especially true now that their ability to influence the dynamic is falling off sharply. A firm date for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq’s cities, a timetable that puts the government on notice that we will not continue to enable the current dysfunction, would help facilitate this. As much as possible, the disengagement should be tied to changes in the political structure that could lead to national unity. U.S. forces can, however, be kept in overwatch at bases outside the cities for a lengthy period of time, from where they could break up major attacks and movements without being a perpetual presence throughout the country.

One of the biggest challenges in such a plan will be managing the Kurds. Kurdish expectations now run so strongly in the direction of statehood that it will be difficult to get them back to a provincially based system where they give up their regional power base. It may simply be too far along to reverse course, and the Kurds will have to be allowed to secede. But the cost of doing so is high enough, both for what it would do to Iraq and what it would do to the region, that it is worth pressing them to walk back from the current semi-independent Kurdish Regional Government and into a provincially

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based system. They could be allowed some form of loose coordination short of autonomy to sweeten the deal. Or they could, as one constitutional expert suggests, be allowed the kind of autonomy Scotland enjoys, while the south remains fully unified.

It is not at all clear that Iraqis have the political maturity to manage such a transition, the fifth in four years. But with large amounts of political, diplomatic and financial support, such a system could be implemented when the time is right. The key will be creating the right internal conditions for today's power brokers to see moving in this direction as being in their best interest.

If skillfully developed, such a course correction would not only facilitate but require a coalition withdrawal

On a tactical level, U.S. forces are providing security and staving off sectarian fighting, while the images of occupation are stoking the flames of jihad globally.

under conditions more favorable to the U.S. than in other potential scenarios. This would serve us well in the global war on terror. Our current policy works at cross-purposes: on a tactical level, U.S. forces are providing security and staving off sectarian fighting, while the images of occupation are stoking the flames of jihad globally. The key is to extricate U.S. forces from Iraq without evincing weakness or

lack of staying power. A political plan that requires withdrawal in order to work would be one way of doing so.

Only 18-state federalism can create a united and functioning Iraq, encouraging Iraqis to engage each other in the political arena and get on with the business of reforming their state in a way that it can function in the long term. ■

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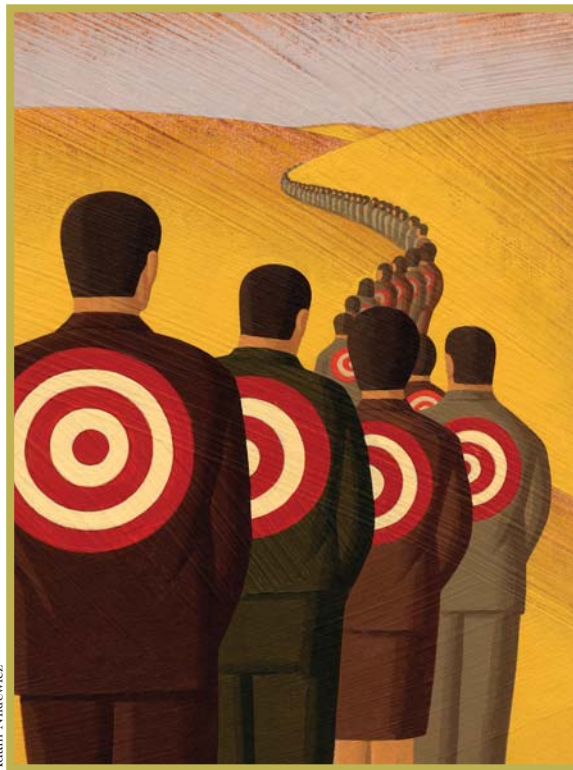
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STATE HAS BEEN SLOW TO EXPEDITE IMMIGRANT VISAS FOR IRAQIS WHO HAVE ASSISTED THE U.S. GOVERNMENT. BUT THERE ARE, AT LONG LAST, SIGNS OF MOVEMENT.

BY SHAWN ZELLER

irk Johnson has seen the worst of it in Iraq. As the U.S. Agency for International Development's regional coordinator for reconstruction in Fallujah in 2005, he tried to put back together what was once one of Iraq's most dangerous insurgent strongholds after a U.S.-led invasion destroyed much of the city at the end of 2004.

About a year after leaving Iraq for medical reasons at the end of 2005, Johnson heard from someone he calls "an old

friend,” an Iraqi man named Yaghdan who worked with USAID during Johnson’s time in Fallujah. Yaghdan desperately wanted to get out of Iraq. He’d been working for the State Department for two years when insurgents targeted him. “The next day,” Johnson wrote last year in an article in the *Los Angeles Times*, Yaghdan “found a note on his front steps that said, ‘We are going to cut off your heads and throw them in the trash.’ Beside it was the severed head of a small dog.”

The threats weren’t idle. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has referred more than 15,000 Iraqis to the United States for resettlement. In order to get on that list, they had to prove that they were at imminent risk if they remained. And though little hard data exists, anecdotal evidence about the killing of U.S. affiliates in Iraq is legion. In his *L.A. Times* piece, for example, Johnson cites a 2005 cable from the U.S. embassy in Baghdad reporting that two Iraqi employees had been killed in the weeks preceding the memo and that “employees live in fear of being identified with the embassy of the U.S.”

Even so, it took Johnson’s intervention, lots of publicity — including another article about Yaghdan’s plight in *The New Yorker* — and months of waiting before Yaghdan was resettled in Illinois last September. At first, Johnson recalls, “USAID told him we’d give him one month unpaid leave. It seemed totally beyond the pale to abandon someone like that.”

Since then, Johnson — who is no longer a government employee — has created what he calls “The List,” a compilation of names of Iraqis who worked for the United States, believe their lives are in danger and want to be resettled here. After various other news outlets picked up Johnson’s story, he’s received hundreds of tips from U.S. government employees who’ve served in Iraq trying to help those who helped them. The list now has more than 600 names on it. Johnson says he gives an updated version to State Department officials every month. Yet only a tiny fraction of those on it have been resettled.

In Fiscal Year 2007, the United States resettled only

**“There’s no reason
to be satisfied,
none whatsoever.”**

— **Ambassador James B. Foley,**
Senior Coordinator for
Iraqi Refugee Issues

1,608 Iraqi refugees. About 250 of these were so-called P1 cases, Iraqis who worked at the U.S. embassy or with a U.S. government-affiliated entity and were referred directly by embassy officials. Another 330 were part of State’s direct access program for interpreters and locally employed staff in Jordan and Egypt, and the rest were referred by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

The latter is the typical process the United States uses for selecting refugees for resettlement throughout the world. Some of those Iraqis referred by the U.N. also worked for U.S. agencies but many were not affiliated with the government and were referred for other reasons, such as being from a religious or ethnic minority group. State will not disclose details about each admission for privacy reasons.

Another 800 or so Iraqis were given special immigrant visas under a program created by Congress in 2006 and expanded last year to allow translators who worked with the United States military another option for getting out of Iraq.

State officials aren’t sugarcoating their progress. “There’s no reason to be satisfied, none whatsoever,” says Ambassador James B. Foley, a 25-year career Foreign Service officer. The U.S. ambassador to Haiti from 2003 to 2005 during the fall of the Jean-Bertrand Aristide government, since September 2007 he has been State’s senior coordinator for Iraqi refugee issues.

Foley has set a goal of 12,000 admissions for this fiscal year, ending Sept. 30, 2008. More than a quarter of that total had been settled as of February, but he’s making no predictions about whether the goal will actually be met.

Forces outside of State’s control may stand in the way, including continuing disputes with the Homeland Security Department over in-country processing of U.S.-affiliated Iraqis, continuing concern about the security situation in Iraq, and intransigence by the Syrian government, which has impeded the ability of interviewers from the Homeland Security Department to enter the country, where an estimated 1.5 million Iraqi refugees are located.

Even so, it’s clear that Congress is fed up with what it perceives as slow progress. In January, both the House and Senate cleared the fiscal 2008 National Defense Authorization Act to which Democratic Massachusetts

Shawn Zeller, a regular contributor to the Journal, is a senior staff writer for Congressional Quarterly.

Sen. Edward Kennedy had attached his Refugee Crisis in Iraq Act. President Bush signed the law. The Kennedy language expands the categories of refugees who can apply directly for resettlement in the United States — without having to go through the United Nations — to include ethnic and religious minorities with relatives in the United States and Iraqis who've worked with the U.S. government. Any Iraqi who worked with the U.S. government, not just translators, will be able to apply for the special immigrant visa, and the number of those cases allowed each year will be increased from 500 to 5,000.

The law also requires the State Department to establish minister-counselor positions in Baghdad and other locations to coordinate the visa program and refugee resettlement for those groups that qualify for expedited processing. State is also charged with assisting those countries currently hosting refugees and working with the international community to assist in the resettlement of refugees, something State officials say they are already doing.

And Congress seems like it's willing to put its money where its mouth is. Two leading House Democrats, Alcee L. Hastings of Florida and John D. Dingell of Michigan, wrote to President Bush in January requesting an increase in funding for Iraqi refugee programs of \$1.5 billion, including \$160 million earmarked for transportation costs to resettle refugees in the United States. "Our government has a moral responsibility to provide leadership," they wrote.

A Delayed Reaction

State insists that it has moved as quickly as possible on resettlements. But it's now been two years since the refugee problem started to explode. In February 2006, terrorists destroyed the golden dome of the Askariya Mosque in Samarra, about 65 miles north of Baghdad. The mosque is one of the holiest in the world for Shiite Muslims and its destruction launched a round of sectarian violence between Sunnis and Shiites that, Foley says, sparked a "huge wave of refugees." By the end of 2006, more than 1.5 million Iraqis had fled to neighboring countries. Up to the bombing, most experts agree, Iraq

State's first reaction was to hope that the security situation in Iraq would improve quickly enough to alleviate the problem.

had experienced a net inflow of maybe as many as 400,000 Iraqis who had previously fled from the rule of Saddam Hussein.

Since that time, the number who have left has grown to more than two million, mostly to Syria and Jordan, with another two million internally displaced within Iraq. It's clear that State's first reaction was to hope that the security situation in Iraq would improve quickly enough to alleviate the problem. The numbers are telling: In all of 2006, only 202 refugees were resettled in the United States.

Congress began to put pressure on State late in 2006, when the first inkling that lawmakers were dissatisfied with the way cases of former host-country employees were being handled became apparent. A provision in the 2007 Defense Authorization Act allowed 50 translators in Iraq and Afghanistan to apply for special immigrant visas for themselves and their families. Later that month, Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Patrick J. Leahy, a Vermont Democrat, held the first congressional hearing on the broader refugee issue.

In February 2007, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice responded by appointing Paula J. Dobriansky, under secretary of State for democracy and global affairs, to head a task force on the refugee situation. But from the start, Dobriansky made it clear that she believed "the best way the United States and other countries can assist displaced Iraqis fleeing violence in their country is to help re-establish a stable security environment that will allow them to return home," according to a release issued by the department at the time.

Despite some hopeful signs toward the end of last year, that hasn't happened, at least in large numbers. And the prospect of a mass return seems unlikely. So the refugee crisis could deepen further this year if, as some are predicting, refugees who've fled to Jordan and Syria run out of money and find they have nowhere to turn.

Last December, for example, the *Washington Post* reported that United Nations and U.S. military officials "reacted with horror" when the Iraqi government offered in November to send buses to Syria to bring refugees home. The *Post* said that U.N. officials feared a humanitarian crisis if returning Iraqis found themselves home-

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less with no money or food. And the U.S. military feared more sectarian upheaval if returning Iraqis tried to reclaim homes since occupied by others.

“It’s a problem that everybody can grasp,” a senior U.S. diplomat told the *Post*. “You move back to the house that you left and find that somebody else has moved into the house, maybe because they’ve been displaced from someplace else. And it’s even more difficult than that, because in many cases the local militias ... have seized control and threw out anybody in that neighborhood they didn’t like.”

State says that it cannot gauge whether the refugee problem is getting better or worse. Though the number who’d fled by the end of 2007 isn’t that much larger than the estimates by the end of 2006, officials decline to say whether they believe there has been a slowdown in the

***State says that it
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or worse.***

exodus. With such a fluid situation — marked by both the return of some Iraqis and the departure of others — it’s hard to know whether more are coming or going, they say. At the same time, they point out, fleeing Iraqis are settling in cities and towns in Syria and Jordan and living with friends and family or on saved money. That’s far better for

their health than living in large refugee camps, but it also makes it difficult to count them.

It’s doubly difficult to count the number of refugees who have worked for State, other U.S. agencies or U.S. contractors. But the numbers are potentially huge. According to figures compiled by the refugee advocacy group Human Rights First, 65,000 Iraqis currently work for the Defense Department. Another 81,000 work for USAID on reconstruction projects and 40,000 more have worked for the construction contractor Bechtel.

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The Resettlement Process

Still, in early 2007, a year into the refugee exodus from Iraq following the Samarra bombing, State had little infrastructure in place to deal with the refugee situation. Nor had it made any substantial moves to distinguish its method for processing Iraqis from the standard procedures it uses for refugees in other parts of the world.

That process, which typically takes eight to nine months, involves several laborious steps. First, a refugee is not classified as such until he has fled his or her home country. There usually is no allowance for processing displaced persons still living in their home country (though State does process some for resettlement inside Cuba, Russia and Vietnam).

Then, to be considered for resettlement in the United States, an individual must be referred to State's U.S. Refugee Admissions Program by the United Nations, a U.S. embassy or an authorized nongovernmental organization. More than nine out of 10 cases result from a referral by the U.N. To win a referral, the refugee must prove he or she faces a legitimate fear of persecution in his or her home country.

After being referred to the Refugee Admissions Program, the refugee is then interviewed by staff at one of State's overseas processing entities, which are nongovernmental organizations working under contract with the department. For Iraqi refugees in Turkey and Lebanon, that's the International Catholic Migration Commission. In Egypt, Jordan and Syria, Iraqi refugees are interviewed by the International Organization for Migration.

After that, the refugee must be interviewed by a Department of Homeland Security Citizenship and Immigration Services officer and undergoes security checks. If the case is approved by DHS, the refugee is assigned to a resettlement agency in the United States that will oversee his or her transition upon arrival in the U.S., and undergoes medical examinations and cultural orientation. State's processing entity then organizes travel to the U.S.

Foley says that setting up an infrastructure to work on the Iraqi cases in 2007 took a "rather impressive effort"

*According to
Human Rights First,
65,000 Iraqis currently
work for the Defense
Department and 81,000
work for USAID.*

that involved everything from the mundane task of renting office space to hiring and training staff. "An entire infrastructure was created in very short order in the region," he says.

But a number of problems arose, most prominently in Syria, where, in mid-2007, the government stopped allowing Homeland Security Department officials into the country to interview refugees. That, Foley says, severely

crimped the government's ability to build a pipeline of cases that would generate large numbers of admissions to the United States.

In May, Congress stepped in again, passing legislation by the ranking Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Richard G. Lugar of Indiana, and Rep. Jeff Fortenberry, R-Neb., to expand the number of Iraqi and Afghan translators allowed to apply for special immigrant visas. "Foreign nationals who are willing to risk their lives and those of their family members by supporting our efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan deserve recognition," Lugar said when the Senate approved the bill. President Bush signed the law in June, the same month Sen. Kennedy introduced his Refugee Crisis in Iraq Act.

At the same time, pressure on State to step up processing was mounting from nongovernmental organizations that work with refugees. Writing in the *Wall Street Journal* last June, Anna Husarska, a senior policy adviser at the International Rescue Committee, detailed the cases of three Iraqi refugees she'd met while traveling through the Middle East. All of them had worked for U.S. agencies or contractors and had received death threats for having done so. But the U.S. government, she alleged, had not protected them. "The lives of these men and their families are now in shambles because of their previous service to the U.S., and none of them has been told they're on the short list to be let into the country," she wrote.

By contrast, Husarska pointed out, the United States had shown in previous conflicts how quickly it could evacuate worthy allies when it simply decided to do so: "In the first eight months after the end of the Vietnam War, at the direction of President Gerald Ford, the U.S.

FOCUS

government and the U.S. armed forces facilitated the movement to the United States of over 131,000 South Vietnamese refugees,” she wrote. The U.S. also evacuated refugees in short order from Hungary and Cuba in the 1950s and from Bosnia in the 1990s, she added.

But the hammer dropped in September when a cable sent by the U.S. ambassador in Iraq, Ryan C. Crocker, was leaked to the *Washington Post*. Crocker said it would take as long as two years to admit all the refugees who’d been referred for resettlement by the United Nations, citing “major bottlenecks” slowing the process. He pleaded with Washington to speed it up because, he said, it wasn’t clear that Jordan and Syria could ensure the refugees’ safety: “Refugees who have fled Iraq continue to be a vulnerable population while living in Jordan and Syria,” he wrote. “The basis for resettlement is the deteriorating protection environment in these countries.”

The cable brought out into the open longstanding tensions between State and DHS over processing proce-

dures. In a letter to Crocker first reported in the *Post*, Emilio T. Gonzalez, director of Homeland Security’s U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services division, wrote that Crocker’s account of the situation “does not reflect an accurate picture of DHS’s commitment or performance to date.”

But soon thereafter, leading conservative activists in Washington, such as former Attorney General Edwin Meese III and David Keene of the American Conservative Union, came out to demand quicker action on resettlement.

Two Czars Are Born

Within days, the Bush administration responded by appointing two refugee czars: Foley and Lori Scialabba, who assumed the title of associate director of refugee, asylum and international operations at the Homeland Security Department.

The czars haven’t solved the problem yet. In fact, refugee admissions dipped after the two were appointed,

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from 889 in September (a 2007 high) — when the departments were rushing to meet a goal of 2,000 admissions for the 2007 fiscal year — to 450 in October, 362 in November, 245 in December and 375 in January. However, Foley expects the numbers to pick up rapidly this year.

The two can point to some successes, though, such as convincing Syria last fall to allow Homeland Security Department interviewers to return and reaching an inter-agency agreement last year to begin processing refugees inside Iraq who were referred directly by the U.S. embassy. Under typical resettlement procedures, such refugees would have had to flee Iraq in order to complete the processing. Meanwhile, overall processing times are faster than anywhere else in the world, having been cut from eight to nine months to four or five months, Foley says.

Still, some disputes remain. The Associated Press reported in December, for example, that the Homeland Security Department has refused to include refugees who worked for U.S. contractors in the new in-country processing system.

And Foley says that it quickly became clear to him that his job is bigger than the first two tasks he was assigned: negotiating with Syria and the Homeland Security Department. “The longer I’ve been in the job I’ve had the sense that it’s like peeling an onion. You deal with one layer and there’s another layer beneath it. The basic reality is that the Department of State is not the only actor in making this process function successfully and efficiently.”

Foley sees the primary issue as State’s inability to process refugees (with the limited exceptions approved by the Homeland Security Department for direct embassy employees) inside Iraq, where an estimated two million people have been forced from their homes by sectarian violence and terrorism.

State has not developed an official policy on processing refugees in Iraq. But Foley would like to be able to do it. “There is only so much we can accomplish in the neighboring countries,” he says. “The needs are greatest inside the country, and yet that is the hardest nut to crack of all.”

That’s for reasons of security, he explains. “It’s not one of will or desire, but of conditions, of security first and foremost,” he says.

At the same time, Foley says it’s not clear that more

referrals for resettlement will be found in large numbers in Jordan, which has provided the greatest level of cooperation with Homeland Security Department interviewers and may be mostly tapped out. So ramping up the number of resettlements will rely heavily on expanding processing inside Iraq and in Syria. Damascus has allowed DHS interviewers in, but Foley says that it has not granted access to the number of Homeland Security Department officials or employees of State’s overseas processing entity in Syria — the International Organization for Migration — that State would like to see, slowing processing there.

As for shortening DHS security reviews to speed resettlements — and the analogies comparing the situation in Iraq to the mass resettlements from Vietnam in 1975 — Foley says that concerns about admitting a terrorist by accident are now too severe to replicate the Vietnam airlifts.

“Underappreciated, if not misunderstood, is how important the security screening is to the success of this program,” he says. “People like to put the Department of Homeland Security in one corner and the Department of State or others in another as antagonists. But in reality, all Americans should be united in supporting the idea that we will assist and to some degree resettle Iraqi refugees who qualify, who are in need — but equally that we will ensure that the program is completely sound from a security perspective. The world changed fundamentally on Sept. 11, 2001.” In other words, if one refugee were to commit a terrorist act in the United States, it would destroy the whole program.

As a result, Foley says he’s making no guarantees that State will hit its goal of resettling 12,000 refugees this fiscal year. There are too many variables beyond the department’s control, he says, adding that it is using the goal as a motivator and is doing its best to reach it.

In the end, though, Foley says that he hopes the intense focus on resettlement of refugees who assisted the U.S., while vitally important, doesn’t distract the nation from the larger issue of the more than four million displaced Iraqis, the vast majority of whom will never be resettled. “Politically speaking, resettlement gets all the attention, when it really is the solution for a small minority. We need to make sure we devote all the attention necessary to taking care of the totality of refugees.” ■

WORKING AND LIVING IN IRAQ



Adam Niklewicz

Editor's Note: We recently sent an AFSAnet message inviting Foreign Service personnel who are serving in Iraq or have done so recently to recount their experiences there. Some of their responses describe the physical, logistical and other challenges they face and how they have overcome or worked around them to do their jobs. Others focus on the texture of daily life in postwar Iraq. But they all exemplify the best traditions of the Foreign Service. Our thanks to all who shared their stories.

— Steven Alan Honley, Editor

A YEAR WELL SPENT

In the fall of 2006, I was in the middle of an exciting temporary assignment to New York during the 61st session of the United Nations General Assembly when I received a call asking if I was still interested in Iraq service. I had initially been interested back in 2004, when our Iraq project had a radically different tone; having observed developments there since, I had a lot of questions before volunteering again.

Luckily, several people at our U.N. mission had served in Iraq, not only in Embassy Baghdad but out in the field, as well. Each of them had a wholly unique experience to relate, but the common threads running through all their stories were that Iraq service would be completely different from anything else in the Foreign Service (except perhaps Afghanistan), and that everything over there is constantly changing.

As of this writing, I am the public diplomacy officer for the Ninewa Provincial Reconstruction Team, based in the northern city of Mosul. Before continuing, let me offer several caveats. Though I have traveled extensively within Ninewa province, I have very limited direct experience of the rest of the country, including Baghdad. Second, though we are not an “e-PRT” (i.e., embedded directly into a combat brigade), we are colocated with both the regimental and deputy commanding general’s headquarters, and we work hand-in-hand with our military colleagues. Finally, I am not an expert in either the Arab world or post-conflict situations, but am a Foreign Service generalist in the truest sense of the word.

All that said, this has been one of the best years I have spent with the State Department. Many of the challenges faced by earlier colleagues, primarily isolation and lack of support, were largely absent. I have access to a full range of communication technology, both classified and unclassified. The three phones at my desk easily allow me to make commercial, DSN and secure calls to the embassy, Washington and friends or family back in America. Three computers give me access to high-speed commercial Internet, the military’s unclassified NIPRNET and the classified SIPRNET. Additionally, we have the APO for reliable and quick two-way mail.

As the oldest and second-largest PRT in Iraq, Ninewa has developed a robust institutional culture. There has been a continuous State Department presence in Mosul going back to 2003, and it shows. Our relationships are strong across the board, whether with the provincial government, a prominent sheik, the American regimental commander or the Nepalese contractors who work in the base laundry. My experience with everyone here has been one of mutual respect.

The question of whether we are effective in Iraq should be replaced by a more urgent issue — how we can become more effective.

We are working hard to infuse operations with a sense of normality. We dress as diplomats, even if that means a slightly wrinkled suit coat after a ride in a Blackhawk. We take to heart the fact that we are dealing with a new sovereign government that is emerging from a decades-long dictatorship and a war. Our Iraqi partners are risking their lives every single day for their country and deserve full recognition for their courage. The govern-

ment here is similar in capability and ambition to those I dealt with in Zimbabwe and the Dominican Republic.

Clearly, this is not always a normal posting. We travel out to meetings with our contacts in highly-armored Humvees topped with high-caliber weapons. The PRT compound is on a Forward Operating Base on the edge of an ethnically diverse and often violent city. We live and work in temporary structures, and one-fifth of the team’s members wear military uniforms. But the daily work is remarkably similar to that of any diplomatic posting, albeit to the nth degree.

Though I am excited to be going into long-term Arabic training and then serving in Beirut, I will never forget Mosul. Working in the field is extremely gratifying. If I have a chance in the future to do a similar assignment in Afghanistan or elsewhere, I would not hesitate.

Joshua W. Polachek

Provincial Reconstruction Team Mosul

THE IMPORTANCE OF RISK MANAGEMENT

I have been serving on the Regional Reconstruction Team in Erbil, the capital of the Kurdistan Regional Government, since last November. In many ways, this is an ideal assignment: a fairly new post in a region that is both undergoing transition and eager for U.S. contact. Since 2003 there have been no U.S. casualties within KRG territory. The threat of extremist violence exists (the most recent bombing in Erbil was in May 2007), but this is a part of Iraq that attracts non-official Americans: teachers at schools and universities, business executives, even tourists.

Nevertheless, before my arrival in November, my predecessor warned me that one of the factors limiting his ability to function here was the security restrictions under

which we operate. Despite the different environment, the precautions we take are not that different from those in place in the rest of Iraq. I respect that these measures are designed to safeguard me and my colleagues, balancing protection — and the resources needed to provide it — against our ability to do our jobs.

The good news is that many of my contacts want to work with us and are willing to come to our office (a process that is easier than it would be in Baghdad). The bad news is that it can be very difficult to meet people outside the office: meetings must be scheduled well in advance; and requests are often denied or canceled at the last minute due to limited resources.

Still, it's hard to complain when I think about all of our colleagues in other parts of Iraq. We're not worrying about mortar attacks or improvised explosive devices, or fearful for the safety of the local staff and our contacts. But what *is* frustrating is that we may be missing an opportunity. As the security situation stabilizes and as the military draws down throughout Iraq, the responsibility for interaction with the local population will fall more on civilians. If we can't make that model work in Erbil, how will it be possible elsewhere?

Jonathan Cebra

Public Diplomacy Officer

Regional Reconstruction Team Erbil

ENHANCING EFFECTIVENESS

State Department employees have been working in Iraq for five years now. (I was an economic officer in Embassy Baghdad from 2006 to 2007.) The question of whether we are effective there should be replaced by a more urgent issue — how we can become *more* effective given that we are there.

How effective any of us is in Iraq depends on the usual factors: persistence, personal skills, teamwork and professional experience. Language skills help, as does regional experience. Danger, security restrictions and political circumstances do not change the fundamentals of what constitutes effectiveness — just how much of it you need, and the relative importance of the different components. Stress management and teamwork, for instance, suddenly become critical.

How we balance risk with effectiveness necessarily depends on how important the work is. Our military colleagues face this question squarely, accepting that they may be asked to die for their country. In the Foreign

Service we are not accustomed to that extreme, usually living in areas of more moderate hardship and danger differentials. Our heavy presence in Iraq, along with work in other dangerous countries, is changing our understanding of acceptable risk, and demands more from us as a diplomatic corps and from the State Department as an institution.

Organizations that operate with the level of risk found in Iraq must support employees in new and different ways than organizations in safer places. Private companies in Iraq generally do this through long vacations and very high salaries — remuneration that could change the standard of living of employees for the rest of their lives. The U.S. military emphasizes honor and service, along with full support of families, medical treatment and the nation's gratitude. The office walls of the majors and lieutenant colonels I worked with on economic affairs were covered with letters from groups ranging from second-graders to Starbucks workers, thanking them for keeping America safe.

The U.S. military, with its experience operating in war zones, also understands the need for clear goals and management in dangerous environments. At times in Iraq the clarity of some goals seemed at best aspirational, with detailed timetables based on Iraqi actions that were highly unlikely. But the underlying idea is sound: to prioritize and focus on the most important work you can do, the most effective use of time spent in a dangerous place. Strong management is itself a key element of institutional support for people in such environments.

The military also has a culture of teamwork that is critical in stressful and dangerous circumstances. Time spent in bunkers is not the most pleasant bonding experience, but it seems to work. I felt a sense of responsibility to my colleagues in Iraq, who were all under relentless pressure, far from their families and working ridiculous hours. That knowledge outstripped any sense of urgency toward the queries from the National Security Council or the calls from people claiming they were about to brief the Secretary of Defense on whatever economic issue was the crisis of the day.

The stereotype of the brilliant diplomat working individually on an insightful, long telegram falls apart in a place like Iraq. Instead, what makes sense is agreeing to go to a meeting in a dangerous neighborhood because you trust your supervisor's judgment of its importance, and you know that if you don't agree to go, someone else

in your section will have to do it. The military trains and deploys groups together, and I can just imagine how this reinforces a sense of responsibility to each other, and increases their effectiveness.

The State Department and the U.S. military have different cultures for a reason: we have different mandates and strengths. I attended many meetings in Baghdad that would have been much more difficult if the U.S. had been represented by soldiers instead of diplomats. If State employees are going to be in war zones, however, our institution should learn from the military's experience in supporting and preparing its staff for work in dangerous environments.

In Baghdad, the safest place in the Green Zone is in the Republican Palace, which currently houses the embassy. But much of the most effective work is done outside the embassy, requiring difficult decisions on how to balance risk and effectiveness.

We all work with colleagues who have returned from Iraq, some still dealing with the effects of life there. Many of us support the work through service in neighboring countries, or do more work with fewer resources as people and funds are diverted to our mission in Iraq. Worldwide, we face similar decisions as to how to balance risk and effectiveness, as our embassies respond to real increases in risk levels with higher walls and smaller windows. These decisions will have consequences for our effectiveness, which ultimately can also affect the risk we face overseas.

I hope we are able to decide as an institution how to handle these challenges, and how we can best support each other in doing so. This past fall, we finally had a Service-wide discussion of the costs and benefits of directed assignments to Iraq. State Department leadership, AFSA and members of the Foreign Service should focus now on how best to support our colleagues assigned there.

Alyce Abdalla
FSI Student

“PLANES, TRAINS AND AUTOMOBILES,” IRAQ-STYLE

Hilarious as the 1987 movie of that title was, traveling in Iraq — whether by Blackhawks, C-130 aircraft or armored vehicles — is serious business. Breaking your glasses while suiting up in the 40-pound Individual Protective Vest because you absentmindedly left them in a pocket is just one of many hazards. Your riding

suit includes helmet, safety glasses, ear protection and Nomex flame-resistant gloves, which come in handy if your vehicle burns because of an IED or accident.

Operations sergeants are your travel agents and security forecasters, setting up your itinerary and providing wise travel counsel. Normally, 96 hours' notice is required to secure a seat, and flights canceled are not rebooked by your friendly airline. So travelers must be proactive and cultivate good interpersonal relations to get a new flight. My worst experience involved a 14-hour delay at the now-closed Griffin Helipad at Camp Victory when trying to fly to Fallujah on a Marine aircraft. After four canceled flights and sleeping on the floor, I finally got on a 4 a.m. flight.

Ground travel is normally frowned on for good reason, but my job requires daily runs to the provincial capital of Baqubah and weekly “outings” to Abu Sadia, Khalis and Muqdadiyah. While these trips are nearly always uneventful, two merit comment.

After we attended a meeting with the mayor of Khalis, the company commander asked about taking a “side trip” to see the leader of the area Concerned Local Citizens group. This excursion in a 22-ton Stryker took us into an area still being secured near the Tigris River. During the meeting, we heard shots from a CLC checkpoint. We rapidly vacated the rooftop of the Iraqi Army post and boarded the Stryker for what I thought was the trip back home. Instead, we offloaded at the checkpoint, where I stayed behind while the commander took his platoon and the CLC on a foot patrol to find the shooter.

The other memorable trip was from Muqdadiyah to Abu Sadia in an armored Humvee. After an IED disabled the Stryker ahead of us, the track commander gave the command to stop and report damage from what he believed to be a second IED, and instructed everyone to look for others. As it turned out, the single explosion was so loud that the reverberation echoed in the valley and had bounced back from behind us, sounding like a second explosion. Because I did not have the broken intercom headset on, tracking the sound was easier. It is important to speak in a confident voice at a time like that, and I informed the commander that there was only one explosion. I will always remember the clicking of the metal sprockets from the overhead gun turret scanning the road ditch, houses and fields for signs of a complex attack, a distinctive sound.

FOCUS

When we finally arrived in Abu Sadia, a normally quiet village where the Civil Affairs Team had made excellent progress, we had another surprise waiting for us: a protest. White Arabic-script banners hung from every wall and one across the gateway stated in English: "Coalition Forces Must Appease Our Demands to Stop Sit-In." Apparently an Iraqi element had come in the night and arrested several of the local sheiks' relatives. The meeting to resolve the protest was attended by the local battalion commander, the mayor and a single sheik. The rest of the city council boycotted the meeting, holding a sit-in by the gateway, during which one of our sergeants and a local policeman became involved in a very animated discussion. As soon as the main meeting broke up, we all hopped into our vehicle for the trip back. This was not a day to be left in town. Travelers must stay alert in Iraq.

David R. Speidel

Agriculture Adviser

Provincial Reconstruction Team Diyala

PINGITY, PINGITY, PINGITY

There I was, 500 feet up and moving at 125 knots per hour in a Blackhawk helicopter on my way back from Regional Embassy Office Al-Hillah to Embassy Baghdad, where I was an information management technical specialist. We were over the built-up area of south Baghdad when I started to hear *pingity, pingity, pingity*. Are we having engine trouble? No, some of the noises are coming from below.

I don't see any new ventilation ports opening in the roof, so I guess the Kevlar floor blanket is doing its job. *Pingity, pingity, pingity*. I started counting the seconds and was into the high teens before the sounds stopped. No one was hurt, and when we got back to the LZ Washington Helipad, the crew chief did a walkaround checking for damage.

It wasn't until I was back at the office that a soldier told me that I would have qualified for a combat action ribbon if I had returned fire. Since the biggest weapon authorized for State Department personnel is the



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strongly worded diplomatic note, I suppose that telling the person on the ground from overhead what I thought of his antisocial behavior constituted returning fire with the authorized weapon.

The other way to get around is to fly with Blackwater in a Huey (HU-1). Personally, I think they got the pilots from the same museum as the helicopters. One pilot showed me the air frame tag indicating that it was serial number 7. But if you are into roller coasters, then the trip can be a real blast. They fly those things at 120 knots, about 50 feet above the ground and any direction other than the one they are currently going in. They have to do pop-ups to get over power lines and always kick in a turn on the way back down on the other side. On one 45-minute trip, a contractor not only filled a barf-bag; he filled his helmet, as well.

Travel in Iraq outside of the international zone is definitely a unique experience.

*Gary C. Benack
Information Management Technical
Specialist/Telephone
Embassy Sofia*

TIPPING THE SCALES TOWARD STABILITY

Restoring Baghdad to its former status as a center for education and commerce will be a long struggle, one not designed for Western calendars. Re-knitting its cultural fabric requires that its physicians and lawyers, professors and technocrats, entrepreneurs and clergy come back home and again form a society with security, with citizens rebuilding their civic culture.

Serving as an Embedded Provincial Reconstruction Team leader, I recall the lessons of my Peace Corps past. These emphasize supporting community development, building human resources, facilitating project planning and implementation, and allowing people to decide their own priorities. Our work, carried out by State, USAID and Department of Defense personnel, melds the strengths of our respective agencies as we jointly employ our skill sets. In short, it is expeditionary diplomacy combined with conflict zone development. We are the civilian surge, designed to complement the military efforts of the 4th Brigade Combat Team of the 10th Mountain Division, the unit in which we are embedded and rely on for life support, transportation and security.

Our E-PRT, which includes specialists in city plan-

ning, industry, governance, business and finance, and civil affairs, engages local officials and members of the country's nascent civil society. As catalysts for development, we pursue objectives that reflect the various spoken needs of Iraqis: strengthening local governance, promoting economic development and job creation, providing basic public services and infrastructure, and addressing the needs of vulnerable populations, such as women, ethnic minorities and internally displaced persons. Projects — from start to finish — are most effective when they reflect the priorities of the Iraqi people.

We are also working in the area of reconciliation, which is any activity that steers the country toward cooperation and away from further conflict. We engage both Sunnis and Shias, holding meetings throughout city districts to build a common understanding of neighborhood issues and agreeing on tactics to address them. Security and services go together; we identify win-win situations and implement solutions. Squeezed between Islamic extremists and legitimate government structures, traditional authorities seek political space, with sheiks engaging us in dialog to improve neighborhood security and create employment opportunities for their people.

Baghdad is filled with the dispossessed: the internally displaced, widows and orphans, Palestinians, Christians, the unskilled and the unemployed. Even a small return of Iraqis from abroad, with their capital and know-how, would mark a turning point. Anchors for economic growth and improved governance, they could tip the balance toward stability. Over time, Iraq will put its gas and oil reserves increasingly to work to rebuild its infrastructure, educate and provide health care for its people and fashion the political and economic underpinnings of a successful, middle-class society. We recognize the complex nature of this process, and do what we can to support it. This is not only in the interests of Iraq, but our own national security interest as well.

*Eric P. Whitaker
E-PRT Leader, Baghdad*

Editor's Note: Eric Whitaker and his wife, Jonita, also an FSO, represented the Foreign Service at the State of the Union address on Jan. 28. They sat in the first lady's box at White House invitation. ■

WELCOME TO THE FS BLOGOSPHERE

ALL BUT UNHEARD OF EVEN FIVE YEARS AGO, BLOGGING IS NOW
WELL ESTABLISHED AMONG MEMBERS OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE.

BY MARC NIELSEN

At the September 2007 launch of the State Department's first Web log, *Dipnote* (<http://blogs.state.gov/>), Spokesman Sean McCormack welcomed readers to the site. Inviting them to be "active participants in a community focused on some of the great issues of our world today," McCormack stated that the purpose of the blog was to "start a dialogue with the public" and to bring readers "closer to the personalities of the department."

Blogging is an Internet communication medium that has taken off in the past few years, providing a means for discussion and more personal interaction with others who need not be in the same room, in the same town, or on the same continent. In April 2007, Technorati, a search engine that analyzes blogging trends, tracked more than 70 million blogs and reported that about 120,000 new blogs are being created each day worldwide (<http://technorati.com/weblog/blogosphere/>).

But in launching *Dipnote*, the department was not so much breaking new ground in foreign affairs as playing catch-up. All but unheard of even five years ago, blogging is already well established among members of the Foreign Service. There are currently more than 60 frequently updated, unofficial blogs written by active and retired FS person-

nel and their spouses and family members, as well as FS wannabes. Each blog has a different style, format and voice.

The FS blogosphere reflects a profound generational shift in the way diplomats see themselves and their work. Its openness and freewheeling character would appear to be inhospitable to the reserved, careful student of protocol and decorum that is the classic image of the diplomat. Yet its population is increasing as the sea change that is ongoing in the broader culture resonates among Foreign Service professionals, whose career profile itself is arguably in transition.

Diplomatic Blogging

While Foreign Service bloggers are particularly careful not to make public sensitive or classified information, there are no hard and fast rules governing what can and cannot be blogged. How much can be shared when describing conditions in a country or at an embassy?

Each blogger approaches privacy in a personal way, some choosing not to reveal their name and location while others are more open. Most include a disclaimer stating that their views are not those of the State Department, and they are careful not to share classified or sensitive information. Many FS bloggers shy away from commenting on the workplace at all; a few give some details but remain cautious.

In a discussion of the issue at www.consul-at-arms.blogspot.com, one reader commented:

Marc Nielsen was the Journal's fall 2007 editorial intern.

"I'd imagine the reason there aren't dozens of FSOs blogging is that it would be very, very difficult to blog without at some point giving away what post you're at. Then, once everybody at post knows it's you, it becomes impossible to ever say anything critical of the department, much less individual officers.

"...At best, the officer would be forever pegged as 'the Blogger' and he'll have a hard time getting a good assignment in the future if every prospective supervisor in the FS thinks he could end up as the butt of some joke on this guy's blog.

"...Then, of course, if the blogger is a consular officer, and word gets out about his identity, there's the possibility of harassment from visa applicants, both prospective and already-denied ones."

In response, Consul-At-Arms, an established blogger, explains:

"Quite. Thus, in the time-honored tradition of 'X,' Yours Truly chooses to be as discreet as possible, both concerning the department, myself, my post, and my fellow officers and staff members. My colleagues' personal business is their own; nor will I often delve too deeply into my own personal issues — at least I hope not.

"I take considerable care to never blog regarding personalities at my current or former posts. My identity isn't precisely a secret (although I've been discreet enough that Mrs. At-Arms only yesterday learned I've been blogging), but it seems only reasonable and prudent not to publicize the fact, especially while serving overseas, for reasons you state quite well.

"When I first began blogging, my initial concern was more for OPSEC (operational security), especially as I'd only recently returned from Iraq.

Enough time has passed that I'm not giving anything away by posting pictures from my tour, although I review each with OPSEC in mind before posting. I spent a certain amount of my Army Reserve career in an OPSEC position so that review is professional-grade.

"Similarly, I make a point of not criticizing the department. The department has a sufficiency of critics already, [so] I'd rather act in an explanatory fashion, commenting on events and so forth. Like Dr. Demarche and Smiley before me, I don't think it's out of place to comment or discuss immigration and visa issues in general, without giving away any 'secrets of the trade.'

"So far, no visa applicants have come 'a-knocking' at this Web log. Those who might consider doing so should bear in mind that little brings me greater joy than finding a good

Blogging 101

The essentials of blogging are straightforward. If you want to start your own blog, there are several things to consider.

Template. Bloggers use all kinds of templates for updating their blogs. The most popular are: www.livejournal.com/, www.blogger.com/ and www.wordpress.com/. Google's *Blogger* is by far the most common, but bloggers who want a more professional look graduate to *WordPress* or *TypePad* (www.typepad.com/). Some companies charge a monthly fee to host a blogger's Web site.

Disclaimer. Most Foreign Service bloggers include a visible disclaimer on their blogs. It can be simple: "The views and opinions expressed in this blog are exclusively those of its author, and are not in any way meant to reflect the opinions or policies of the U.S. government" (<http://diplodocus.wordpress.com/>).

Or, it can be more pointed: "...If you're looking for gossip, for breaches of operational security or privacy, for public criticism of the declared foreign policies of the United States of America, leaks or other treasonous disloyalty, the reader is invited to look elsewhere" (<http://consul-at-arms.blogspot.com/>).

Privacy. If you just want your family and friends to read your blog, Google's Blogger allows you to select readership by requiring interested parties to e-mail you for access. Only when you have confirmed their request can they read your blog.

For example, one junior FS officer serving at her first post in

Dhaka has detailed the process of getting into the Foreign Service, life during A-100, Consulate General Rosslyn training and subsequent language instruction. Her site, www.yrstruly.net, is password-protected. To read it, simply send her an e-mail stating who you are and requesting access. She is happy to give out the information.

Pictures. While you can post pictures, if you want to download entire albums on the Internet your blog may not be the best place to do it. Most bloggers use either *flickr* (www.flickr.com/) or *Picasa* (www.picasaweb.google.com) to manage and share their pictures. Both sites offer slideshow applications that can link to the actual photo albums.

Other Applications. Many bloggers like to keep track of how many people read their blog and where they are from. *Site meter* (www.sitemeter.com/), *Stat Counter* (www.statcounter.com/), and *Web Stats* (www.webstats.motigo.com/) are free applications that track readership. *ClustrMaps* (www.clustrmaps.com/) is one site that actually maps out where your readers are located. A little thumbnail map can be added to your blog for all to see.

Also, if you want to make sure you get credit for any photos you post that are used by others, a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 2.5 License is available at <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.5/>.

— Marc Nielsen

solid reason to deny a visa, like harassing me online.”

A Lively Forum

Whatever the format — monthly newsletter, photo diary, live journal, commentary on current events, or something else entirely — blogging provides Foreign Service professionals with another forum to connect with each other and stay in touch with their families.

The Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide offers what is perhaps the most direct portal to this new world. The group maintains an updated list of FS blogs at its Web site (www.aafsw.org) under “Living Overseas.”

The following list, compiled here at the *Journal*, is a small sampling of the different types of blogs maintained by FS-related individuals. All sites were active as of the end of 2007,

The AAFSW maintains

an updated list of FS

blogs at its Web site:

www.aafsw.org.

but neither AFSA, the *Foreign Service Journal* nor this author vouches for their current status. In addition, all contents are the sole responsibility of the individual bloggers.

The Journal. A typical blog is one that is updated frequently with pictures and commentary. Readers can leave comments, creating more of a forum setting for discussing the writer’s posts and experiences.

Life After Jerusalem


<http://schohn.livejournal.com/>

A native sandlapper (South Carolinian), this FSO is currently posted in Washington, D.C. She recently finished a two-year tour in Jerusalem. In her pre-Jerusalem life, she was an archaeologist and a reporter for the *Charleston Post and Courier*. Now she shares her home with her partner of nearly eight years and their dog and two cats, blogging frequently on issues that affect her and her career.

FSO Globetrotter — The World through the Eyes of an American Diplomat in Chile

<http://fsoglobetrotter.blogspot.com/>

Globetrotter is a consular officer in Chile who usually updates his blog weekly. He posts a lot of pictures and provides useful links for those curious about the Foreign Service. His archives go back all the way to 2002.




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**Face the Sun:
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<http://facethesun.blogspot.com/>

An FSO currently stationed in China, this blogger is in his mid-20s. He has posted a lot of his journal online. His design is simple, and he updates the site frequently. His friendly and open personality is evident in each entry. Because he has been blogging for several years, he has extensive archives. He also posts an annual review of the books he's read in the past year.

Vice Consul
<http://viceconsul.blogspot.com/>

The author is a vice consul, serving in India. His blog features a great mix of poetry, embassy happenings, Indian culture and personal life. His posts are updated frequently and accompanied by pictures. He says he blogs to keep a journal of his life in New Delhi, to stay in touch with family and friends and to encourage himself to write consistently.

From Russia with Love
<http://carolynandtristan.blogspot.com/>

Carolyn is an international educator from Seattle, currently trying out the expat life in Russia. Her husband Tristan is a first-tour Foreign Service officer stationed in Moscow. The site is a great example of how to stretch the capabilities of Google's *Blogger*.

The Partition — Better Days on the Sub-Continent
<http://fsowalla.wordpress.com/>

A young FSO serving in India, the writer frequently updates his blog. His entries are professional, thoughtful and open. He writes well and posts interesting happenings about his work, reading and music.

FS Couples. Several FS couples keep separate blogs. Their different experiences and perspectives allow for

additional insight into Foreign Service life.

Prince Roy
www.princeroy.org/

Prince Roy is a self-described “ex-law school inmate” now serving as a U.S. diplomat. A native of New Orleans, his first post was in Madras (2004-2006); he is now serving in Taipei. His site is meant to “serve as a means for friends and family to keep track of me no matter where I go, and provide firsthand information for anyone considering this career.” Prince Roy is very active within the FS blogging community. He is mentioned or linked to by almost every FS blog.

Random Jottings of a Chengdu Native
<http://spicygirl.livejournal.com/>

This blogger married Prince Roy in the late 1990s. She works for a firm in Taipei. She usually updates monthly and posts big pictures.

The Diplodocus — Sticking My Neck Out for America
<http://diplodocus.wordpress.com/>

The writer is a recently married FS officer in Washington, D.C. He uses *WordPress* to blog. His site has a great format and is airy, friendly and easy to navigate. There are tabs at the top of the blog for easy organization. He uses *flickr* to host his photos.

Girl in the Rain – A Displaced Seattleite Wandering the Globe
<http://intherain.wordpress.com/>

She recently joined the FS and is posted in Seoul. Since marrying Diplodocus, she has occasionally commented on some of the challenges of being a tandem couple. Her site has charming aesthetics, and her posts are useful to those curious about starting out in the Foreign Service.



Aaronmartz.com

The Photo Diary. Some blogs are very picture-oriented. The writers frequently post photographs from their locations abroad.

Annamartz.com and Aaronmartz.com — At Your Service in Switzerland
<http://aaronmartz.com/>

This couple takes turns updating the blog. Their blog hosts dozens of pictures from their current post in Switzerland. They are headed to Yaounde for their next tour.

The Family Newsletter. Several FS families use their blogs to keep their relatives updated on their current posts and activities.

Tasman's World
www.tasmanworld.com/

This site hosts the monthly newsletter of one Foreign Service family. This is a very simple site that doesn't require a lot of maintenance, but provides relatives with access to family news and a photo archive.

The Dinoia Family
www.dinoiafamily.typepad.com/

The Dinoia family keeps a blog from their current post in Reykjavik. The blog is a record of the family's activities and the rewards of life abroad. It provides a useful glimpse for those interested in understanding different aspects of raising a family

overseas. (It was cited in Cybernauts in the January 2006 issue of the FSJ.)

Globehoppers – Two Adults, Four Kids, and All Their Stuff Wandering the World
www.globehoppers.us/

This family was previously posted in Manila and Lomé. They are currently in Chennai until August 2009. They update this blog almost daily and frequently include pictures of family outings.

place2place
<http://place2place.blogs.com/studio/>

This blog is updated by the spouse of an FSO. The site shows the family's interaction with the community in Niger. Her personalized blog provides a unique setup for keeping in touch with friends and family. She updates regularly, and

Aspirants to the Foreign Service share their stories with each other.

pictures accompany every post. The archives go back to 2006 when her husband passed the Foreign Service oral examination.

FS Hopefuls. Aspirants to the Foreign Service share their progress and stories with each other and with sympathetic FS members, making these blogs a useful resource for anyone considering the Service as a career.

Tales of the Windy City (and Beyond)
<http://windycitytales.blogspot.com/>

This blogger is an FS hopeful currently in Chicago. He has passed the Foreign Service written exam a few times and is working to pass the oral exam. He is linked to many active-duty FS bloggers who have provided him with encouragement and advice.

Tumbleweeds
<http://editfish.blogspot.com/>

This is a collection of the anonymous author's "experiences, insights, and epiphanies gathered along the way," as he makes his "slow ascent toward the U.S. Department of State Foreign Service." He offers firsthand descriptions of the evaluation and hiring process and an incredible number of links and resources for those considering the Service. He is very plugged into the FS blogosphere. ■



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DON'T REINVENT THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE WHEEL

THE F PROCESS IS HALF A LOAF, AND ONLY HALF-BAKED AT THAT, BUT STILL AN IMPORTANT FIRST STEP TOWARD MESHING U.S. FOREIGN ASSISTANCE SPENDING WITH OUR STRATEGIC GOALS.

BY GORDON ADAMS

The creation of the Office of the Director of U.S. Foreign Assistance, commonly known as the F Bureau, within the Department of State in January 2006 was a giant step toward a brighter future for international affairs planning and programs.

Yet a mere two years later, the knives are out for this promising experiment in foreign assistance budget planning. Some at the U.S. Agency for International Development see the new process as one more step down the road toward the disintegration of development assistance in the maw of the diplomats. The NGO community fears that the new setup will lead to the elimination of development and USAID as goals and instruments of U.S. foreign policy, or at least wipe out the agency most closely committed to their agenda. And Congress, for its part, didn't feel consulted about the change and doesn't like it.

For all these reasons, the first systematic effort to connect U.S. foreign assistance spending to our strategic goals and tailor all assistance programs to the needs of the recipient countries may die in the next year. If it does, we can expect the Defense Department to replace State as the lead agency for U.S. overseas engagement, providing nationbuilding services

and development assistance, training foreign security forces of all kinds and providing fiscal support to foreign governments that are willing to support American purposes around the world.

That outcome would not only be a shame; it could fatally damage U.S. national security. It is crucial to strengthen the Office of the Director of Foreign Assistance, not to kill it, whether outright or through a thousand cuts.

F Is for Fix

The F Bureau represents the first institutionalized, comprehensive, leadership-supported, strategically-driven effort to coordinate State and USAID's foreign assistance resources, which constitute about 60 percent of all U.S. aid. During its first cycle, the "F" process led to reallocation of assistance from 80 country programs (out of 155 total) and 20 central programs to higher-priority bilateral programs. Over \$2 billion was shifted from less needy regions (such as the Western Hemisphere and Europe) to needier areas such as Africa and South Asia.

Funding to support food aid to India was reduced, because India is now a food-exporting nation. Assistance to the Dominican Republic was increased, because of its strong governance and the promise of economic growth. Funding for Millennium Challenge Corporation-eligible countries was shifted to sectors that would support MCC efforts, such as municipal government support in Ghana. And spending on biodiversity and family planning was reduced in some countries, where field missions, embassies and host governments did not rate them as high-priority objectives.

Gordon Adams is a professor of international relations at the School of International Service, American University. From 1993 to 1997, he was associate director for national security and international affairs at the Office of Management and Budget. He is currently writing a book on national security budgeting.

In this new era, it may finally be possible to begin to empower and fund the foreign policy institutions of government so that they can bring balance to a national security establishment in which DOD dominates in resources, clout and perspectives. In other words, the F process might, for the first time, allow us to create capabilities in the civilian arena that can complement our military power.

But it is not enough to make foreign assistance planning an integrated State/USAID effort. Our diplomats need to begin taking the economic and development missions seriously, transforming State into an agency more broadly committed to our foreign relations as a whole.

Until now, America's diplomatic institutions and Congress have spent nearly half a century slicing and dicing our overseas engagement capacity into increasingly smaller and more ineffectual pieces. They did so largely because diplomats negotiated, represented and reported from abroad, but shied away from program development and implementation and strategic planning back in Washington. So we gradually created a bewildering array — a diaspora, if you will — of programs and agencies: the European Recovery Program, the U.S. Information Agency, USAID, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and the Peace Corps, to name but a few. In addition, Treasury funds multilateral development banks and Agriculture administers food aid programs.

This organizational disarray was well under way by the late 1960s, leaving many foreign policy institutions — especially State — incapable of doing strategic resource planning, program design and program implementation. Worse, their institutional cultures actively resisted engaging in such planning. As a result, State came to depend on USAID and, increasingly, DOD to implement foreign assistance programs via Economic Support Funds, Foreign Military Financing and International Military Education and Training, as well as assistance targeted to Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. USAID, meanwhile, became a strange hybrid: a development agency with its own culture and ways of doing business, carefully defending itself from assaults by State, while acting as the implementing arm for State's more strategically intentional assistance programs.

Despite State's absorption of ACDA and USIA in the late 1990s, and talk of eliminating USAID as well, the proliferation of discrete aid programs continued into the 21st century. The Bush administration's establishment of the Millennium Challenge Corporation in 2004 only continued the devo-

lution process, setting up yet another institution carefully protected from all the others. Even the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, though operated out of State, has kept its distance from other foreign assistance programs.

This design was obviously imperfect. Yet State kept inventing its own programs (counternarcotics, counterterrorism, training for African peacekeepers, etc.) — never mind that it had neither the institutions nor skills to run them.

A Long Overdue Breakthrough

The founding of the Office of the Director of U.S. Foreign Assistance in 2006 drew its intellectual inheritance from a step taken more than a decade earlier: the creation of a staff-level resource planning office in Foggy Bottom. This office helped prepare the Secretary of State's views on all of the funding spigots we have in international affairs and began a process of strategic planning.

Secretary of State Colin Powell formalized this process, creating a Bureau for Resource Management and putting the budget planning process in the hands of his deputy, Richard Armitage. Armitage held significant budget hearings every year, where State and USAID budgets were examined, and the Secretary was given options and

tradeoff decisions to make.

The F process followed in 2006. State's goal was ambitious: to integrate the budget planning of all the various foreign assistance institutions and rewrite the basic legislation authorizing them (the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended) to provide funds for meaningful program categories and strategic purposes. Congress pushed back, instructing the administration to see what could be done with existing accounts and authorities at State and USAID, using the flexibilities already available.

The result was half a loaf, and only half-baked at that, but still an important first step. The new post of Director of Foreign Assistance was created and "dual-hatted" as USAID Administrator. The director pulled together a planning staff, mostly from USAID, where the best expertise was located. It began allocating the Fiscal Year 2007 assistance budgets and planning the FY 2008 budget — halfway through the planning year when field budget requests were already in. The schedule was tight, the new process was opaque and not fully thought through, and communication with the field was poor.

But there was real progress. State and USAID had a common statement of goals and objectives, which provided the

*The F process might,
for the first time, allow
us to create capabilities
in the civilian arena
that can complement
our military power.*

basis for planning and budgeting. Senior leaders at State and USAID and Congress could get the full picture of foreign assistance at the program level. And a common performance framework was established to measure which programs worked and which did not.

Recognizing that we give assistance to various types of states with different characteristics, the new framework targets individual countries, emphasizing that they are at different stages of development and need. Equally important, it organizes foreign assistance into the different strategic goals we seek to achieve: promoting peace and security; strengthening just and democratic government; helping populations improve their quality of life; fostering economic growth and development; and providing humanitarian assistance.

The process was not perfect, and it quickly became evident that it required more work. Regional desks were concerned that funding they hoped for would move somewhere else. Embassies felt left out of the process and demanded greater transparency. And USAID worried that development funds would migrate to different strategic purposes. Everyone felt the time was too short, the system was too top-down, and transparency was inadequate. When the product — the FY 2008 budget submission — reached Capitol Hill, it met with a frosty reception. The relevant committees had not been consulted early on and had to figure out how the new structures fit the budget categories it knew well.

An Unhealthy Development

Despite all these objections, creating the F Bureau was the right start, and the lessons of the first year were taken to heart in an after-action review that led to changes. Yet critics on all sides want to go back to business as usual, a process that lacks strategic

If opponents of the new approach prevail, DOD will be the winner — not State or USAID.

direction and unity of purpose.

At best, they suggest reviving and beefing up USAID, making it more autonomous from State and giving it a clear focus on development. Yet this would just take us back to those unhappy days when it and State were at each other's throats on a regular basis. One side didn't understand development, and the other side just didn't get America's strategic purposes; the result was a dialogue of the deaf and a coordination problem from Hades.

More radically, some critics want to go in an entirely different direction. Supported by a good part of the development community, they are pushing for a wholly separate Cabinet-level Department of Development. But that would only worsen the problem by elevating disputes about assistance to senior policymakers — as if the current coordination problems were not enough — with State and Defense likely to carry more weight.

That idea has other flaws, as well. First, it would further disperse the civilian tools of our overseas engagement, as still more entities vie to set policy direction and control resources.

Second, it would create a large, expensive and unmanaged orphan — namely, all those foreign assistance programs that do not have “development” as their primary goal. The list is long: Economic Support Funds, targeted assistance to the former Soviet Union, counternarcotics programs,

counterterrorism, HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment, and peacekeeping training account for more than half of our current bilateral foreign assistance spending. Either we would have to create yet another foreign assistance mechanism for State to plan and operate these programs, or the new Department of Development would have to run them, diluting the mission its advocates are seeking. Neither is an attractive option.

Third, development assistance just does not have the heft and popularity at home needed to command additional funding. In fact, the result of creating a separate department could very well be the exact opposite of the goal: the dwindling away of development assistance, rather than its growth.

The dilution of effort that would result from returning to the past or creating yet another agency would likely only enhance the role of the Defense Department in delivering U.S. foreign assistance. DOD already has rapidly growing resources for training and equipping foreign security forces (e.g., Section 1206 authority), for delivering economic assistance (the Commander's Emergency Response Program), and for supporting foreign governments (the Coalition Support Fund, which has provided billions for Pakistan and Jordan, among others). All these programs have mirror programs under State/USAID authorities (FMF, development assistance and ESF, respectively). And DOD is seeking to make the first two programs permanent and global in scope.

Thinking Strategically

A weakened foreign policy structure would only load more authority and responsibility on DOD, disappointing those, including Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, who have pleaded for greater capability in the civilian sector.

Outside analysts and task forces

have examined various ways to strengthen the civilian tools of American statecraft. Both the congressionally mandated HELP Commission and the Center for Strategic and International Studies' Commission on Smart Power have explored structural proposals toward this end, though both reports stop short of calling for a further dispersion of foreign policy institutions and capabilities.

An overwhelming majority of the HELP Commission members opted for a proposal that would reinvent and integrate foreign policy institutions within a new department of foreign affairs — a “next generation State Department” — with economic assistance as a central mission. The goal is to establish a more integrated, planned and capable foreign assistance program than we have today.

In contrast, the CSIS Smart Power commission, co-chaired by Harvard Professor Joseph Nye Jr. and former

Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage, lays out structural options that include a more integrated State Department strategic planning and budgeting capability. In particular, the report urges greater attention to an integrated assistance program, driven by strategic considerations.

These and other task force reports all recognize the need for a more integrated, long-term strategic vision for our diplomacy and foreign assistance. And the time is ripe for reform, as Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice works to define and implement the new “transformational” vision for our diplomacy she articulated two years ago. She is clearly determined to bequeath a stronger foreign assistance capability to her successor.

With this strong base of support in mind, State's best option is to build on the F model, not to return to the past or accelerate the diaspora of our foreign relations institution. There are

various ways to do so, some short-term and some more ambitious.

In the near term, State and USAID senior officials need to focus on making the process work better by assigning to the office Civil and Foreign Service personnel who think strategically — and giving them training in planning, budgeting and program management and evaluation.

Further, there needs to be structured, systematic engagement between Washington and the field, with regional bureaus and country desks stepping up their own skills in programming and budgeting to review requests and set priorities. Such an approach could include a pilot project, under which key countries would be selected according to type and across strategic goals, giving policymakers and the in-country mission flexibility to move funds among priorities. This is similar to proposals advanced by the recent Senate For-



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eign Relations Committee report on the field experience of the first round of the F process.

Finally, State and USAID need to work with Congress, not submit budget proposals on a “take it or leave it” basis — particularly when the administration knows they are dead on arrival.

Next Steps

As we transition to a new administration next year, State needs to take further steps:

- Make the director of foreign assistance a second Deputy Secretary of State, conferring the clout needed to do the job. The authority to carry out this step already exists in law, but State has not enacted the provision.
- Transfer responsibility for operational budgeting — now divided between the under secretary for management and the Resource Management Bureau (which lost its assis-

tance budget function when F was created) — to that deputy, who can become a Deputy Secretary of State for Operations. This move would give Congress better oversight and accountability, increasing its confidence in the process.

- Begin a pilot project in long-range strategic planning and budgeting, looking out over five years or more and defining resource requirements connected to long-term strategic objectives — something the F office does not now do. For its part, the White House should mandate a foreign assistance strategic planning and budget planning process, based in F and connected to senior officials at the National Security Council and the Office of Management and Budget.

- Beef up resource planning capabilities inside the regional bureaus so that each has a robust capability to interact with the F process.

Such steps will help State become a more effective foreign relations department, one in which development, public diplomacy and humanitarian assistance all have equal standing with political and strategic relations as tools with which to engage the world.

Alternatively, if the F process is allowed to die, and the current organizational dysfunction persists, development programs will decline in usefulness as a policy instrument, weakening our diplomacy. To fill the vacuum, national engagement will fall to the only department organized to implement such programs, Defense.

DOD will do its best, but it is not trained in the arts of diplomacy, foreign assistance administration or even post-conflict reconstruction. As a result, our civilian capacities will be lost, the American face to the world will wear a uniform, and our ability to achieve our strategic purposes will be weakened. ■

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AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • March 2008

Annual Report 2007

Your Advocate in Tough Times

BY JOHN K. NALAND, AFSA PRESIDENT

These are tough times for the career Foreign Service, which faced deteriorating conditions of service in 2007. The number of members at unaccompanied posts reached an all-time high. Staffing deficits soared worldwide as more positions were transferred to Iraq and other emerging priorities. The personnel system became less family-friendly. Budgets failed to cover current commitments, let alone expanded ones. Outside critics refused to give the Foreign Service credit for its loyal service in increasingly difficult and dangerous circumstances. And the overseas pay penalty passed the 20-percent mark at year's end.

AFSA worked hard to combat these trends, both under Ambassador J. Anthony Holmes, who served as AFSA president through midyear, and under the current AFSA Governing Board that took office in July 2007. AFSA had some successes, but much remains to be done.

Looking Back

The AFSA Annual Report provides you with an overview of how your association worked for you and your colleagues in 2007. If you want to know what AFSA has done for you lately, then please review the pages that follow for our month-by-month listing of activities. If you want to know how your dues get divided among AFSA's various activities, you will find a table summarizing that. And if you want to see a listing of 19 different benefits of being an AFSA member, that information is also provided in this report.

During 2007, as in every year, AFSA's talented 27-member professional staff provided expert support to many hundreds of individual members (active-duty and retired) worldwide. AFSA continued its long tradition of providing scholarships to Foreign Service children. The association's finances remained sound, permitting us to self-finance the much needed renovation of our mortgage-free headquarters building. AFSA's *Foreign Service Journal* continued to generate reader praise for its coverage of professional and foreign policy topics. And our public outreach program involved many Foreign Service retirees in explaining the importance of U.S. diplomacy to tens of thousands of citizens nationwide.

Last year also saw continued growth in AFSA's influence. Backed by a survey showing that members overwhelmingly support our becoming more vocal in our advocacy of the unmet needs of the Foreign Service, AFSA spoke up more in 2007. AFSA officers explained the Foreign Service point of view in more interviews with local, national and international media — print, TV and radio — than in, perhaps, any previous year. They also placed more op-eds in major publications than ever before. And AFSA officers met face to face with more senators and representatives than ever before, as well as numerous Hill staffers.

AFSA's spirited advocacy was backed by a growing membership that approached the



14,000 mark for the first time in history. An unprecedented number of individual members, both active-duty and retired, reinforced our efforts by writing to their lawmakers, hometown newspapers and agency management to urge better

support for the diplomatic component of national power.

Moving Forward

Because AFSA is only as good as its most recent accomplishments, the task in 2008 is to wield AFSA's strengths to continue to address the pressing needs of the Foreign Service. This quadrennial election year offers one last chance for the Bush administration and the 110th Congress to step up to the plate on issues such as ending the overseas pay disparity and increasing funding for diplomatic engagement. Then at year's end, when many current senior officials will be cleaning out their desks, AFSA's leadership (in office through July 2009) expects to meet with the incoming administration's transition team to present them with recommendations to address the challenges that they are inheriting.

Thus, we expect that 2008 will be a busy and productive year. We count on your continued support, encouragement and constructive criticism. With that backing, AFSA will make the Foreign Service a more effective agent of U.S. international leadership while also making it a better supported, more respected and more satisfying place in which to live and work. □

AFSA Annual Report 2007

YEAR IN REVIEW

JANUARY

A generous gift of \$750,000 is made to the AFSA Scholarship Fund from the estate of Brockman M. Moore (augmenting the October 2006 gift of \$157,000). This combined gift of \$907,000 is the largest AFSA Scholarship Fund contribution ever received.

AFSA moves quickly in the first days of the 110th Congress to send letters to each member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the newly renamed House Foreign Affairs Committee, following up with personal contacts to staff. The 71 members of Congress who serve on these committees hear from AFSA on key issues such as FS staffing, resources and pay modernization.

AFSA seeks State Department action to alleviate the tax burden placed on administrative and technical staff overseas, noting that the Foreign Affairs Manual allows the issuance of diplomatic privileges to them in the case of "substantial financial inequities."

AFSA/Elderhostel offers its first program on "The Rise of China." The program is an immediate success and sells out four times over the calendar year.

Over 1,300 members take part in a survey to identify the "Best and Worst Foreign Service Posts," this month's *Foreign Service Journal* cover story.

AFSA presents the Sinclair Language Award — \$1,000 and a certificate of recognition — to 11 members of the Foreign Service for superior achievement in the study of hard languages and their associated cultures.



FEBRUARY

AFSA says farewell to long-serving Executive Director Susan Reardon.

Once again, AFSA protests the procedures used by the Resource Management Bureau to recover overpayments and outstanding debts. In many cases these debts result from travel performed as much as five years earlier.

AFSA again urges the State Department not to move travel and transportation offices out of the Truman Building's service corridor.

AFSA arranges for four senior retirees to explain the role of the Foreign Service to professional audiences attending the Johns Hopkins University's prestigious "Evergreen" lecture series.

The AFSA Scholarship Fund receives the final disbursement of \$102,866 from the Naomi Pekmezian estate. AFSA received \$10,000 from the estate in April 2006 and \$50,000 in November 2005.

AFSA/USAID expresses concern to the USAID administrator and members of Congress about the low USAID operating expenses request for Fiscal Year 2008 (15 percent lower than the FY06 actual).

AFSA/USAID and InterAction jointly prepare an analysis of the last 25 years of OE funding showing marked historical declines (published in the *FSJ*). The final OE budget approved is significantly higher than what was requested.

AFSA officers meet with U.S. Ambassador to Iraq Ryan Crocker.

With the unveiling of the president's Fiscal Year 2008 budget request for international affairs spending, AFSA engages Senate Appropriations Committee Chairman Patrick Leahy, D-Vt., and House Chairwoman Nita Lowey, D-N.Y., on the key questions of staffing, pay modernization and operating expenses for State and USAID.

MARCH

AFSA President J. Anthony Holmes attends the South and Central Asian Affairs Bureau entry-level employee conference in Sri Lanka, makes presentations and meets with new Foreign Service members.

AFSA/State protests the new, more restrictive rules for participation in the Student Loan Repayment Program.

AFSA identifies and urges correction of an error in which the Human Resources Bureau informed some members that letters of criticism would remain in their performance files for two years, rather than the one year required by the precepts.

An AFSA/Elderhostel program is held at a new location, the Savoy Suites Hotel on Wisconsin Avenue. AFSA holds six weeklong Elderhostel programs at this location in 2007, in addition to four one-day programs.

AFSA/FCS files midterm proposals, including one to renegotiate the so-called "Seven-Year Rule" that calls for certain FCS officers to be assigned to domestic Export Assistance Centers for a two-year period sometime dur-

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Elderhostel Coordinator Janice Bay: bay@afsa.org

Governing Board:

PRESIDENT: John Naland

STATE VP: Steve Kashkett

USAID VP: Francisco Zamora

FAS VP: Vacant

FCS VP: Donald Businger

RETIREE VP: Robert W. Farrand

SECRETARY: FA. "Tex" Harris

TREASURER: Andrew Winter

STATE REPS: Anne Aguilera, Oscar DeSoto,

David Firestein, Jim McRea,

Sandy Robinson, Shayna Steinger,

Daphne Titus, Andrea Tomaszewicz

USAID REP: Michael Henning

FCS REP: Stephen Anderson

FAS REP: Vacant

IBB REP: Al Pessin

RETIREE REPS: Herman Cohen, Harry Geisel,

David Passage

ing their first seven years of service. FCS management still had not responded to this proposal by year's end.

APRIL

AFSA sponsors a town hall meeting at the State Department to give members a chance to hear from candidates running for positions on the new Governing Board. AFSA also establishes online candidate forums to enable members to engage directly with the candidates.

AFSA provides testimony to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for hearings focused on foreign assistance effectiveness.

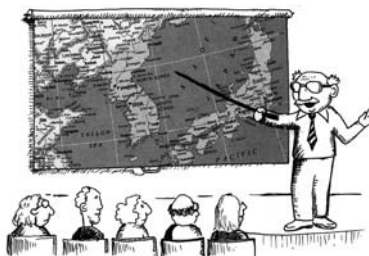
AFSA continues a dialog with the International Board of Broadcasting on the precepts for promotion boards, successfully

fending off an effort by the IBB director to subvert the authority of promotion boards mandated by the Foreign Service Act.

AFSA/Labor Management writes one of several letters in 2007 to assist employees navigating the rules for classification of an elderly parent as an Eligible Family Member.

Pres. Holmes addresses audiences at UCLA and at World Affairs Councils in the Los Angeles area and Seattle concerning the challenges confronting U.S. diplomacy.

AFSA/Elderhostel inaugurates a new week-long program on the Middle East, Latin America and Africa. Both the spring and fall versions of this program sell out quickly.



AFSA informs membership about the Archuleta settlement (regarding lump sum payments for unused annual leave being adjusted for overseas COLA) and its implications for retirees.

FCS management sends AFSA "quick fix" proposals regarding performance forms and procedures. AFSA works with management and the proposals are adopted later in the year.

AFSA/USAID participates in tenure board and promotion board debriefings and reporting sessions to protect employee interests.

AFSA/USAID publishes a new monthly newsletter, *The Vanguard*, to temporarily replace the agency's

canceled newsletter, *Frontlines*. The latter was eventually restarted, in part as a result of AFSA's advocacy.

AFSA/USAID convinces the agency to purchase a subscription to an online foreign language program, Rosetta Stone, previously unavailable to most employees.

A Note on AFSA Operations

E-mail is transforming the way AFSA interacts with 7th-floor principals and the director general's office; with the key offices in Human Resources, Diplomatic Security and the Medical Division; with the front offices of the regional and functional bureaus at State and USAID; and with our far-flung membership worldwide. Where once AFSA raised specific matters of concern only by formal letters addressed to the State Department or other foreign affairs agency, now we conduct an ongoing dialog by e-mail, occasionally supplemented by letters or meetings, with key interlocutors in virtually every bureau on the issues of concern to our members.

AFSA's ongoing electronic dialog with senior officials is in many ways a new form of labor-management negotiation. Over the past year, this interaction has addressed dozens of different subjects and brought about changes in policies and procedures at the State Department in a wide range of areas, including the promotion precepts, the Foreign Service assignment system, concerns over assignments to Iraq and other unaccompanied posts, family member employment overseas, Member of Household status, allowances, medical clearance concerns, maternity benefits overseas, contact reporting requirements, fitness for duty exams for DS agents, technology in the workplace, handling of pets in overseas transfers and training issues.

In addition, during the course of this year, the AFSA president, vice presidents and professional staff have fielded requests from hundreds of FS members, assisting them with individual problems. The AFSA/Labor Management office represented members in hundreds of grievances, disciplinary cases, DS investigations and security clearance cases, and fielded over a thousand requests for information or advice on a wide variety of issues.

Throughout the year, the AFSA president and State vice president, accompanied by AFSA/Labor Management staff, have met biweekly with Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Human Resources Heather Hodges. Topics discussed over the year included the whole gamut of HR issues, including pay modernization, assignments (including special arrangements for Iraq), promotion precepts, position classification, security clearances and regulations, and individual cases. Regular meetings have also been held with then-Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Diplomatic Security Greg Starr and senior DS staff to discuss personnel security in Iraq, contact reporting regulations and DS investigative procedures, among other issues.

The Year in Review presented here, therefore, gives only a sampling of AFSA's activities and accomplishments in 2007.

MAY

The AFSA Memorial Plaque Ceremony takes place May 4 as part of Foreign Affairs Day.

Under Secretary R. Nicholas Burns presides over the ceremony, which includes a military honor guard. Three names were added to the plaques:

Margaret Alexander,
Doris G. Knittle and
Henry W. Antheil Jr.

Over 40 retirees representing 10 states visit their congressional representatives during AFSA's annual Day on the Hill.

AFSA hosts a Foreign Affairs Day reception for retiree members.

AFSA/State writes to Secretary Rice concerning the physical protective measures in place in Baghdad's International Zone.



AFSA Annual Report 2007

YEAR IN REVIEW

A record number of individuals (36) apply for openings on the FSJ Editorial Board.

Academic and Art Merit Scholarships are awarded to 25 students, totaling \$28,500.

AFSA/State briefs the OIG inspection team prior to its inspection of various offices in the Human Resources Bureau.

AFSA writes to State management in an effort to ensure that employees on prescriptive relief from separation are able to be placed in meaningful positions that receive locality pay.

AFSA/Elderhostel offers a new one-day program on Latin America.

The *FSJ* publishes the first of three retiree guidance columns in 2007. Topics include Medicare basics, survivor annuities and guidance on the class-action settlement on unused annual leave.

AFSA/USAID prepares informational materials for congressional hearings on USAID funding and confirmation hearings and meets with congressional staff to discuss staffing and organizational concerns.

JUNE

John Mamone joins AFSA as the new executive director.

Voting for the new AFSA Governing Board concludes and the votes are counted.



The AFSA Awards ceremony is held at the Department of State. Awards are presented for constructive dissent and outstanding performance. Two mid-level officers receive the Rivkin Dissent Award, Ronald Capps and Michael Zorick.

Three awards for extraordinary contributions to effectiveness, professionalism and morale are presented at the AFSA Awards ceremony: the M. Juanita Guess Award for a Community Liaison Officer, to Linda Lockwood; the Delevan Award for an Office Management Specialist, to Margaret Baker; and the Avis Bohlen Award for an eligible family member, to Judith Marquardt.



Former Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger presents the annual award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy to retired Ambassador Joan M. Clark. Special awards of appreciation are presented to Faye Barnes, the

Customer Service Coordinator in the Office of Retirement, and to Robert J. Wozniak, for his eight years of service as chairman of the AFSA Election Committee.

The Foreign Affairs Council holds a press conference hosted by AFSA (a member of the FAC) to present its midterm assessment of Secretary Rice's stewardship of the State Department. More than 60 major print and electronic media nationwide report on the results.

AFSA/State negotiates with the HR Bureau and agrees on the procedural precepts for the 2007 promotion boards.

AFSA/State successfully petitions the department to modify the rules to allow the full Service Need Differential to be paid at posts where a 30- or 35-percent post differential is in force.

AFSA/Labor Management protests HR's policy on paying (or not paying) the lease penalty allowance when an employee answers an urgent request to fill a position overseas.

FCS management signs AFSA's two fall 2005 midterm proposals regarding time-in-class exceptions and acceptance of language testing by Diplomatic Language Services vice FSI for language incentive pay.

Mrs. Dorothy Cameron establishes a Perpetual Academic Merit Scholarship in the name of her late husband, Turner C. Cameron.

AFSA/USAID assists a newly married tandem couple get reimbursement for previously denied joint shipment of effects to Washington.



JULY

The new AFSA Governing Board — Team AFSA — takes office on July 15, 2007.

AFSA President John K. Naland and State VP Steven B. Kashkett meet with Secretary Rice to discuss Foreign Service member concerns, including funding for diplomacy and ending the overseas pay disparity.

AFSA negotiates changes in the fair-share assignment rules that include, at AFSA's insistence, grandfathering provisions based on length of time since last service at a 15-percent hardship post.

AFSA agrees to a reduction in the six-year rule for domestic service to five years, after obtaining a grandfather clause allowing those who returned prior to 2004 to remain under the six-year rule. AFSA succeeds in preserving the exception for senior year of high school.

As part of an ongoing dialog with the State Department Transportation Division, AFSA protests the packing and weighing procedures that often result in employees learning that their household effects shipments are overweight only when it is too late for them to take corrective action.

AFSA meets with and assists members of the Passport Task Force, in particular those from the most recent A-100 classes.

A *Columbia Journalism Review* editorial praises the *Foreign Service Journal* for its Iraq coverage: "Every March since the war in Iraq began, [it] ... has examined the state of diplomacy and nation building in Iraq. Reading those issues, one thing is apparent: the [rest of the] press has largely ignored an important story about the consequences for thousands of civilian Foreign Service employees of the administration's disastrous war."

An annual scholarship in memory of Ambassador Thomas G. Weston is established by his friends and family.

AFSA/USAID works with the Executive Diversity Council to improve the Foreign Service skills matrix and promotion precepts in the area of diversity.



AFSA/USAID influences the timely submission of nominations for the 2007 promotions into and within the Senior Foreign Service, which were approved three months sooner than in the previous year.

AFSA testifies before a subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee on the problems of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder as it relates to the Foreign Service in Iraq.

AUGUST



AFSA's National High School Essay Contest winner, Sumit Malik, is honored by Secretary Rice at the State Department.

AFSA testifies before a subcommittee of the Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee on staffing, pay modernization and the lack of resources for foreign affairs agencies.

AFSA writes to the State Department concerning application of the Uniformed Services Employment and Reemployment Rights Act by the Generalist and Specialist Tenure Boards, as well as the arrangements for including military evaluations and personal statements in official performance files. AFSA subsequently enters into a fruitful dialog with the Human Resources Bureau to correct any errors that may have occurred.

AFSA protests the conditions of service for diplomatic couriers on some courier routes in Eastern Europe and the Caribbean.

Pres. Naland testifies before the Senate Government Reform Subcommittee on Foreign Service staffing needs.

Pres. Naland lays a wreath at the Arlington Cemetery ceremony marking the ninth anniversary of the 1998 East Africa embassy bombings.

AFSA meets with the new director of HR's Retirement Office, Patricia Nelson-Douvalis, to discuss retiree services.



Financial Aid Scholarships totaling \$67,450 are awarded to 53 Foreign Service children for undergraduate college study in the fall 2007 semester.

AFSA/USAID guides the Human Resources Office on the intake process for the first group of

Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities interns.

Mrs. Dorothy Cameron establishes another scholarship in the name of her late husband, Turner C. Cameron, this time a Perpetual Financial Aid Scholarship.

AFSA hosts a Job Transition Program reception for new retirees.

SEPTEMBER

AFSA testifies before the House Armed Services Committee on civilian benefits for the Foreign Service and other non-military personnel serving in combat zones.

AFSA/Labor Management meets with a group of Human Resources officers and subsequently makes several proposals to the State Department to improve the HR career path, promotion prospects and assignment opportunities.

State VP Kashkett is the keynote speaker for the fall series at George Mason University's "Lifetime Learning" seminars, addressing the "Dangers and Challenges Facing the Foreign Service."

Pres. Naland meets with the Foreign Affairs Retirees of Northern Virginia.

AFSA/FCS tables two midterm proposals for fall 2007: requiring tracking concurrence records with signatures on performance appraisal documents and requiring consultations between management and AFSA on how to improve diversity (geographic, gender, etc.) on the selection and promotion boards.

The Scholarship Fund Annual Appeal raises \$20,111.

AFSA/USAID provides a briefing to new Foreign Service officers on residency and state tax issues.

OCTOBER

AFSA/State meets with Human Resources Bureau staff to discuss concerns about the 2007 promotion boards, including member selection and the role of AFSA observers at promotion board briefings.

AFSA signs a memorandum of understanding with State to allow members to compete for promotion even if they have not completed the Mandatory Leadership Training, with the stipulation that they then have to complete the training by Oct. 15 of that year.

AFSA-sponsored retiree speaker Stephen Dachi gives a presentation at Georgetown University's annual international career fair on the opportunities and challenges of Foreign Service careers.

AFSA/Elderhostel offers a new one-day program on the United Nations.

Pres. Naland and State VP Kashkett ask questions on behalf of Foreign Service members at the State Department town hall meeting on Iraq staffing issues.

AFSA is involved with supplemental appropriations requests for Iraq and Afghanistan.

AFSA hosts a Job Transition Program reception for retirees.

The AFSA Governing Board votes to allow board members' children to apply for AFSA scholarships and awards.

NOVEMBER

AFSA consults individually with more than 130 members identified as "Prime Candidates" for possible directed assignment to Iraq to provide guidance and information.

AFSA officers give more than three dozen media interviews on the DG's "Prime Candidate" exercise to set the record straight about the large number of volunteers for Iraq assignments and to defend the Foreign Service against unfair and erroneous characterizations by the media.

AFSA holds a video conference with members in Baghdad. Onward assignments, overhead protection of trailers and the size of the Baghdad mission are among the topics discussed.

AFSA/State holds a video conference with a disabled member overseas to discuss measures to ensure equitable treatment in his case.

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YEAR IN REVIEW

AFSA also participates in meetings of the State Department's Disability Action Group, which meets periodically throughout the year.

AFSA discusses changes to the Foreign Affairs Manual in line with the settlement agreement between AFSA and the State Department on the procedures for Limited Non-Career Appointments overseas for non-FS employees.



At American University, Amb. Wendy Chamberlin gives the inaugural presentation for the new series on U.S. diplomacy, sponsored by a grant from the Adair Family Trust to the AFSA Fund for American Diplomacy. Over 110 faculty and students attend.

AFSA/Elderhostel offers a new one-day program on Africa.

Pres. Naland appears on CNN and the Jim Lehrer News Hour to explain how Foreign Service staffing gaps hurt the State Department's ability to staff Iraq and other posts. In the following days, Naland and State VP Kashkett give numerous interviews on this issue.

AFSA/FCS sends a memo on assignments to FCS management expressing concerns about domestic positions and certain urgent vacancy positions. AFSA subsequently files a grievance due to non-response by the agency.

The Circulation Audit Board presents the results of its survey of the *FSJ* readership, determining that the total number of subscribers is 15,106. The CAB certification will enhance the magazine's ability to attract advertising, which currently covers 70 percent of production costs.

Mrs. Maria Elisa Freeman establishes a Perpetual Financial Aid Scholarship in memory of her late husband Anthony G. Freeman.

AFSA/USAID helps a former Peace Corps staffer currently working at USAID get credit for 2½ years of federal work for his Service Computation Date.

AFSA headquarters closes for renovation. Staff move to temporary offices in Rosslyn.

DECEMBER

AFSA awards \$65,950 to 52 students in Financial Aid Scholarships for spring 2008.

AFSA reiterates longstanding concerns about the security clearance suspension and revocation process to newly appointed Under Secretary for Management Patrick Kennedy.

AFSA public affairs efforts and retiree contributions result in a record 88 articles, letters and interviews defending the Foreign Service in leading media outlets nationwide during 2007, including *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, the Lehrer News Hour, NPR (including the Diane Rehm Show) and major TV networks.

AFSA briefs Director General Harry Thomas, Under Secretary for Political Affairs Nicholas Burns and Under Secretary for Management Patrick Kennedy on its third annual member survey.

AFSA officers meet with Medical Director Laurence Brown on M/MED's plans for assisting members returning from unaccompanied and dangerous posts. They emphasize the need to ensure early diagnosis and timely, appropriate treatment for those suffering from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder.

AFSA assists a group of employees promoted to the Senior Foreign Service in 2006 who were not reviewed for performance pay on time-in-grade grounds.

AFSA protests to the Recruitment and Evaluation Office of HR about the procedures used for assessing the relevance of prior military experience to the work of a Diplomatic Security agent.

AFSA programs over 500 speaker events during the year to explain the importance of U.S. diplomacy to some 31,500 attendees in 43 states and Washington, DC. Most of the speakers are Foreign Service retirees.

Throughout the year, AFSA/Elderhostel offers 17 programs in Washington, D.C. (six week-long programs, 11 one-day programs), with a total attendance of 532. In addition, AFSA holds sold-out programs in St. Petersburg, Atlanta, Tucson, and two in Chautauqua. Speakers include Ambassadors Wendy Chamberlin, Beth Jones, Marc Grossman, Edward 'Skip' Gnehm, Ron Neumann and Jack Pritchard.

Pres. Naland and State VP Kashkett meet with the under secretaries of State for man-

agement and political affairs to discuss Foreign Service member concerns, including funding for diplomacy and ending the overseas pay disparity.

Naland meets with a senior official at the Office of Management and Budget to urge expanded funding for diplomatic engagement and development assistance.

AFSA retiree coordinator drafts a successful motion for review of a decision denying PIT buyback credit to a spouse on the grounds she did not have prior FERS credit. The decision is overturned by the Merit System Protection Board.

An AFSAnet message is sent out summarizing the initial results of a survey of FCS officers, with final results expected in January.

Mr. Norton Bell, a fall Elderhostel attendee, establishes a \$20,000 scholarship in his name via a tax-free distribution from an IRA.

Mr. Eric Melby makes a \$1,000 gift to his parents' Perpetual Financial Aid Scholarship: the Everett K. and Clara C. Melby Memorial Scholarship.

Active-duty FSO Stephen Hubler renews his Annual Financial Aid Scholarship for the third year in a row.

AFSA/USAID conducts the second annual worldwide member survey to determine needs and opinions of USAID FSOs. It uses these to negotiate improved benefits and communicate important concerns to management.



Regular meetings with AFSA prompt Rep. Chris Smith, R-N.J., a key supporter of the Foreign Service, to offer two bills to solve the overseas pay disparity problem. AFSA then lines up a key bipartisan group of members of Congress to support this legislation, including Rep. Chris Van Hollen, D-Md., Rep. Mark Kirk, R-Ill., Rep. Frank Wolf, R-Va., Rep. Jim Moran, D-Va., Rep. Tom Davis, R-Va., Rep. David Scott, D-Ga., Rep. Don Payne, D-N.J., Rep. Mike Honda, D-Calif., and Rep. Diane Watson, D-Calif.

Through the year, AFSA works with House Foreign Affairs Chairman Tom Lantos, D-Calif., Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Joseph Biden, D-Del., and ranking Republican members Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, R-Fla., and Sen. Richard Lugar, R-Ind., on a number of issues, with particular emphasis on pay modernization.

The Governing Board

Front row, from left: Shayna Steinger (State Rep), Sandy Robinson (State Rep), Steve Kashkett (State VP), John K. Naland (President), Francisco Zamora (USAID VP). Back row, from left: Stephen Anderson (FCS Rep), Don Businger (FCS VP), David Passage (Retiree Rep), Hank Cohen (Retiree Rep), Mike Henning (USAID Rep), F.A. "Tex" Harris (Secretary), Harry Geisel (Retiree Rep), Al Pessin (IBB Rep) and Oscar DeSoto (State Rep). Not pictured: Andrew Winter (Treasurer), Robert W. Farrand (Retiree VP), Anne Aguilera (State Rep), David Firestein (State Rep), Jim McRea (State Rep), Nick Pietrowicz (State Rep), Daphne Titus (State Rep), Andrea Tomaszewicz (State Rep) and Barbara Bodine (Retiree Rep).



SHAWN DORMAN

The Foreign Service Journal Editorial Board



SHAWN DORMAN

Back row, from left: Board Chair Ted Wilkinson, Jim DeHart, Jeff Giauque, Joseph Bruns, Stephen Buck and George Jones. Front row, from left: David McFarland, Yvette Malcioln, Laurie Kassman, Governing Board Liaison Al Pessin and Julie Gianelloni Connor.

www.afsa.org



AFSA ON THE WEB

The total number of visitors to the AFSA Web site crossed the one-million mark in 2007, surpassing the 2006 total. Each month visitors returned to the site, with consistent favorites being the *Foreign Service Journal* and AFSA's essay contest pages. The *Journal* Web pages continue to draw more visitors, resulting in increased Web readership. Pages on the Web site devoted to Iraq-related issues are especially popular. This year saw an increase in the number of page hits on the AFSA net messages, which are now regularly posted to the site. The AFSA net listserv continues to grow, serving as one of AFSA's best vehicles for reaching members quickly. With 9,461 subscribers at year's end, AFSA net remains a great way to keep current on issues of concern to the Foreign Service. To sign up for the AFSA net listserv, visit www.afsa.org/forms/maillist.cfm.

AFSA Annual Report 2007

Staff

Finance and Administration



From left: Executive Director John Mamone, Controller Twee Nguyen and Accounting Assistant Jon Reed.

- Accounting
- Financial Management
- Staff Recruitment & Supervision
- Building Administration
- Board and Committee Support

Foreign Service Journal



From left: Advertising & Circulation Manager Ed Miltenberger, Senior Editor Susan Maitra, Editor Steve Honley, Associate Editor Shawn Dorman and Business Manager Andrew Kidd. Not pictured: Art Director Caryn Suko Smith.

- Editing
- Writing
- Design
- Advertising
- Subscriptions and Sales
- *Inside a U.S. Embassy*

Labor-Management



Front row, from left: Office Manager Christine Warren, Grievance Attorney Holly Rich, General Counsel Sharon Papp and Grievance Attorney Neera Parikh. Back row, from left: AFSA/USAID Senior Labor Management Adviser Doug Broome, Labor Management Specialist James Yorke and Labor Management Attorney Zlatana Badrich. Not pictured: USAID AFSA Office Manager Asgeir Sigfusson.

- Negotiations
- Protecting Benefits
- Grievance Counseling
- OIG & DS Investigations
- Member Inquiries
- Informing the Field

Outreach Programs



From left: Retiree Affairs Coordinator Bonnie Brown, Professional Issues Coordinator Barbara Berger, Executive Assistant to the President Austin Tracy and Director of Communications Tom Switzer. Inset, left: Congressional Affairs Director Ian Houston. Inset, right: Elderhostel Coordinator Janice Bay.

- Public Outreach**
 - Speakers Bureau
 - Elderhostel
 - Memorial Plaques
 - Foreign Service Day
 - Diplomats Online
 - AFSA Awards
- Congressional Affairs**
 - Lobbying
 - Tracking Legislation
 - Hill Testimony
 - Grassroots Campaigns
- Retiree Services**
 - Member Inquiries
 - Retiree Newsletter
 - Retiree Directory

Member Services



From left: Membership Representative Cory Nishi, Administrative Assistant Ana Lopez and Membership Director Janet Hedrick.

- Member Recruitment
- Post Reps
- Insurance Programs
- Address Changes
- AFSAnet
- AFSA Web Site

Scholarships

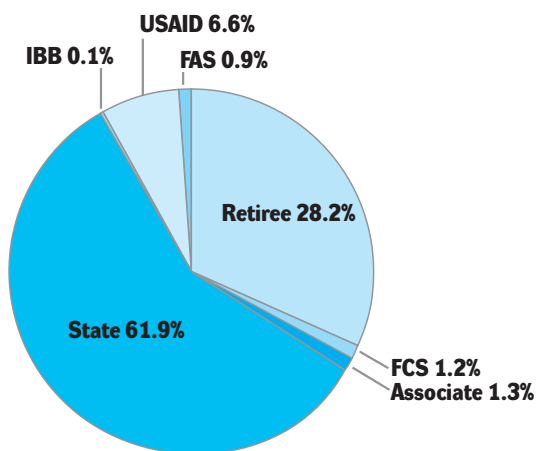


Scholarship Administrator Lori Dec

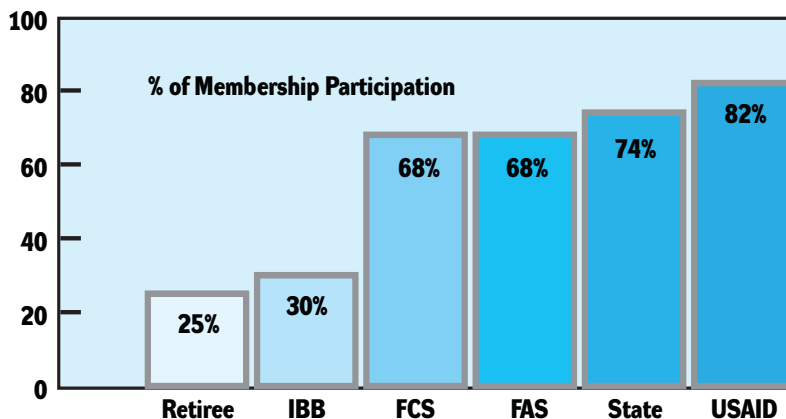
- Financial Aid
- Merit Awards
- Art Merit Awards
- Committee on Education

AFSA Annual Report 2007

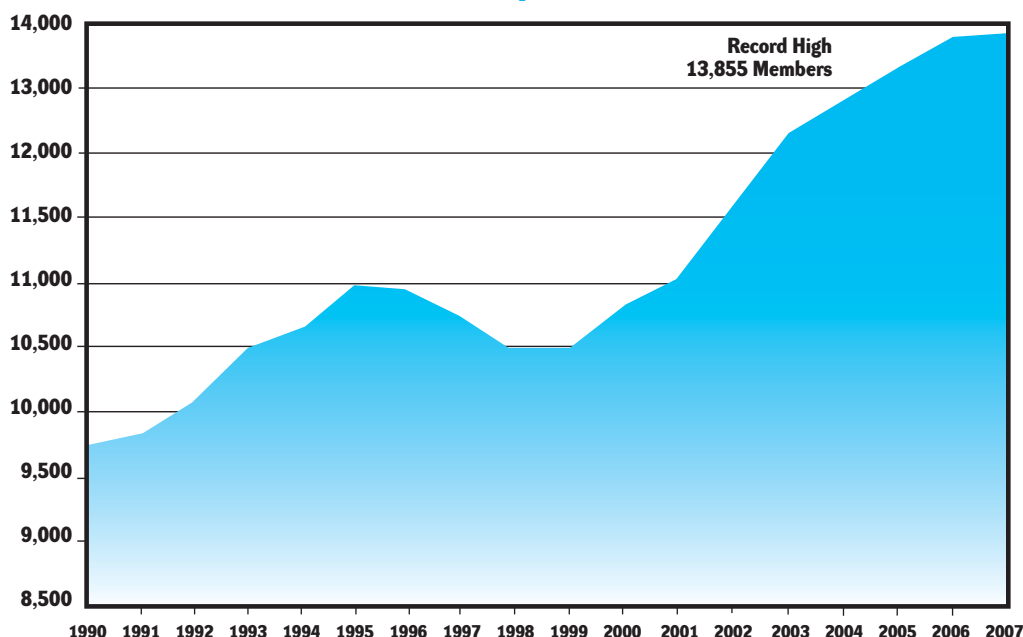
Membership by Constituency December 2007



Membership Participation by Constituency December 2007



Total Membership 1990 to 2007



AUDIT REPORT for AFSA

AFSA's audited financial statements for 2007 will be available on the AFSA Web site (www.afsa.org) in May.

2007 Budget in Brief

INCOME	\$	EXPENSES	\$
Dues	2,423,000	Membership Programs.....	1,297,712
Foreign Service Journal Advertising	539,000	Foreign Service Journal.....	784,124
Insurance Programs.....	25,000	Legislative Affairs.....	151,232
Legislative Action Fund	50,000	Professional Programs and Outreach	364,443
Other.....	500	Scholarships	424,012
Professional Programs and Outreach	261,189	Administration.....	517,788
Scholarships	441,990	Contributions to Endowment and Reserves..	201,368
TOTAL	3,740,679	TOTAL	3,740,679

AFSA Annual Report 2007

AFSA BY THE NUMBERS IN 2007

8	Grievances filed by USAID employees, seven of which were favorably resolved.
29	New lifetime members in 2007.
36	The number of individuals who apply for openings on the FSJ Editorial Board.
74	AFSANets sent in 2007.
88	AFSA articles, letters and interviews in major media nationwide.
173	Number of overseas missions that have an AFSA representative at post.
450	Number of retiree members and spouses who received personal assistance from AFSA.
505	AFSA speakers nationwide.
9,461	Subscribers to AFSA.net.
13,855	AFSA members at year's end.
31,500	Attendees at AFSA speaker programs nationwide.
102,866	Donation (in dollars) to the scholarship fund from the Naomi Pekmezian estate.
161,900	Merit and Financial Aid Scholarships awarded to 78 students (in dollars).
907,000	Dollar amount of scholarship fund donation from the Brockman M. Moore estate and trust, (the largest scholarship gift AFSA has ever received).
1,032,946	Number of visitors to the AFSA Web site.

Benefits of AFSA Membership

LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS: AFSA negotiates the regulations affecting employees' careers. We work to make the Foreign Service a better place in which to work, live and raise a family. Our network of AFSA post representatives provides on-site assistance to overseas members.

CONGRESSIONAL ADVOCACY: AFSA is your advocate before Congress on issues affecting the careers of active members and the annuities of retired members.

OMBUDSMAN: We work to resolve member problems with pay, allowances, claims, annuities, health care and many other issues.

VOICE OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE: As the professional association of the Foreign Service since 1924, AFSA works to strengthen our profession and is ever vigilant for threats to the career Foreign Service.

GRIEVANCE REPRESENTATION: AFSA's legal staff provides hands-on assistance with grievance proceedings when your rights are violated.

OUTREACH: AFSA communicates the views of the Foreign Service on professional issues to the news media and directly to the general public.

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL: Our monthly magazine offers provocative articles that will keep you current on developments in the foreign affairs profession.

AFSA NEWS: AFSA's monthly newsletter, inside the *Foreign Service Journal*, highlights issues affecting your daily life.

AFSA WEB SITE: Our online member area includes a member directory and member forums.

AFSANET: Regular e-mail updates keep you current on issues of importance to the Foreign Service community.

LEGAL SERVICES: We offer free legal advice and representation on employment issues, including security and OIG investigations, discipline cases and security clearance proceedings.

INSURANCE PROGRAMS: You can choose among competitively priced insurance programs designed for the Foreign Service community, including professional liability insurance, accident, dental and personal property/transit.

AFSA SCHOLARSHIPS: Approximately 100 merit-based and financial-need scholarships are granted every year to Foreign Service family members. Since 1926, AFSA has awarded approximately \$4,450,000 in scholarships.

AFSA AWARDS: This unique awards program honors constructive dissent and outstanding performance.

RETIREE NEWSLETTER: This bimonthly newsletter is exclusively for retired members.

DIRECTORY OF RETIRED MEMBERS: This invaluable annual listing, by state, of contact information for retired members is provided to all retired AFSA members.

MAGAZINE DISCOUNTS: AFSA members are eligible for special discounts on subscriptions to major foreign affairs journals.

ESPRIT DE CORPS: We work to build a sense of common cause and professional pride among all Foreign Service members: active-duty and retired; generalists and specialists; entry-level to senior.

AFSA MEMORIAL PLAQUES: Established in 1933, and maintained by AFSA, these plaques in the Truman Building lobby honor members of the Foreign Service who lost their lives overseas in the line of duty.



AFSA Core Values

THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

Established in 1924.

MISSION

To make the Foreign Service a more effective agent of United States international leadership.

VISION

We work to make the Foreign Service a better-supported, more respected, more satisfying place in which to spend a career and raise a family.

— **RESPONSIVENESS:** We listen to our members and actively promote their interests.

— **EFFECTIVENESS:** We act with a sense of urgency, get results and make a difference.

— **INTEGRITY:** We demonstrate openness, honesty and fairness in everything we do.

— **EFFICIENCY:** We carefully expend our resources where they can have maximum impact.

— **COMMUNITY:** We foster teamwork, respect each other and enjoy our time together.

— **COURAGE:** We encourage responsible risk-taking in order to achieve results.

— **PATRIOTISM:** We are faithful to the grand and enduring ideals that gave our nation birth.

— **EMPOWERMENT:** We trust each other to give our best efforts guided by these core values.

Shooting the Messenger

AFSA takes very seriously its obligation to live up to its slogan — “The Voice of the Foreign Service” — in everything we do. We have the challenge of representing the career professionals of a government department renowned for placing the highest value on individual discretion, discipline and obedience to authority. In our line of work, loyalty is often rewarded at the expense of individual outspokenness, even on vital matters that affect the daily lives of our people serving in often difficult and dangerous environments around the world. So most FS members understandably prefer not to speak out. Instead, it is AFSA’s job to speak out for them and to give them a voice in dealing with department management, with the media and with the American public.

Gauging the opinions and concerns of a diverse body of more than 11,000 intelligent, diverse, independent thinkers, however, is no simple task. All of us in the Foreign Service have our own perceptions of what our colleagues are thinking based on our daily conversations “around the water cooler” at embassies, consulates and offices within the department itself, but this is not a systematic way to assess the mood of our entire Service. We at AFSA get dozens of e-mails and phone calls every single day from members all over the world, sometimes hundreds in a typical week, on a wide range of subjects of concern to them. But this, too, provides only an anecdotal snapshot of the mood out there.

As a result, the AFSA leadership has always been challenged to prove its claim to be speaking on behalf of a majority of our colleagues. Frequently, when AFSA would bring members’ concerns to department management, the response was one of skepticism. We were told that our position on a particular issue only reflected the views of a small number of vocal complainers; i.e., the “squeaky wheel” phenomenon. Some management interlocutors would use this as a justification for refusing to address a particular problem.

Confronted with the challenge of speaking authoritatively for a majority of our colleagues, AFSA tried a more systematic approach starting in 2005. After consulting with professional pollsters and statisticians, we designed an easy-to-use, multi-issue electronic opinion poll that we could send by e-mail to all of the 11,300 State active-duty members of the Foreign Service at every diplomatic post worldwide. We made the survey strictly anonymous. We did our best to use neutral word-

ing in the questions, and we left plenty of room for individual comments. Over a period of two months, we repeatedly sent out the survey link by AFSAnet, by ALDAC cable, by e-mail and by internal department notice. We asked ambassadors, DCMs and AFSA post reps to encourage people to complete the poll.

The response each year has been astonishing. In 2005, almost 1,829 of our colleagues took the survey. In the 2006 survey, that figure nearly doubled to 3,416. This year, we reached a remarkable level of participation with 4,311 respondents. This approaches 40 percent of the entire State active-duty Foreign Service. It included hundreds of senior officers, nearly 1,000 entry-level officers and thou-

sands of mid-level members. These 4,311 respondents, including both generalists and specialists, came from every overseas post and every bureau in the State Department in appropriate representative proportions. Almost half of the State officers currently serving in Iraq took the poll.

In addition to making clear their opinions by checking the yes/no and multiple-choice questions, these 4,311 respondents provided a great deal more detail on their thinking and suggestions on various subjects by entering more than 6,000, sometimes lengthy, comments in the open-ended comment boxes.

This overwhelming survey response — massive by any statistical standards — left us with an unmistakable sense of the strong desire of the members of the Foreign Service to have their voices heard and their concerns addressed on a wide range of issues affecting our assignments, our promotions, our families, our working conditions and the future of our profession.

It was therefore sad to see the efforts of a few highly placed State Department officials to discredit the AFSA poll and dismiss the heartfelt opinions expressed by thousands of our colleagues. (See p. 65 for details.) While management in any organization might not wish to hear sometimes critical feedback from employees, creative leaders use such feedback to make changes, shift priorities and do whatever needs to be done to reverse negative perceptions. Denying that those perceptions even exist is no way for management to deal with a profoundly loyal, motivated work force.

And excoriating AFSA for trying in good faith to gauge and represent the opinions of its members all over the world is just shooting the messenger. □



It was sad to see a few highly placed State officials dismiss the heartfelt opinions expressed by thousands of our colleagues.

A JOB WELL DONE: FSGB CHAIR EDWARD REIDY

An Inside View of the FS Grievance Board

BY SHAWN DORMAN

More than a decade ago, AFSA General Counsel Sharon Papp and State Department Grievance Staff Director Joanne Lishman invited the former chief administrative law judge of the Merit Systems Protection Board, Edward J. Reidy, to join the Foreign Service Grievance Board and, later, to assume its chairmanship. Reidy recently stepped down from the board after 13 years of service, more than a decade as the chair.

AFSA commends Judge Reidy for his tireless efforts to ensure that the Grievance Board issues just, prompt, well-reasoned and fair decisions, and for his dedication in striving to ensure that the FSGB has all of the resources and legal authority needed to fulfill its vital role in protecting the rights of all members of the Foreign Service.

Chapter 11 of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 established the FSGB as an independent body of members from outside the active Foreign Service, charged with adjudicating grievances filed by FS members. Membership on the FSGB has fluctuated between 18 and 27 over the last decade. Each member, including the chair, is appointed by the Secretary of State, based upon the recommendations of AFSA and the foreign affairs agencies, for two-year renewable terms. The FSGB reviews grievances on a wide variety of issues, as authorized by law, including separation from employment, disciplinary actions, complaints relating to the employee's working environment, prejudicial information in the employee's personnel records and denial of financial benefits.

Unless a Foreign Service member is faced with the prospect of filing a grievance, it is unlikely that he or she is aware of how the FSGB functions. Judge Reidy helped fill the *Journal* in on the process, explaining that the FSGB operates in panels of three members, usually consisting of an arbitra-

tor (sometimes a lawyer, sometimes not) and two retired members of the Foreign Service. Each panel reviews the submissions (usually written, occasionally oral) in the assigned cases, discusses the case and arrives at a decision. Panels strive to render a decision within 90 days of when the last brief is filed in the case, though this is frequently not possible.

Judge Reidy believes the FSGB's greatest strength is rooted in its independence: "It functions wholly apart from any agency influence. And to their credit, the [foreign affairs] agencies have honored that. The board has a broad range of remedial authority, and it can direct an agency to take that action as required. That, too, is a strength of the FSGB. At bottom, the grievance portion of the Foreign Service Act is remedial in nature. So what the board can do for the parties is most significant."

Unlike the MSPB that handles Civil Service personnel appeals, the FSGB does not have enforcement authority. Reidy acknowledges that this lack of authority is a matter of considerable interest and importance. He believes that by the very nature of its adjudicatory function, the FSGB has inherent authority to enforce. "I always considered that there was solid precedent to support that. I am far from certain that it does not remain an issue still to be clarified. To their credit, the foreign affairs agencies overwhelmingly grant the relief ordered. Admittedly, there are times they do so but are holding their noses."

Reidy explains that FSGB members take their deliberations very seriously, aware that careers hinge on them. Most grievances end with the final FSGB decision and are not appealed to federal court.

On very rare occasions, State and USAID have refused to implement an FSGB decision. In these cases the grievant has been forced to go to federal court to have the decision implemented. AFSA has

sought legislative changes to provide enforcement authority, but the State Department continues to object, for reasons that are unclear to AFSA.

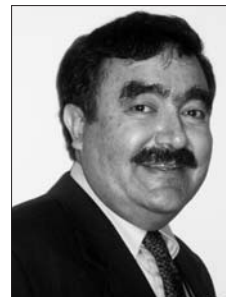
Reidy describes the relationship between AFSA and the Foreign Service Grievance Board as "one of mutual respect. Where a grievant was not represented by an [outside] attorney, he or she was not without support. So the assistance of AFSA was very important. The law involved is somewhat complex. Going it alone is not advisable. I see AFSA's role as quite imperative. There are [also] times when AFSA has been able to discourage a grievance simply by telling the grievant there is no realistic likelihood of success."

When asked what advice he would have for an employee considering filing a grievance, Reidy said: "Go for it. Do not hesitate. But by no means do I suggest filing a silly grievance. Neither do I suggest that the agency is beset with errors. They happen. Nothing intentional for the most part, but sloppy work or lack of familiarity with the rules. I cannot help but wonder how widespread [within the Foreign Service] awareness of the FSGB is. It exists not only for the employee but for the foreign affairs agencies, as well. It is truly a neutral body. And to be credible, it must remain so."

When asked to comment on Judge Reidy's decadelong leadership of the FSGB, Grievance Staff Director Joanne Lishman offered high praise: "I commend him for 13 years of dedicated service to the FSGB, his intellectual rigor, his commitment to quality and consistency of decisionmaking, the high standards he set for the Grievance Board, and his unflinching courtesy to the union, the department and, most importantly, the employees who brought their cases before the board."

The new Foreign Service Grievance Board chairman is Ira Jaffe, a well-regarded arbitrator and lawyer, who brings exceptional experience and qualifications to the position. He follows in an honorable tradition of distinguished FSGB chairs—Bloch, Oldham, DiLauro and Reidy—that began in 1980. AFSA looks forward to working with Chairman Jaffe. □

An Open Letter to Administrator Fore



Congratulations on your historic accomplishment in being confirmed as the first female USAID administrator. Your qualifications have been justly recognized and your performance during your first few months on the job has been impressive. AFSA acknowledges that you are stepping into a challenging environment in an agency experiencing enormous change: in the space of seven years, we have witnessed the departure of two administrators, participated in two major reorganizations, begun work in war zones and experienced a radical change in our relationship with the State Department. All USAID employees have felt the stress of these changes. With only one year left in your tenure to accomplish your goals, I take the liberty of offering some observations and recommendations that I hope can support your efforts to improve our agency.

As you will surely agree, the greatest strength of any organization is its people. Ensuring that the staff is well motivated and fairly treated should be a priority. For this reason, we believe that Foreign Service conditions of employment at USAID must be brought more into line with those of the State Department. As USAID moves closer operationally to the State Department structure, there can be no further justification for continuing the existing double standard. Unlike our State colleagues, USAID officers do not have access to benefits such as student loan reimbursement, language training for spouses, difficult-to-staff incentive differentials, USAA membership for new officers or adequate per diem rates for long-term training, among other things.

Affording preferential treatment to some groups is unjustified and amounts to conferring second-class citizen status on USAID FSOs. While lack of funding has always been the agency's response to our requests to redress inequities, we believe it has been more due to a lack of management will than an empty wallet. Priorities need to be revisited.

Foreign Service members also report to us their extreme concern over hardships created by the lack of overseas comparability pay. When they accept overseas assignments, officers ranked FS-1 and below must endure an almost 21-percent cut in the salary that they would otherwise receive in Washington. Senior Foreign Service officers working side-by-side with these lower-grade officers are not penalized in this way. The result is that service outside the U.S. is becoming less and less attractive economically, especially when officers are forced to live on just one salary per household due to lack of employment for spouses at most posts.

Both State and USAID officers have the same needs and endure the same risks (witness the tragic deaths of several USAID offi-

cers during the last few years). Regrettably, the overseas pay disparity extends even into death. The families of those employees assigned overseas who are killed in the line of duty are also being shortchanged by 21 percent due to the overseas pay gap. The calculation of the one-year death gratuity awarded under Section 413 of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 (as amended) excludes Washington locality pay. However, the surviving family of a Foreign Service employee based in the U.S. but detailed overseas on temporary duty who dies in the line of duty would receive the additional compensation derived from locality pay. Equally, since the introduction of a new pay structure for the Senior Foreign Service, the pay, and thus the death gratuity, is now the same in both situations for an SFS employee. It is therefore conceivable that if two or more officers die in the same incident overseas, their benefits would be radically different. Such inequities should not be tolerated.

And yet, despite these conditions, USAID members continue to answer the call to duty. Since our initial involvement in Iraq, USAID has filled all of its slots on a completely voluntary basis. The USAID staff has stepped up to the plate. They now wait to see if USAID management will respond in kind to their many concerns.

In the interest of full disclosure, I should add that most FSOs are very concerned about the creation of the "F Bureau" and "agency reforms." They are not convinced that the agency is moving in the right direction. Not surprisingly, a recent AFSA survey of USAID officers shows that only 16 percent rate morale as good; close to 80 percent believe things are getting worse. It is time to step back to see if all these "reforms" are truly benefiting the agency. We should have the courage to change course if they are not. AFSA is ready to help.

Our recent member survey also indicates that a large part of the staff supports your efforts (45 percent judged you positively), and about an equal number (48 percent) are giving you the opportunity and time to act before deciding. AFSA especially congratulates you on your outstanding commitment to diversity in the agency as evidenced by your funding increases for recruitment.

I hope that the issues raised in this letter will help inform you and initiate a dialog to improve the current situation. Many of these matters are within your authority, and your personal involvement in implementing the agenda above will be greatly appreciated. We stand by your side and look forward to our partnership. □

Crossing the Rubicon on the Overseas Pay Gap

BY JOHN NALAND, AFSA PRESIDENT

With the stroke of a pen on Jan. 3, President Bush approved the 2008 federal pay adjustment raising the Washington, D.C., locality pay rate from 18.59 to 20.89 percent. With that adjustment, the Foreign Service overseas pay disparity has crossed a mathematical Rubicon, as Foreign Service members now effectively take a pay cut to serve at 20-percent hardship differential posts such as Damascus, Tripoli, Sarajevo, Chisinau, Libreville, Cotonou, La Paz and Ulaanbaatar.

All told, Foreign Service members take an effective pay cut to serve at 183 of 268 overseas posts (68 percent). At this rate, within three years, another 42 posts — those at the 25-percent hardship level without an additional danger pay supplement — will join the list. (The Senior Foreign Service no longer has this inequity due to the 2004 implementation of pay-for-performance for senior executives governmentwide.)

No one joins the Foreign Service to get rich, but the pay gap is taking a toll. AFSA's recent electronic survey, in which 4,311 State Department Foreign Service members participated, shows that only 3 percent do *not* see this as a problem needing to be fixed. In fact, an overwhelming 70 percent attach high importance to correcting this pay disparity, and another 21 percent attach moderate importance to it. Presented with a list of 10 problems facing the Foreign Service, fixing the overseas pay disparity was ranked as the number-one problem by survey respondents. (Survey results were reported in *AFSA News* in the January *Journal*, online at www.afsa.org/fsj.)

This ever-growing financial disincentive to serve abroad is simply not sustainable. The financial “reward” for five years spent abroad is the loss of the equivalent of one year's salary. That has a serious long-term impact on such things as savings for retirement and children's college funds — especially for the many Foreign Service fami-

lies who also suffer the loss of income from a spouse who cannot find employment overseas.

Further delay in fixing the overseas pay disparity would put in jeopardy the long-term health of the Foreign Service and, with it, the future viability of U.S. diplomatic engagement. The overseas pay disparity will begin to hurt recruitment, if it hasn't already, and increase attrition. It will lead employees to start bidding only on domestic positions.

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one year's salary.

Statistical proof that those tipping points have been reached will only come after the damage has already been done. Waiting for such proof would result in a hollowed-out Foreign Service that would take years to rebuild. Overseas pay disparity must be ended this year. That goal can be reached, but it is far from a sure thing, though AFSA is doing all that it can. (For information on these efforts, go to the AFSA president's update messages at www.afsa.org/president-update.cfm.)

AFSA welcomes Director General Harry K. Thomas' engagement on this issue. His Dec. 19, 2007, worldwide message titled “Whither Efforts to Close the Pay Gap?” outlined his advocacy efforts and plans, along with those of Under Secretary for Management Patrick Kennedy. AFSA warmly applauds these vital efforts, as we

do the efforts by Secretary of State Rice and other senior officials to maintain White House backing for moving forward on this issue. Strong advocacy on Capitol Hill by senior State Department officials is crucial to success.

AFSA officers had a very positive meeting with Deputy Secretary John D. Negroponte on Jan. 10. Ambassador Negroponte said that he was acutely aware of the need to end the overseas pay disparity. He strongly reaffirmed the department's determination to work to rectify this inequity. U/S Kennedy and DG Thomas joined in that constructive discussion.

AFSA Encourages Members to Help

To succeed, we will need all the help we can get. Thus, AFSA encourages its members to raise Foreign Service compensation with members of Congress and their staff when you encounter them overseas. Write to members of Congress to explain the problem (doing so in your private capacity while off-duty). Please see the updated two-page question and answer document at www.afsa.org/OCP2008Jan.pdf for helpful information.

Individual letters should illustrate how this problem has a direct impact on you. While AFSA deeply appreciates those on the Hill who understand this problem and are supportive of efforts to fix it, many others need to hear about the sacrifices that Foreign Service members and families make to serve overseas. We need your help to convince Congress to fix the pay gap and stop increasing the disincentive for members of the Foreign Service to head overseas and do what they do best.

If you wish to join in this effort, please contact AFSA Legislative Director Ian Houston at houston@afsa.org. He can advise you on which members of Congress to contact and give you additional suggestions. If you do send a letter, please share a copy with AFSA. □

State Officials Blast AFSA Survey on DipNote Blog

The AFSA Governing Board was disappointed to see several highly-placed State Department officials — the State Department spokesman and two assistant secretaries — seek to denigrate the credibility of AFSA's worldwide opinion survey of the State Department Foreign Service and dismiss out of hand the results of a poll in which thousands of our colleagues participated. And this was done in a public forum, on the State Department's Internet blog, *DipNote*.

AFSA takes these criticisms seriously, especially because they come from individuals in senior leadership positions in the department. Because the criticisms were posted in a public forum that would be seen by many Foreign Service members, AFSA sent out a Jan. 15 AFSAnet message in response. Many people from inside and outside the Foreign Service posted comments (see box below for one typical example). Go to <http://blogs.state.gov/>, January postings, to see all the exchanges.

While AFSA understands that these senior officials might not share the opinions reflected in the survey results, it stands by the survey as valid and relevant. The electronic poll drew completed responses from 4,311 State Foreign Service members out of a total of 11,300 possible respondents. The respondents included specialists and generalists, as well as those assigned overseas and those assigned domestically, in almost exactly their respective percentages in the total Foreign Service population.

Any pollster or statistician will confirm that a response rate of nearly 40 percent of the total population constitutes a statistically valid survey sample. The criticism that the survey is inconsequential because it was "self-selecting" is inaccurate. Every public opinion poll is inherently self-selecting in that participation is voluntary.

"I read with dismay the article in the *Washington Post* reporting on an AFSA survey which purported to show disappointment within the Foreign Service with Secretary Rice's leadership.

"As any professional pollster will tell you, this kind of survey is imprecise and misleading. The survey does not include a representative sampling of the Foreign Service and it collates only the opinions of those who respond. It is a snapshot of a self-selecting group, and should not be understood to reflect the views of the nearly 12,000 members of the Foreign Service.

"More to the point, it does not reflect my views. I have had the honor of working for Condoleezza Rice at the National Security Council and at State Department. She [is] committed to the State Department as an institution, the Foreign Service as an organization, and Foreign Service Officers as individuals."

(Comment on DipNote from Assistant Secretary for Western Hemisphere Affairs Thomas Shannon, Jan. 9.)



"As others have noted, the simple fact that senior officials more or less dismiss the opinions of over 1/3 of their employees

speaks volumes to the issue. I must have missed that management skill in business school. You want people to fall in line? Unquestioningly volunteer for service in Iraq? Accept the pay cuts involved in serving abroad? We signed up to do this and we're all (most of us, at least) more than happy to salute leaders that we respect. In return, though, show some respect for our opinions and act on them as appropriate. Debating the scientific validity of the survey itself simply shows the all too frequent State 'leadership' attitude of 'suck it up quietly' as opposed to inspiring us."

(Comment on DipNote from "J in U.S.," Jan. 15)



The State Department itself has conducted a number of employee surveys in recent years that have attracted a smaller percentage of voluntary respondents than did AFSA's poll, yet State considered them to be highly valid and representative.

AFSA's intention is not to cause a rift between State Department management and employees. Foreign Service members remain profoundly loyal and dedicated to our sense of duty. But there are clearly some very serious concerns held by a great many members of our profession that senior department officials would be well advised to take to heart. The survey results can help State management understand what those concerns are and seek better ways to address them, in a spirit of open-mindedness, working side-by-side with AFSA.

For the record, AFSA's senior leaders gave a one-hour briefing on the survey's methodology and

results to three of the State Department's top officials on Dec. 18, several weeks before the survey was published. AFSA's leaders briefed another top official on Jan. 10. While several of them expressed some concerns about the specific phraseology of a few questions, all of those officials indicated that they agreed that the survey provided valuable insights into the views of their Foreign Service employees. Foreign Service employees can judge for themselves the credibility of this worldwide poll. Detailed results were reported in the January issue of AFSA's *Foreign Service Journal* (www.afsa.org/Jan08survey.pdf). □

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



Donations Fund Two New Scholarships

In November 2007, Mrs. Elisa Freeman established a Financial Aid Scholarship in the name of her late husband, Anthony G. "Tony" Freeman. This scholarship will be awarded for the first time for the 2008-2009 academic year, and will be awarded in perpetuity. Mr.

Freeman was the first deputy assistant secretary of State for international labor affairs in the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor. He was a passionate advocate for international worker rights and worked tirelessly against child labor. He passed away in May 2007 at his home in Bethesda, Md., and is survived by his wife, twin daughters and two grandchildren.

In December 2007, Mr. Norton Bell established a perpetual Financial Aid Scholarship in his name. This scholarship is unique in that Mr. Bell has never been a member of the Foreign Service but has a keen interest in diplomacy. This gift was a tax-free distribution from his IRA, which he gave after attending an AFSA-sponsored Elderhostel (www.elderhostel.org) program in Washington, D.C. Mr. Bell has attended well over 40 Elderhostel programs and thought AFSA's program was one of the best. He served with the Navy in World War II and is a graduate of the University of Illinois. He retired as an engineer from Hewlett Packard in 1986 and went on to become a transcontinental cyclist. AFSA is deeply grateful for his support, and that of the Freeman family.



Refunds for Credit Card Overcharges

You may have seen media reporting about a class-action lawsuit on behalf of everyone who traveled abroad between Feb. 1, 1996, and Nov. 8, 2006, and used a Visa, MasterCard or Diners Club credit, debit or ATM card. The suit sought reimbursement for overcharges on foreign transaction fees. The bottom line is that anyone who used any of those cards abroad in recent years qualifies for a \$25 refund (possibly more if you fill out a lot of paperwork). The \$25 refund is easy to apply for online at www.ccfsettlement.com. The deadline for requesting a refund is May 30.

Tax Guide Correction

There is an error in 2007 AFSA Tax Guide on page 45 of the February *Journal*, under "Personal Exemption." The personal exemption is correctly shown as being increased to \$3,400. However, taxpayers should consult the 1040 instruction booklet for 2007 (p. 33) for details on how to calculate the personal exemption in their individual cases. Essentially, if your adjusted gross income is less than \$156,400 for single filers, \$234,000 for married filing jointly, \$117,300 for married filing separately, or \$195,500 for head of household, you multiply \$3,400 by the number of exemptions claimed. If the AGI is more, then use the worksheet to calculate your personal exemption.

Possible Movement on MOH Benefits

This past fall, AFSA participated with Gays and Lesbians in Foreign Affairs Agencies and other groups in an informal coalition to help advance domestic partner benefits legislation. Senators Joseph Lieberman, I-Conn., and Gordon Smith, R-Ore., are currently finalizing a draft bill to provide domestic partnership benefits to federal civilian employees and their same-sex partners on the same basis as spousal benefits. Twelve senators have already committed to helping advance this potential legislation.

GLIFAA and AFSA officers met with key staff from Senator Lieberman's Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee to advocate that any bill that is proposed on partnership benefits include the Foreign Service. While passage in the near future is not certain, AFSA continues to believe that our regular participation in these discussions is essential to ensure that the Foreign Service is not forgotten when it comes to federal employee benefits.

Transportation Office Moves

The Travel and Transportation Office has moved to the fifth floor of SA-3, an annex near the State Department. AFSA regrets the move. For months, AFSA and others, with the support of some in management, urged the department to keep the offices in the Truman Building to maintain the convenience of the onsite, one-corridor location of most travel and transportation services.

The Travel and Transportation Office can now be found in Suite 5100 of SA-3 at 2121 Virginia Ave.

Overseas Security Seminar Online

The Foreign Service Institute has launched an online version of the required Advanced Security Overseas Seminar (www.state.gov/documents/organization/96014.pdf).

The course is mandatory for all foreign affairs personnel serving under chief of mission authority who have not had security awareness training during the past five years. Adult eligible family members from all foreign affairs agencies are strongly encouraged to take the online course. By offering ASOS online, department employees and EFM's will have access to the security training all year round. Further, once the course is completed they can refer back to the various modules at any time.

Course objectives are to learn how safety and security trends confronting personnel abroad have changed during the past five years, discuss safety and security contingency planning, and identify safety and security personnel and resources available to members of the foreign affairs community. □

The Way of the Diplomatic Princess

There seems to be a misconception about the life of the Foreign Service family: we are a glamorous and carefree lot who circle the globe in our ball gowns and tuxes, cocktails in hand. I never know if I should sigh, scream or giggle.

Life in Conakry, Guinea, our first post, was about as far from the cocktail circuit as one could get. Our time there, for me, overflowed with self-doubt, a lot of loss, and tremendous joy. But glamour — never.

Every day in Guinea, the demon of a medical emergency constantly lurked. We had to hope to God it wouldn't be a true emergency because, let's face it, Paris was a long way away. A tiny part of myself was consumed daily by fear because we had brought our young children into a malarial zone.

Life in Guinea was sitting with our housekeeper, Victoria, each time someone she loved died, feeling her utter frustration and anguish because the doctors were never able to tell her why. And it was the awe that I felt for her because, despite it all, she was always joyful and kind.

It was the children who would hold their tiny hands out to me, pinching their fingers to their mouths in the global sign for hunger; and it was my own sense of profound helplessness because I could never give them enough to change their lives.

It was watching my dog, Moya, die slowly and painfully from a disease that we couldn't cure, despite rounds of various medications, garbled phone calls to vets back home, and countless visits to local vets who had no idea what was killing her. It was sitting on our living room couch, staring listlessly into our backyard through swollen eyes, while three men cremated our dog in a metal tub because I couldn't stomach the thought of leaving her body behind. I wandered around like a ghost for months after that, tangled up by grief because I loved her so much.

It was the difficult decision not to take anti-malarial drugs when I became pregnant because, after a ton of research and conflicting advice, I just wasn't certain enough that they wouldn't harm our baby. And it was knowing that, if I did get malaria, the baby and I could both die.

It was boarding a plane with our 3-year-old daughter when I was 7½ months pregnant, having to leave my husband and 5-year-old son behind. And then, three weeks after giving birth to a healthy

baby boy, having to say goodbye to my husband and son again, because they had to go back to Guinea.

It was weeks of orders to “stand fast,” not being able to go beyond our tall walls because of the violence on the other side. My children begged me to let them play soccer with the neighborhood children, to let them see their friends, and it broke my heart to always say no.

It was, in the end, an ordered departure. Our little family stood next to a military plane, feeling uncertain and scared, not knowing when we would be together again. I watched as our children clung to their father, not understanding why we had to leave him behind.

Guinea was a lot of loss and a lot of grief. It was also us, as a family, listening to djembe drums and laughter from our back porch, knowing that a baby had just been

born, or a couple had just married. It was getting to know people who, despite the poverty, live their lives with such grace, dignity and warmth that I was frequently reminded of how much I have to learn.

When our daughter was 2, she went through a phase of wearing nothing but her rain boots around the house and Victoria would laugh and say “African woman!” and Aisleen would roar with laughter. To this day when you ask Aisleen, who is now 4, where she is from she will tell you proudly: “I am from Guinea, Africa!” Sometimes it takes the perspective of my children to remind me that living in Guinea was an honor, that we were given gifts and joys that we will never forget, and that, while we went through hardships, we are closer and stronger for it.

The reality of our lives is that we are all nomads traveling with our little families around the globe, our firm ground travels with us, and we are a defining force unto ourselves. Our lives are not glamorous or easy, but they are truly incredible. □

Heather Harper-Troje, along with her husband Eric Turner and their three children, is settling in nicely at her family's second post, Dublin — where she has yet to go to a cocktail party!



Above: View of Nongo Port.
Right: Kids playing in the neighborhood.



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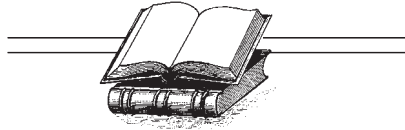
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BOOKS

Once They've Been to Paris...

A Shattered Peace: Versailles 1919 and the Price We Pay Today

David A. Andelman, John Wiley & Sons, 2008, \$25.95, hardcover, 326 pages.

REVIEWED BY JOHN BROWN

This year marks the 90th anniversary of the end of World War I, a conflict which, perhaps like no other, shaped the 20th century. "Some of the most intractable problems of the modern world," writes Richard Holbrooke, "have roots in decisions made right after the end of the Great War."

That quote comes from Holbrooke's foreword to Margaret MacMillan's magisterial *Paris 1919* (published in 2001), her widely praised account of how the victors of World War I sought to reshape the world in the wake of a devastating conflict that brought the end of four empires (German, Austro-Hungarian, Russian, Ottoman); the aspiration for independence of numerous suppressed nationalities; and the international dominance of the United States.

In his book, *A Shattered Peace: Versailles 1919 and the Price We Pay Today*, David A. Andelman, executive editor of *Forbes.com* and a longtime foreign correspondent, acknowledges that MacMillan's work "was a valuable road map" for his own work. He adds

that his goal was to take "the study of this period several steps further — particularly in dealing with many of the secondary individuals and smaller nations that played such an integral behind-the-scenes role in Paris, while at the same time examining their legacy."

Indeed, that is the strength of Andelman's book: It is a clearly written narrative that brings out intriguing historical details about the postwar world the Versailles conference created, many of them unknown to most non-specialists. He skillfully recreates the atmosphere of the period, dealing not only with the setting and the often humorous and absurd goings-on at Versailles itself, but also devoting seven of his 10 chapters to explaining how the Paris agreements affected Europe, the Middle East and Asia.

Of particular interest to this reader was the brief but revealing treatment of how Herbert Hoover's "network of private relief workers in the defeated nations was used as a cover for the first network of spies the United States ever fielded in a coordinated fashion across the continent." Also fascinating was Andelman's account of how the young, penniless Ho Chi Minh tried, without success, to influence the decisions of the conference. Throughout, the author draws astutely on the diaries of the ever-observant British diplomat Harold Nicolson, who was "the greatest single and most colorful chronicler of all those present at the conference."

Speaking of colorful, here is the book's account of Woodrow and Edith

Wilson's meeting with the glamorous Queen Marie of Romania. As Edith later described the scene, the queen lifted from the mantelpiece a photograph of a dark-haired girl, 10 or 12 years old. She then "held it up to him, saying, 'This, Mr. President, is a picture of my youngest daughter, Ileana. My love child, I call her. Is she not lovely? My other girls are blonde, like me; but she — oh, she is dark and passionate.'"

While immensely readable, *A Shattered Peace* does have three significant drawbacks. In his effort to underscore the importance of Versailles, Andelman links its causal relation to current events (particularly terrorism) in a rather heavyhanded way. He also repeatedly cites his experiences as a foreign correspondent, regrettably interrupting the flow of the narrative in the process. And his conclusion that Versailles was a failure, due in large part to Wilson's naïve idealism and the Allies' realpolitik cynicism, is far from original.

All that said, this book serves as a useful reminder that it is far easier to start most wars — including, as we are becoming increasingly aware, the so-called "war on terror" — than to deal with their consequences.

John Brown, who was in the Foreign Service for over 20 years, compiles the Public Diplomacy Press and Blog Review for the USC Center on Public Diplomacy (http://uscpublicdiplomacy.com/index.php/newsroom/johnbrown_main/).



Culture Clash

I'm Furious (Wo Fennu, translated sections available online)

Zhang Jiehai, *Huadong Normal University Press, 2007, RMB 25 (approximately \$3.40), paperback, 202 pages.*

REVIEWED BY ANNA BETH KEIM

In 2006 “Chinabounder,” an anonymous Westerner living in Shanghai, used his blog to describe sexual conquests of Chinese women in demeaning terms, infuriating millions of Chinese. Zhang Jiehai, a psychology professor at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, used his own blog to call for Chinabounder’s expulsion from the country, then published this bestselling book.

Combining blog excerpts, interviews and readers’ responses, the aptly titled *I'm Furious (Wo Fennu)* condemns not just Chinabounder and his fellow Western expatriates but the Chinese women who accept their advances and the Chinese men who lack confidence in their virility. Those problems, Zhang says, stem from China’s general lack of self-esteem and a coherent vision of itself in a Western-controlled world.

Zhang presents himself as psychologist to the nation, in the tradition of early 20th-century novelists Lu Xun and Bo Yang, whose 1986 book, *The Ugly Chinaman*, is still influential. But unlike his predecessors, Zhang uses research into sexual relations between Chinese and Westerners to analyze the Chinese psyche. The result is an unusual work that offers an intriguing look at Chinese society today.

The first chapter, “The Spiritual Erectile Dysfunction of Chinese Men: The White Pages,” reports Chinese men’s answers to the question, “Do

you want to pursue a Western woman?” The men denied it, Zhang says, praising Chinese women’s slim figures and silky skin. Zhang then used the projection method to expose the men’s answers as cover for crushed confidence: he asked if they thought other Chinese men desired Western women. The men agreed they did, leading Zhang to call on his compatriots to shed their awe of Westerners and address China’s cultural flaws. Only then, he contends, can China fulfill its destiny as a great nation.

The author’s diagnoses of Chinese culture are grim. Its emphasis on hierarchy and wealth means that the Chinese treat each other with disdain and fawn on the rich, especially white Westerners. A wall between family and outsiders damages civic responsibility, causing everything from environmental degradation to refusals to give up one’s seat on a bus to the elderly, all worsened by the Cultural Revolution. With a fractured moral backbone, the Chinese cannot attain their rightful global stature.

Zhang advocates many solutions, beginning with calls for Chinese to modify their relationships with Westerners. Men must stop denying that they desire Western women, while Chinese women should stop “revolving around Western men.” Zhang defends this double standard by saying: “If the men of a country are weak, that country will not survive.”

He also advocates the establishment of American-style soup kitchens and the use of public advertisements, based on psychological research, to improve morality. There is a deep inconsistency here: Zhang insists that China should not admire the West, but these prescriptions are based on Western models. For this, and for criticizing Chinese culture, he has been denounced by many readers of

his blog. But many others agreed with his diagnoses and commended his bravery. “[The criticism] cut deep because your love is deep!” wrote one.

Amateurish writing and suspect assertions permeate Zhang’s book; for instance, he never cites a source for the “recent American study that proves Chinese are the smartest race.” Yet *I'm Furious* is worthwhile for its exposure of the conversation Chinese people around the world are conducting about how (or even whether) their country’s culture should change, and how they should deal with Westerners.

Indeed, the readers’ responses form the most valuable part of the book. As Zhang notes, in Chinese culture there is “public talk” and “private [real] talk,” and it is rare for a Westerner to hear the latter. The voices are discordant: some object to any criticism of Chinese culture, while others agree that the culture is sick. Some Chinese women write to protest male chauvinism, while others say feminism has weakened China as a nation. Some argue for tolerance and friendship with individual Westerners; others — including members of the Chinese diaspora — insist that Westerners are instinctively aggressive and must be quelled by “the dragon raising its head.” It remains to be seen which voices will prevail.

Although this book, meant for a Chinese audience, is not slated for English-language publication, a translator known as EastSouthWestNorth has posted two sections of Zhang’s blog online (they are also in the book). These can be read at www.zonaeuropa.com/20060107_1.htm and www.zonaeuropa.com/20060828_1.htm. Unfortunately, none of the readers’ responses have been translated.

Anna Beth Keim is a freelance writer who has lived in China for six years.



A Brazilian Perspective

USA 2030 — Predictions

Dr. Attila de Souza Leão Andrade Jr., Astemari Publishers, 2007, \$20, paperback, 217 pages.

REVIEWED BY LOUIS V. RIGGIO

USA 2030 — Predictions is a remarkable effort in futurology aimed at the United States. It follows the publication in Brazil last year of Andrade's *Brasil 2030 — As Previsões (Brazil 2030 — The Predictions)* that had the same objective regarding his home country. But unlike that book, *USA 2030 — Predictions* is not a translation from the Portuguese; the author wrote it in English.

After earning both a master's degree and a doctorate in international law at Yale University while on Fulbright programs in the 1970s, Dr. Attila Andrade Jr. became one of Brazil's leading international lawyers. A frequent visitor to the United States, he is currently a guest lecturer at the University of Miami.

His basic methodology is influenced heavily by Dr. Charles Reich's seminal work, *The Greening of America*, published in 1970. He also frequently cites such distinguished thinkers as Max Weber, Alvin Toffler and Samuel P. Huntington. Yet while Andrade is highly familiar with America, Americans and Europe, the book's analysis strongly reflects his Brazilian roots.

For example, while acknowledging the role of the Calvinist/Protestant work ethic in America's achievements, the author maintains that the U.S. and the West have succeeded because of their disregard for religion and religious principles — progress through freedom from religion, as it were.

Andrade is bullish about America's future because of our competitive edge in knowledge and technology.

Whether or not a society understands it must create wealth is an important consideration for Andrade.

Overall, Andrade is very bullish about America's future because of our competitive edge in knowledge and technology. Perhaps the best encapsulation of his genuine enthusiasm for America comes early in the book: "In other words, America has become a living entity, a real God."

Yet as a proponent of world peace and playing by the rules set by the United Nations, he decries what he calls Washington's "bombs and bullets approach" to foreign policy. He is particularly critical of U.S. policy toward the Middle East, including a focus on Israel to the exclusion of other players and the Iraq intervention, which he denounces as "blood for oil." Very critical of the "military-industrial complex," he believes we will wage war for commercial advantage and raise taxes to pay for international adventures.

Expanding his focus, Andrade makes a case for growing synergy among the following geographic blocs: the United States, European Union and Brazil; Russia, India and what he calls the "Orthodox states," that is, the parts of Eastern Europe where Orthodox Christianity dominated; and China and the Islamic world. On that

last point, I highly recommend his perspective on dealing with Islam, rooted in the conviction that the West must resist the temptation to use the terrorism threat to launch a new version of the Crusades.

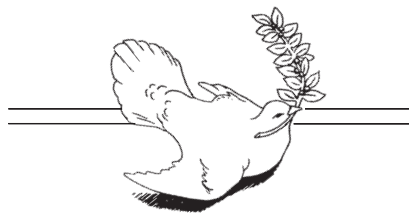
Generally upbeat about China's economic growth, Andrade speculates that it may stumble at some point, requiring Washington to step in with a massive Marshall Plan. Given the dollar's current fall and how Americans feel about that country (and taxes), that prediction may be less persuasive than others he makes. (I should also note that the book would have benefited from better proofreading.)

Andrade's erudition requires readers to have a good dictionary handy. They should also be prepared for many new references, ranging from "fractal history" to an unusual interpretation of FDR's famous Dec. 8, 1941, address to Congress following Pearl Harbor.

Near the end of the work, Andrade states, "It makes all the sense in the world for the U.S. State Department to pay more attention ... to bring Brazil along as its continuing ally and partner in the world arena." Toward that end, and to give Brazilians and others a better appreciation of American society and its complexities, we need far more Foreign Service posts in thinly staffed countries like Brazil and considerably expanded (and funded) public diplomacy efforts.

USA 2030 — Predictions argues admirably for this goal. ■

Louis V. Riggio was a Foreign Service officer from 1963 to 1964 and 1982 to 1984. Currently a writer and professional linguist in Portuguese, he works from time to time on State Department contracts and writes occasionally for Newsmax.com on international and economic issues.



IN MEMORY

Two USAID Employees Killed in Sudan

On New Year's Day, **USAID FSO John Granville**, 33, a democracy and governance officer, and his driver, **Foreign Service National Abdelrahman Abbas Rahama**, 39, were shot to death in Khartoum. The attack occurred as their car headed toward a western suburb of Sudan's capital. It was the first assassination of a U.S. diplomat in Sudan since 1973.

Granville, who joined the Foreign Service in 2004, had been working to implement the 2005 peace agreement between Sudan's north and south that ended more than two decades of civil war that raged separate from the conflict in Darfur. He had been working from Kenya and southern Sudan until his move to Khartoum in September.

On Jan. 9, more than 700 friends and family members assembled in Granville's hometown of Buffalo, N.Y., for a funeral service with military honors. USAID Administrator Henrietta Fore, who presented his mother with the American flag that draped her son's casket, said: "John Granville represented the best of the spirit of America: a love of country, a passion for adventure, intelligence, compassion, and an abiding desire to make this a better world for the less fortunate. At the highest levels of the U.S. government, we recognize his service and the sacrifices he made for his country."

Granville became interested in learning about the world and working abroad as a teenager. He studied Japanese in high school and participated in school trips to France and Spain. A graduate of Fordham University, he joined the Peace Corps in 1997 and spent two years in Cameroon, where he lived in a rural village and

helped build its first school. As a Fulbright Scholar, he also completed research on HIV/AIDS in the country. He earned a master's degree in international development and social change from Clark University in Worcester, Mass., in 2003.

Delivering one of the eulogies was Andre Guy Soh, whom Granville had taken into his home as a Peace Corps volunteer in Cameroon. "He was a cultural sponge. Everywhere he went, he became part of that community," recalled Soh. Granville mentored Soh in English and computer skills, and now he was heading to Sudan to take a program management job with Mercy Corps that Granville had helped him land. "I think this is the best way for me to continue his work," Soh added.

The USAID memorial tribute for Abdelrahman Abbas Rahama recalls his "exemplary service to our Sudan mission [that was] crucial and appreciated." Mr. Rahama was born in Juba, Sudan. He attended Juba Primary and Intermediate School and graduated from Khartoum Trade School. He began his USAID career with the Darfur Disaster Assistance Response Team when it started in 2004. He was officially hired as a driver in November 2005. He is survived by his wife, Fatima Mohamed Ali Osman, and year-old son, Mugtaba. Mr. Rahama also provided support to his father.

"Foreign Service Nationals are the backbone of our development efforts worldwide," the USAID tribute states. "As we mourn this loss, let us rededicate ourselves to our mission so that our colleague's lost life shall not be in vain."

*"As we mourn this loss,
let us rededicate
ourselves to our mission
so that our colleague's
lost life shall not
be in vain."*

IN MEMORY



Suzanne (Susie) Brainne Carle, 75, widow of the late FSO Bob Carle, mother of FSO Lisa Carle, and mother-in-law of FSO Scott McGehee, died on Dec. 27 at Sharp Coronado Hospital in Coronado, Calif., of a massive internal hemorrhage.

A 28-year resident of Coronado, Mrs. Carle was born a French citizen in Algeria (Oran) on July 21, 1932. Her family returned to Marseille in 1940 and then settled in Paris in 1945. In 1950 she met Bob Carle, a native of Coronado, then a diplomatic courier based at Embassy Paris. They married in 1952. Mr. Carle became an FSO in 1955, and together they served in Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, Colombia, Bangladesh and Libya.

During that time Mrs. Carle was a patron of local artists, especially in Colombia and Bangladesh, and an active volunteer for various charitable organizations supporting children. The couple retired to Coronado in 1979. Mr. Carle passed away in 1990.

For nearly 15 years Mrs. Carle was a volunteer at the Panamerican Institute, a vocational training school for young women in Tijuana. An avid gardener, she enjoyed participating in the Coronado Floral Association's annual competitions. She also served as president of the Coronado Lawn Bowling Association.

Mrs. Carle is survived by her three children: Lisa, posted to the U.S. Mission in Geneva; Barbara Sirvent of Sacramento, Calif.; and Robert of Chula Vista, Calif.; and five grandchildren: Madeline and Michael McGehee, Raphael Sirvent and Sabrina and Ariana Carle.

Memorial donations may be made to the Panamerican Institute, P.O. Box 433872, San Ysidro CA 92143. For more information about the Institute's Adopt-A-Student Program, contact the Missionary Society of the NACCC at (800) 262-1620.

John Hugh Crimmins, 86, a Foreign Service officer and former ambassador, died on Dec. 12 at the Collington Senior Residence in Mitchellville, Md., of heart failure.

Born in 1919 in Worcester, Mass., he attended Boston English High School and received his bachelor's degree from Harvard University in 1941. During World War II he served with the U.S. Army in the Pacific, attaining the rank of lieutenant colonel.

Ambassador Crimmins entered the Foreign Service in 1946 and spent most of his career in Latin America. He was director of Caribbean and Mexican Affairs from 1961 to 1963 and coordinator of Cuban Affairs from 1963 to 1966. He was named ambassador to the Dominican Republic in 1966 and served there until 1969, when he was appointed senior deputy assistant secretary in the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs.

In 1973, he was named ambassador to Brazil and served in that capacity until 1978, when he retired. While in Brasilia in 1974, Amb. Crimmins was credited with saving the life of a young American who had been arrested by the Brazilian military on unsubstantiated charges and severely tortured. When the embassy learned of the assault, a sharply worded note of protest by Amb. Crimmins resulted in the injured American's release. In later congressional testimony, the victim stated that if the embassy had not come to his rescue, he would surely have died.

Amb. Crimmins was called back to the department in 1979 to investigate and write a report on the Jonestown massacre. The report, "Performance of the Department of State and the American Embassy in Georgetown, Guyana, in the People's Temple Case," was highly critical of both the department's and the embassy's performance.

Amb. Crimmins is survived by his wife, Marguerite Carlson Crimmins of Mitchellville; a daughter, Deborah Crimmins and her husband, Daniel Baschkopf of South Portland, Maine; a son, John Hugh Crimmins Jr. and his wife, Margarita Hurtado of Columbia, Md.; and a grandson, Gregory Baschkopf of South Portland, Maine.



Ellen C. Cronin, 80, a retired member of the Foreign Service, died on Nov. 17 at Newport Hospital in Portsmouth, R.I., following a brief illness.

Ms. Cronin was born in Fall River, Mass., on June 21, 1927. During a 31-year career with the State Department, she was posted mainly in the Far East, serving in Manila, Hong Kong and Kuala Lumpur. She retired in 1983, settling in Portsmouth two years later.

Ms. Cronin was a founding member of the Foreign Affairs Retirees of New England and remained active in the organization's programs. She was an avid traveler, enjoyed art and was a member of the Newport Art Museum.

Survivors include a sister, Cecilia C. Cronin Whipp of Dartmouth, Mass.; a brother, John F. Cronin of Tucson, Ariz.; and many nieces and nephews.

Memorial contributions may be made to Harold Hudner Oncology, 795 Middle Street, Fall River MA 02721.



Edward M. Featherstone, 72, a retired FSO, died at the Capital Hospice in Arlington, Va., on Jan. 2. He had Alzheimer's disease.

Though Mr. Featherstone would spend 21 years in Japan as an FSO, his first visit there was with his parents,

IN MEMORY



when his father was assigned as a lawyer with the U.S. Army Trials of Japanese War Criminals conducted in Yokohama in 1947. He lived in Japan until 1954, when he graduated from high school and returned to the United States to attend the University of Pennsylvania. After graduating in 1958, he served in the U.S. Army, 82nd Airborne Division, for three years before joining the Foreign Service in August 1961.

During his Foreign Service career, Mr. Featherstone became fluent in Japanese. He served two tours in Tokyo, the first in the mid-1960s under the legendary Ambassador Edwin O. Reischauer, and the second from 1978 to 1982 as political-military affairs officer under Ambassador

Mike Mansfield. Following that tour, he served as U.S. consul general in Okinawa for four years. He had earlier served in Okinawa, under U.S. administration since the end of World War II, from 1968 to 1970 with the U.S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyus, which paved the way for the return of the island to Japan in 1972. He also served as vice consul at the consulate general in Kobe-Osaka and, later, as director of the American Cultural Center in Niigata.

In addition to several tours in Washington, D.C., Mr. Featherstone spent two years as economic officer at Embassy Bridgetown. He retired in 1979, but was recalled to service as director of the State Department's Japanese Language and Area Training

Center in Yokohama from 1993 to 1998. Following that tour, he retired permanently.

Mr. Featherstone was an avid bicyclist and often biked to work. He and his two sons-in-law, Tim Walsh and Terry Ward, enjoyed many bike rides together in Washington, D.C., and on family vacations at Bear Lake, Pa. He was also a hiker, scuba diver and sailor, undertaking sailing trips in the British Virgin Islands and the Grenadines. He especially enjoyed walking his Airedale terrier, Jasper.

Mr. Featherstone is survived by his wife of 48 years, Katherine Briggs Featherstone of Arlington, Va., whom he met in high school in Yokohama; two daughters, Lisa Walsh of Golden, Colo., and Laura Ward of Newburgh,



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IN MEMORY



Ind.; and four grandchildren, Alexander and Natalie Walsh and Robert and Katherine Ward.



Viola Ethel Grise, 91, a retired Foreign Service employee with the U.S. Information Agency, died on Nov. 6 at the Jewish Nursing Home in Longmeadow, Mass.

Born in Springfield, Mass., to the late Edmund N. and Ethel M. (Pollner) Grise, Ms. Grise graduated from the High School of Commerce there in 1934. Her adult life was full of travel, and she developed friendships all over the world. She served as a secretary with USIA from 1950 to 1974, when she retired. She was posted in Turkey, Finland, Italy, Vietnam, Haiti, Iran, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Washington, D.C.

Following her retirement, Ms. Grise settled in Rhode Island for 10 years before moving back to her native Springfield in 1984. She was a longtime communicant of St. Paul the Apostle Church there. She was known especially for her humor and optimism, and her wonderful stories of adventure and travel, friends and relatives recall.

Ms. Grise was predeceased by her three sisters, Edith Favarato, Louise Grise and Marian Oakes. She is survived by two nieces, Melinda Moran and Diane Crum, and a nephew, John Favarato, all of East Longmeadow; and five great-nieces and great-nephews.

Donations may be made to Jewish Geriatric Services (directed to the development office for activities), 770 Converse Street, Longmeadow MA 01106.



E. Jan Nadelman, 85, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Nov.

24 at the New York-Presbyterian Hospital Allen Pavilion from pneumonia.

Mr. Nadelman was the only child of Viola and Elie Nadelman, the world-famous sculptor. During his early years, he and his parents divided their time between a home on the Upper East Side and the family's Riverdale, N.Y., estate, Alderbrook.

Mr. Nadelman attended Riverdale Country School and Princeton University, graduating magna cum laude in January 1943. In 1942, he enlisted in the U.S. Army and earned three battle stars for service in military intelligence in the European Theater of Operations. While assigned to a British sector in March 1945, he participated with British commandos in the first amphibious crossing of the Rhine River.

In 1946, he joined the Foreign Service. At first, he served as a professor, training hundreds of newly appointed officers at the Foreign Service Institute. In the late 1950s he became the youngest member of the board of directors of the American Foreign Service Association.

In 1961, during Mr. Nadelman's posting as consul and principal officer in Poznan, the U.S. consulate and residence were attacked by rioters protesting the Bay of Pigs invasion.

In 1962, he was chosen as the U.S. delegate to the International Quaker Conference for Diplomats at Clarens, Switzerland. He spoke French, Spanish, German, Italian and Polish.

During the crisis years from 1962 to 1964 in Berlin, he served as the U.S. member of the Tripartite Political Working Group (with the United Kingdom and France). He was posted to Monrovia in 1964.

Upon his return to the Department of State in the late 1960s he was designated alternate country director for nine African countries in the Bureau of African Affairs. In 1969

and 1970 he sat on the Board of Examiners for the Foreign Service. His last official position was as a special assistant in the Office of Refugee and Migration Affairs in Washington.

After retiring in 1972, Mr. Nadelman returned to Riverdale to manage the art estate of his father, during a period of increasing fame for the sculptor and his work. An art lover himself, Mr. Nadelman had his own collection of African works, which he acquired while stationed in Liberia and during his travels in West Africa.

Mr. Nadelman was a board member of a number of organizations and clubs, including the Riverdale Yacht Club. His hobbies included sailing, fishing, hunting, skating, photography, cross-country skiing and kayaking. He was also an avid swimmer.

Mr. Nadelman was married to the late Joyce V. Cavanah (Nadelman), formerly of the Foreign Service, from 1947 until her death in 1993. They had two children, Cynthia J. Nadelman of New York City and Philip J. Nadelman of Riverdale, who survive them.

In 1993, he married Laureline Buckingham Reid, who resides at Alderbrook.



Don Paarlberg Jr., 63, a retired Foreign Service officer, passed away on Oct. 15 at Georgetown University Hospital in Washington, D.C., due to complications from cancer.

Mr. Paarlberg was born in New York and grew up in West Lafayette, Ind., and Silver Spring, Md. He earned a master's degree from Northwestern University and served in the Peace Corps in Nepal.

In 1974, Mr. Paarlberg joined the Foreign Service. He served as a political officer in the Republic of Korea, Micronesia, Hong Kong and Panama,

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in addition to various assignments with the Departments of State and Defense. He played notable roles regarding NATO force modernization, the Panama Canal Treaty implementation and intelligence analysis concerning China and strategic trade controls. He retired in 2003.

Mr. Paarlberg cultivated a lifelong love of classical philosophy, studying and writing extensively on the works of Plato. He is survived by his wife Heeja of Fairfax, Va.; a son, Michael, of Washington, D.C.; and a brother, Robert, of Watertown, Mass.



David A. Roberts, 70, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Nov.

29 in Scituate, Mass., after a brief illness.

Born and raised in Scituate, he served in the U.S. Navy before joining the State Department. His overseas postings included Amman, Ibadan, The Hague, Calcutta, Colombo, Tunis, Kuala Lumpur, Beijing, Bonn, Jakarta and Lima. Mr. Roberts retired in 1995, after serving as director of the department's Miami Regional Center.

Mr. Roberts will be remembered for his work ethic, for living life with enthusiasm and humor, and for his dedication to friends and family.

Survivors include his wife of 42 years, Donna (Clark) Roberts, who accompanied him to all his posts; twin children, Scott C. Roberts of Kuala Lumpur, and Jennifer Cheh of Bar-

rington, Ill.; two grandchildren, Katherine and Joseph Cheh; two brothers, Ralph Roberts and W. Scott Roberts of Scituate, Mass.; a sister, Gail Duseault of Belmont, Mass.; and many nieces and nephews.



Herbert E. Weiner, 86, a retired Foreign Service officer who was one of the first labor attachés in the State Department, died Nov. 26 at his home in Washington, D.C. He had Alzheimer's disease.

Mr. Weiner was born on March 2, 1921, in New York City, where his parents ran a small grocery store in the Bronx. After graduating from the City College of New York in 1941, he



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IN MEMORY



received a master's degree in economics and labor in 1943 and a Ph.D. in economics and labor in 1957, both from Columbia University.

Well known in U.S. and British labor circles, Dr. Weiner served in numerous posts abroad and in Washington. He was first posted as a labor attaché in London in 1947. During the late 1940s and into the 1950s, he was one of the American diplomats engaged in promoting free labor unions in Europe as the United States sought to shore up European economies against the influence of communist parties.

Dr. Weiner later served in New Delhi, Lisbon, Ottawa and Sydney before retiring in London in 1980. He then served as a consultant to the State Department on international labor matters. As a friend recalls, "He

showed the Foreign Service — a bit patrician at the time — that an eager kid from the Bronx could play the game and play it well."

The author of *British Labor and Public Ownership* (Public Affairs Press, 1960), Dr. Weiner lectured on international labor and labor management relations. He also taught at the U.S. Naval War College in Rhode Island and the Industrial College of the Armed Forces.

In retirement, Dr. Weiner remained keenly interested in British politics and corresponded regularly with political, government and labor officials in the U.K., a cousin, Leonard Weiner, recalls. He had a shortwave radio and loved to get news from the BBC.

Dr. Weiner was a member of Keshet Israel Congregation and enjoyed attending Sunday morning get-togethers at the Georgetown temple to discuss world affairs with other Washington notables. As friends recall, Dr. Weiner was an involved person; he was not a bystander. He was a player, a concerned citizen, a member of the world. His stack of to-be-read material was often staggering.

Dr. Weiner also acted as a mediator in small claims court in the District, where he attempted to help people resolve disputes instead of going before a judge.

His wife, Eva F. Weiner, a retired lieutenant in the Navy WAVES, died in 1988.

There are no immediate survivors.



Richard F. Weitzel, 80, a retired Foreign Service specialist, died on Jan. 3 at his home in Columbus, Ga.

Mr. Weitzel was born in Lititz, Pa., on Feb. 6, 1927. He served in the U.S. Navy, joining after Pearl Harbor,

and was assigned as a yeoman with the heavy cruiser *Albany* at the time of his honorable discharge after Victory in Japan Day. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, Mr. Weitzel worked in the private sector as an accountant for the United Fruit Company. He lived and worked in Santa Marta, Colombia, from where he undertook numerous ocean journeys on cargo ships delivering fruit to the U.S. mainland.

In 1955, Mr. Weitzel joined the State Department. He served as a disbursing officer and budget and fiscal officer in Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Freetown, Panama, Cairo, Kabul and Nairobi. Between assignments in Kuala Lumpur and Freetown, he married Annabel Davis Weitzel (Wheeler), who was working for the department as a Foreign Service secretary.

The couple served together in Washington, D.C., before Mrs. Weitzel was reassigned to Luxembourg. Upon completion of her tour in Luxembourg, she resigned from the Service and joined her husband in Freetown. Between assignments in Cairo and Kabul, Mr. Weitzel served in the Near Eastern Affairs Bureau. He retired in 1979 and settled in Columbus, Ga., with his wife, who preceded him in death on Oct. 1, 1989.

Mr. Weitzel was buried with military honors on Jan. 10 at Parkview Cemetery in Columbus, Ga. Survivors include a daughter, Caroline Garner of Opelika, Al.; two sons, David Weitzel of Columbus, Ga., and Robert Weitzel, a Diplomatic Security special agent currently residing in Bucharest; and five grandchildren. ■

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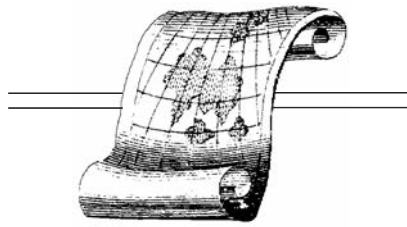
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REFLECTIONS

The Managua Earthquake of 1972

BY STUART LIPPE

Embassy Managua moved into its new quarters at the end of 2007, replacing the “temporary” building we bought after the chancery was destroyed 35 years before. Here is that story.

There are four major fault lines under Managua. On Dec. 23, 1972, between 12:30 and 1:20 a.m., three violent tremors rocked the city. The first news was devastating: downtown Managua destroyed, over 10,000 dead, the U.S. embassy and adjacent staff apartments collapsed.

One staffer, Rose Mary Orlich, lost her life, and it took extensive digging by frantic embassy personnel who converged on the scene to rescue several others trapped in the rubble. If the earthquake had occurred at noon instead of midnight, we would have lost hundreds of kids at the American School and at schools all over the city.

Water and electricity were knocked out. Stores, offices and houses within a two-mile radius of the main shopping street were destroyed or suffered severe damage. Because of broken water mains and destroyed equipment, firefighters could only watch helplessly as whole city blocks burned.

Hectic weeks followed. Embassy staff, both local and American, performed wonderfully. The world community responded with medicine, food, tents, blankets and portable hospitals.

Nicaraguans themselves were incredibly resilient. Within a few days, the Singer Sewing Machine Co.

The first news was devastating: downtown Managua destroyed, over 10,000 dead.



representative had salvaged his inventory from the debris and set up sales in the driveway of his house. His example was emulated by many in Managua’s active private sector.

In spite of the unabashed corruption and cronyism in his handling of the relief effort, General Anastasio Somoza brought the country back to apparent normalcy. By early in the new year, various government offices had reopened, and services were being restored.

The Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry sent a diplomatic note informing us that it had relocated to a private house and asking us to respond with our new address. They knew it, of course, and we knew where they were, too. But diplomatic proprieties were maintained throughout.

Two weeks after the earthquake, the first reporting cable that looked beyond the immediate tragedy predicted that unless Somoza changed his way of governing, he was headed for trouble. His autocratic rule may have been adequate for pre-earthquake Nicaragua, but it began to collapse under growing pressure for needed reforms.

The lesson Somoza drew was that

he had to tighten control even further. But Nicaragua’s vigorous civil society and private sector grew increasingly unwilling to accept this. In a real sense, the earthquake and the official looting of relief supplies was the first step that led to the Sandinistas’ victorious entry into Managua in 1979.

We also had to replace the destroyed chancery. In 1973, the Butler Corporation sold us a prefab building that was guaranteed to last five years before beginning to deteriorate — by which time we confidently expected a new embassy would be ready. Instead, the prefab was occupied by a long list of effective ambassadors, including Larry Pezzullo, John Maisto, Lino Gutierrez, O.P. Garza and Barbara Moore, all of whom must have been surprised to see the walls bend when leaned on.

Asked about the 35-year-old building, Garza said: “It kept us cool in the summer and dry in the rainy season; thank God no one lobbed a hand grenade over the wall. It was functional, and no one thought the less of it. It was a great investment.”

So it was. I am glad the building lasted longer than anybody expected. Congratulations to Butler; we certainly got our five years’ worth out of it. Good luck to those in the new chancery. Just watch out for those fault lines! ■

Stuart Lippe was the Nicaragua desk officer in 1972. He is now retired and working as a consultant on Colombian issues at State.



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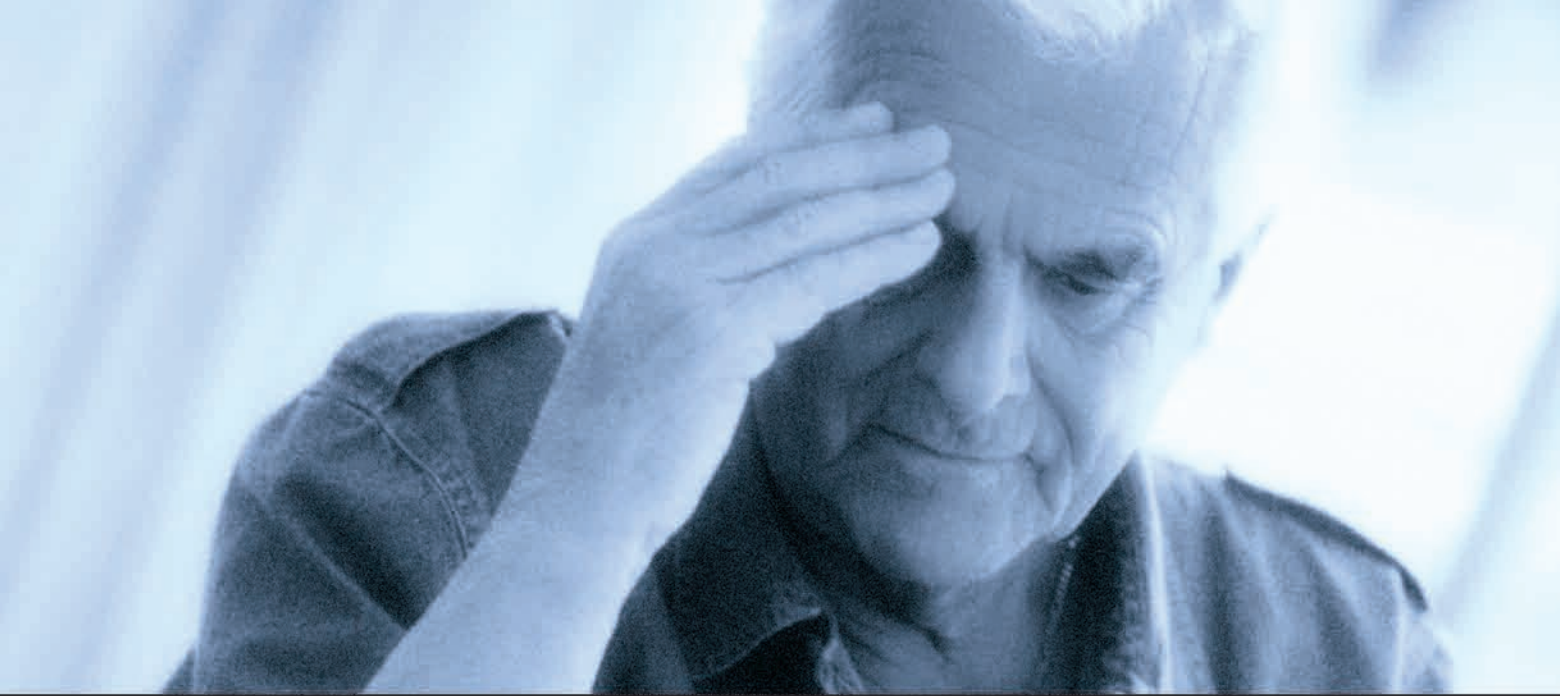
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The government is not providing the insurance.
The government is not subsidizing the premiums.
The government is not guaranteeing the benefits.

FLTCIP is a group program. After September 30, 2008, the premium and benefits may change.

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