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NOTES TO THE NEW PRESIDENT

Foreign Policy Challenges and Opportunities

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President's Views

SOS for DOS

By John K. Naland

AFSA congratulates President-elect Barack Obama and Vice President-elect Joe Biden on their electoral victory. At press time, the Secretary of State-designate had not been named. But AFSA hopes for the traditional pre-inauguration meeting with the Secretary-designate to discuss the resource and management needs of diplomacy and development assistance. AFSA also looks forward to meeting with the USAID Administrator-designate and other incoming officials. Below are the highlights of our message.

U.S. diplomacy is in crisis. While the inauguration of a new president will likely produce an initial rebound in America's standing in world opinion, that honeymoon will be short-lived unless the next administration takes concrete steps to strengthen diplomacy and development assistance. Issues requiring immediate attention include:

• **Staffing:** Our foreign affairs agencies are hobbled by a human capital crisis. An October report by the American Academy of Diplomacy — whose membership includes all living former secretaries of State — called for expanding State Department diplomatic staffing by 43 percent and USAID staffing by 62 percent within five years. Funding to begin that expansion must be sought immediately.

• **Training:** Foreign Service training lags because of personnel shortages. As a result, our diplomats do not have to a sufficient degree the knowledge, skills and abilities needed for 21st-century diplomacy. We need to quickly ramp up training in areas such as foreign languages, advanced area studies, leadership and management, job-specific functional topics and program management.

• **Benefits:** If legislation to close the Foreign Service overseas pay gap does not pass this year, ending this longstanding financial disincentive must be at the top of the next Secretary's legislative agenda. Junior and mid-level Foreign Service members simply cannot continue to lose the equivalent of one year's salary for every five years served abroad.

• **Hardship:** As the number of unaccompanied and other hardship posts has jumped in recent years, insufficient efforts have been made to reduce some of the burdens of such service. The Separate Maintenance Allowance needs to be raised. New programs should be created to help spouses find employment. Safety nets must be strengthened for those who suffer physical or emotional injury while serving our nation abroad.

• **Management:** The next Secretary must not focus solely on policy issues while ignoring the platform upon which diplomacy and development assistance are conducted. He or she should make time to lobby the White House, Congress and the American public for resources. The Secretary should pick a deputy secretary and under secretary for management with real ability in this area.

• **Morale:** The Secretary should work to restore the morale of the career Service, which has been sapped by a growing imbalance between the burdens and rewards of service. The Secretary should speak up when critics unfairly malign the Foreign Service and diplomacy.

• **Professionalism:** The next administration should look to the Foreign Service for expert advice by scaling back the proliferation of non-career appointees, including ambassadors. On the other hand, the next Secretary should shun any career officers who meekly recommend what they think the Secretary wants to hear or who mechanically implement directives without first speaking up about likely negative consequences. Instead, the Secretary should encourage frank, constructive criticism to probe for potential pitfalls and unintended consequences in policy initiatives.

Unless these urgent steps are taken to strengthen the diplomatic element of national security, no amount of jetting around the globe by the president or Secretary will restore our nation's role as the world's leader in international affairs. Without sufficient numbers of properly resourced and well-trained diplomats and development professionals, America's engagement with the world will suffer. ■

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

J. KIRBY SIMON FOREIGN SERVICE TRUST

AN INVITATION TO PROPOSE PROJECTS FOR FUNDING BY THE J. KIRBY SIMON FOREIGN SERVICE TRUST IN 2009

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

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

In 2008 the Trust made its twelfth round of grant awards, 40 in all, ranging from $750 to $4,500 (averaging $2,568), for a total of $102,735. These grants support the involvement of Foreign Service personnel in the projects briefly listed below (further described in a Trust announcement entitled Grants Awarded in 2008 and available at www.kirbysimontrust.org). The grants defray a wide range of project expenses, including books, food, medicines, furniture, computers, wheelchairs, kitchen and medical equipment, excursion costs and instructional costs.

• **Education Projects:** *Ecuador* – student uniforms and playground equipment for school in small indigenous community; *Iraq* – school supplies for conflict-affected children; *Malaysia* – school supplies and equipment to educate Burmese refugee children; *Mexico* – classroom furnishings, books and school supplies for orphanage; *Republic of the Congo* – English-language learning materials for high school; *The Gambia* – daycare facility to serve underprivileged women attending skills-training center; *Venezuela* – specialized educational equipment for visually impaired students.

• **Other Projects for Children and Youth:** *Bangladesh* – playground for group home for orphans; *Belize* – year-round sports-training program for children with intellectual disabilities; *Bulgaria* – equipment and materials for recreation area at children's home; *Cyprus* – new hospital bed and educational toys for special-needs children; *Dominican Republic* – food, clothing, medical and educational supplies, and building repairs for home for disadvantaged children; *Indonesia* – training for caregivers of mentally challenged children; *Liberia* – beach clean-up project to improve sanitation and create play space; *Lithuania* – carnival day at children's home; *Mozambique* – air conditioning/purifying units for orphanage; *Nepal* – outdoor recreational area for poor and orphaned children; *Paraguay* – household appliances and furnishings for orphanage; *Republic of the Congo* – school fees and food for home for abandoned boys; *South Africa* – supplies for youth leadership project to repair and refurbish sleeping rooms at Boys Town; *Sri Lanka* – equipment and furnishings for home for orphaned street girls; *United States* – course materials for re-entry and debriefing program for returning Foreign Service teens; *Zambia* – toilet and shower facility for home for young girls orphaned by AIDS.

• **Health-Related Projects:** *China* – infant incubator for medical-care foster home; *Colombia* – expanded health care and addition of dental care at center serving impoverished children; *Fiji* – paint and furnishings for chemotherapy rooms at cancer-care facility; *Mexico* – staff training in crisis response at shelter for victims of rape, molestation and domestic violence; *Nigeria* – refurbished and re-equipped maternity clinic and orphanage; *Panama* – survey of visual impairment among HIV-positive children; *South Africa* – health-care equipment and improved sanitation for home for sick and injured babies and toddlers.

• **Other Facilities:** *Argentina* – sewing machines and materials for parents' income-generating program at facility serving meals to children; *Ecuador* – equipment for community cooking project providing daily meals for disadvantaged children and adults; *France* – furniture for shelter for abused women and their children; *Republic of the Congo* – equipment for deaf carpenters' cooperative; *South Africa* – enclosure of library and sewing room at community center; *Taiwan* – computers for shelters serving Vietnamese migrant workers and brides victimized by labor- and sex-trafficking; *Turkey* – equipment and materials for center distributing support to refugee families.

• **Basic services and subsistence:** *Croatia* – heating system repair and bathroom for building housing Roma refugees; *Egypt* – food supplies for needy female-headed households of Iraqi refugees; *Serbia* – equipment and supplies for outreach project serving vulnerable senior citizens.

The Trust now invites the submission of proposals for support in 2009. It is anticipated that few of the new grants will exceed the average size of the 2008 awards, and that projects assisted by the Trust will reflect a variety of interests and approaches, some of which are illustrated by the 2008 grants.

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

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

Proposals for projects to be funded during calendar year 2009 must be received by the Trust no later than March 1, 2009.

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

J. Kirby Simon Foreign Service Trust
93 Edgehill Road
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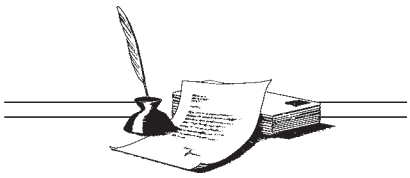
FAX: 203-432-0063
info@kirbysimontrust.org

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



LETTERS

New Media Innovations

Public Affairs Officer Scott Rauland is right to stress the importance of cutting-edge technology to the success of U.S. public diplomacy in the 21st century (September Speaking Out, "State's Wrong Turn on the Information Highway"). The State Department's International Information Programs Bureau, Public Affairs Bureau and Information Resource Management Bureau, among many others, work hard to ensure that posts have both the IT support and Web-ready content they need to maintain a competitive presence on the Web.

State 52197 (May 16) provides detailed guidance on post management of Dedicated Internet Networks, which can provide embassy Information Resource Centers with the open platforms needed to engage foreign publics on the Internet. That cable specifically authorizes external media, such as CDs, DVDs and flash drives, and offers guidelines for wireless DIN applications that meet department security requirements.

The Content Management System now mandated for all posts eases IT development and maintenance costs overseas and ensures that posts are in compliance with the elaborate complex of federal security and privacy regulations. CMS also provides automatic content feeds when desired, freeing posts to focus on country-specific information. In times of crisis, embassies can ask IIP to manage a site directly from Washington, relieving a stressed post of technical site-management chores. During the recent Georgia-Russia crisis, we did this for Embassy Tbilisi.

DINs and CMS are two examples of the department's commitment to innovation in new media. We are energetically adapting blogs, video, podcasts and widgets to advance the mission. The Digital Outreach Team engages directly on Arabic-, Persian- and Urdu-language sites to discuss critical policy issues. And through the Democracy Video Challenge, we are leveraging the power of YouTube and all its attending social networking capability.

Working together, the State Department and overseas posts will continue to explore and develop our capacity to use new technologies creatively and effectively.

Jeremy Curtin
Coordinator, Bureau of International Information Programs
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

The Challenges Ahead

President-elect Barack Obama faces a host of immediate and difficult global challenges. This is true in every sector: health, energy, climate change and poverty, which together make the world increasingly dangerous. Ignoring these problems as the U.S. has done for nearly a decade will have catastrophic consequences for us and the rest of the world.

Not least among our challenges is the continued threat of nuclear disaster, either from an irresponsible nuclear weapons state or from the so-called "loose nukes" still around in the former Soviet Union. Too little was done over the last eight years about this problem; in fact, recent U.S. policies weakened the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Solving these problems must be at the top of a new administration's global agenda.

Too often America has tackled one problem, one solution at a time. In the 21st century, this piecemeal approach does not work. The challenges of food security, regional conflicts and refugees are complex and fast-changing. This is especially true in the realm of weapons of mass destruction, where the consequences of our policies of neglect can be catastrophic.

One priority is to make our international institutions more effective. To do this, reform and renewal must address the global landscape in a new and fundamental way. Unfortunately, recent American attempts to "reform" old structures, like the U.S. Agency for International Development and the United Nations, have often resulted in *weakening* their capacity for effective action. This makes restructuring to create an effective problem-solving framework more difficult, but it is still necessary.

What is required at the very start is not only reforming but rebuilding American and international organiza-

tions with a key role to play in addressing these global issues. If necessary, we must create more effective multilateral mechanisms that are "purpose built" and more effective than traditional models.

A fresh look at the organization of our own national security and foreign affairs bureaucracy is required, as well. The tangle of ill-conceived executive orders, dysfunctional department reorganizations, and the shuffling and downgrading of key functions has left much of our foreign affairs structure bereft of direction, clear lines of authority and accountability.

The U.S. development assistance mess requires a unified development agency using the core USAID professional staff and bringing a host of mini-fiefdoms, such as the Millennium Challenge Corporation, under unified direction. Needless to say, the Rube Goldberg type of intelligence reorganization needs fine-tuning and simplification. The same is true of public diplomacy.

On the international level, institutions such as UNEP, IAEA, WHO, the World Food Program/FAO, NATO, IEA, etc., need strengthening and freedom from a bureaucratic and resource-poor straightjacket. Some measure of central coordination and responsibility is needed.

Many of these challenges have been with us for a long time and will take decades to resolve. Others have clear solutions but require adequate funding and effective leadership. There are few "silver bullets," yet almost all have clear paths towards amelioration.

There is no more important action that the new president could take than to create a new, powerful entity to examine emerging trends and threats, as well as new opportunities on a global level. That office should apply strategic foresight to assess

emerging threats and problems, but also propose long-term, specific solutions. Such a group within the White House can command the ear of the president and serve as a kind of "early warning system."

Finally, we also need a global capability along the same lines located in the United Nations that can draw on the best minds of all nations to give the entire world early warning and recommendations for action to mitigate or prevent the worst.

Harry C. Blaney III
FSO, retired
Senior Fellow, Center for International Policy
Washington, D.C.

A Political Tool

I take issue with friend and former colleague Irv Rosenthal's September letter ("Ignoring USAID?") and support the editor's comments that followed. Even from within the agency, it has been difficult to differentiate the political from the true economic development and implementation themes. As I recall, USAID has long had an inverted salary pyramid for employees and a political appointee saturation second only to that of the Federal Emergency Management Agency.

I voiced that concern to AFSA in a June 2004 *Foreign Service Journal* article, "USAID & Contracting Out," though the idea was politically unpalatable at the time. Under this administration, the agency has functioned exclusively as a "money hammer" to force all nations into unqualified support for our wars and wrong-headed, arrogant policy initiatives.

In that spirit, the State Department bureaucracy sees USAID as a mere political tool to expedite cash flow to nations and favored contractors, with little oversight capability. And unfortunately, many past USAID employee letters to the editor have

focused only on the need for increases in personnel benefits, with little attention to the content of foreign assistance execution.

On a positive note, I was delighted to see the *FSJ* survey results highlighted in the September "Letter from the Editor," which reflected my own feelings totally. I also loved the first-hand focus articles on Islam, Iraq and others so much that I have mailed issues of the *Journal* to a former DOD neighbor back in D.C. who refuses to go electronic. Thanks and keep up your great teamwork.

Kevin Burke
USAID FSO, retired
Cape Cod, Mass.

The White Males

Have we gone so far in being politically correct that "white" and "male" are now practically disqualifications for serving as Secretary of State? By the time the next Secretary is installed, it will have been 12 years and three presidential terms since the last white male held the position.

With each succeeding Secretary, the incumbent president has attempted to "prove" something — to deliver a political-social "message" about the United States, about U.S. foreign policy, about representative inclusiveness. Thus we have had the first woman in the position, the first African-American, and the first African-American woman.

This approach resembles central casting. What's next? The first Hispanic Secretary of State? The first Asian-American? The first "differently abled"?

The State Department has done its part on "diversity." Currently, 28 percent of State's Civil Service/Foreign Service complement consists of minorities; almost 17 percent are African-American. In 2008, the *Black Collegian* listed State as a "preferred employer among diverse audiences" — the only government agency listed in the top 100 (and rated 11th). Are we moving to set-asides for each group and subcategory?

It was insulting for Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice to say in a September speech that there were too few blacks at State and that she "can go into a whole day of meetings and rarely see somebody who looks like me." Is she arguing that by their nature those around her are unqualified? That they do not merit their positions? That sounds racist to this Asian-American, who does not "look like" Sec. Rice and prefers not to be judged by her race.

It's time to free ourselves from labels and succeed on our own without it reflecting on our "category." Let us recognize that the recent Secretaries of State have not left us gasping with awe for their brilliance or horrified at their proven incompetence. Nor can we say that any of the recent harvest of department heads has made a defining difference in the management/resolution of any of the current batch of major problems: the Middle East, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, North Korea, Russia, China and India/Pakistan.

Furthermore, our two most effective Secretaries of State in the past generation have been "pale males," George Shultz and James Baker. Secretary Shultz dealt with Soviet interlocutors to negotiate seminal bilateral arms control agreements during the closing years of the Cold War. Secretary Baker, through guile and inducements, assembled a huge military coalition under a United Nations mandate to reverse Iraqi aggression in Kuwait. Their success is their own and certainly no proof that only pale males deserve the position, but neither should it preclude them from consideration.

Can we start considering white males again for Secretary of State?

Teresa Chin Jones
FSO, retired
Arlington, Va. ■

CORRECTION

We regret several errors in the obituary for former FSO Andrew Hillman (In Memory, October). Mr. Hillman died on July 9 at his home in Edgemont, N.Y. He served in the U.S. mission to the United Nations in New York from 1997 until his death. Since 2001, Mr. Hillman had also taught at Seton Hall University and Fordham University. He is survived by his son, Alexander Hillman, of Chatham, Mass.

The complete, corrected obituary is available online at www.afsa.org/fsj/oct08/inMemory.pdf.

CYBERNOTES

Tips Galore for the New Team

Though it was expected that foreign policy would have an important place in the recent campaign, it is now generally acknowledged that the topic was given a pass during the long, contentious lead-up to Nov. 4. Rarely among American voters' most urgent concerns, it was decisively sidelined by the current financial crisis.

Still, Council on Foreign Relations President Richard Haass articulated a broad consensus when he told the BBC in mid-October that diplomacy would triumph over other foreign policy options — no matter who wins (**http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/7667903.stm**). Indeed, over the past two years a new majority view has formed around the centrality of diplomacy as a national security tool and the urgent need to rethink and rebuild America's diplomatic capacity.

"We are in a historically new era. The fact that the world is now politically awakened is a totally new reality," Zbigniew Brzezinski, an early endorser of President-elect Barack Obama, emphasized in a Sept. 20 interview with *Newsweek* (**www.newsweek.com/id/159905**). "As a consequence, traditional power, which was often applied to politically passive societies, is no longer omnipotent. On top of that, for the first time, there are global challenges that transcend national boundaries and don't fit into traditional interstate politics …"

The implications of these dynamic changes is the focus of Brzezinski's new book, *America and the World: Conversations on the Future of American Foreign Policy* (Basic, 2008), co-authored with Brent Scowcroft, President George H.W. Bush's national security adviser.

> To all those watching tonight from beyond our shores, from parliaments and palaces to those who are huddled around radios in the forgotten corners of our world — our stories are singular, but our destiny is shared, and a new dawn of American leadership is at hand. To those who would tear this world down — we will defeat you. To those who seek peace and security — we support you. And to all those who have wondered if America's beacon still burns as bright — tonight we proved once more that the true strength of our nation comes not from the might of our arms or the scale of our wealth, but from the enduring power of our ideals: democracy, liberty, opportunity and unyielding hope.
>
> — President-elect Barack Obama's acceptance speech, Nov. 4 (www.freep.com/article/20081105/NEWS15/81105065/-1/rss07)

Defense Secretary Robert H. Gates has championed the need for basic change, most famously in his Nov. 26, 2007, Landon Lecture at Kansas State University: "I am here to make the case for strengthening our capacity to use 'soft' power and for better integrating it with 'hard' power."

Reflecting this sentiment, a remarkable array of reports and recommendations has been issued to guide the new team. Though not comprehensive, the following overview of proposals from both individuals and institutions is representative of the depth and variety of the offerings.

Diplomacy. "A Foreign Affairs Budget for the Future: Fixing the Crisis in Diplomatic Readiness," from the Academy of American Diplomacy and the Stimson Center, addresses the weakness in America's "soft power" infrastructure and makes specific recommendations for fixing it (**www.academyofdiplomacy.org/programs/fab_project.html**). Released on Oct. 16, this study built on the findings of several recent reports to detail the resources needed to enable the State Department and the Foreign Service to accomplish their missions. (See p. 53 for more details.)

The Rand Corporation and the American Academy of Diplomacy have undertaken a related study. "Integrating Instruments of Power and Influence: Lessons Learned and Best Practices" contains a set of recommendations to deal with the kinds of U.S. military interventions and their aftermath that have become prevalent (**www.rand.org/pubs/conf_proceedings/2008/RAND_CF251.pdf**). Released on Oct. 2, the report was prepared by a high-level panel of 67 veteran military, Foreign Service, Civil Service and private-sector leaders and

underscores the need to expand the Foreign Service, among other things (see Cybernotes, November 2008).

Enhancing diplomatic capacity is also the first of several recommendations to the Obama administration in a special report from The Friends Committee on National Legislation, "The Responsibility to Prevent" (**www.fcnl.org/issues/item.php?item_id=3426&issue_id=130**). "A new civilian-led foreign policy initiative dedicated to strong diplomacy and prevention of deadly conflict is needed to reassert U.S. leadership in promoting peace and stability. Enhanced diplomacy and conflict-management capacities should include a doubling of well-trained and deployable State Department personnel, periodic country-conflict assessments, and strengthened civilian crisis-response capacity," the report states.

Smarter Power. The need for basic change in U.S. foreign policy axioms gained momentum throughout 2007. In November of that year, the Center for Strategic and International Studies' Commission on Smart Power, a bipartisan project co-chaired by former Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage and Harvard Professor Joseph S. Nye, released "A Smarter, More Secure America," detailing the steps needed to qualitatively boost America's projection of "soft power" (**www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/071106_csissmartpowerreport.pdf**).

The Project on National Security Reform undertook a nonpartisan review of the U.S. national security system in mid-2007, the first such comprehensive study since the National Security Act of 1947 was adopted. Funded by Congress, the project has issued its preliminary findings identifying a number of problems (**www.pnsr.org/data/images/pnsr preliminary findings july 2008.pdf**). A final report recommending actions to Congress and the executive, including draft presidential directives and a new National Security Act to replace many of the provisions enacted 61 years ago, is at the printer (**www.pnsr.org**).

A joint Heritage Foundation-CSIS report released in September, "Homeland Security 3.0: Building a National Enterprise to Keep America Safe, Free and Prosperous," recommends a shift of focus from the Department of Homeland Security to making changes to the broader national security infrastructure to deal with transnational terrorist and other threats (**www.heritage.org/Research/HomelandDefense/sr23.cfm**).

"Shaping the New Administration's Counterterrorism Policy," is the title of a two-day conference the Cato Institute has set for Jan. 12-13, 2009 (**www.cato.org/counterterrorism**). Ted Galen Carpenter, Cato's vice president for defense and foreign policy studies, explains how to protect America's security while avoiding unnecessary and unrewarding military adventures in his June 2008 book, *Smart Power: Toward a Prudent Foreign Policy for America* (**www.catostore.org/index.asp?fa=ProductDetails&method=cats&scid=47&pid=1441390**). (See the November *FSJ* for a review.)

The Foreign Assistance Tangle. Foreign assistance has been another focus of attention in the effort to enhance the effectiveness of America's soft power. In an article in the November/December issue of *Foreign Affairs*, "Arrested Development: Making Foreign Aid a More Effective Tool," J. Brian Atwood, M. Peter McPherson and Andrew Natsios, three former administrators of USAID, argue that the next president will have to "dramatically overhaul the foreign aid establishment during his first year" (**www.foreignaffairs.org/20081001faessay87609/j-brian-atwood-m-peter-mcpherson-andrew-natsios/arrested-development.html**). Foreign assistance functions should be reconsolidated in a strengthened USAID, either as an independent Cabinet-level agency or a strong autonomous agency whose head reports directly to the Secretary of State. (See p. 34 for more details.)

Carole Adelman of the Hudson Institute and Nicholas Eberstadt of the American Enterprise Institute propose a more appropriate business model for foreign aid in "Foreign Aid: What Works and What Doesn't" (**www.aei.org/publications/pubID.28842,filter.foreign/pub_detail.asp**). Adelman and Eberstadt were co-vice chairman and commissioner, respectively, of the congressionally mandated U.S. Helping to Enhance the Livelihood of People around the Globe Commission. In December 2007, the HELP Commission issued an influential report concluding that the U.S. foreign aid system was broken and must be overhauled, along with recommendations for doing so (**www.helpcommission.gov/**).

At hearings on April 23, House Committee on Foreign Affairs Chairman Howard L. Berman, D-Calif., outlined his committee's goal for the next administration: rewrite the For-

50 Years Ago…

The question that faces the Foreign Service, and which *The Ugly American* attempts to illustrate, is whether the United States can be adequately represented abroad, and the political, economic and social evolutions of any given country correctly assessed, by representatives, diplomatic or other, who operate from what frequently resemble American redoubts in hostile territory.

— Editorial, "The Lesson of *The Ugly American*," *FSJ*, December 1958.

eign Assistance Act of 1961 (**http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/press_display.asp?id=507**). Testimony on "Foreign Assistance Reform in the Next Administration: Challenges and Solutions" was presented by experts such as Lael Brainard of the Brookings Institute's Task Force on Reforming Foreign Assistance for the 21st Century, Stephen Rattelet of the Center for Global Development, Oxfam President Raymond C. Offenheiser, and Ross Kolbe of the German Marshall Fund (**http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/testimony.asp?pg=6**).

Brainstorming on Particular Issues. Both the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Brookings Institution have dedicated spots on their Web sites for advice to the new team. Carnegie's "Foreign Policy for the Next President" is a series of reports on the most critical foreign policy challenges facing the Obama administration. The reports cull the good ideas from the unworkable on each issue and focus on how to achieve them (**www.carnegieendowment.org/topic/index.cfm?fa=viewTopic&topic=3000154**).

The Brookings Institution's "Presidential Transition" page features a series of policy recommendations, reports, memos to the president-elect and public events on a wide range of domestic, economic and foreign policy issues, as well as background on past presidential transitions (**www.brookings.edu/topics/presidential-transition.aspx**).

Among Brookings' foreign policy–specific recommendations, a summary of the top 10 global economic challenges facing the 44th president provides a trenchant overview of the general policy environment (**www.brookings.edu/reports/2008/10_global_economics_top_ten.aspx**). Also, scholars Martin Indyk and Kenneth Pollack make recommendations on dealing with the Middle East (**www.brookings.edu/papers/2009/0105_middle_east_memo.aspx**) and Carlos Pascual shares a memo to the president-elect, "Restore American Leadership to Address Transnational Threats" (**www.brookings.edu/papers/2009/0115_american_leadership_memo.aspx**).

The Center for Strategic and International Studies offers a wealth of pertinent material. Its Africa program has established eight working groups to assess "Africa Policy after President Bush." The groups will issue recommendations in key areas (**www.csis.org/africa/afterbush/**).

"Closing Guantanamo: From Bumper Sticker to Reality," by Sarah Mendelson, is the CSIS Human Rights and Security Initiative's blueprint for shutting down the controversial detention facility, a stated goal of the president-elect (**www.csis.org/hrs/gtmoreport/**).

The CSIS Asia Economic Task Force has issued what its authors call a "user's guide" for the Obama administration in managing economic relations with Asia: "Crafting U.S. Economic Strategy Toward Asia: Lessons Learned from 30 Years of Experience" (**www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/081016_freeman_craftusecon_web.pdf**). A bipartisan group of current and former government officials and other experts, who have been involved in all of the major Asian economic policy initiatives in the recent period, pool their wisdom on how to handle relations with a dynamic region that is becoming ever more important to U.S. interests.

At a Trilateral Commission meeting last April, Strobe Talbot, Deputy Secretary of State in the Clinton administration and now president of the Brookings Institution, set out broad outlines for the new administration. He urges the new team to attend to the Western Hemisphere, nuclear proliferation and climate change, in particular (**www.trilateral.org/AnnMtgs/PROGRAMS/08washpdf_fol**

der/Talbott.pdf).

Finally, in the immediate run-up to the election a series of seminars offered analysis and advice on the foreign policy demands confronting the new administration. A Sept. 2 symposium, "Foreign Policy Challenges for the Next Administration," moderated by Council on Foreign Relations President Richard Haass at the Humphrey Institute in Minnesota, focused on immigration and border security, energy security, relations with Russia and trade, among other topics. The transcript of the discussion among CFR and Heritage Foundation panelists is available online (**www.cfr.org/publication/17430/foreign_policy_challenges_for_the_next_administration.html**).

"Foreign Policy and the Next U.S. Administration," a program at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Center on International Studies on Sept. 18, featured Barry Posen, director of the CIS Security Studies Program at MIT; Carol Savietz, from Harvard University's Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies; and Taylor Fravel, MIT political science professor discussing the issues. The program is available online in video format (**http://mitworld.mit.edu/video/605/#technotes**).

Site of the Month: www.campusexplorer.com

The newest addition to the online college-preparation toolbox is *Campus Explorer*, a Web site with more than 6,000 schools in its database that is arguably the most comprehensive directory of higher education on the Internet.

Founders Gerry Slavonia and Brian Hartnack launched the Web site to help remedy the poor ratio of college counselors to high school students — a national problem — and the difficulty of choosing among thousands of schools. "Think of us as your personal counselor," the Web site advises. "We're available 24/7."

Barely a year old, *Campus Explorer* offers an easy-to-use school-search function, which sorts according to a variety of criteria such as location, major, size of student population, etc. Users can also compare their favorite schools in a single view and build a personal educational profile. They can dig into the details on their favorites, including photos, videos, maps, Wikipedia commentary and Yahoo!Answers discussion, as well as make direct contact with the schools. The site also offers assistance with financial aid, student loans, test preparation and student housing.

What may be of most interest, however, is the site's chance-of-admission calculator. This feature, limited to the larger schools, appears below the institution's database listing. The user is asked to enter SAT or ACT scores, high school grades, extracurricular activities and several other bits of information. *Campus Explorer* will then designate the school a Safety, Target or Reach for that particular student.

Though an admissions calculator is not a unique feature, some may prefer *Campus Explorer*'s more straightforward approach. In return for more information, College Board.com, for example, the doyen of guides-to-college Web sites, indicates where the individual stands in relation to the admissions profile of the school — data that could seem vague.

In the end, nothing can replace the campus visit, but *Campus Explorer* is a useful addition to the process of getting there.

Ready for Your Virtual Tour?

A federally funded research effort, the Second China Project, is underway at the University of Florida to develop virtual environments to aid in educating and preparing Foreign Service and other government professionals for overseas assignments, according to a news release from the school (**http://news.ufl.edu/2008/10/29/second-china/**).

The team of computer engineers and scholars has used the popular online world, Second Life, to create a virtual Chinese city, one that hands a key to users who want to familiarize themselves with the sights and experiences they will encounter.

"We hope this kind of environment can provide a bridge between knowledge alone and actually being in the real-life environment," says Julie Henderson, an international program specialist at the university's College of Pharmacy and co-principal investigator and project designer for the effort.

Simulated experiences aim at introducing users not only to typical sights and the Chinese language, but also to expectations of politeness, accepted business practices and cultural norms.

"We've built an environment around learning objectives," says Paul Fishwick, lead investigator and a professor of computer and information science and engineering.

In the office simulation, for instance, the user's avatar chooses appropriate business attire and a gift, greets a receptionist, and is guided to a conference room to be seated, among other activities. A Web-based tutorial that users can click on as they navigate Second China supplements the experience.

The project has been funded with a $1.35 million federal grant. ■

This edition of Cybernotes was prepared by Senior Editor Susan B. Maitra.

Beyond the Cold War: A New Multilateral Agenda

Phil Foster

Most of the core foreign policy issues the United States must address are now under a United Nations umbrella.

By William H. Luers

The United States government is still living in the "post–Cold War" era at a time when our nation should be giving greater emphasis to international engagement and cooperation with other nations in seeking solutions to global and regional problems. An embrace of the United Nations system will not be an easy sell to Congress. Yet a commitment to closer working relationships with the U.N. and other international organizations would be one way for the new U.S. president to signal a new era and become a more effective partner in seeking solutions to global problems.

The Clinton administration had an opening and the inclination to define a new strategic cooperative framework for U.S. policy. That most popular of presidents could have sold to the American people a new approach that would take us beyond Cold War thinking. But sadly, despite his early appeal for "assertive multilateralism," he missed that chance.

The new administration will need to move carefully to bring the American people and Congress into an era of greater multilateral diplomacy.

The Bush administration approached the world by trying to recreate a new type of Cold War — one based on fear, military might and alliances only with those who are "with us." After 9/11, the administration tried to foment a new ideological struggle mimicking the struggle against communism, with a "war on terrorism" fought between the "good" democracies and "bad" non-democracies and radical Islamists as the basis of policy and action. The "axis of evil" is the best-known metaphor for that mentality.

This yearning to return to a more defined, Manichean world has been palpable and has even led to a renewal of a quasi–Cold War with Russia. The determined efforts to demonize states that oppose our policies, while building alliances with those of whatever stripe who agree with us, remind us of the simplistic notions that led us astray during that earlier conflict. The U.S. has ignored opportunities for political persuasion and diplomacy that are made possible by diverse national behavior and the potential for dividing our enemies and expanding the number of friends we have around the world.

As we approach a new era in our political leadership, the United States will have another opportunity to move with affirmation and hard thinking to an alternative approach to our role in the world. We need to rethink current policies and assumptions about the nature of U.S. power and how our government might best deal with the problems and opportunities globalization presents, as well as the looming threats from climate change, nuclear proliferation and terrorist groups.

Yet Barack Obama's administration needs to show caution and steadiness in bringing the American people and Congress into an era of greater multilateral diplomacy. Most of the world is waiting for U.S. leadership based on mutual respect and cooperation, not on bluster and unilateralism. But at least half of the American people, and probably a majority of Congress, are not ready for any significant shift from the American exceptionalist approach.

Furthermore, most Americans are not prepared for their government to undertake greater international cooperation to meet the new challenges. Many people, along with their elected representatives, ask why the U.S. must "ask permission" to use military force. Don't treaty commitments limit U.S. sovereignty and the right to do what we want? Aren't international organizations anti-American, ineffective and without teeth?

Symbol for a New Era

Here is where presidential leadership comes in. With a bold, persuasive and knowledgeable approach — sensitive to American skepticism — the United States can become the yearned-for nation prepared to guide the world in this new, treacherous era, one that is very different from the Cold War and little given to American solipsism, arrogance and belief in military might as the definer of power. If this new leadership of the U.S. government is to be successful, it must begin positively and patiently to change the way it deals with international organizations.

One of the most challenging yet also rewarding partners for the United States in building a new, more cooperative approach to world problems would be the United Nations and its various agencies. But this will require a new willingness on the part of Washington to negotiate, sign and ratify international treaties and legal agreements, and reduce its inclination to approach every international action only in terms of American sovereignty. Such changes will not come easily at home and might even be seen as anti-American. But without them, the

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During his 31-year career in the Foreign Service, William H. Luers served as ambassador to Czechoslovakia (1983-1986) and Venezuela (1978-1982), and as a deputy assistant secretary of State for Europe (1977-1978) and for Inter-American affairs (1975-1977), among many other postings. Ambassador Luers has been the president of the United Nations Association of the USA since 1999.

search for a new image of America, and a new role, will be seriously hampered. Conversely, moving publicly and energetically toward greater cooperation with the U.N. would represent a powerful symbol of change from current unilateral policies.

Most Americans instinctively respond positively to the idea of the United Nations, yet many see the organization as ineffective. This attitude is rooted in decades of disappointments over the U.N. not meeting its high goals; a weak popular understanding of what the organization is and is not; an American instinct not to give up any options in foreign policy; inadequate media coverage of the U.N.'s role in the world; and, quite frankly, an historically low appreciation by Americans of the diversity, richness and growing power of other cultures and nations.

Most Americans instinctively respond positively to the idea of the United Nations, yet many see the organization as ineffective.

The new American president's bully pulpit could, over years, transform this view, by explaining that the United Nations and other international bodies improve U.S. security, back Washington's leadership in this ever-more-complex world, help polish the often brash American approach to diplomacy, and lead the way toward global solutions to the menaces we face.

As we look toward a new era of greater American commitment to cooperation with other nations, the new president will want to devise a genuinely multilateral strategy for the first time since the end of World War II. Such a new strategy will inevitably require working closely with the United Nations and its agencies. President Obama will want to address this new multilateral agenda in three phases.

Short Term: Urgent Issues

Most of the core foreign policy issues a new U.S. president must address are now under a U.N. umbrella. This is an unprecedented situation that underscores the intimate connection the organization has with the many global priorities so important to the United States. The new administration must prepare immediately for the following challenging agenda:

Iraq. The decision on a new type of mandate for the U.N.'s role in Iraq and the related new status-of-forces agreement with the Iraqi government governing the U.S. military presence are both unlikely to be resolved by Jan. 20, 2009. As the new administration ponders Baghdad's stance toward the eventual drawdown of U.S. troops, it will certainly want to have some recommendations on a new and more important role for the United Nations. For instance, that body is uniquely placed to coordinate a new, more vigorous effort to engage regional powers in a more secure Iraq. Its role in finding a political solution inside that troubled nation should also be expanded.

Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The five-year review of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty scheduled for 2010 will deal with one of the most important issues before the next administration. The new administration must begin preparing immediately for this conference. Working with Moscow on this core problem will require Washington to transcend tensions over Russian military action and get back to basics with that other major nuclear power.

There is a growing bipartisan sense in the U.S. that major weapons reductions are necessary and possible. If Washington and Moscow can agree on reductions, there are creative new ways to work with other International Atomic Energy Agency member-states to limit the spread of nuclear weapons. The new administration should also urge Congress to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. And, without tearing up the new U.S.-India nuclear agreement, the incoming administration must give the nuclear-supplier states and the IAEA every opportunity to help make this controversial deal fit into a broader strategy for strengthening the nonproliferation regime.

Climate Change. Preparations for the December 2009 U.N. conference in Copenhagen on climate change are already advanced. A new U.S. team will have to begin immediately to consult with other states to seek common ground. The sense of urgency on climate change, combined with international frustration over the Bush administration's failure to provide leadership, offers great opportunities. But it also mightily complicates the negotiations. Washington will most certainly have to seek some side deals with China, India and other growing polluters, but ultimately it will have to sign on to restraints far larger

than those agreed to at Kyoto. The U.S. must step up at the Copenhagen treaty negotiations with a full readiness to lead the way toward these new restraints, while leveraging its readiness to get others to follow. This is the number-one priority for the world and one that can only be managed under a United Nations umbrella.

The next administration should seek a seat and a leadership role on the Human Rights Council to help to improve the workings of that new and controversial body.

Peacekeeping. When Pres. Obama takes office, the U.S. could be $2.5 billion or more in arrears to the United Nations, mainly because of the rising peacekeeping budget for 18 missions around the world — all authorized by Washington. The new administration will want to wield firm leadership in the Senate to get our U.N. debt paid. America's indebtedness, particulary for a sum that seems insignificant in comparison with other large security expenditures, is a source of great frustration both at the U.N. and among our friends.

The new administration will need to seek ways to be more supportive — financially, logistically and politically — of U.N. peacekeeping, possibly even including new ways to authorize American forces to work directly with the U.N. on such operations. The United Nations' peacekeeping efforts are not always successful, but they are the best tool we have. There is no alternative in most cases.

On Darfur, the new administration should offer substantial logistic support and put its full weight behind bringing the U.N. peacekeeping force to full strength.

Iran. The Security Council will be considering yet another U.S. resolution on sanctions against Iran. The International Atomic Energy Agency is still trying to monitor and inspect the Iranian program, with ever-greater Iranian reluctance as the sanctions agenda grows. The new U.S. administration should work toward far more assured international inspections and even participation in Iran's nuclear program.

However, such an approach will require Washington to deal directly with Tehran. The U.S. and others might need to take a strategic decision that, since the U.N. sanctions have not achieved the goal of stopping Iranian enrichment of uranium, direct approaches to Iran might lead toward more effective ways of limiting the country's nuclear program to peaceful uses and significantly increase access by the IAEA and other international monitoring bodies.

Midterm Objectives: U.N. Renewal

The immediate challenges for a new administration at the United Nations should not be undertaken without a view to strengthening that institution. But a renewal will take time and intense diplomatic work with other delegations and with the U.N. secretary general. A new American face and a new style in New York will go a long way toward re-establishing the U.S. as a believable and important mediator on the many steps needed to help the United Nations become less dysfunctional as an organization and more relevant to the 21st century.

Renewal, Not "Reform." American critics, particularly members of Congress, have generally interpreted "U.N. reform" to mean that the organization will work harder yet spend less money, through measures to encourage efficiency and budget reduction. While those are desirable goals, the new administration should pursue a broader vision of how best to strengthen the U.N. The term "renewal" could help get around talking only about money with Congress. For the U.N. to become a functioning partner, much has to change; it will not be easy. The U.S. should be constructive, not begrudging or patronizing (as it has often been in the past), and operate behind the scenes.

The Security Council. Pessimism persists about changes in the makeup of the United Nations Security Council. Yet a group of member-states has laid the groundwork for bringing countries like India, Japan, Brazil and South Africa into the council as quasi-permanent members. Such an expansion can be accomplished during a new administration if the new U.S. team develops a strategy of listening, showing flexibility and closing a deal without obvious American pressure. There will be costs and some countries will be unhappy, but no other step would so significantly add to the sense of inclusiveness in this core U.N. body.

The Secretariat. After two years in office, Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon will have an opportunity, with the support of a new U.S. president, to revisit personnel

assignments and administrative structures. Many issues are on the table including incumbents in key jobs, personnel policies, communications strategies, budget management and the secretariat's relations with the U.N. General Assembly, to name but a few. Washington could help by working patiently with a broad group of nations to improve the secretariat's operations — an essential ingredient in strengthening U.N. performance.

New International Bodies? It is not clear that existing international institutions will be able to cope with globalization's growing effects on human security and on member-states. Will there be large gaps in the ability of nations and existing U.N. bodies to monitor and adapt cooperatively to climate change after the Copenhagen meeting in December 2009? Are existing international facilities adequate to respond quickly to natural disasters and pandemics? Do we have a global structure that can channel national concerns about terrorism into international cooperation?

Likewise, rapidly growing illicit trade — from drugs and intellectual property to human trafficking — may lend itself to new approaches and perhaps institutions. And, as more nations want nuclear power, does the IAEA role need to be expanded? Or must we establish a new international verification and inspection body designed to work with new nuclear-power states? The head of the IAEA has already proposed a new agency to deal with global energy strategies.

Long-Term Objectives: International Cooperation and the U.N.

A new U.S. president will have to convince the American people and Congress that this new cooperative approach is essential for U.S. interests, for our role in the world and for re-establishing the United States as the go-to country for leadership. Presidential speeches, informal remarks and messages to Congress and the American people should all emphasize the importance of working with other governments and the United Nations. The following outline describes the steps needed to imbed a new cooperative approach into the American worldview.

Rule of Law. A new administration can work with the Senate on ratification of dozens of treaties and international agreements that have been neglected or abandoned by recent administrations. Many of these reflect core American values, or were originally proposed by the U.S., such as the Law of the Sea Treaty, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, the Convention on All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Rome Statute on the International Criminal Court, the Treaty to Ban Landmines and many more. In all, there are nearly two dozen pending agreements dealing with everything from arms control to human rights that the Senate has been unable or unwilling to ratify.

The U.S. should also reaffirm its commitment to the Geneva Conventions and other conventions providing consular access. The new administration should send an official observer to the International Criminal Court with a view toward eventual ratification of the Rome Treaty and full participation.

Our disregard of laws and treaty commitments has distressed not only our friends but even our adversaries. In announcing that the U.S. is reinvigorating its commitment to the rule of law at home and abroad, a new administration will send a powerful signal of change.

Global Issues. Our country has been slow to recognize the terrible consequences of climate change, the potential devastation from pandemics without public health cooperation and the importance of U.S. leadership in the struggle against the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Americans are primed for a new vision, one that recognizes the futility of U.S. efforts to go it alone. In negotiating on these issues, we must "give to get" — a long-established principle in diplomacy and human behavior.

Most of the serious problems we face today cut across borders. Indeed, some of the biggest threats to humankind do not come from nations but from natural disasters and nongovernmental actors. The post–World War II leadership of the U.S. and Europe creatively and effectively built new structures for international security cooperation. Today there is an urgent need for a new type of international cooperation, led by the United States, to address the global issues that go far beyond the old "national security" agenda and include the survival of our civilization.

Recognizing Other Agendas. It is an open secret at the U.N. that the U.S. and Europe see it primarily as a place to resolve global security issues: terrorism, failed and rogue states, and regional conflicts. Yet most member-states are more concerned about development issues: education, poverty, food shortages, trade equity and disease. An American public commitment to the broader

issues of the rest of the world will assist any U.S. administration in gathering support for its agenda at the U.N. Toward that end, any presidential speech to the General Assembly should begin by recognizing and paying respect to the priorities of other nations.

Human Rights. Members of Congress and many Americans believe that defending human rights around the world is a major function of the U.N. The next administration can assert new influence by seeking a seat and a leadership role on the Human Rights Council, which could help to improve the workings of this new and controversial body. A new administration needs to make the case that it will strengthen the U.N.'s role in protecting human rights, since that is so crucial to American perceptions about why we even have a United Nations.

The record of the new Human Rights Council has been offensive to many Americans because of its seemingly singleminded obsession with Israel. Although criticism of Israel is likely to continue at the member-state level, a strong U.S. leadership role could help broaden the agenda and occupy the Council with pressing human rights violations in other countries. Moreover, since the new body is charged with reviewing every member-state periodically, the opportunity exists to shift toward making this review process more central to its work.

Then there is the concern about the presence on the Council of some of the worst human rights offenders. Sadly, the way regions propose their nominees makes it virtually certain that some of the worst violators will achieve membership. This is a serious flaw in the practices of the U.N. that must be addressed. Yet it is also telling that so many of the major violators take the work of the Council so seriously that they want to be on it as a way of protection. U.S. membership is needed to make the body more effective and more balanced.

The U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. The new president will send an important signal by his selection of a new ambassador to the United Nations. To bring about the changes called for above, he will need to appoint a credible, committed and distinguished American with serious international experience to represent him as the U.S. permanent representative to the body. The ambassador should be a member of the Cabinet, with the talent to listen with patience and work with other nations — friends *and* adversaries — on the immediate challenges the U.S. faces on issues under U.N. consideration. He or she should also learn the arcane diplomatic practices of the United Nations.

Diplomats for Multilateral Organizations. Traditionally, Washington has not given much weight to multilateral diplomacy, and it shows. Our inexperience with how this unique facet of international relations works is an important reason for our relative ineffectiveness, and that needs to change.

Many lesser powers send their best and most experienced diplomats and political leaders to fill top diplomatic posts at the U.N., which is often the best place to do a nation's business on many bilateral and multilateral issues. For instance, Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov was probably the most experienced authority from any nation on the workings of the United Nations. Likewise, the U.S. needs trained professionals to represent it at all international organizations.

A Full Agenda

While a new U.S. global strategy of collaboration is urgently needed, the new president will also have to focus on reviving the domestic economy and restoring confidence in the financial system — even as he faces the growing, costly and seemingly open-ended challenges of two wars that are draining our energies and those of our allies. And at perhaps no time since 1969 has a new president succeeded an administration that has so angered and exhausted the American population.

The next president will therefore face historically unprecedented challenges — but that very fact argues even more persuasively for a fresh commitment to international engagement and cooperation. Even as Franklin D. Roosevelt launched the New Deal, he also took the extremely unpopular, yet prescient, steps of establishing relations with the Soviet Union and pursuing a new, more forward-leaning approach to Europe. Seven decades later, the new president will also need to combine innovation and bold policies with realism.

Fortunately, this challenge is also an opportunity. The new American president has a chance to restore our country's place in the world — not by trying to restore a former image, but by creating a new American face and by providing enlightened leadership in developing new approaches to global issues through cooperation. A closer relationship with a stronger United Nations system and with its many member-states will help get America where it needs to be. ■

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TIME FOR REALISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST

ONLY RENEWED, SUSTAINED AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC LEADERSHIP AND PARTNERSHIP CAN REDEEM OUR REPUTATION AND STABILIZE THE REGION.

BY PHILIP C. WILCOX JR.

Repairing the wreckage of American policy in the Middle East is the most urgent and complex foreign policy challenge President Barack Obama will face.

The Bush administration's radical plans for creating a "New Middle East" through pre-emptive war, regime change, other coercive measures and democratization have failed dramatically. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has deepened. The war in Iraq, waged at a staggering human and financial cost, has produced neither stability nor democracy there, but has upset the regional balance of power to the advantage of an assertive and potentially nuclear Iran. And the war in Afghanistan looks ominously like another quagmire.

Meanwhile, U.S. efforts to undermine Syria, and Hezbollah in Lebanon, have backfired. And terrorism, which has propelled U.S. policies in the region, has hardly been defeated. These failures, along with the abuse of detainees, have fueled strong anti-American hostility and undermined our influence.

Ambassador Philip C. Wilcox Jr. was a Foreign Service officer from 1966 to 1997. Among many other assignments, he was chief of mission in Jerusalem and ambassador-at-large for counterterrorism. He is currently president of the Foundation for Middle East Peace.

Our new Middle East policy should be based on realism. It should start with a clearer understanding of the troubled history of the region and its relations with the West. It should pay respectful attention to the views of Middle Easterners, and abandon fantasies of American hegemony and rapid transformation through democratization. And it should put aside simplistic classification of regimes as good or evil.

A return to realism also calls for a renewal of diplomacy as America's principal tool of national security and a better understanding of the limits of military power. Such a rebalancing will require changing our hugely disproportionate assignment of resources — and therefore bureaucratic power — to the military. It will mean restoring the leadership of the Department of State and the Foreign Service, and redressing the gross deficit of resources, staffing and leadership within our civilian national security apparatus.

The next administration will not have the luxury of dealing with these problems piecemeal, or in phases. All present immediate dangers, and there are many linkages. A new strategy must be comprehensive, integrated and sustained. Success will take years, but the process of articulating and launching a new policy to restore confidence and cooperation should begin immediately. New policies should address the following problems.

Terrorism and Islam

The "war on terrorism" led by our armed forces has been the organizing principle of U.S. Middle East policy since 9/11. But terrorism and violence are symptoms of conflicts that can ultimately be mitigated only by understanding their causes and applying diplomatic, economic and other tools. Military force is usually a blunt and counterproductive weapon, since it tends to kill civilians and breed more terrorists and anti-American animus.

While many terrorists have been caught or killed since 2001, terrorism has expanded in the Middle East and elsewhere (although the U.S. has prevented new attacks at home through better intelligence and security). The next president should give higher priority to traditional counterterrorism methods — diplomacy, intelligence and law enforcement — and expand efforts to deal with root causes. Military force should be used sparingly. The emotive phrase "war on terrorism" has a strong patriotic resonance, but it creates strategic confusion and should be dropped.

The militarization of counterterrorism and the war in Iraq, along with the deaths of thousands of Muslim civilians, have helped extremists promote the myth of primordial conflict between the West and Islam. Our chronic use of the ambiguous phrase "Islamic terrorism" offends Muslims and compounds the problem. Although public support for al-Qaida has waned, it is still dangerous. Barack Obama's administration will also need better public diplomacy to show that America wants mutually respectful relations with Islam and partnership against common criminal enemies.

An urgent part of this new strategy is a clear repudiation of torture and other abusive detainment policies that violate the rule of law and civilized standards. These disgraceful practices — born of panic, cynicism about American values and gross ignorance about effective interrogation techniques — have devastated our image in the Middle East and elsewhere, crippled our counterterrorism efforts and dishonored our Constitution.

The Israeli-Palestinian Impasse

Peace between Israel and Palestine will not by itself bring stability to the region. But perceptions run deep there that the U.S. has become part of the problem by protecting Israeli policies of occupation and settlement and ignoring Palestinian demands for justice and sovereignty. No other U.S. policy has caused more Arab and Muslim anger, weakening our ability to win cooperation with Arab governments on other regional problems.

Both the Bush and Clinton administrations have urged Israel and Palestine to negotiate bilaterally on the core issues of settlements, borders, Jerusalem, refugees and security. This approach failed during the Oslo years. There is no sign that the bilateral talks President Bush launched in Annapolis last year, after seven years of neglect, will agree on anything more than general principles.

Indeed, it is now clear that peace cannot be achieved bilaterally, given the huge power imbalance between the parties and their divided, dysfunctional internal politics. On both sides, radicals who cling to a zero-sum concept of "victory" block the way to peace. In Israel, an entrenched settler lobby opposes a workable territorial compromise. Palestinian policy has been paralyzed by a bitter split, which the U.S. has encouraged, between the pragmatic but feeble Fatah-led Palestinian Authority in the West Bank, and a militant, rejectionist Hamas in Gaza.

The consequences of this impasse are stark and dangerous. Settlements, in which about 500,000 Israelis now live, are already close to creating a de facto single, Israeli-controlled state, in which Palestinians will soon be a subject majority. This threatens Israel and the entire region with a permanent, violent rebellion by Palestinians who demand liberation. It also corrupts Israel's Jewish, democratic values. Without renewed hope for statehood, Palestinians may abandon their two-state goal and wait for demography to overwhelm Israel.

Unless our enduring alliance with Israel is coupled with diplomatic leadership designed to change self-destructive Israeli and Palestinian policies and bring peace, the conflict will become a permanent millstone around our neck, impeding our ability to pursue our other interests and relations in the region. In particular, it opens the door to the specter of a nuclear Iran, pitted against a nuclear Israel.

Given these high stakes and the failure of previous peace "processes," strong new American leadership will be needed to help rescue Israel and Palestine from a disaster. At an early stage, Washington should announce a compelling American vision of peace that would meet the core interests of both sides. Mediation by a senior U.S. envoy, not just exhortation, should follow. In addition, Palestinian internal reconciliation is essential to peace, and must be part of a new U.S. policy.

There is a good chance that over time Israelis and Palestinians, and ultimately their leaders, would respond positively to such American leadership. Today, both groups are traumatized and have virtually abandoned hope for peace. Yet polls show that pragmatic majorities on both sides want a two-state accord and would accept big compromises in final-status solutions, whose outlines are now well known. Here at home, a strong, compassionate approach to peace supporting both Israel and Palestine would mobilize domestic support, including from American Jews, and confirm that the president, not the "Israel lobby," makes policy in Washington.

Our current alienation from the Arab and Muslim worlds because of failed policies has created a diplomatic vacuum that regional states have tried to fill.

Getting Out of Iraq

Bowing to the Maliki government, weary American opinion and the need for an agreement by Dec. 31 to replace the United Nations mandate for U.S. forces in Iraq, the Bush administration has signed a draft agreement, subject to parliamentary approval, calling for the departure of U.S. forces in 2011. In doing so, the administration seems to have abandoned its entirely unrealistic plans for permanent military bases in Iraq. As of November, there was growing opposition to the draft agreement from Iraqi factions who want an earlier U.S. withdrawal or fear the text could enable our forces to stay after 2011.

The logic for an early withdrawal is powerful, and not just because Iraqis resent the continued presence of foreign troops. The "surge" was supposed to buy time for a long-awaited political reconciliation. While security has improved, Sunni-Shiite and intra-Shiite relations are still tenuous, and there is no consensus on the nature of the Iraqi state and how Iraqis can coexist and share their oil wealth. It is now clear that a prolonged American troop presence discourages political reconciliation, which only Iraqis can accomplish; and without that, there will be no security.

While the threat of renewed civil war and breakdown of Iraq's fledgling institutions cannot be ignored, the next administration should give higher priority to other U.S. goals in the region besides an illusory "victory" in Iraq. In measuring national interests, the Obama administration should focus on reducing the huge cost of the war to our troubled domestic fabric, including the monthly drain of $10 billion and the massive toll on our overextended armed forces and their families.

Engaging Iran

Forging a new relationship with Iran and heading off its nuclear threat should be major goals of a new Middle East strategy. The crisis in U.S.-Iranian relations weighs heavily on our interests in resolving the conflicts in Israel and Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Afghanistan. Washington and Tehran have strong mutual interests in promoting regional security, ensuring stable supplies of energy, and stabilizing Iraq and Afghanistan. The current standoff prevents exploration of a mutually beneficial new relationship and the kind of "grand bargain" that Iran offered in 2003, but the U.S. ignored. It is time to drop failed threats and sanctions intended to force Iran to accept preconditions for direct negotiations, and to move to unconditional bilateral talks.

A constructive relationship with Tehran is hardly assured, of course. But without this and other regional cooperation, stabilization in Iraq after the U.S. withdraws will be even harder. The overthrow of Saddam Hussein's Sunni dictatorship and U.S. sponsorship of a political framework that favors Iraq's Shiite majority have already given Iran major influence there and changed the regional balance of power. But Tehran understands it cannot control even a Shiite-led Arab Iraq, and it shares our interest in avoiding chaos there. U.S. policy should accept legitimate Iranian interests in Iraq and the region, and enlist Tehran's support for stability there.

On the nuclear issue, it may not be too late to influence Iranian plans for uranium enrichment with major incentives coupled with a new relationship with the U.S. and the West. Even if Iran cannot be dissuaded from enrichment, a capability it is permitted for peaceful uses under its Non-Proliferation Treaty obligations, a transparent regime of international inspection and accountability and mutually peaceful nuclear cooperation might work in the alternative.

Improved U.S.-Iranian relations will also require an end to threats against Israel and Tehran's manipulation of the Israeli-Palestinian issue for political reasons. However, this is unlikely in the absence of a credible peace process under U.S. leadership.

New Policies Toward Syria and Lebanon

The next administration also needs to open a fresh page on relations with Syria and Lebanon. Current U.S. efforts to sanction and isolate Damascus for its interference and suspected assassinations in Lebanon, support for Hezbollah and harboring of Hamas and other radical Palestinians are going nowhere and are self-defeating. The Bush administration has already toned down its antipathy to the Assad regime and its earlier opposition to negotiations by Israel, our close ally, with Syria over withdrawal from the Golan Heights and a peace accord. Turkey is now the go-between in these talks, and France is seeking a role. But Washington's full support and participation will be needed for Syria and Israel to make peace. This would be an historic achievement for all sides.

A new policy of renewed U.S. engagement with Damascus and support for peace talks with Israel would require an end to Syrian support for Hamas and Hezbollah extremism. It should also involve an end to Syria's meddling in Lebanon — while recognizing its interests there — as well as a Syrian relationship with Iran that is not hostile to U.S. interests.

In Lebanon, the U.S. has failed to strengthen the moderate March 14 Movement's leadership against Hezbollah by treating the latter as simply as a terrorist organization, rather than an important political player in Lebanon. Washington's encouragement of Israel's 2006 war against Hezbollah (which Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice hailed as the necessary "birth pangs of a New Middle East") was a new low point for U.S. credibility in the region. Lebanon, with diplomatic help from Qatar, has since gone its own way with an internal compromise that enhances Hezbollah's influence.

Our experiences in Iraq and Lebanon show the pitfalls

of viewing Middle East politics through an anti-terrorist prism and of picking favorites among the region's identity and religious politics. Likewise, our boycott and rejection of Hamas on grounds of its terrorist activity, rather than engaging it to influence its behavior, has also backfired. Another example of American myopia was Washington's short-lived proposal, floated in 2006, to create a moderate bloc of Sunni states and Israel opposing a "radical" axis of Iran and its Shiite allies.

Our current alienation from the Arab and Muslim worlds because of failed policies and inept diplomacy has created a vacuum.

Avoiding a New Quagmire in Afghanistan

Opponents of the war in Iraq have argued that Afghanistan is the right place to fight terrorism, and that tracking down Osama bin Laden and defeating the Taliban should be our main strategic goals. But today, seven years after the U.S. routed the Taliban before becoming preoccupied with Iraq, an aggressive insurgency threatens most of Afghanistan's provinces. Popular hostility to foreign troops and loss of confidence in the Karzai government are growing. The situation is deteriorating, despite the presence of almost 40,000 American troops who bear the brunt of an increasingly lethal and costly war, along with 35,000 other NATO forces.

Pressure is building to send more U.S. troops to Afghanistan as they become available from Iraq. At the same time, there is growing recognition that a military victory there is beyond our reach and that American forces risk being drawn into another bottomless quagmire in a large nation with a hostile terrain and a history of ungovernability. The fierce resistance of Afghan tribesmen to foreign armies, as the British and Russians learned to their regret, is legendary. General Dan McNeil, the former NATO commander in Afghanistan, estimates it would take 400,000 foreign troops to pacify the country. Given these realities, there is no reason to believe that more American soldiers are the answer there. Instead, we need a new strategy.

America's strategic goals should be to eliminate bin Laden and al-Qaida's command structure (believed to be in the tribal areas of northwest Pakistan, not Afghanistan) and to staunch the spread of extremism into Pakistan. Pashtun tribes in the Pakistani tribal areas are now harboring al-Qaida members and offering safe havens for resupplying and training the Taliban. They continue to receive support from elements of Pakistan's Directorate for Inter-Services Intelligence, as they have for decades.

A more realistic strategy for dealing with this mess would avoid a larger U.S. military commitment in Afghanistan and focus on a new relationship with Pakistan to win its support, which is essential, for containing the Taliban and ultimately eliminating al-Qaida. Washington and Islamabad are already discussing security in the tribal regions with Pakistan's new civilian and military leadership.

A broader strategic approach is needed to transform cooperation against terrorism and extremism, which are a grave threat to both the U.S. and Pakistan. This strategy would couple economic and security assistance to Pakistan, including the poor tribal areas, with efforts to gain support from India, China and Iran, who are also threatened by extremism in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

This will be a huge challenge. Given Islamabad's tortured politics and its past support for the Taliban to counter India in Afghanistan, relying on Pakistan may not succeed. But it is a more realistic option than a quest for military victory in Afghanistan, or unilateral U.S. military action in Pakistan's tribal areas.

To meet our obligation for continued support of Afghanistan, we should stabilize our military commitment, shifting the mix from combat to special operations and wider training of Afghan forces. We should also strengthen infrastructure and economic development in areas where this is possible. Other high priorities should be repairing international military and economic aid coordination, which is now dysfunctional; improving U.S. military-civilian cooperation; and conducting more effective poppy eradication. Washington should also send a clear message to the Karzai government that what its problems demand is a more serious Afghan effort to build government and security institutions and restore public support, not more American troops. Negotiations with some Taliban leaders and other militants, who are divided among themselves, should also be explored.

Need for Change on a Grand Scale

A new, integrated strategy of the kind described above toward Israel, Palestine, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon resembles the recommendations of the 2006 Iraq Study Group. These policies and a smarter approach to terrorism and nonproliferation would do much to restore America's battered reputation in the region and turn the political dynamics there in a more positive direction.

U.S. policy should accept legitimate Iranian interests in Iraq and the region.

Success over time in the Middle East and Iran will be difficult, but not impossible. Progress in Pakistan and Afghanistan will be even harder. Thoughtful policies that deal with the causes of terrorism and wise diplomacy to help resolve regional conflicts, especially between Israel and Palestine, can restore respect for the United States. This would help to further reduce al-Qaida's appeal and its residual terrorist potential.

Our current alienation from the Arab and Muslim worlds because of failed policies and inept diplomacy has created a vacuum. Regional states have tried to fill this void, bypassing Washington. Examples include the 2002 Arab League's conditional promise of peace with Israel if it withdraws from Palestinian territories; Saudi and Egyptian encouragement of Palestinian reconciliation; Egyptian-brokered ceasefires between Israel and Hamas; Turkish good offices between Israel and Syria; and Qatari unification efforts in Lebanon.

These initiatives are all welcome. But only renewed, sustained American diplomatic leadership and real partnership with the Middle East can redeem our reputation, protect U.S. interests and offer hope for the future. Doing this right will require change on a grand, unprecedented scale. ■

THE CIVILIAN CORE OF AMERICAN POWER

PRESIDENT-ELECT OBAMA SHOULD TELL HIS NATIONAL SECURITY TEAM TO PREPARE A JOINT INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL SECURITY BUDGET FOR FISCAL YEAR 2010.

BY DAVID SHORR, DEREK CHOLLET AND VIKRAM SINGH

One of the more remarkable aspects of the intense debate about America's global role is the current widespread support for helping to stabilize weak and failing states. Less than a decade ago, such missions were politically controversial, derided as nationbuilding or mere social work. Today, leaders on both sides of the political aisle are championing ideas to equip the U.S. government to handle such situations.

The lack of capacity in key international affairs agencies, particularly the Department of State and the U.S. Agency for International Development, has been a major focus of this discussion. While the U.S. military has embarked on reforms in planning and doctrine to improve its ability to perform stability operations — including a directive placing that objective on par with combat operations and a new counterinsurgency manual — the civilian agencies have lagged behind.

Looking at the larger picture, the steady and steep growth of defense budgets contrasts starkly with the lack of support for diplomacy and development. The resulting shortfall in funding for international affairs agencies has implications well beyond the problem of failing states. It hinders the ability of the United States to manage the full range of challenges we confront.

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The Importance of Civilian Capacity

Within the professional national security policy community, there is near-universal consensus on the seriousness of the situation and the need to strengthen civilian capacity. Just in the last several years, dozens of high-level commissions, working groups, congressionally mandated efforts and publications have examined the problem and proposed solutions. Some call for major change, such as a new Cabinet agency and an overhauled congressional committee structure, while others stress more modest (yet important) initiatives such as revamped personnel training. Defense Secretary Robert Gates has emerged as one of the most forceful and articulate spokesmen for such efforts.

The repeated calls from the nation's top defense official for the expansion of civilian capabilities naturally garnered wide attention. Even so, comprehensive action to remedy this weakness has not been forthcoming. Efforts by Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice to reorient her agency toward "transformational diplomacy," including

establishing the so-called "F" process to manage foreign assistance and bolstering the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization, are admirable. But they constitute incremental change at best.

More than a mere case of long-overdue bureaucratic reform, this problem goes to the very heart of American power in a changing and increasingly challenging world. Every international problem confronting the United States includes more variables than ever before. This is an age of stakeholder proliferation — from the private sector and powerful nongovernmental organizations to rising powers, and from criminal and terrorist networks to workers in the global supply chain. To have any chance of shaping world events, Washington must be alert to this panoply of actors and engaged at many levels in the intricate dynamics that determine political trends and policy decisions around the globe.

The Foreign Service has too few resources to bring to bear when facing challenges.

Accordingly, the essential aim of any effort to strengthen the U.S. civilian agencies must be to extend our lines of communication and cooperation to reach those on whom future peace and prosperity hinge. In the same way that globalizing trends have broken down international barriers for information and business, the United States must break down communication barriers to understand others' concerns, by expanding ties further beyond the confines of officialdom in national capitals, and by responding more diligently and creatively to emerging problems. But we won't be able to do this without more effective — and better resourced — civilian agencies. Just as we need to invest in education and science to ensure that the American work force can compete and thrive in the globalizing world, we must likewise transform our government to be competitive in the effort to sustain America's global power in the 21st century.

How to Lose Friends and Alienate People

There is not much to add to what has already been said about America's strained relations with the rest of the world or the events that led to the current state of affairs. The distressing opinion research showing America's international unpopularity has been widely discussed. The United States confronts a great deal of skepticism and mistrust as it pursues its national interests around the world today, even when those interests overlap manifestly with the interests of other nations. Given that most, if not all, of the hardest issues America faces — from counterterrorism and nonproliferation to global warming — require extensive international cooperation, skepticism about American motives and competence has real costs.

During the fall campaign, both presidential candidates claimed they could rebuild America's reputation around the world. President-elect Obama and his team now confront formidable policy challenges: How can we align ourselves more effectively with others and get them to join with us? How will we compete and cooperate with state and non-state actors? And how can we support positive developments and counter negative trends?

A key misconception of the past eight years has been the belief that Washington could meaningfully wield influence merely by stating its expectations and demonstrating the willingness to flex its muscle. The lesson we have learned, simple as it may seem, is that even a superpower's leverage is not simply a matter of available military assets. Effectively shaping global conditions requires the active and constant pursuit of desired outcomes using all elements of national power.

If we are to be truly clear-eyed about the intensely interconnected world that has emerged, the U.S. must take a keen interest in the battle between the forces of integration and those of disintegration. As a global power with strong ideals and a central place in the international political, security and economic systems, the United States has an enormous stake in the vitality and relevance of the international order. In other words, a well-functioning international community — able to minimize armed conflict and maximize the spread of prosperity — provides the structural foundation upon which we can promote our interests and values.

Yet it will be impossible to protect (and, as necessary, rebuild) the international system unless we redress the mismatch between this massive workload and our diminished work force. At just the moment when U.S. relations with the world are in a deep slump, our capacity to turn things around is also at a low point. Some elements of this challenge have received attention: post-conflict reconstruction, economic development and public diplomacy. Yet these are merely pieces of a wider, systemic

civilian capacity deficit. Furthermore, focusing primarily on crisis response may lead us to ignore a key fact: our Foreign Service is simply too small and has too few resources to bring to bear when facing challenges.

To remedy this, America needs foreign policy infrastructure investment — and not just for special initiatives or boutique programs.

Without effective civilian tools, we will find ourselves reacting to the world while others shape it.

Follow the Money

But where to begin? Despite a doubling of military spending, the Pentagon finds itself stretched, juggling ongoing operations in Iraq and Afghanistan and the associated need to re-equip, rebuild and augment our forces, as well as major continued modernization and weapons acquisitions. And, of course, the coming hard economic times will only intensify governmentwide budget pressure and the scramble for resources. Eight years of skyrocketing deficits and supplemental budget spending mostly for defense have produced a poisonous budgetary status quo made up of jealous, stovepiped interests and nervously guarded resource streams, each with its own political and bureaucratic constituencies.

Still, after spending eight months consulting with foreign policy analyst colleagues across the political spectrum, we have concluded that, given the difficulties, a head-on approach offers the only prospect of meaningful success.

America's national security system is out of balance. One indicator of this is the often-cited fact that there are more musicians in military bands than active-duty Foreign Service officers. Defense will always require more total resources than diplomacy and development, but our military capabilities are ill-served and our defense interests undermined when the civilian components fall short of the mark. Yet there is no policy process that looks at the totality of national security resources and the associated tradeoffs between military and civilian resources.

In almost every organization, budgets are planned comprehensively to ensure that the right proportion of resources flow to various departments. The existing balkanized federal budget process poses an obstacle to any steps toward the urgently needed rebalancing of the relevant agencies. And since the issue is the overall effectiveness of U.S. foreign policy, the push for budgeting across stovepipes must come from the top, where overall responsibility resides.

The new president should tell his national security team to prepare a joint international affairs and national security budget to bring the relative strength of the agencies into better balance. Under such a mandate, the FY 2010 budget and subsequent budgets for the Department of State and U.S. Agency for International Development will invest in their overstretched and inadequate bureaus and underwrite significant growth in their work forces. As another metric of progress, the inordinately skewed ratio of defense to international affairs spending will start to come down.

Whatever other reforms are undertaken, this new policy discipline would set a positive example of interagency cooperation on behalf of the national interest and against stovepiping. The budgets would be prepared jointly and supported by a common committee at the Office of Management and Budget and by the National Security Council. They would then be presented to and ushered through Congress jointly, as well.

The senior and mid-level officer corps in the military has been among the loudest voices for stronger support of civilian agencies; they truly do "get it." Joint Chiefs Chairman Admiral Michael Mullen has asked Congress to give the State Department more personnel and resources. "The U.S. government is not set up for the wars of the 21st century," Mullen said in a speech last summer. "It doesn't reflect the expeditionary world we're living in. We haven't recruited, hired, promoted, trained or educated the people in our civilian agencies for the kind of expeditionary requirements and rotations that we are actually doing right now."

The U.S. military was cut less than civilian agencies during the 1990s "peace dividend" era and has grown more than them since 9/11. A unified budget may finally force leaders to take the next difficult step of making trades across military and civilian programs, most likely trimming defense expenditures not absolutely critical to national security, so that civilian agencies can halt and reverse the erosion of America's political and economic relations. Although wasteful spending can be found on

both the civilian and military sides, the economic logic strongly suggests focusing on the latter. Each additional $100 million in the defense budget produces a smaller incremental contribution to national security than the equivalent amount invested in diplomacy or development.

After decades of nearly flat budgets, increased effectiveness cannot be achieved solely by tinkering with the agencies and their organizational charts. We need to spend more on diplomacy. To do so will require strong leadership from the administration and Congress, especially as the impact of the current financial crisis becomes clearer. Going forward, political leaders must resist the temptation to slash funding for diplomacy and development as a way to find savings: the money spent on building civilian capacity is a tiny fraction of the overall budget and one of the only investments we make to prevent crises and their attendant costs.

The focus of reform has fallen disproportionately on crisis response.

Human resources are uniquely important: the number of people "on the case" with the right skill sets determines how effectively the U.S. government can manage relations with the rest of the world.

Crisis Response … and Its Limits

So far, the focus of reform has fallen disproportionately on crisis response. One remedy was the recent creation of a Civilian Reserve Corps, based in the State Department's Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization. This corps will have members from various federal agencies with key skills for post-conflict reconstruction who can be sent at a moment's notice wherever needed. These experts would be used as "surge capacity" to help deal with the emergency needs of (hopefully temporarily) destabilized regions.

The focus on crisis response is an understandable

reaction to the incredible array of duties dropped into the laps of U.S. military forces in Iraq and Afghanistan in the absence of civilian counterparts and funding. And there's no dispute about the need to do better at stabilizing global hot spots. The essential problem, however, is not simply resources for nationbuilding, crisis response, "surge capacity" or any other challenge, no matter how compelling. Rather, it is a fundamental weakness in America's steady-state capacity for international affairs in general — its ongoing interactions with the world beyond our borders — caused by inadequate numbers of Foreign Service and other civilian foreign affairs personnel.

The connection between the discussion of civilian capacity and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan points to another challenge. Governmental reform efforts of the type needed are usually precipitated and driven by a threat to the nation. While the civilian capacity shortfall arguably constitutes a danger to the country, it is not the kind of threat that makes policymakers lose sleep or spurs constituents to complain to their member of Congress. Yet the inability to keep up with events, trends and attitudes in the world hinders our ability to influence those events and attitudes, and makes it more likely that our crisis response capabilities will be needed. Moreover, the issue represents not just a danger, but a lost opportunity to help build a strong global sense of common cause.

Getting a Finger on the Global Pulse

Despite talk of transformational diplomacy and global repositioning, under the current configuration of the Foreign Service there are nearly 200 cities in the world with populations exceeding one million that lack any official American presence. Moreover, where our presence is strong — in foreign capitals — it is also sequestered behind fortified embassy walls.

For a global power, the United States does not really seem to have its finger on the global pulse. The premise of Secretary Rice's transformational diplomacy initiative is to engage the world more deeply, more consistently and more constantly. This cannot be achieved with "virtual presence posts," but only by having representatives on the ground who interact with locals.

Today, in developing countries in particular, such interactions are much more likely to come via the British Council, the Goethe Institute, the Alliance Francaise, one of China's mushrooming Confucius Institutes or the private sector. Contact almost certainly is not through an American Center, most of which long ago stopped hosting events or serving as lending libraries. In contrast, Beijing plans to build 1,000 Confucius Institutes worldwide by 2020.

The slipping American relationship with average people — the students and academics who rely on resources like the American Center — parallels a falloff of elite relationships by a Foreign Service barely able to maintain interactions at the highest level. In Pakistan, for example, the resignation of President Pervez Musharraf illustrates the trap into which the U.S. has fallen again and again: namely, channeling too much of its relationship with another country through an individual leader. In the end, Musharraf's unpopularity fed America's unpopularity — and vice versa — leaving Washington with the task of rebuilding its relations with a pivotal country.

Maintaining a broader set of links to different leaders, including key members of civil society and the political opposition, is certainly more labor-intensive than cultivating a foreign nation's leadership. But in a fast-changing world, the U.S. can only succeed by having deeper, multilevel relations with other nations.

A National Responsibility

The lion's share of the burden to address these issues will fall on the new president's shoulders, but Capitol Hill must also step up. In recent efforts to adapt U.S. foreign policy to the challenge of fragile states, Congress has struggled to find an appropriate role. At best it has acted mainly as an observer, ceding most responsibility for the condition of U.S. capabilities to the executive branch. At worst it has been an obstacle, with a narrow vision of what it takes to be effective in the world, causing it to look askance at any capability development that isn't tied to concrete counterterrorism missions or pet development projects.

Perhaps because of the way Congress operates — in a deliberative, reactive manner, focused on the election cycle — it is difficult to tackle the problem of fragile states and too easy to pass the buck. However, only Congress has the ability to provide the authorities and funding that will improve the U.S. government's long-term ability to plan and execute policies to advance the nation's strategic international goals and to react effec-

tively when things go wrong. Indeed, if the Obama administration adopts the unified budget described above, it will have to make a concerted effort to engage Capitol Hill as a true partner.

A First Step

One of America's national assets is a dynamism that enables it to adjust and thrive amidst economic, technological and political changes. Nevertheless, because our systems have ossified in their 20th-century forms, we continue to think of defense, diplomacy and development separately — even as we hope to ensure they support common national ends.

Addressing international challenges unilaterally can be utterly futile, yet the infrastructure we need to work effectively with a range of partners around the world is crumbling. Today's rapid changes require that we adapt and strengthen this governmental architecture, or face the continuing erosion of American influence.

The steady and steep growth of defense budgets contrasts starkly with the lack of support for diplomacy and development.

But this investment should not be made in a vacuum or as a panicked reaction to another crisis. Deliberate evaluation of our various capabilities and their relative importance in advancing American interests can help bring our investments into the right balance.

The change in administration is the opportunity, and an integrated national security budget is the best first step to take. The new team should get started with DOD, State and USAID's respective briefing books now, during the transition, to be ready to deliver a new way of doing business as soon as possible after the 44th president's inauguration. ■

THE FOREIGN AID REFORM AGENDA

ALL FOREIGN ASSISTANCE FUNCTIONS SHOULD BE CONSOLIDATED WITHIN USAID OR SOME NEW ENTITY ENTIRELY SEPARATE FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

BY ANDREW S. NATSIOS

One of the enduring legacies of the George W. Bush administration will be the expansion of the United States government's foreign aid program, which increased by the largest amount since the Kennedy administration (or, depending on how you calculate it, since the Truman administration). The foreign aid budget has more than doubled, rising from $10 billion in FY 2000 to over $23 billion in FY 2007.

While some of this assistance has been focused on the Muslim world, a far greater portion has been devoted to sub-Saharan Africa, where the U.S. government's aid program has increased from $1.3 billion in FY 2000 to over $5 billion in 2008. Perhaps even more important, this increased funding has been accompanied by conceptual changes in how foreign aid is spent.

The Millennium Challenge Corporation, the signature Bush reform, has taken three of the central findings from the latest research on development assistance and created an entirely new approach to foreign aid spending. First, foreign aid programs that are locally owned and designed are more likely to succeed than those imposed by outside donors. Second, efforts by international financial institutions to impose reform through what is called conditionality (where the IFIs agree to provide aid if the developing countries later implement governance and economic policy reforms) have not been a great success because recipients have taken the aid without implementing the reforms.

Third, we now know what we earlier suspected: the most critical factor in development is good, strong, local leadership. Accordingly, the Millennium Challenge Corporation rewards reform-minded political leadership that demonstrates good performance on 17 indicators of development. Even in countries that do not qualify, the so-called "MCC effect" is being felt as reformers press for changes to boost their countries' performance indicators so they will qualify. And in Washington, the board structure created by the

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authorizing legislation has been remarkably successful in insulating the Millennium Challenge Corporation's decisionmaking process from national security, diplomatic and trade-related pressure to divert resources to purposes unrelated to development.

More broadly, the Bush administration has created a "Three-D" framework — Defense, Diplomacy and Development — to define the essential instruments of national power in the post-9/11 age. Unfortunately, however, the development part of the equation has been organizationally the weakest. So while the funding increases and Millennium Challenge Corporation principles should be preserved, a new approach to organizational structure and implementation needs to be taken.

The attempt to merge the diplomatic mission of State with the development mission of USAID has not been a success.

Accepting the Challenge

While any new agency or department takes time to set up systems, hire staff and organize itself, the Millennium Challenge Corporation's problems go well beyond those of a startup program. Foreign aid most often fails at the implementation stage, and that is where the MCC is flawed. Due to mistakes in its design, it has spent only a modest amount of its resources in recipient countries on construction contracts and grants to implementing agents. U.S. lawmakers from both parties are becoming restive at the slow pace. It must be overhauled before its opponents use its glacial pace of execution as an excuse to continue funding cuts (which Congress has just done in the FY 2009 budget) or even abolish it altogether, which would be a major setback to foreign aid reform, U.S. development policy and good development practice.

The designers of the Millennium Challenge approach assumed that developing countries that meet the 17 eligibility criteria are automatically well governed enough to spend the money quickly and wisely. But this is simply not the case, for many of the recipient countries have weak institutions — fragile budgeting, accounting, personnel and procurement systems — the very systems needed to carry out large-scale development programs.

That is why the World Bank has created parallel implementation mechanisms called project management units, to work around weak local institutions and the high risk of corruption and mismanagement they pose. Unfortunately, PMUs create all sorts of other problems, yet the MCC is following that model for its own program.

This is the conundrum of development: how to provide aid in a timely, competent and accountable fashion while still allowing local ownership, decisionmaking and leadership. Building local institutions takes time (10 to 20 years in many cases) precisely because there is no science to it. Some institution-building techniques work in some countries, sometimes, but not in others.

For two decades now, the Office of Management and Budget's demands for measurement of results, Government Accountability Office and agency inspector-general audits, and congressional staff oversight have all been driving the U.S. Agency for International Development away from institution-building — which takes too long, is more difficult to measure with precision and cannot guarantee results — toward service delivery through contractors and nongovernmental organizations.

This trend climaxed in 2003 with the Bush administration's massive HIV/AIDS program, the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, which is centrally designed in Washington. PEPFAR has little or no local input and follows a cookie-cutter approach. Like an assembly line, every program looks the same in each country, and there is no institution-building, little training of local staff and little capacity-building. The focus has been on service delivery by outside aid organizations that can administer a very complex program requiring high levels of data collection and processing.

The result, according to the USAID inspector general, is a program that is unsustainable, even though it has administered anti-retroviral drugs to nearly two million people who would have died otherwise. The risk is that because no local institutions have been created in these countries to carry out the work when aid agencies one day curtail their operations, which the current economic hardships make more likely, the program could lose ground. Pres. Bush has signed new

authorizing legislation to correct this deficiency, but it remains untested. Meanwhile, by statute and practice PEPFAR focuses heavily on the delivery of services, not the building of sustainable health-care institutions — which are what is most needed if the program is to be maintained over the long term.

While significant, these shortcomings certainly do not mean we should abolish either the MCC or PEPFAR. But the new administration should make it a priority to reform how the two programs operate.

Bringing Order out of Chaos

This brings us to the central organizational problem affecting the U.S. government's aid program: Structural chaos has become so serious that it is compromising the very effectiveness of the program.

The federal government now has five major independent funding streams, each accounting for more than a billion dollars in annual expenditures, for field offices operating in developing countries around the world: USAID, the Department of Health and Human Services and the Centers for Disease Control, the State Department, the Millennium Challenge Corporation and the Department of Defense.

Faced with this cacophony of voices, developing country officials are understandably confused about who actually speaks for the U.S. government. Making matters worse, the five organizations frequently clash over turf, policy and even elemental definitions of what development is all about.

As a result, they work at cross-purposes, get in each other's way and require endless coordination, with very high transaction costs and implementation delays when disputes break out, as they frequently do. The evidence is substantial that none of these other departments have improved on USAID's performance, and some have done much worse.

More coordination will not solve the problem, for as James Q. Wilson's 1989 book *Bureaucracy* suggests, coordination has a poor track record in resolving interagency disputes. For instance, the "F" process has not succeeded because it does not control anything other than the USAID funding stream.

What is needed is a reconsolidation of all funding streams, budgeting accounts and implementation units into one agency, tied to a single implementation mission in the field, with different operating mechanisms depending on what the foreign aid objective is. This discipline was maintained by OMB from 1961, when USAID was created, until 1991, when other departments began developing their own aid programs.

All foreign aid functions should be consolidated within USAID or some new entity entirely separate from the State Department. USAID should be preserved as the foundation for building any new foreign aid agency, with a much larger in-house technical staff to be deployed by a much larger presence in the field; an expanded toolbox of implementation mechanisms; a changed business model; and freedom from sector-based earmarking.

Consolidate Around USAID

Policymakers should avoid reinventing the wheel, given all that has been learned about what works and what does not in development theory and practice, and because the repository of this knowledge and experience in the federal system is USAID.

Moreover, much of what is regarded as dysfunctional in USAID is actually a consequence of legitimate disagreements over whether foreign aid should principally be used to provide social services and reduce poverty, build indigenous institutions through improved governance and democracy promotion, or stimulate economic growth.

The attempt to merge the diplomatic mission of State with the development mission of USAID has not been a success, because the two agencies' operating systems, institutional cultures, time horizons and personnel requirements are all profoundly different. The closer each comes to the other, the less effective both are in undertaking their own missions.

For instance, State should control an Economic Support Fund account as it did during the Cold War, for allocation based on U.S. strategic interests; but USAID (or its successor) would spend the money and implement the programs once the allocation decisions were made. A similar account should be established for DOD, which it would allocate based on strategic focus and tactical needs; but again, USAID would spend the funds and implement the programs.

In order for this new consolidated system to improve the effectiveness of our aid program, legislators will have to constrain their appetite for earmarking of funds by sector. In the absence of relief from earmarking,

Congress should consider allowing USAID to reallocate 10 percent of any earmark to meet local demands or needs. In addition, it should look at creating earmarked accounts for those sectors not now covered by them, so that Congress would at least be fully accountable for allocation decisions.

Structural chaos has become so serious that it is compromising the effectiveness of our foreign aid program.

Currently, when Congress increases a specific earmark without increasing the bottom line of the budget, other programs that have no legislative protection must be cut to fund it. In particular, earmarks should be created for democracy and governance, agriculture, energy, and roads and infrastructure. These two reforms would go a long way toward reducing the inflexibility of the USAID budget and making it more responsive to local requests for program help.

Toward More Effective Implementation

The new foreign aid program should encompass the following elements:

• Restoring the agency's technical expertise by tripling the size of the USAID Foreign Service from 1,100 to 3,300 (the Bush administration has begun funding a doubling of staff to 2,200).

• Providing substantial increases in the training budget to ensure the new staff follow common standards and doctrines across agency programs and lessons learned are widely shared within USAID.

• Returning to institution-building as a central focus of USAID's program by assigning career officers to ministries to work with their local counterparts. Afghanistan would be an excellent place to re-engage in institution-building on a large scale.

The new administration should also review the current draconian security regulations, passed by Congress after the 1998 East African embassy bombings, which limit the number of State and USAID officers who may be posted to an individual embassy or mission at any given time. The walled mission and embassy compounds now being built around the world are a major impediment for aid officers (and diplomats for that matter) seeking to interact with civil society and government ministries, monitor projects in the field where they are being implemented and increase the visibility of the U.S. aid program within the society. Some rebalancing must be done (though this will only be possible if Congress makes a policy change) between the need for security for the U.S. government presence abroad and the need for access to get the work abroad done.

Programming decisions now centralized in Washington should be decentralized back to field missions, where they were located during the Cold War. Procurement decisions should also be decentralized to the field missions so that more aid dollars are spent in the host countries through local contractors and grantees, to build local capacity and local ownership. (In some cases they could be matched with Western organizations until that capacity was well established.)

Scholarships: A Transformational Program

Another casualty of the period following the Cold War was the USAID scholarship program, which at its height sent 20,000 foreign students a year to U.S. schools. (Now, fewer than 1,000 scholarships are provided.) By all accounts, it was among the most transformational programs in the aid toolkit, particularly in building local institutions over the long term. But because of OMB opposition to the program (it did not show results for some time), the rising cost of tuition in the United States and leakage (some of the graduates did not return to their home countries), the number of participants was drastically reduced. However, these objections can all be overcome.

The best scholarship programs in the old USAID educated all of the professional staff in a government ministry over time, matching them with a particular university in the United States so that faculty could travel to the countries their schools were working with during the summer breaks. To reduce tuition costs, many U.S. universities have now established campuses in developing countries, with students taking half their courses in the States and half at satellite campuses. And to ensure graduates return home, a job would have to be guaranteed to them upon graduation back in their home ministry or institution (the major reason participants do not return to their home countries).

For several decades now, the Cuban government has been providing seven-year, all-expenses-paid scholarships to its so-called "Latin American Medical School," reportedly the largest such facility in the world, with 10,000 students from 27 countries — many of them poor people from racial or ethnic groups that have suffered from centuries of discrimination. The goal is to build up a cadre of graduates who believe in Castro's system (they are given extensive education in Marxist ideology), even as we have been curtailing scholarships with disastrous effect.

We are already witnessing the political consequences of the Cuban program in Bolivia and Venezuela, where it has skillfully played on the serious disparities of wealth, power and economic development. In August 2005, Hugo Chavez and Fidel Castro signed an agreement to build a similar medical school in Venezuela, which would train 100,000 doctors over 10 years to be deployed over the continent.

One way for the U.S. government to address income inequality over time is through a large-scale USAID scholarship program targeted at these indigenous populations and integrated into our larger development program. Such an initiative would also have favorable public diplomacy consequences.

Foreign aid may be the most salient instrument of soft power available to U.S. government policymakers, but its force and effectiveness have been compromised by the current institutional and programmatic problems. Funding has increased greatly over the past eight years, but we must still address the challenges of development in failed and fragile states, which affect our national security in a much more profound way than in the past. Playing a more effective leadership role in development, fixing the organizational chaos in the current system and introducing some new ideas with old roots — e.g., a return to institution-building, scholarship programs and broad contact with civil society in developing countries — must be a priority for President-elect Obama. ■

A NEW PARTNERSHIP WITH THE AMERICAS

BARACK OBAMA SHOULD RENEW THE U.S. COMMITMENT TO THE REST OF THE HEMISPHERE, BASING IT ON ENGAGEMENT, DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION.

BY BILL RICHARDSON

For the last seven years, U.S. foreign policy has all but ignored Latin America, the region with perhaps the greatest impact on the daily lives of Americans. For starters, Hispanics now represent America's biggest ethnic bloc — and, perhaps, the one most courted by both major political parties.

Despite Washington's neglect, the region has not stood still, growing by 5 percent per year on average, initiating dozens of regional trade agreements, and luring $125 billion in foreign domestic investment from countries like India and China last year alone.

In terms of bilateral trade, Mexico is the third most important source of oil for the U.S. The United States exports $225 billion worth of goods to Latin America each year, four times more than it sends to China. Although Central and South American countries have started to turn elsewhere for investment and trading partners, the United States remains the number-one market for Latin American exporters. And the $60 billion in annual remittances that flow back to the region from the U.S. still constitute a vital source of income for millions of people.

Latin America and the United States also have key mutual interests in working together to fight crime networks and stop narcotrafficking. Law enforcement is essential, but it is not enough. To fight drug trafficking we need to arrest and punish dealers, but we also need to do more to reduce demand in the United States.

Let's also be mindful that the ties between our nations are far more than economic or political; they are also personal. Should you ever doubt this, walk by the community phone in any small village between the Rio Grande and the Panama Canal on a Sunday night. There you will see lines of mothers and fathers waiting patiently to speak with their sons, daughters, brothers, sisters, nephews and nieces in the U.S.

I believe that the incoming U.S. administration needs to remember those ties and take bold action — both symbolic and practical — to renew relations with this critical region for America's interests.

A Return to Diplomacy

That process begins with matching American ideals of human rights to our conduct. The prolonged detention of hundreds of prisoners at Guantanamo Bay constitutes not just an affront to America's beliefs, but a shameful symbol for its Latin American neighbors. The United States should stand again for accountability and rule of law, by restoring habeas corpus and joining the International Criminal Court.

Second, America must engage all Latin American countries diplomatically, even unfriendly regimes like Venezuela and Cuba. This does not mean making con-

cessions, but speaking frankly and conducting tough negotiations to strengthen our common interests. In particular, American diplomacy should work to strengthen our ties to Chile, Argentina and Brazil. Each of these nations represents tremendous opportunities for economic, environmental and political partnership.

This new policy would entail a more realistic approach toward Havana, dealing sensibly with economic and personal issues like trade and family visitation. The Bush administration has been imposing severe restrictions on family visits and remittances to Cuba. I strongly oppose these cruel and counterproductive rules; Cuban-Americans should be allowed to visit their families and assist them financially. The Obama administration should be prepared to reassess the trade embargo, in exchange for the Castro regime's releasing all political prisoners and making moves toward democratic freedoms.

More generally, the new administration must recommit to multilateralism, working to strengthen institutions like the United Nations and the Organization for American States. At the U.N., it should support an expanded Security Council that includes a permanent seat for at least one Latin American country. (Mexico, Brazil, Argentina and Chile would all be logical candidates.) As for the OAS, we must provide both political and financial support for its mission and programs.

Third, the United States needs comprehensive immigration reform that is realistic and humane. We need to strengthen our borders and punish employers who break the law by hiring undocumented workers. But America must also recognize that we simply can't deport the 12 million people who are already here. Instead, we need a tough, fair path to legalization — not walls, which don't work and are a terrible symbol to the world.

At its root, illegal immigration is an economic problem, driven by the lack of decent jobs for people in their home countries. Until other economies produce well-paying jobs, people will continue to come to the United States. So if we truly want to end illegal immigration, Washington needs to promote equitable development in Latin America.

The New Alliance for Progress

Fourth, the United States needs a New Alliance for Progress. But this should not be a one-sided relationship premised on the expansion of U.S. markets, imposition of a Washington Consensus, or an ideology meant to divide countries into friends and foes. Rather, we need an accord based on the original principles President Kennedy articulated almost 50 years ago:

"To build a hemisphere where all men can hope for a suitable standard of living and all can live out their lives in dignity and in freedom. ... Let us once again transform the American continent into a vast crucible of revolutionary ideas and efforts, a tribute to the power of the creative energies of free men and women, an example to all the world that liberty and progress walk hand in hand."

I believe such a new partnership with the Americas is possible. It begins with trade agreements that are both free and fair. Free as they unleash the power of competitive markets to make food and products more affordable to all, and fair as they demand strong and enforceable labor, environmental and human right standards. This is not a "magic bullet" for economic development, but it can and will benefit Latin American and U.S. workers.

This new partnership must do much more to address the gap between the haves and the have-nots. Debt relief for the poorest countries in the region has been a vital and welcome help. The Millennium Development Goals have charted a course out of poverty for the poorest countries in the world, but they don't do enough for Latin America's largely middle-income countries. Closing the region's poverty gap will require addressing both human needs and economic needs.

Human needs mean, for example, that every child must have a nutritious diet. As governor of an American state, it was a revelation that millions of U.S. children

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leave their home each day without food. My state now provides more healthy breakfasts per capita to children living in poverty than any other state in the country. Children cannot learn new skills for tomorrow if they lack food today. It should be a goal of all our nations that no child go hungry, period.

By economic needs, I simply mean that every able man and woman must have the opportunity to earn a paycheck sufficient to meet basic necessities. Here, the creative energies of Latin America are already being put to productive use. Mexico is putting hundreds of thousands of people back to work through public investment projects that will improve transportation and infrastructure and bring additional foreign investment. And Brazil now leads the world in energy independence, using ethanol to supply 40 percent of its fuel.

As a former U.S. Secretary of Energy, I believe efforts to fight climate change can also be an opportunity for innovation. Under the Obama administration, I expect America to move quickly toward a real carbon trading system. I hope we also take bold steps to reward countries that make the wise investment of protecting their forests with carbon credits. And it will also be vitally important to share green technology throughout the region so clean energy generation is affordable for all.

In conclusion, the new administration needs to renew a commitment to Latin America based upon engagement, dialogue and cooperation. We need equitable trade agreements, comprehensive immigration reform and a commitment to progress for all.

Having spent part of my childhood in Mexico, and having traveled widely in the region, I understand the complicated dynamics of inter-American relations. My Mexican mother taught me to value and respect Latino culture, just as my American father made me proud to be a citizen of the United States.

I titled my autobiography *Between Worlds* not because we are so far apart, but rather because we are so close. We share a belief in human dignity and democratic freedom. Let us never waver from that faith. ■

NATO'S FUTURE: TAKING A FRESH APPROACH

THE INCOMING ADMINISTRATION SHOULD QUIETLY SEEK A MORE CREATIVE SECURITY STRUCTURE — ONE THAT ACKNOWLEDGES EURASIA'S TRANSFORMATION.

BY DAVID P. CALLEO

Speaking as someone who has been observing the North Atlantic Treaty Organization for more than 50 years, I have never ceased to be impressed and surprised by the fervor of its champions. Among so many good and sensible people, NATO seems always to have enjoyed the status of a self-evident good thing — like old buildings among architectural historians or free trade among liberal economists.

As a result, the question generally asked about NATO is how can we preserve it, as opposed to what is it good for. This is not to say that there are no good answers to the second question. Joining NATO has helped spread to former communist countries the professional values of Western military establishments, including respect for democratic governance and law. It has also required neighbors to settle longstanding territorial disputes — a condition for joining. Arguably, joining NATO has also greatly improved military performance.

The widespread devotion to NATO also reflects continuing support for the whole postwar construct — essentially, a dominant American political and military presence in Europe. This has, for decades, been a primary aim of British foreign policy — a permanent American presence to prevent a great power from arising on the European continent that could threaten Britain's own independence, or constrain London to reduce its global interests.

So long as the Soviets were a great overriding menace, Britain's enthusiasm was widely shared on the continent. Even without that threat, preserving a continuing American presence through NATO has remained critical not only for the British but also for many of Europe's smaller countries, and for many Germans.

All other things being equal, many of Europe's military probably prefer to be subordinated to the Americans rather than to their own European neighbors and historic rivals. Nevertheless, continental Europeans increasingly want the European Union to develop stronger military capabilities of its own.

NATO vs. Europe?

NATO and the E.U. are not, of course, inevitably antagonistic. NATO's contribution to European integration has been vital from the start. The American presence provided the underpinning of security that gave European states the courage to cooperate intimately with each other. With the Americans around, there was

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no danger of an intra-European war. As the old saying goes, keeping the Americans in NATO not only kept the Russians out but also the Germans down.

Another critical advantage of postwar Europe's close ties to the U.S. was the ability to share in the global Pax Americana, where raw materials were freely available and markets relatively open for trade. While protecting its own worldwide interests, the U.S. has undoubtedly also protected the broad global interests of its European allies. The unprecedented prosperity of the postwar era has blessed the European Union no less than America.

Given this long and productive history, it is not surprising that so many people have come to see NATO as an end in itself. It certainly does embody a great deal of American diplomatic capital. But as with any such institution, there is the danger that it may grow dysfunctional in the face of major historic changes.

In the reverential climate that habitually surrounds NATO, it may be difficult to generate a genuinely fresh look at the Alliance's relationships and structures. But certainly there has been no lack of trying. No one can say that NATO itself has not reacted vigorously to its new geopolitical situation.

Two Big Ideas

Two big ideas have dominated NATO's effort to redefine itself. One is to extend the membership into Soviet Russia's former sphere of influence. The other has been to develop into a Euro-American global intervention force.

Enlarging NATO was doubtless inevitable. After all, Stalin had extended Russian hegemony well beyond its traditional sphere. No one, for example, could reasonably object to reclaiming such traditional Central European states as Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia or Hungary, or even to expanding NATO to reformed Balkan states. But adding the Baltic states and attempting to add Ukraine and Georgia appeared to supplant Russian influence in regions thought, since czarist times, almost to be part of Russia herself.

Ostensibly, the rationale was not only to stabilize the democratic institutions of these close neighbors but also to protect them against a renewal of Russian hegemony. The danger of such guarantees, as Georgia has demonstrated, is that they effectively lessen the real security of the countries that receive them. Extending NATO's military ties into Moscow's own neighborhood arouses Russian fears of encirclement and makes aggressive acts more likely.

Given the overwhelming asymmetries of power, the independence of these Russian neighbors depends less on America's promises than on Moscow's belief that they are easier to deal with if formally independent and, in any event, are no threat to Russia's own security interests. Accordingly, joining what is widely seen as a blatantly anti-Russian alliance hardly seems an effective way to court Moscow's good will. And once that is lost, Russia will inevitably seek to limit its neighbors' sovereignty — and NATO will probably not be able to do much about it.

NATO's second big new idea is aptly embodied in the catch phrase "out of area or out of business." In this prescription, NATO presents itself as a "toolbox" of European military resources organized for joint, worldwide exercises with the Americans. Small countries eagerly provide small contingents to curry favor in the hope of reinforcing Washington's pledges of support against the Russians. Bigger countries also join, hoping that they can gain real influence over U.S. foreign policy.

Recent experience has diminished these expectations. Georgia, for example, sent nearly 4,000 troops to Iraq. Even the British must wonder how much control over American policy their loyalty has bought them. Moreover, as a device for preserving the Alliance, the toolbox strategy is disturbing. It seems to suggest that to preserve NATO, Washington should adopt a foreign policy of frequent global interventions. NATO thus transforms itself from a defensive European alliance into an instrument for American intrusions around the world. As such, it should be regarded with suspicion by Americans leery of a foreign policy of global meddling.

This observation raises a critical issue: Since the Soviet demise, does NATO really serve the national interest of the United States? Asking that question pulls us away from the prevailing preservationist approach to a less sentimental, geopolitical stance. What are America's fundamental interests in Europe and how can they best be protected? Does today's NATO serve those interests? Is it the right structure for organizing our participation in post-Soviet Europe? Does it tie us more closely to our natural allies or does it create extra friction with and among those allies? Does it create enemies we don't need to have? Does it prevent a more appropriate structure from arising?

Time for a New Approach

Since the recent unhappy evolution of events in Georgia, many people have been arguing that everyone would be better off if we had pressed to develop a Pan-European "security system" rather than simply preserving and expanding NATO. A new, wider security pact might have allowed the West to co-opt Russia into the planning and upholding of a new European security order. This could have meant inviting it into NATO. Better, probably, would have been to put NATO itself on a back burner, as an insurance policy against unforeseen vagaries.

The widespread devotion to NATO reflects continuing support for a dominant American political and military presence in Europe.

Without some Pan-European dimension, however, an enlarged NATO is an insurance policy that attracts the very damages that it insures against. Of course, if we assume that America's interest requires, above all else, cementing control over Western Europe, perhaps creating a hostile and militant Russia is the best way to do so. But do we really need to dominate the new Europe in this fashion? Is it worth the risk of fragmenting the European Union? Wouldn't a strong E.U. be a better way to balance Moscow than an American-run military alliance?

Quarreling with both Russia and Europe at the same time, as we have tended to do, seems an egregious waste of diplomatic capital. As we ought to have learned over several decades, the great danger hanging over our global policy is "overstretch," arising from the failure to set real strategic priorities. Trying to do everything means that even our vast resources are inadequate.

By now it should be apparent how much our resources are reduced these days. Our strength and prosperity depend increasingly on the good will of others, whose friendship should not be tested too far. The dollar today is, for example, being kept from collapse by massive Chinese intervention. Under these geopolitical circumstances it seems excessively self-indulgent for the United States to dispute territories that have been part of Russia's sphere for over two centuries.

The issue is not only whether preserving NATO in its present form suits the geopolitical interests of the United States, but also whether it suits the geopolitical interests of the Europeans. For countries like Poland whose foreign policy horizon seems dominated by past conflict with Moscow, the answer seems self-evident: Defeated Russia should be hemmed in militarily. But for the major Western European countries, and from the perspective of the European Union as a whole, it is difficult to imagine a happy future for Europe without a stable and friendly relationship with Moscow.

Europe's overriding geopolitical interest is therefore to get along with Russia. The Russians have resources and markets that Europeans need, and greatly need what they can offer in return. The new Russia has therefore been a historic golden opportunity. Surely, then, it does no harm to remember occasionally that Moscow is still a great power or that, in the end, it honorably renounced Stalin's empire, making a new Europe possible. History is unlikely to applaud the mean-spirited squandering of such an opportunity. And for many Europeans, that will seem an unreasonable price to pay for American friendship.

Strengthening the European Union

Thinking about Europe's own geopolitical interests should remind us that the continent has another institution also regarded as an end in itself, the European Union. It, too, has enlarged itself for roughly the same reasons: to transform and stabilize European countries once part of the old Soviet sphere. Joining NATO has often been a useful preliminary step toward joining the E.U. Nevertheless, the Union does offer, by its nature, a much more complete model for democratization and capitalism. Moreover, it does its best to present itself to Russia as an opportunity rather than an antagonist.

Enlargement has nevertheless greatly complicated the Union's own governing structures. The E.U. succeeds when it achieves confederal agreement on policies in Europe's general interest. Adding a large number of new states with different political positions and economic situations has created a cacophony of diversity that can easily become a vulnerability for the whole.

Since the Iraq invasion, particularly, American diplomacy has grown adept at manipulating this diversity to impede a European consensus not thought to be in our interest. One result is that Europe's plans for a common

foreign and security policy and for collective defense are regularly set back, as "New Europe" is roused to oppose collective European diplomatic and military institutions that might rival NATO. This is one, although certainly not the only, reason that the E.U.'s constitutional reform is taking so long to achieve.

Again, is weakening the European Union really in America's interest? The answer depends upon what role the U.S. wishes to play in post-Soviet Europe. In the days of the Marshall Plan, we thought America's interest lay in a strong, prosperous and unified continent, able to avoid the terrible quarrels of the past and to take primary responsibility for its own security. Today, we often seem to prefer a divided and weakened partner, presumably because we believe that means more influence for the U.S. This is a dubious and dangerous view, one that divides Europe, sows bitterness and turns old friends into enemies.

Given the rapid rise of Asia and the huge problems of fitting China and India into the world economy, the United States would be wise to adopt a grand strategy that relies on the leverage supplied to its own influence by a strong and autonomous Europe, capable of managing its own affairs. Arguably, recent experience with Iran, North Korea and, indeed, Georgia suggests the usefulness to American diplomacy of vigorous, united and independent European diplomacy.

If Europe does not always agree with us, so much the better. Our misadventure in Iraq and the situation in Georgia both suggest the need for more effective foreign checks and balances on Washington's diplomatic enthusiasms. Left to its own devices, our national system seems to center an excess of impulsive power in Washington. We ourselves seem less and less capable of checking that excess. Balancing by true friends abroad is therefore very much in our own national interest. Using NATO to perpetuate Europe's weakness is not.

Initiatives for a New Administration?

Enthusiasm for NATO enlargement is a bipartisan

cause — inaugurated by the Clinton administration, continued in the Bush administration, and endorsed by both presidential candidates in 2008. But as a foreign policy goal, it comes at a high price. It alienates the Russians and is strongly opposed by, among others, Germany and France.

In effect, it represents an unimaginative and ungenerous response to Russia's divesting itself of the Soviet Union. It recreates a new version of the Cold War system but with the West pushed forward into the old Russian sphere. It carries the geopolitical order of 1949 into the new century and thereby ignores the two great advances of the later 20th century — a non-Soviet Russia and the European Union. It thus transforms NATO from an asset into a liability for both the U.S. and for Europe.

The Obama administration should quietly seek a more creative security structure — one that acknowledges and builds upon Eurasia's double transformation. To do that will require a genuine NATO enlargement — bringing Russia in rather than keeping her out. It will also require an internal evolution of the European Union — to develop further its own military dimension. The aim would be a tripartite security structure. Certainly, the old pyramidal command structure — with an American general always serving as the supreme commander — has long been obsolete. A new tripartite arrangement might rotate commands.

Transforming NATO from an alliance focused on a giant enemy into an interstate system for collective security might encourage comparable arrangements in Asia and Africa. Such a revitalized NATO, perhaps building a new relationship with the U.N., should find it easier to marshal the military support and political consensus needed to sustain order in the increasingly diverse and pluralistic world of our new century.

So far, the American political imagination has been unable to generate the vision that would help us build such a world. Instead, as events spin more and more out of control, we remain spellbound by our success of six decades ago. ■

TRADE AND AMERICA'S FUTURE

LOWERING GLOBAL TRADE BARRIERS WILL CREATE NEW ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL NATIONS — INCLUDING OUR OWN.

BY CARLA A. HILLS

The election campaign of 2008 marked a sharp reversal of the bipartisan consensus favoring the free flow of goods, services, capital and ideas that has guided our nation since World War II. During the primaries, the leading Democratic contenders for president attacked free trade and pledged to vote against the bilateral trade agreements with Korea and Colombia that the current administration has negotiated, on the ground that open trade hurts American workers.

It is hard to believe that just 15 years ago, a Democratic administration was celebrating the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement, pledging with the 33 other democratically elected leaders of the Western Hemisphere to negotiate a Free Trade Area of the Americas and endorsing an agreement reached among the 21 economies of the Asia Pacific region to liberalize trade throughout that region.

In contrast, today an increasing number of our elected representatives are embracing what economist Robert Samuelson calls "new mercantilism," which he defines as "policies intended to advance [one country's] own economic and political interests at other countries' expense."

Mercantilism stands in stark contrast to the theory of comparative advantage advocated by David Ricardo, who contended that all countries benefit if global markets are kept open and each country sells what it best produces. His theory has guided our bipartisan trade policy for more than six decades, but now is under fierce assault.

The U.S. Role in Opening Markets

For 60 years the United States has taken leadership positions in opening global markets, starting with the first round of trade talks among 23 nations in 1947 and the creation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, through the 1995 creation of the World Trade Organization and the 2001 launch in Doha of the ninth and current round of trade talks among 153 nations. As global markets opened, trade exploded and standards of living soared.

Economist Gary Hufbauer, in a comprehensive study published in 2005 by the Peterson Institute for International Economics, calculates that the opening of global markets since the end of World War II has made

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the United States richer by $1 trillion per year, creating about $9,000 of additional wealth each year for the average American household.

Developing nations also gained from globalization. On average, poor countries that opened their markets to trade and investment have grown more than three times faster than those that kept their markets closed. Studies conducted by World Bank economist David Dollar show that globalization has lifted 375 million people out of poverty.

Misinformation and anxiety about the economic future explain the growing hostility toward trade agreements.

And the benefits have not been only economic. As governments liberalized their trade regimes, they often liberalized their political regimes. Compliance with a set of trade rules encourages transparency, adherence to the rule of law and respect for property. This, in turn, strengthens stability.

Future Benefits from Opening Trade

Self-interest alone should persuade Americans to urge their government to continue to work to open markets and to bring the current round of trade talks to a successful conclusion. Dr. Hufbauer calculates that a further opening of global trade would raise U.S. incomes by an additional $500 billion per year, making the average U.S. household richer by $4,500 per year. It is hard to think of another policy decision that could come close to having such a positive impact on U.S. economic well-being.

In addition, a broad agreement in the current round of global trade talks would help reduce poverty worldwide by building markets for tomorrow, as the first round stimulated growth by rebuilding the economies of nations devastated by World War II. Today nearly three billion people, almost half the world's population, live below the international poverty line of $2 per day. According to studies by economist Dr. William Cline at the Center for Global Development, removing global trade barriers would yield $200 billion annually in long-term economic benefits for poor countries and lift 500 million people out of poverty. About half of the benefit would come from opening markets for agricultural products.

Three of the large developing countries involved in the current round of trade talks — Bangladesh, Indonesia and Pakistan — each have roughly 100 million people living below the international poverty line. In addition, six African nations — the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kenya, Mozambique, Nigeria, Tanzania and Uganda — together account for another 200 million people living in poverty. Dr. Cline calculates that, on average, when a developing country increases its ratio of trade to total output by 1 percent, it achieves an equivalent reduction in its level of poverty.

Reducing global poverty is not simply a humanitarian measure. It is one of the most effective ways to strengthen our security. Impoverished states lack the ability to enforce their laws and secure their borders, making it much more difficult for the U.S. government to deal effectively with transnational problems: terrorism, organized crime, narcotics trafficking, money laundering, illegal arms sales, disease pandemics and environmental degradation.

As part of that effort, the current round of trade talks should correct gross inequities in the global trading system. For instance, agricultural tariffs are five times higher than tariffs on industrialized goods. That disproportionately harms the economies of poorer countries, which tend to have large rural populations. Making matters worse, tariffs are much higher on goods like textiles, apparel, heavy glass and footwear that are primarily produced by poor countries. Most Americans would be astonished to learn that last year Bangladesh paid the United States $120 million more in tariffs on its $3 billion of exports to us than France paid on its $37 billion in exports. That works out to be a 15-percent tariff on Bangladesh's goods and less than 1 percent on France's.

Making the Case for Trade

With so much at stake, why have our politicians turned hostile toward trade agreements?

It is not that those seeking elective office had an epiphany causing them suddenly to reject 60 years of bipartisan consensus favoring open trade. Rather, they have focused on polls that show that Americans have soured on such policies. In a March 2007 *Wall Street Journal*/NBC poll, 54 percent of Democratic voters said

that free-trade agreements hurt the United States, compared with just 21 percent who said they helped. In a similar poll conducted in December 2007, a majority of the Republicans polled agreed with the statement that free trade had been bad for the United States.

What explains the disconnect between the substantial benefits that trade delivers and the declining support it receives from the American public? I believe there are two basic reasons: misinformation and anxiety about the economic future.

Most Americans have not thought about what would happen to our economy if we did not have access to global markets. With less than 5 percent of the world's population, our nation produces roughly 20 percent of the world's output. So we need customers beyond our borders to buy our computers, machine tools, aircraft, soybeans, construction equipment, flat glass and so much more.

Few know that the past 60 years of international trade has made average American households richer by $9,000 per year, or realize that an agreement in the current round of trade talks reducing trade barriers by just one-third would increase the average American's annual income by $2,000. Most are unaware that jobs connected to international commercial activity earn on average 13 to 18 percent more than jobs in the overall economy. They only hear that imports cost jobs, when there is actually a very high correlation between an increase in imports and job creation.

And few Americans know that opening markets and expanding opportunities for trade help to alleviate the poverty that puts weak states at risk. They are unaware that wealthy governments, including our own, pay their farmers huge subsidies that force more efficient farmers in poor countries out of the market. Nor do they realize that 80 percent of the subsidies that our government pays its farmers go to large agribusinesses, not to small family concerns. And they would be surprised to learn that the United States, Europe and Japan spend over $7 billion each year to subsidize their less competitive sugar farm-

ers, a sum greater than the total exports of more efficient sugar producers in developing countries such as Kenya, Malawi, Sudan and Zimbabwe.

Political leaders should make it a priority to educate Americans about such facts. Business leaders, universities, think-tanks and knowledgeable citizens must do more, as well. Just think of the impact if the chief executive of every U.S. company with any international activity would explain to his or her company's employees how open markets contribute to the company's revenues and what percent of the employee's paycheck came from international activities. They could spread the word through wall postings, closed-circuit TV, Web sites, meetings in the cafeteria, messages in pay envelopes, and notices with W-2 forms.

In addition, colleges and universities could offer more classes on international economics and trade, and think-tanks could publish more articles on those subjects.

The current round of trade talks should correct gross inequities in the global trading system.

Combating Job Anxiety

While educating Americans about the benefits of open trade is necessary, it will not be sufficient to turn the political tide. Making the case that open markets expand choice, lower costs and create economic opportunity will not convince the textile worker in South Carolina who has lost his job and blames Chinese imports, or the telephone operator in Ohio who learns that her job has been transferred to a call center in India. Nor will we win support for trade from a laid-off manufacturing worker by pointing out that technology, not trade, has transformed the manufacturing sector over the past decade — enabling us to produce 30 percent more goods with 20 percent fewer workers. To be credible, we must admit that the gains from trade do not make every citizen a winner.

We also need to do a better job of helping workers displaced by the rapid changes driven by technology and globalization, through allocating some of the very substantial yearly gains we derive from trade to fund responses like wage insurance. This program supplements the income of a displaced worker who takes an entry-level job in a new sector at lower pay. Insuring the income gap encourages the worker to stay in the labor force, obviating the need to pay unemployment insurance. Making health care benefits portable and providing a health coverage tax credit to help fund health premiums during the period of unemployment would also help reduce worker anxiety.

The same studies that calculate the U.S. economic gain from foreign trade to be $1 trillion per year estimate the annual cost of funding wage insurance and transitional health care assistance at $12 billion to $15 billion annually. Our government currently spends less than $5 billion on programs to help displaced workers adjust. To rebuild public confidence in open markets, we need to do more.

Growing income inequality is another factor contributing to Americans' anxiety about trade. They worry that the shift in earnings away from unskilled workers to the more highly skilled will enable countries with large pools of unskilled labor to destroy the American dream. And it is true that the pay gap is widening between those who are educated and those who are not. As Nobel Prize-winning economist Gary Becker has pointed out, the earnings differential of those with a college degree over those with a high school diploma has jumped from 30 percent in 1980 to 70 percent today — while the premium for graduate degrees has risen from 50 percent to well over 100 percent over the same period.

If the United States is to remain super-competitive in the 21st century, we will need a work force that is the best trained and most productive in the world. That will require us to improve education at the kindergarten through 12th-grade levels. It is unacceptable that more than 30 percent of our current high school students fail to graduate. And if we are to be a leader in today's technologically driven world, we will need to encourage more of our young people to become better educated in the hard sciences. Some have called for incentives for college students to study math and science. Others believe that we should finance college education in exchange for public service.

For years we have given tax incentives to encourage businesses to invest in capital equipment to enhance our nation's productivity. Now we need to focus on how to create effective incentives to encourage investment in our human capital.

In creating programs that will cushion the costs of displacement and help build the skills needed to adjust to

today's fast-changing world, the administration and leaders in Congress should enlist the help of the private sector. Businesses have a genuine interest in figuring out ways to help. They cannot afford to have global opportunities close because of growing economic anxiety here at home.

Learning from History

As Norman Cousins once said, "History is a vast early warning system."

There are some eerie similarities between the circumstances that prevailed during the last century and the current situation. From 1860 to 1914, the global economy enjoyed a remarkable period of growth characterized by relatively open trade; limited capital regulation; tremendous technological innovation with the introduction of the radio, telephone and internal combustion engine; and a robust global economy to which America was the largest contributor.

After World War I, we failed to muster the political will to reopen the global economy. The decade that followed the end of those hostilities saw growing tensions among the great powers, an unstable alliance system and the spreading influence of the Bolsheviks, who were hostile to capitalism and dedicated to using violence to change the world in accordance with their ideology.

In 1927 and 1928 U.S. labor markets weakened, and presidential candidate Herbert Hoover pledged in the 1928 campaign to help American farmers by raising tariffs on agricultural goods. Anxieties soared after the 1929 banking crisis, and on June 17, 1930, Congress passed the Smoot-Hawley Act, raising tariffs to record highs on more than 20,000 imported goods.

President Hoover said that he disapproved of the legislation, but signed it notwithstanding a petition signed by 1,008 economists urging a veto. Before the ink was dry on his signature, our trading partners began the retaliation that helped to bring the global economy and our own

to a standstill. And within a decade the peace was destroyed.

Today, after six decades of remarkable growth and truly extraordinary technological achievement, tensions are increasing as the world seeks to adjust to the rise of China and India. Our alliances at the United Nations Security Council and North Atlantic Treaty Organization have weakened. Al-Qaida and similar terrorist groups hostile to Western values seek through violence to change the world according to their ideology; our financial institutions are under great stress; and high energy costs and the credit squeeze have led to steady layoffs.

Against this backdrop, elected representatives are claiming that open trade is costing our nation millions of jobs and are pledging to vote against trade agreements already negotiated and to pull out of others. Restrictive legislation has been introduced in the 110th Congress on matters ranging from penalizing outsourcing to curtailing Chinese imports, and its members have passed a farm bill increasing subsidies in the face of relatively high commodity prices.

Efforts to limit foreign competition risk repeating the policy mistakes that have cost us so dearly in the past. Failure to integrate developing nations into the global trading system will not only limit our own future economic opportunities, but will alienate the excluded populations encouraging them to side with those who would do us harm.

With the rhetoric of the campaign behind us, our great country must marshal the political will to lead the world in lowering global trade barriers to create new economic opportunity for all nations, including our own. That will require our public and private sectors to work hard to rebuild a domestic constituency that understands what is at stake and will take the steps necessary to ensure that our nation can continue to compete vigorously in the 21st century. ■

A Foreign Affairs Budget for the 21st Century

A high-level report presents detailed recommendations addressing the crisis in diplomatic readiness.

Dear Colleagues: The new administration will face multiple, critical foreign challenges with inadequate diplomatic personnel and resources to carry out policy effectively. To lead the way in presenting detailed recommendations tied to specific analysis, we are very pleased to present "A Foreign Affairs Budget for the Future." This study examines key elements of the resource crisis in America's ability to conduct its international programs and policies, considers the 21st-century challenges for American diplomacy, and proposes a budget that would provide the financial and human capacity to address those fundamental tasks that make such a vital contribution to international peace, development and security and to the promotion of U.S. interests globally.

The American Academy of Diplomacy, with vital support from the Una Chapman Cox Foundation, launched this project in 2007 and named Ambassador Thomas Boyatt as project chairman. The Academy turned to the Stimson Center to conduct research and draft the report. To guide key directions of the research, the Academy organized, under the leadership of former Under Secretary of State Thomas Pickering, an Advisory Group and a Red Team, comprised of distinguished members of the Academy and senior former policymakers from outside its ranks. Their participation in a series of meetings and feedback was critical in establishing the key assumptions for the study. The Stimson team was led by former U.S. Agency for International Development Budget Director Richard Nygard. Former Office of Management and Budget official Gordon Adams, now a Distinguished Fellow at Stimson, was a key adviser to the project.

This study is intended to provide solutions for, and stimulate a needed conversation about, the urgent need to provide the necessary funding for our nation's foreign

The report "A Foreign Affairs Budget for the Future: Fixing the Crisis in Diplomatic Readiness" was prepared by a project team from the American Academy of Diplomacy and the Stimson Center, with support from the Una Chapman Cox Foundation and released on Oct. 17. AFSA President John Naland served on the 18-person advisory group that provided guidance in the drafting of the report. Here we have excerpted the letter of transmittal, foreword, summary of recommendations, overview of the problem and individual recommendations from the report. The complete document, including the full list of contributors and advisers, is available online at www.academyofdiplomacy.org/programs/fab_project.html.

policies. We need more diplomats, foreign assistance professionals and public diplomacy experts to achieve our national objectives and fulfill our international obligations. This study offers a path forward, identifying responsible and achievable ways to meet the nation's needs. It is our hope that the U.S. Congress and the next administration will use this study to build the right foreign affairs budget for the future.

Sincerely,

Ambassador Ronald Neumann
President, The American Academy of Diplomacy

Ambassador Thomas R. Pickering
Advisory Group Chairman

Ellen Laipson
President, Stimson Center

Ambassador Thomas D Boyatt
Project Chairman

FOREWORD

Our diplomatic leaders — be they in ambassadors' suites or on the State Department's seventh floor — must have the resources and political support needed to fully exercise their statutory responsibilities in leading American foreign policy.

— Defense Secretary Robert Gates, July 2008

The situation that Secretary Gates calls for does not exist today. On the contrary, our foreign affairs capacity is hobbled by a human capital crisis. We do not have enough people to meet our current responsibilities. Looking forward, requirements are expanding. Increased diplomatic needs in Iraq, Afghanistan and "the next" crisis area, as well as global challenges in finance, the environment, terrorism and other areas, have not been supported by increased staffing. Those positions that do exist have vacancy rates approaching 15 percent at our embassies and consulates abroad and at the State Department in Washington, D.C. USAID's situation is even more dire. Today, significant portions of the nation's foreign affairs business simply are not accomplished. The work migrates by default to a military that does have the necessary people and funding but neither sufficient experience nor knowledge. The "militarization" of diplomacy exists and is accelerating.

Currently the Secretary of State lacks the tools — people, competencies, authorities, programs and funding — to execute the president's foreign policies. The status quo cannot continue without serious damage to our vital interests. We must invest on an urgent basis in our capabilities in the State Department, USAID and related organizations to ensure we can meet our foreign policy and national security objectives. There must be enough diplomatic, public diplomacy and foreign assistance professionals overseas, and they cannot remain behind the walls of fortress embassies. They must be equipped and trained to be out, engaged with the populace and, where needed, working closely with the nation's military forces to advance America's interests and goals. This report provides a plan and a process to begin and carry forward the rebuilding of America's foreign affairs capability.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

Our paper proposes a strategic and targeted set of staffing and related funding increases in the International Affairs (Function 150) portion of the federal budget. Those increases will enable the next Secretary of State to deal with the full range of foreign policy opportunities and challenges facing the country during the next five years. This study reviews four major categories of foreign affairs activity — core diplomacy, public diplomacy, economic assistance and reconstruction/stabilization — as well as State Department training, and finds critical personnel shortages in each of them. In addition to staffing shortfalls, there are "authority shortfalls" relating to security assistance programs that should be in the Secretary's civilian toolkit, but that are currently being exercised by the Secretary of Defense. We also conclude that increased staffing capacity alone will not be sufficient to meet U.S. public diplomacy goals; a number of international exchange and other programs should be expanded as well to help meet the country's diplomatic objectives.

In summary, we propose that:

- U.S. direct-hire staffing in the four categories above be increased over FY 2008 levels by 4,735 over the timeframe of 2010-2014, a growth of 46 percent above current levels in these categories (20 percent of total State/USAID staffing), to be accompanied by significant increases in training and in the number of locally employed staff overseas; the additional staff and related costs will rise to $2 billion annually by FY 2014;
- Funding to permit ambassadors to respond effectively to humanitarian and political emergencies be increased by $125 million in FY 2010 and $75 million annually thereafter;

• Public diplomacy programs, especially exchanges, should be expanded significantly, at a cost that will total $455.2 million annually by FY 2014; and

• Authority over selected security assistance programs, totaling $785 million annually, should be moved in stages from the Department of Defense to the Department of State, with much of the implementation remaining at Defense. In areas where combat operations continue, authority would stay with Defense for the duration of those operations.

State faces a personnel shortfall of about 2,400 relating to enduring core diplomatic work, emerging policy challenges, public diplomacy and critical training needs.

OVERVIEW — THE PROBLEM

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the diplomatic capacity of the United States has been hollowed out. A combination of reduced personnel, program cuts and sharply increased responsibilities has put maximum pressure on the capacity of agencies responsible for the missions of core diplomacy, public diplomacy, foreign assistance, and stabilization and reconstruction budgeted under Function 150 of the federal budget.

During the 1990s — as the "peace dividend" was cashed — overseas staffing for these functions was significantly reduced in the context of the roughly 30-percent real-dollar reduction in U.S. international affairs spending. In addition, the implosions of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia resulted in the need to staff 20 new embassies in the new countries created as a result, and to expand staff based in other Eastern European nations without an overall increase in department personnel. Because State had to absorb these increases, the overseas staffing deficit in the State Department had approached 20 percent by Sept. 11, 2001, with a larger gap within USAID.

Secretary of State Powell's Diplomatic Readiness Initiative created more than 1,000 new State Department diplomatic positions between 2001 and 2004, bolstering core diplomatic staffing to above that of post–Cold War levels. These increases, however, were quickly absorbed by the diplomatic surges in Iraq, Afghanistan and neighboring countries.

Since the DRI ended in 2004, staffing increases at State have been concentrated in consular affairs and diplomatic security. Core diplomatic staffing deficits have, in effect, returned to 2000 levels. The current realities are as follows:

• As of 2008, State faces a personnel shortfall of about 2,400 relating to enduring core diplomatic work, emerging policy challenges, public diplomacy and critical training needs. Persistent staffing gaps at hardship posts continue to impede important policy pursuits. Staffing demands related to Iraq and Afghanistan translate not only into needs for resident personnel, but for significant numbers of short-term staff diverted temporarily from other jobs, to the detriment of other important work. For example, all State political and USAID field positions in the Afghan provinces are vacant an average of two months a year due to the inability of organizations to cover scheduled absences.

• Training lags because of personnel shortages. A well-trained work force is extremely difficult when every additional training assignment could leave an operational job unfilled. A 2006 report by the Government Accountability Office found that 29 percent of language-designated positions at embassies and consulates were not filled with language-proficient staff. There is an even greater shortfall in functional training, particularly in program management skills.

• In public diplomacy, reduced budgets and staff devoted to explaining America abroad after the end of the Cold War contributed to a decline in understanding of and respect for the United States in many parts of the world. Increased resources, including larger numbers of skilled personnel, are required in this area. For example, for almost a decade public diplomacy missed opportunities to develop a vigorous global Internet programming capability to reach millions due to insufficient funding and a lack of trained career personnel, particularly in program management skills.

• USAID currently has 2,200 personnel who administer more than $8 billion annually in development and other assistance (excluding cash grants), following cumulative staffing reductions of nearly 40 percent during the

past two decades. In 1990, USAID had nearly 3,500 personnel assigned to the task of administering a total of approximately $5 billion annually. The agency has too few staff responsible for managing billions of program dollars. For example, USAID currently has only 29 education officers to administer education programs in 84 countries.

• There will be an increasing need for pre- and post-conflict stabilization efforts in many parts of the world, which should be staffed and managed by civilian leadership. While a presidential directive (NSPD-44) directs the State Department to coordinate governmentwide stabilization and reconstruction operations, the Department of Defense is actually assuming most of the responsibility for these ongoing efforts. There needs to be a permanent core of civilian experts who are ready to deploy when required; these experts should, in turn, be supported by others in government and other sectors who can provide additional support. A bill to authorize funding and personnel for the new "surge" capacity has passed the House and is pending in the full Senate.

• The "militarization of diplomacy" is noticeably expanding as DOD personnel assume public diplomacy and assistance responsibilities that the civilian agencies do not have the trained staff to fill. In the area of security assistance — traditionally the authority of the Secretary of State, but implemented largely by the Defense Department — a number of new DOD authorities have been created, reducing the role of the Secretary of State even more in this vital area of U.S. foreign policy.

Today, the United States faces a wide range of problems ranging from al-Qaida and other terrorist organizations to the challenges of globalization, HIV/AIDS and other pandemics, environmental degradation and failed states. Opportunities also abound in relation to rising powers, nonproliferation, strengthening of international trade and financial systems, and achieving improvements in the quality of life in developing and transitioning societies. These dynamic challenges and opportunities can only be met effectively through a significantly more robust foreign affairs capacity that features skilled diplomats and foreign assistance professionals.

We also recommend expanding cultural, exchange and other public diplomacy programs and shifting certain security assistance authorities back to the Secretary of State.

STAFFING AND RELATED RESOURCES REQUIRED

Having thoroughly reviewed the categories of core diplomacy, public diplomacy, foreign assistance, and stabilization and reconstruction, we propose a set of staffing and related increases for the five-year period of 2010-2014 (FY 2010 being the first "budget year" of a new administration). We also recommend expanding cultural, exchange and other public diplomacy programs and shifting certain security assistance authorities back to the Secretary of State.

I. Core Diplomacy — Department of State

Recommendation:

Increase permanent American staffing by 1,099 above FY 2008 levels by FY 2014, to meet current and expected international challenges and opportunities and to close existing staffing gaps. This increase in core staffing will cost $510.5 million annually by FY 2014. In addition, we recommend shifting 493 consular positions from fee to appropriated fund status, at a cumulative cost over baseline of $160.6 million.

II. Training — Department of State

Recommendation:

Increase permanent American staffing positions by 1,287 from present levels by FY 2014, to support institutionalized work-force retraining, professional development, personnel transitions and temporary needs. The goal is to continuously update the specialized competencies of State to meet new policy demands. This staffing increase will cost $309.8 million annually by 2014.

III. Public Diplomacy

Recommendation:

The Academy recommends the following staff and program increases for public diplomacy in the State Department:

• Increase permanent American staffing by 487

between 2010 and 2014, as well as 369 locally employed staff.

• Increase current academic exchanges by 100 percent, International Visitor grants by 50 percent, and youth exchanges by 25 percent in this timeframe.

• Expand capacity of PD English and foreign-language advocacy Web sites aimed at experts, young professionals and youth, and hire 57 additional specialists in Web-site design and program content.

• Establish 40 American Cultural Centers (or a mixture of ACCs and smaller Information Resource Centers) in order to broaden U.S. daily cultural presence worldwide.

• Re-engage the autonomous pro-U.S. Binational Center network in Latin America, whose membership is desirous of closer cultural and political ties with the U.S.

• Expand other programs, particularly overseas staff and operations, to increase the effectiveness of public diplomacy as described below.

These staff increases will cost $155.2 million annually by 2014 and the program activities, $455.2 million. Overall funding increases will total $610.4 million in 2014.

IV. U.S. Agency for International Development - Foreign Economic Assistance

Recommendation:

Increase U.S. direct-hire permanent staff by 1,250 above FY 2008 levels by 2014 in addition to increased locally employed staff overseas, to be partly offset by a reduction or conversion of some 700 personal services contractors and other short-term American staff. These staffing additions would require budget increases that total $521 million above the current services baseline by 2014.

V. Reconstruction and Stabilization

Recommendation:

Provide a substantial surge capacity for reconstruction and stabilization efforts under the authority of the Secretary of State, and increase direct-hire American staffing by 562 above present levels by FY 2014. This would include: (1) 500 employees to serve as an active response corps to be deployed immediately in crisis situations; (2) 37 to staff an expanded Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization; and, (3) 25 to support the new Standby Response Corps of federal employees and the Civilian Reserve Corps.

These increases and related program costs would require increased funding that would total $286 million annually by FY 2014.

SECURITY ASSISTANCE — STRENGTHENING THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S ROLE

Recommendation:

Policy and budget responsibility for the following authorities and programs should be moved from the Department of Defense to the State Department, along with 50 new staff, while implementation would remain DOD's responsibility:

• Section 1206 *(National Defense Authorization Act of 2006 provision giving DOD authority to spend up to $300 million of its own appropriations to train and equip foreign militaries to undertake counterterrorism or stability operations — Ed.)*

• Coalition Support Funds *(Funds used by the Secretary of Defense to reimburse coalition countries for logistical, military and other expenses in supporting U.S. military operations in the war on terrorism — Ed.)*

• Defense Combating Terrorism Fellowship Program.

In addition, we recommend that:

1. Non-combat-related Commander's Emergency Response Program activities should, over time, be transferred to the authority of the Secretary of State.

2. Section 1207 authority *(National Defense Authorization Act of 2006 provision for DOD to transfer to the State Department defense articles, services training or other support for reconstruction, stabilization and security activities in foreign countries — Ed.)* should be repealed. If funds are needed to support the civilian surge capacity (see section on Reconstruction and Stabilization), there should be a direct appropriation to the Department of State for this purpose.

3. The Combatant Commander's Initiative Fund should not be expanded to cover humanitarian, civic and reconstruction assistance.

4. DOD should not be authorized to expand the use of its humanitarian assistance program to include stabilization activities. ■

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AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • December 2008

AFSA FIGHTS HARD FOR FAIR PAY LEGISLATION

Closing the Overseas Pay Gap

As the *Foreign Service Journal* went to press in mid-November, AFSA and the State Department were working on an all-out effort to convince the Senate and House to close the overseas pay gap during the post-election lame-duck session of Congress.

Dramatic progress on the issue began in mid-July when the AFSA-supported "Foreign Service Overseas Pay Equity Act of 2008" (H.R. 3202, originally offered by Rep. Chris Smith, R-N.J.) was approved by the House Foreign Affairs Committee on a voice vote with bipartisan support and no opposition. The bill would give overseas entry- and mid-level Foreign Service members the same comparability pay adjustment that is afforded to colleagues assigned to the District of Columbia. (Overseas Senior Foreign Service members started receiving such treatment in 2005.) The bill proposes to close one third of the pay gap in FY 2009, another third by October 2010, and the final third by October 2011.

Two months later, on Sept. 23, AFSA convinced the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to pass an almost identical version of the House bill (assigned bill number S. 3426 when offered by Senator John

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AFSA PRESIDENT JOINS AMBASSADORS TO SPEAK AT AAD-STIMSON EVENT

Study Reveals Foreign Affairs Budget Gaps

BY FRANCESCA KELLY

"How on earth can we ask for an increased foreign affairs budget in the middle of an economic crisis?"

With that provocative question, Ambassador Thomas Boyatt kicked off an aggressive campaign to raise public and legislative awareness of a lesser-known but potentially just as devastating crisis: the growing foreign affairs budget shortfall. The newly released, groundbreaking study, "A Foreign Affairs Budget for the Future: Fixing the Crisis in Diplomatic Readiness," published jointly by the American Academy of Diplomacy and the Henry L. Stimson Center, was the subject of a panel discussion and Q&A session in a packed conference hall at the Stimson Center in Washington, D.C. on Oct. 16. Amb. Boyatt, project chairman for the study, went on to explain that, in fact, America cannot afford *not* to increase funding for foreign affairs.

"First of all, we're not asking for much: roughly one-third of 1 percent of the Department of Defense budget. And secondly, if diplomacy can prevent just one

Continued on page 64

Call for AFSA Award Nominations

DEADLINE: FEB. 27

This is AFSA's annual call for nominations for our prestigious constructive dissent and exemplary performance awards. Winners receive a $2,500 cash prize and are honored at a ceremony in late June in the Benjamin Franklin Room at the State Department, which is typically attended by the Secretary or Deputy Secretary of State.

Our Foreign Service is currently facing one of the most challenging times in its history. Foreign Service ranks are stretched

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AFSA Governing Board Seeks New Candidates

Please keep these dates in mind as you consider nominating someone (including yourself) for the AFSA Governing Board's next term of office. Complete information about nomination and election procedures appeared in the November *AFSA News*, which can be found online at www.afsa.org/fsj/nov08/afsa_news.pdf.

Important Dates 2009:

Feb. 2 — Deadline for Nominations

March 25 — Ballots and Candidate Statements Mailed

June 1 — Ballots Counted

July 15 — New Board Takes Office

AFSA NEWSBRIEFS

Life in the Foreign Service

BY BRIAN AGGELER

Support the Fund for American Diplomacy

Please be sure to look in the mail for AFSA's annual appeal, which asks members to support the activities of the public education, nonprofit Fund for American Diplomacy. FAD partners with AFSA in supporting FS programs and in educating the public on how the Foreign Service works for America. Your tax-deductible contribution will support:

- ***Inside a U.S. Embassy***, our popular book providing insights into the Foreign Service to individuals preparing for the FS exam, students in college courses on diplomacy and international relations and FS family members and relatives, as well as military and corporate personnel interacting with our missions abroad.
- **Speakers Bureau**, where FS retirees draw on their real-life experiences in addressing business and community leaders.
- **High School Essay Contest**, where students compete for college scholarship money by writing essays on international relations topics.
- **Elderhostel** programs on foreign affairs directed toward senior citizens.
- **Awards programs** recognizing FS employee and spouse achievements.
- **AFSA Memorial Plaques** and ceremonies at the State Department to honor those who died in the line of duty.
- **Media outreach** to explain the role of diplomacy and to correct misconceptions.

Diplomacy is our nation's first line of defense. Because no AFSA dues support FAD activities, only your direct donation to the Fund will allow these successful and vital programs to continue. To donate, visit www.afsa.org/CFCFAD.cfm.

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

A Precious Resource

By the time this column appears in print, AFSA will be busy briefing the president-elect's transition team on a wide range of issues related to the U.S. Foreign Service and its pivotal role in managing our country's foreign policy. We will, of course, want the new administration to understand the urgency of ending the neglect that the Foreign Service has suffered in recent years, which has left America's relatively tiny professional diplomatic corps understaffed and lacking in the resources needed to address the growing challenges that our nation faces overseas. We will drive home to the new administration the painful reality that many of our 260 embassies and consulates around the world have been stripped bare to satisfy the needs of our huge diplomatic missions in the two war zones.

We will strive to sensitize our new bosses to the overseas pay gap and the critical importance of taking care of the personal and family concerns of Foreign Service members who spend an increasing proportion of their careers in extremely difficult and dangerous, unaccompanied posts.

But there is a broader theme that we must try to impress upon the new administration and the new Secretary of State: restoring the U.S. Foreign Service to its proper place in the stewardship of America's international relations, enabling our diplomats once again to take the lead in nurturing the bilateral and multilateral relationships that our government maintains all over the world and in guiding the formulation of policies to deal with the complex problems beyond our borders.

The past few years have witnessed a sad transformation in the perception of our professional career diplomats and in the way we are used by the elected leadership. We have seen a dramatic acceleration in the trend toward employing political-appointee ideologues to make foreign policy in most areas, without taking serious account of the opinions, recommendations and warnings of the Foreign Service experts who spend the bulk of their careers living and working overseas.

Most of our members in recent years have felt as if they were treated not as thinking professionals whose input was valued, but as "foot soldiers" assigned the task of carrying out foreign policy decisions that were predetermined by the political leadership and dictated from the top by a small group of close confidants of the president.

Relegating the Foreign Service to this limited, diminished function constitutes a departure from the long tradition of giving our professional diplomats a respected place in the foreign policymaking process. It has been harmful to U.S. national interests.

The truth is that career diplomats acquire unparalleled expertise and insight by virtue of spending years living in foreign countries, speaking foreign languages, dealing on a daily basis with people from all walks of life in foreign societies, and devoting their intellects to thinking about foreign policy. It is hard to overstate the value of having lived in several different countries of the Arab world, Latin America, Africa, Europe or Asia in formulating sensible, workable U.S. policies for dealing with the issues of concern to us in these regions.

Career diplomats acquire unparalleled expertise and insight by virtue of spending years living in foreign countries.

As a Foreign Service professional assigned overseas, you quickly learn firsthand how foreign countries tick, how their people think, and what will and will not work there. Your policy recommendations should be sought out and given the highest consideration by those making final decisions about how the United States conducts itself abroad.

But too often in recent years, the opposite has taken place. Sober, thoughtful advice from diplomats on the ground has been disregarded, the credibility of our people has been dismissed, and the focus of U.S. foreign policy has shifted to military action.

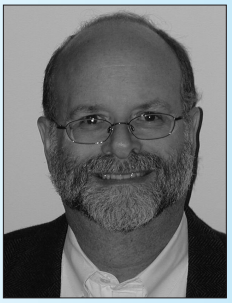
Fortunately, just as we prepare to inaugurate a new president, the winds of change are blowing. There has been much public talk of the importance of diplomacy — of "soft power" — in helping to resolve problems and address crisis situations without immediate recourse to military measures. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates has been one of the most outspoken advocates of placing greater emphasis on the role that diplomats can and should play.

U.S. Foreign Service professionals know how to manage difficult relationships with problem countries, to conduct tough multilateral negotiations, to find creative ways to resolve conflict. We have experts on every region of the world and on every issue, including terrorism, nuclear proliferation, poverty, economic development, human rights, refugees, international migration, global climate change and the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

The career Foreign Service is a precious resource that the new president and the new Secretary of State can benefit from — if they are willing to listen to our advice. ❑

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

Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of "On-the-Job-Training"



Change, change, change. As I write these words, the global financial system is going up in flames and most of the large-economy governments are nationalizing banks and/or propping up their financial systems.

Meanwhile, back at the ranch, the U.S. presidential transition is under way. After successfully completing the "on-the-job training" to win the election, the new executives must try to win over the bureaucracy. The incoming administration has just a few days to select thousands of political appointees, develop policies and hit the ground running.

We would probably agree that life itself (personal relationship repair, car repair, house repair, educational repair, physical repair, etc.) is mostly OJT. So why bother to write about it?

For one thing, it is not the most time-efficient approach. Consider language: babbling along with your parents (and Barney, Dora and Sponge Bob) can only get you so far. Then follow many long years of classes, practice and more classes. All of that so you can have the OJT to learn to remove all adjectives, adverbs and anything remotely interesting from your reporting cable.

We need a more thoughtful approach to career development and corporate (in our case, agency) culture. In the past, FAS hired young agricultural economists, had them spend a few years in FAS/Washington and then shipped them overseas as junior officers. There was very little training at all. While that might have worked when the primary mission of our overseas offices was to send monthly agricultural production, supply and distribution data to Washington, it won't help us prepare for future challenges.

Today, however, in addition to the Food and Agriculture Organization, there are many private-sector companies preparing PS&D-type reports on a wider range of agricultural commodities than FAS ever envisioned. While data crunching will never totally disappear from our careers, it is now only a minor part. But, rather than say we need training in hot topics like "World Trade Organization dispute settlement" or "bio-nano-cloned whatevers," what we really need is a better corporate culture with a commitment to career-long training.

In short, we need an FAS version of the A-100 ("welcome to your new career") class, annual regional conferences, a Foreign Service career development office and monthly conference calls/webcasts/DVCs to keep everyone informed. Right now the weekly "Notes to the Field" e-mail is trying to cover too much — both the day-to-day, running-the-office information as well as the highlights of key developments in Washington.

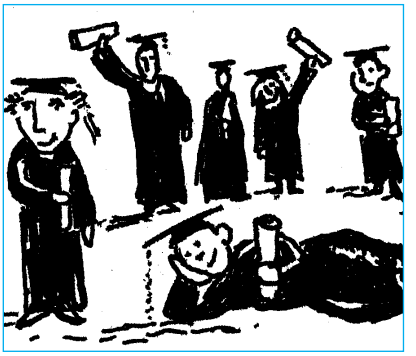
Administrator Michael Yost and Associate Administrator Constance Jackson are reaching out and have started to tackle many of these concerns. Unfortunately, changing cultures and developing an environment supportive of career development take a long time.

We will still learn the majority of our job from OJT, but with a shared vision of what is important, we shouldn't have to flounder as much.

I offer to teach a short segment on "Labor-Management Relationships." I've not had any formal training on that topic, but I suspect we will all get lots of OJT over the next year(s) as we renegotiate our contract, address the Washington Placement Plan, and welcome a new set of "interim," then "new" administrators to FAS.

Fasten your seat belt and enjoy the OJT. ❑

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



AFSA Scholarship Applications Now Available, Due Feb. 6, 2009

Tax-dependent children of AFSA and AAFSW members and Foreign Service employees (active-duty, retired or deceased) are eligible to apply for academic and art merit awards (for high school seniors only) and need-based college scholarships (for undergraduates only). Go to www.afsa.org/scholar/ for eligibility details, applications and instructions, or contact Lori Dec at dec@afsa.org or (202) 944-5504 or 1 (800) 704-2372, ext. 504.

Scholarship Renewal

Foreign Service officer Stephen Hubler graciously has renewed the AFSA scholarship he first established in September 2005 with another generous gift. This will be bestowed in the 2009-2010 school year as a financial aid scholarship in honor of his parents, Alice and John Hubler. Hubler, whose father is a retired FSO, explains that he is living by the values his parents instilled in him: "Repay kind deeds in kind, and share the generous blessings we enjoy with others." Mr. Hubler is funding part of this scholarship with a State Department award he received for advancing U.S.-E.U. relations in Macedonia.

AFSA'S ADAIR LECTURE ON AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

Amb. Pickering Addresses Challenges Facing Next President

> "We need to think about multilateralism, about working with other countries, about the fact that consultation is not telling our friends and allies what to do, but rather sharing their views in helping to pull together a creative effort in which they are a part, not just the servants, of our diplomacy."
>
> — Ambassador Thomas Pickering, Sept. 3, American University

Ambassador Thomas Pickering spoke at American University on Sept. 3 to a full house of more than 300 attendees, including graduate and undergraduate students, numerous faculty, and invitees from other universities and foundations. The occasion was the second Caroline and Ambassador Charles W. Adair Memorial Lecture on American Diplomacy, sponsored by former AFSA President Marshall Adair and Ginger Adair through the Fund for American Diplomacy. The lecture series' primary objective is to educate the American public on the critical importance of effective U.S. diplomacy in defending vital national interests.

American University's Washington Semester Program and the School of International Service, celebrating its 50th anniversary, co-hosted the event, with respective Deans David Brown and Louis Goodman on the stage with Amb. Pickering, Amb. Marshall Adair and his wife Ginger, AFSA President John Naland and American Academy of Diplomacy President Ambassador Ronald Neumann.

In "A Foreign Policy Agenda for the Next President," Ambassador Pickering highlighted several major diplomatic challenges facing the next administration and provided suggestions to deal with the most potentially damaging foreign policy threats. His first reference was to "the three I's:" Israel (including the Arab dispute and the related peace process), Iraq and Iran.

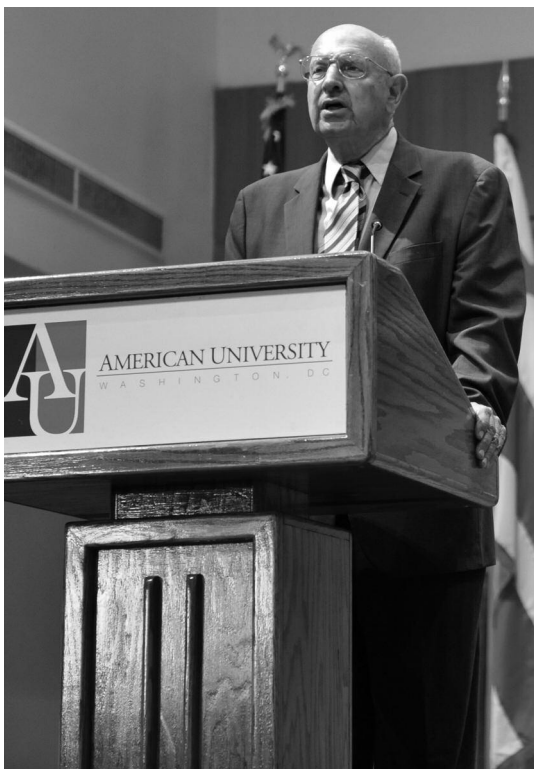
Terrorism is still of major importance, Pickering noted, but special attention must be paid to terrorism vis-à-vis nuclear proliferation. He pointed out that the United States has both a diplomatic opportunity and an obligation to move ahead in the area of nuclear disarmament. As a prime example, he called on the U.S. to open direct negotiations with Iran, without preconditions.

Pickering contends that we are in an unprecedented period where our ability to work with foreign countries, our need to conduct multilateral diplomacy and our commitment to solving global challenges are all crucial to our national success. He hopes that the U.S. will continue to provide leadership by means of a renewed, strengthened diplomacy that respects the opinions of our allies, and that our foreign activities remain strong and abiding. He observed that in recent years we have witnessed the serious failure of unilateralism and the subsequent reawakening of a national interest in and, hopefully, a renewed national commitment to, the use of diplomacy as a first response. Amb. Pickering noted that we now have, for the first time, a Secretary of Defense who regularly gives speeches on the importance of strengthening diplomacy.

He also encouraged attendees to examine the newly released landmark American Academy of Diplomacy report, "A Foreign Affairs Budget For the Future," which calls for the next administration and Congress to greatly increase the financial and staffing resources of the State Department, USAID and, especially, the Foreign Service. (See p. 59.) This can empower U.S. diplomacy to achieve maximum effectiveness in meeting the daunting challenges of the coming years.

The lecture was enthusiastically received, with both A.U. deans expressing interest in more AFSA-sponsored programs. The student attendees were mostly international relations and economics majors, many of whom may well consider Foreign Service careers.

The Adair Memorial Lecture Series on American Diplomacy is a perpetual gift from the Adair family to the Fund for American Diplomacy that supports the Speakers Bureau, a key element in AFSA's national outreach program. ❑



JAY MALLIN

Amb. Pickering speaks at American University on Sept. 3.

AAD/Stimson Rollout • Continued from page 59

HANS MULDER

John Naland answers a question from an audience member on Oct. 16 at the Stimson Center.

war per generation, that alone will save many times the cost of our proposal."

The project organizers include Boyatt, Ambassador Thomas Pickering, Ambassador Ronald Neumann, Ambassador Edward Rowell, Stimson Center president Ellen Laipson and former USAID Budget Director Richard Nygard.

AFSA President John Naland, who was one of several featured speakers at the Oct. 16 event, was an adviser for the project. He served among a diverse group that included former ambassadors, retired military leaders and Senators Patrick Leahy, D-Vt., Richard Lugar, R-Ind. and George Voinovich, R-Ohio, among others.

The study reviews four major categories of foreign affairs activity — core diplomacy, public diplomacy, economic assistance and reconstruction/stabilization — as well as State Department training, and finds critical personnel shortages in each of them. At the Stimson event, members of the panel, who each tackled a different category in addition to answering questions, included Ambs. Boyatt, Pickering and Rowell, as well as Nygard and Naland. They were joined by Dr. Gordon Adams, a distinguished fellow at Stimson, and Stanley Silverman, a former USIA comptroller.

An ever-present refrain was the need for increased staffing throughout America's overseas missions in all categories. Amb. Pickering also underlined the need for additional training funds and personnel so that we can move, particularly in danger-pay posts such as Iraq and Afghanistan, "from risk avoidance to risk management."

Naland minced no words. "Our situation is desperate. The Foreign Service today does not have the knowledge, training or skills for 21st-century diplomacy." The need for greatly increased training, he pointed out, is something he is experiencing firsthand: he has been assigned to lead a Provincial Reconstruction Team in Iraq starting next summer, but is being given only 3.5 hours of Arabic-language familiarization.

Several panel members remarked on the growth, over the last eight to 10 years, of authorities in security and foreign policy at the Defense Department that are parallel to those at State. The study advises that these authorities be brought back under the umbrella of the State Department and other foreign affairs agencies.

The AAD/Stimson study rollout marks the beginning of a vigorous campaign to convey the gravity of America's foreign affairs policy crisis, and the attendant, critical need for increased funding at all levels, to the next administration and the general public.

Boyatt, Pickering and other study advisers were quick to point out that the Oct. 16 program was not an end result, but the beginning of intensive meetings and talks around the nation by AAD's luminaries. The former ambassadors and others have been speaking to public school boards, local governments, academic groups and other key opinion leaders across the country as well as to Congressional members and staffers.

The AAD/Stimson study, "A Foreign Affairs Budget for the Future," can be read online at www.academyofdiplomacy.org/publications/FAB_report_2008.pdf or at www.stimson.org/pub.cfm?ID=686. ❑

LEGISLATIVE UPDATE

Parental Leave Benefits

Throughout this session of Congress, AFSA engaged on legislation to improve parental leave benefits for federal employees. We were specifically involved early on in supporting legislation offered by Rep. Carolyn Maloney, D-N.Y., to provide that eight of the 12 weeks of parental leave made available to federal employees should be paid leave. AFSA has argued that the current outdated federal maternity and paternity leave policy presents special difficulties for women in the Foreign Service assigned overseas.

We were pleased that the legislation, H.R. 5781, passed the House of Representatives by the comfortable margin of 278-146. A Senate companion bill, S. 3140, was offered by Sen. Jim Webb, D-Va., but the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs failed to move it forward. AFSA had explained to Chairman Daniel Akaka, D-Hawaii, who chairs the Senate subcommittee with jurisdiction over these matters, that the current benefits policy is insensitive to the unusual needs of the Foreign Service. In the end, Congress failed to pass the legislation but is likely to take up the matter again beginning in the new session in January. ❑

Closing the Pay Gap • Continued from page 59

Kerry, D-Mass.) on a voice vote with bipartisan support and no opposition. Like the HFAC vote, the SFRC action is a result of expanding awareness on Capitol Hill that the large and growing cut in base pay imposed on the entry- and mid-level Foreign Service is a serious disincentive to overseas service.

Disincentives to Service

The current 20.89-percent overseas pay gap undermines, and often totally negates, traditional hardship and danger pay allowances. AFSA calculates that entry- and mid-level Foreign Service members now take a pay cut to serve at 183 of 268 overseas posts (68 percent), including such danger-pay posts as Amman, Bogota and Tel Aviv. At another 42 posts — those at the 25-percent hardship level — the net incentive is now under 4 percent and will drop below zero as early as January 2010 unless the overseas pay gap is closed. This would subject entry- and mid-level employees at 84 percent of overseas posts to what is, in effect, *disincentive* pay.

Losing the equivalent of one year's salary for every four or five years served abroad has devastating long-term financial consequences. This is especially true for Foreign Service families already suffering the loss of income from a spouse who cannot find employment overseas. Add that to the fact that almost all current entry- and mid-level Foreign Service members are required to be in the "new" retirement system that depends on the vulnerable Thrift Savings Plan to provide the majority of retirement income, and the result is a "perfect storm" of financial disincentives to join and remain in the Foreign Service.

On the Fast Track

Immediately after the SFRC passed the AFSA-supported pay gap bill, Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid, D-Nev., placed the bill on a fast track for a vote by the full Senate. That procedure, reasonably enough, allows any senator who has unanswered questions about a bill to place a "hold" on a final vote until those questions are answered. AFSA learned that at least one senator placed such a hold on the pay-gap bill. Because Senate tradition prohibited our supporters on the Hill from telling us who placed the hold, AFSA Director of Legislative Affairs Ian Houston began making scores of calls to retired Foreign Service members in several states asking them to help us find out, as well as lobby for passage of the bill. In short order, as calls flooded into several Senate offices from Foreign Service constituents, the office of Senator Tom Coburn, R-Okla., confirmed that he had placed the hold. AFSA is grateful to all members who stepped up on short notice to make these calls.

At that point, AFSA reached out to Sen. Coburn's staff, offering to answer questions they had about the details of the bill and the growing problem that it addresses. These contacts built on our outreach to the senator's office over the past two years.

Late in the evening of Sept. 26, AFSA President John Naland contacted our nation's senior career diplomat, Under Secretary for Political Affairs Bill Burns, to brief him on the status of AFSA's efforts to advance the pay-gap legislation. Thereafter, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, Deputy Secretary of State John Negroponte, Under Secretary for Management Patrick Kennedy, USAID Administrator Henrietta Fore and subject-matter experts on their staffs began making calls to key members on the Hill and their staff to push for passage. Secretary Rice, in particular, used her uniquely influential position to personally advocate with key lawmakers in an effort to advance the bill.

Unfortunately, in events reminiscent of late 2006 when the 109th Congress failed to advance a pay-gap fix due to last-minute questions by a few lawmakers, time ran out for Senate and House action before the lawmakers broke for the pre-election recess. This time, however, the effort stayed alive due to plans by Congress to return for a short session beginning Nov. 17.

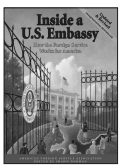
At press time, the final outcome was unclear. AFSA will keep members updated via AFSAnet, ALDAC cable and postings on our Web site. ❑

CALL FOR SUBMISSIONS

Inside a U.S. Embassy: Diplomacy in Action

AFSA is working on the third edition of our popular book, and we need to hear from you.

Most Americans still do not understand the role of U.S. embassies and, more broadly, of diplomacy. Getting that story out is more critical than ever. *Inside a U.S. Embassy* is one of AFSA's best resources for educating the public about the role of the U.S. Foreign Service. It does this by introducing real people in real jobs.



"What is a typical day?"

This is the most frequent question people ask when looking at the Foreign Service career. We're seeking day-in-the-life submissions that provide an hour-by-hour description of an interesting, and recent, day on the job in the Foreign Service. We want to feature a wide variety of geographic locations, mission types and FS positions. Please aim for 700-900 words.

"There are no typical days."

Foreign Service personnel are on the front lines of history, and we want to illustrate the extraordinary. We're looking for tales of the Foreign Service in action during times of change — political upheaval, delicate negotiations, natural disasters — handling the everyday, not-so-ordinary events of diplomatic life. Please aim for 700-900 words.

Deadline: January 15

Send your submission or questions to *Inside Embassy* Editor Shawn Dorman at dorman@afsa.org. Please see excerpts from the current edition at www.afsa.org/inside.

Help AFSA get the Foreign Service story right! ❑

MILESTONES: HONORING 10 YEARS OF SERVICE TO AFSA

Zlatana Badrich: A True Advocate

BY FRANCESCA KELLY

A decade ago, a new law school graduate started looking for a job that would allow her to combine her interest in international affairs with her legal experience in labor relations. She found it at AFSA as a labor management attorney and has never looked back, to the benefit of both AFSA's staff and its members.

Zlatana Badrich is a true Washingtonian, born and raised in D.C. She graduated from The George Washington University in three years with a bachelor's degree in international affairs and went directly to law school at the Catholic University of America, where she received her J.D.

By the time Zlatana finished law school, she knew that she wanted to practice the kind of law that allowed her to be a direct advocate for others. "People of all professions and walks of life need a voice," Zlatana asserts, "and becoming an attorney was one way for me to use mine in an effort to provide assistance where it's needed."

During her years in school she interned in federal-sector labor and employment law, but her first real job was at AFSA. As labor management attorney, Zlatana is part of the legal team that provides advice and counsel to the Governing Board on a wide range of issues.

"AFSA negotiates with the various foreign affairs agencies on conditions of employment such as the promotion precepts and assignments package," explains Zlatana. "In addition to working on these issues for our State Department constituency, I also work with FAS and IBB."

This collective work as part of a team of attorneys takes up about a quarter of Zlatana's time. She also assists individual members with a wide range of issues such as grievances (poor EERs, denial of tenure, failure to be promoted and allowance issues), agency disciplinary actions, security incidents, security clearance revocation cases, OIG investigations and DS investigations, as well as a few EEO issues.

CHRISTINE WARREN

"She has literally saved countless Foreign Service careers by securing second chances for employees to obtain tenure and promotion. AFSA and the Foreign Service are truly fortunate to have Zlatana on our side."

— Sharon Papp

Zlatana attributes her longevity at AFSA to her enjoyment of working with people. "The best part of my job is the people — both the colleagues I work with at AFSA and the members with whom we come into daily contact. A large part of the job is to act as a sounding board and counselor to many of our members."

A grateful FSO who was represented by Zlatana in a grievance case described her as "a wonderful professional," adding, "This particular case would have frustrated the most patient attorney. Zlatana kept pushing away at what appeared to be an immovable rock. In the process she maintained my morale and hope. ... Were she in private practice, I would hire her in a minute!"

AFSA General Counsel Sharon Papp agrees. "I have worked with Zlatana for 10 years and from day one have been greatly impressed with her patience, compassion, strong sense of right and wrong, and tireless advocacy on behalf of her clients. She has literally saved countless Foreign Service careers by securing second chances for employees to obtain tenure and promotion, by overturning or mitigating severe disciplinary actions, and by securing reinstatement of employees' security clearances."

Outside of the office, Zlatana's tastes are eclectic: recently she caught performances of both the Kirov Ballet and the British band Coldplay. Married and living in the District of Columbia, Zlatana enjoys walking and also treasures her time at home, where she can often be found nestled with a book. But at work, it's all about the people: "It's very rewarding to be able to support people through some very difficult professional and, sometimes, personal issues in their lives and to feel as though you helped in some small way. In the same sense, having colleagues with whom I can have open lines of communication and whose opinions and experience I can rely on and trust is truly a bonus."

As Papp concludes, "AFSA and the Foreign Service are truly fortunate to have Zlatana on our side." ❑

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

FSN Relief Fund Needs Replenishment

The State Department's Foreign Service National Relief Fund is in need of funds with which to assist all overseas agencies' Foreign Service Nationals who have suffered losses due to hurricanes and other disasters. FS members may donate by check, credit card or payroll deduction (go to State's intranet site at web.rm.state.gov for details). FS retirees, FSNs and other locally engaged employees may make check or cash contributions. Checks should be sent to: State Department Gift Fund Coordinator Donna Bordley, Department of State, RM/CFO, Room 7427, 2201 C Street NW, Washington DC 20520.

Q&A

Retiree Issues

Medicare B and FEHB Coordination: The Basics

BY BONNIE BROWN, RETIREE COORDINATOR

Q: I recently enrolled in Medicare B. Will Medicare reimburse my doctor for his usual charges for services?

A: This depends on whether your doctor has agreed to accept the Medicare schedule of approved amounts as payment in full for his services. Doctors fall into three categories in this regard, each with different financial consequences:

First, if your doctor agrees to accept the Medicare-approved amount as payment in full — called accepting assignment — Medicare will pay 80 percent of this approved amount. You will be responsible for the other 20 percent. Your doctor cannot charge you any more than the Medicare-approved amount.

Second, if your doctor does not accept the Medicare-approved amount as payment in full (or does not accept assignment), but nevertheless treats Medicare patients, he or she can charge up to 15 percent more than the Medicare-approved amount, and can also request full payment up front from you. Medicare will reimburse him or her for 80 percent of the Medicare-approved amount. You will be responsible for the other 20 percent plus whatever the doctor charges (up to 15 percent more) above the Medicare-approved amount.

Third, if your doctor opts out of Medicare entirely, he or she is not subject to the Medicare limits on charges and cannot submit claims to Medicare on your behalf. In this situation, your doctor will ask you to sign a private contract in which you affirm that you are responsible for the full cost of the services and that you will not seek reimbursement from Medicare. If you sign this contract, Medicare will not pay for any portion of the services you receive.

Q: In addition to Medicare B, I am also enrolled in a Federal Employees Health Benefits plan. I understand that Medicare will provide primary coverage for me as a retiree. What will my FEHB plan pay as the secondary insurer?

A: Read the section about coordination of benefits in your FEHB plan brochure carefully. Plans differ in their approach to coordinating benefits with Medicare; for example, some plans or options pay benefits only if you receive services from doctors who participate in their preferred-provider network.

There are FEHB plans that waive the deductible and co-insurance amounts when doctors accept Medicare assignment. Some plans may also pay the excess costs or the additional 15 percent charged by a doctor who does not accept assignment but treats Medicare patients.

If, however, your doctor has opted out of Medicare and you have signed a contract agreeing to be billed for health services, your FEHB plan will limit its payment to you to the amount it would have paid after a payment by Medicare — usually 20 percent — and you will be responsible for the balance of the charges.

Q: Medicare covers an initial physical examination – a one-time "Welcome to Medicare" physical exam – within six months of enrollment, but does not cover annual physicals. Will my FEHB plan pay for my annual physicals and other non-Medicare covered services?

A: Again, it is important to read your FEHB plan brochure carefully to see whether and to what extent your plan will pay for these services. Some plans will pay for these services and waive the deductible and coinsurance.

Q: Will I have to file Medicare claims?

A: Unless you signed a contract agreeing that you will not seek Medicare reimbursement, your doctor is required to file Medicare claims for the covered services you receive. In instances where doctors fail to submit a claim, you may file a CMS 1490S form on your own behalf. The form can be found at www.cms.hhs.gov/cmsforms/downloads/cms1490s-english.pdf.

If your doctor accepts assignment, he or she will file a Medicare claim for you. Medicare will then pay its share of the bill directly to the doctor and forward the claim electronically to your FEHB plan.

Even a doctor who does not accept Medicare assignment is still required to file a Medicare claim for you. If you have paid for the services, Medicare will pay its share of the bill directly to you. Again, if your doctor fails to submit a claim, file Form CMS 1490S.

Be aware that Medicare does not electronically send completely denied claims to FEHB plans. Make sure that your FEHB plan receives the documents it needs to take action: the bills for services and Medicare notices of rejection.

Q. What can I do to assist in this coordination process?

A: Read the section about coordination of benefits in your FEHB plan brochure carefully. These plans — and standard and basic options offered by the same plan — can and do differ.

Talk to the financial administrator in your doctor's office about how it processes Medicare claims. Many practices do not understand their obligations in this regard.

Read what you sign; signing a private contract can have serious financial consequences for you.

Send a copy of your Medicare card to your FEHB plan so that it can ensure that the electronic coordination is in place for your claims. ❑

AFSA LENDS SUPPORT FOR DOMESTIC PARTNERS LEGISLATION

Former Ambassador Works to End Discrimination Against Gay Partners

BY FRANCESCA KELLY

Michael Guest, a former ambassador to Romania who retired from the State Department in 2007, is serving as an adviser to the Council for Global Equality, a new organization he co-founded this fall that addresses the rights of same-sex domestic partners. Guest, who was the first openly gay, Senate-confirmed ambassador, encountered myriad difficulties in getting logistical support for his accompanying partner while posted overseas. His early retirement was in direct protest of State Department policy on same-sex domestic partners.

Ambassador Guest's distinguished diplomatic career, spanning 26 years, took him to posts as diverse as Moscow, Prague, Paris and Hong Kong. His Washington positions included deputy director for political affairs in the Office of European Security and Political Affairs and acting assistant secretary for legislative affairs. Before retiring, he served as dean of the Leadership and Management School at the Foreign Service Institute.

Guest admits that for the first half of his career, when he was without a domestic partner, he was not especially aware of the lack of a coherent State Department policy on gay members of household. It was after he met his life partner, Alex Nevarez, in 1995, and the two prepared for Guest's overseas assignment in Prague, that the challenges were brought home to him.

"It wasn't as if we were handed a list of regulations," he says. "Instead, we ran into obstacles piecemeal: on each separate issue we'd get one office or another saying, 'No, you can't do that.'"

By the time Guest was appointed ambassador to Romania in 2001, he sustained the hope that some of the stumbling blocks still in front of same-sex domestic partners would soon be removed. "I understood the limitations we were up against because of our Prague experience, but I believed State's policy was truly changing, especially since Secretary of State Madeleine Albright had taken initial steps to address the issues and Secretary of State Colin Powell swore me in with my partner at my side. But I soon came to realize there was no progress being made at all."

MIKKELA THOMPSON

Former Ambassador Michael Guest accepts the Christian A. Herter Award for Constructive Dissent, presented by Ambassador Edward "Gib" Lanpher at an AFSA ceremony at the State Department on June 22, 2006.

Guest recalls a phone call he received in Bucharest from a staff member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: "It was two weeks after 9/11. I had serious issues to deal with for our country, and I was being asked if my partner's socks and underwear were shipped at government expense to Bucharest." (They weren't; Guest and Nevarez were meticulous about separating their effects.)

Mr. Nevarez was unable to use the embassy health unit without paying a fee, was barred from the commissary and other facilities, had to pay for shipment of all personal effects and airfare and was not eligible to be evacuated in case of emergency. Yet Nevarez was engaged in ambassadorial representational activities and was committed to contributing to the morale and spirit of the embassy community.

In 2004, Guest experienced what he calls a "crystal-clear moment" while standing in the cafeteria at the National Foreign Affairs Training Center. A young FSO approached and told the ambassador that he had hesitated to join the Foreign Service, fearing an unwelcoming attitude toward homosexuals, but was now a new officer, inspired by Guest's career. "I suddenly felt sad that this new, enthusiastic officer just didn't know what he was in for," Guest recalls. "And that's when I started to take the issue seriously and realized I needed to do more. I don't even know that officer's name, but he was my catalyst."

For the next three years, Guest constantly lobbied senior department officials for fair treatment of same-sex domestic partners. Frustrated by the lack of progress on this issue, he retired in 2007. Guest recalls,

"It was only after House Foreign Affairs Committee ranking member Ileana Ros Lehtinen, R-Fla., asked Secretary Rice about my departure at an open hearing in February 2008 that the Secretary took the step of opening the Security Overseas Seminar to partners on a space-available basis — something I'd pushed for since the fall of 2004."

After Guest retired from the Foreign Service, he was flooded with requests to speak publicly about his experiences. When Mark Bromley, a Washington-based human rights lawyer, and Julie Dorf, the San Francisco-based founder of the International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission, approached him about creating the Council for Global Equality, he jumped at the opportunity to be in the forefront of effecting change.

The council is made up of 11 human rights and lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender organizations working together to promote equality in the United States and overseas. Council members describe their effort as "a principled attempt to ensure that those who represent America — in Congress, the White House, U.S. embassies and U.S. corporations — use the diplomatic, political and economic leverage available to them to oppose human rights abuses that too often are directed at individuals because of their sexual orientation, gender identity or gender expression."

Lately, the council has focused attention on S. 2521, the Domestic Partner Benefits and Obligations Act. Members of the council and other organizations gave statements underscoring the need for equal rights for domestic partners at a Senate committee hearing on Sept. 24. In October, the AFSA Governing Board voted to join Gays and Lesbians in Foreign Affairs Agencies in a written statement supporting this legislation. Unfortunately, although there is a strong support base for the bill, there was not time for it to move forward before the close of the last congressional session. It will be introduced again next year, with the council, GLIFAA and AFSA among its strong proponents.

Meanwhile, Guest, who earned a 2006 AFSA Constructive Dissent Award for his work on the issue, is dividing his time between advising the council, speaking on workplace-equality issues at conferences and conventions and, as of this writing, working on several policy committees for the Barack Obama presidential campaign.

Steve Kashkett, AFSA vice president for State, calls Guest "a pioneer," saying that he has "courageously drawn attention to the unique disadvantages and hardships faced by domestic partners of Foreign Service members assigned overseas. Unlike domestic federal employees, our members abroad incur huge out-of-pocket costs to cover the travel and expenses of their partners, who are in every respect their family members. As an ambassador and a rising star in the Foreign Service, Mike risked his own career advancement to put this issue on the table for the Secretary of State and the director general."

Although retiring from the Foreign Service was a difficult decision for Guest, he has no regrets. "Leaving was the right thing for me to do. I had to balance the demands of career, life and family." Guest's departure from the State Department was ultimately a family issue. "I'm not asking the State Department to approve gay marriage," he explains. "I'm just asking the government to support my family as they would any other Foreign Service family."

For more information about the Council for Global Equality, please visit the council's Web site at www.globalequality.org/ ❑

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

AFSA: "Set the Record Straight" on Iraq Assignments

On Oct. 2, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice issued an ALDAC telegram noting that more than enough personnel have volunteered for unaccompanied assignments in Iraq and Afghanistan. Sec. Rice congratulated staff on their courage, loyalty and patriotism.

As the 7th floor had no statement for the media on this important development, AFSA issued a press release on the same day, applauding the many Foreign Service and Civil Service personnel who have stepped forward to fill every single position in Iraq and Afghanistan voluntarily, as they have done each year since the start of these missions. AFSA also pointed out that this news offered the media a chance to "set the record straight," since the public's perception of the Foreign Service had been undeservedly diminished as a result of slanted and faulty reporting on this topic a year ago.

AFSA's statement is reprinted here in its entirety:

"The American Foreign Service Association (AFSA) welcomes Secretary Rice's announcement that the Department of State has now filled all of its positions at the U.S. missions in Iraq and Afghanistan for the summer 2009 assignment cycle with qualified, willing volunteers — as has been the case every year since those two diplomatic missions came into existence. It is a tribute to the courage and sense of duty of the people of the Foreign Service that our members, as well as a number of Civil Service colleagues, have stepped forward without hesitation every year to staff the embassies and Provincial Reconstruction Teams in those two war zones. These are our largest diplomatic missions in the world, and they present unique dangers and challenges to the thousands of our members who have volunteered since 2003.

"AFSA hopes that those journalists, media outlets and commentators who erroneously reported last October that the Department of State had been unable to fully staff the Iraq mission will now show as much zeal in reporting that, in fact, every one of these positions in both Iraq and Afghanistan for summer 2009 has been filled more than eight months in advance. Those journalists did a great disservice to the Department of State and its employees — who have never shied away from hardship service in some of the most dangerous places on earth — and we hope that these journalists will now set the record straight."

The statement generated some media response, mostly on Internet news sites, but AFSA continues to press for fuller and more unbiased coverage. AFSA's officers and staff have repeatedly urged journalists who cover the State Department to help correct a misleading and damaging perception that Foreign Service officers are unwilling to serve in dangerous posts.

Award Call • Continued from page 59

thin serving in increasing numbers of dangerous and difficult posts, where our members are using their skills to promote our nation's vital interests. The situation facing today's Foreign Service makes AFSA's 40-year-old awards program more relevant than ever.

No one can win unless he or she is nominated. Now is the time to honor those who have the professional courage and integrity to speak out, using appropriate channels; who take a stand for what they believe is right; who confront the status quo; who ask tough questions; who offer alternative solutions; and who give the best possible counsel that members of the Foreign Service are trained to give. The way to honor them is to nominate them for one of our AFSA Constructive Dissent Awards.

> Now is the time to honor those who have the professional courage and integrity to speak out.

In recent years, AFSA has often not received qualifying nominations in all available categories. Despite that fact, we are convinced that Foreign Service members worldwide continue to practice constructive dissent; what we find is a shortage of colleagues who recognize those acts of dissent and take the time to submit nominations. Thus, we encourage all members to think about colleagues who have taken a stand over the past year, and to nominate them for one of these prestigious awards. We especially encourage members to nominate colleagues from other foreign affairs agencies, from other sections and outside one's own chain of command. In the hour or two it takes to write a nomination, you will be upholding the best traditions of our Service.

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

• The **Tex Harris Award** for a Foreign Service specialist.

• The **Averell Harriman Award** for an entry-level officer (FS 4, 5 or 6).

• The **William Rivkin Award** for a mid-career officer (FS 1, 2 or 3).

• The **Christian A. Herter Award** for a senior officer (FE/OC-FE/CA).

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

• The **Delevan Award**, for an Office Management Specialist who has made a significant contribution to post or office effectiveness and morale beyond the framework of his/her job responsibilities.

• The **M. Juanita Guess Award**, for a Community Liaison Officer who has demonstrated outstanding leadership, dedication, initiative or imagination in assisting the families of Americans serving at an overseas post.

• The **Avis Bohlen Award**, for a Foreign Service Eligible Family Member whose relations with the American and foreign communities at post have done the most to advance the interests of the United States.

As with AFSA's dissent awards, winners receive a cash prize of $2,500 and will be honored at a ceremony in late June in the Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room at the State Department.

Details on nomination procedures and guidelines are online at www.afsa.org/awards/index.cfm. There you will find a hyperlink to articles about the 2008 AFSA award winners, as well as a listing of all past award winners.

The deadline for submitting nominations is Feb. 27, 2009.

Under the supervision of the AFSA Awards and Plaques Committee, chaired by Ambassador John Limbert, all nominations are reviewed and vetted. All nominations will be acknowledged.

Any questions may be directed to Barbara Berger, Coordinator for Professional Issues, by e-mail to berger@afsa.org, by telephone at (202) 338-4045, ext. 521, or by fax to (202) 338-6820. ❑

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

Jonathan Sperling Joins Governing Board

AFSA's Governing Board welcomes Jonathan Sperling as a new retiree representative.

Mr. Sperling, a retired Senior Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Agency for International Development, brings to the board 28 years of experience in the planning, design, evaluation and negotiation of development programs in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, the Balkans and the former Soviet Union for USAID. Since 1994, he has worked as a consultant for U.S. and host-country private voluntary organizations, nongovernmental organizations and private-sector firms.

Mr. Sperling's expertise includes grant and contract management, program design and evaluation, strategic and financial planning, and assessment and risk analysis of commercial and developmental investment proposals. He has been intimately involved with recruiting and training new USAID Foreign Service employees under both the new entry professional and development leadership initiative programs since early 2001.

Mr. Sperling previously served on the AFSA Governing Board as USAID rep from 1979 to 1981. He has two daughters, Alexandra and Victoria, and enjoys jogging, sailing and reading.

Thank you to ...

Oscar de Soto, who has retired from the AFSA Governing Board as of Sept. 30. However, Mr. De Soto is still very much involved in AFSA activities: he is chairing the Elections Committee for the upcoming AFSA election season. ❑

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In Memory

Elizabeth Ravdin Bergus, 80, wife of the late FSO and former ambassador Donald C. Bergus, died on Dec. 18, 2007, in Cape May Courthouse, N.J.

A resident of the island town of Strathmere, N.J., Mrs. Bergus was born in 1927 in Philadelphia. She attended Friends Central School, Sarah Lawrence College and the School of Nursing of the University of Pennsylvania. In 1950, she met and married FSO Donald C. Bergus. The couple began their married life in Beirut, eventually serving in Paris, Washington, D.C., Cairo, Ankara and Khartoum.

Despite the era's limits on a woman's role — in the Foreign Service at that time, a diplomat's wife was not permitted to hold an outside job — Elizabeth Bergus carved out a role as her husband's closest political confidant and a bridge to local civic leaders, especially women's groups. As her husband rose through the ranks, Mrs. Bergus' diplomatic duties grew until she was organizing and presiding over more than 500 official receptions, diplomatic dinners, committee meetings and other events annually. Her organizational skills carried her family — including daughters Elizabeth and Priscilla, and son George — through 12 major household relocations.

Upon her husband's retirement in 1980, the couple returned to Mrs. Bergus' summer childhood home in Strathmere, where with her husband's support she continued her active public service. As president of the Strathmere Improvement Association, she led a vigorous, three-year campaign to get state and township authorities to replace the town's bankrupt water company and provide healthy water for the town's residents. In 1986, she and her husband led efforts to build a modern firehouse that could also serve as a disaster-response shelter and community meeting place.

As a member of the Strathmere Volunteer Fire Company, Mrs. Bergus responded to emergency call-outs 24 hours a day and served as its secretary. She was elected a Strathmere Fire District commissioner and served as clerk of the Fire Commission. In her 60s, she became a certified emergency medical technician, later becoming one of the first EMTs in New Jersey to be qualified to administer cardiac defibrilation. Joining the Volunteer Ambulance Corps in the nearby city of Sea Isle, N.J. — and later named its president — she was among the top responders to emergency calls across the island.

An active citizen advocate in local township affairs, she was a member of the zoning board and also served as deputy emergency manager, monitoring storm and other disaster threats and helping to organize evacuations from this vulnerable area.

Despite her active public service, Mrs. Bergus was, first and foremost, devoted to her family. Her home was a center not only for her children and grandchildren, but to nieces and nephews as well.

Mrs. Bergus' husband, Donald, died in 1998. She is survived by her daughter Elizabeth Grace Bergus, of Pitman, N.J.; son George Ravdin Bergus (and his wife, Rebecca), of Iowa City, Iowa; daughter Priscilla Bergus Laurence (and her husband, Andrew) of London; five grandchildren and one great-granddaughter.

In lieu of flowers, contributions in her honor may be sent to the Strathmere Volunteer Fire Company to be used for medical equipment.

Elden Burt Erickson, 88, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on March 30 in Solomons, Md.

Mr. Erickson — Eric to his friends — was born in Norway, Kan. He received his bachelor's and master's degrees from Emporia State University, where he majored in education and languages.

In 1942, unable to pass the physical examination for officer candidate school, Mr. Erickson enlisted in the Army Air Corps. He spent more than a year with the Judge Advocate General's office in Florida, most of the time engaged in court reporting thanks to his facility at shorthand — a skill that was to prove invaluable in

the Foreign Service. In February 1944 he arrived in England and was part of the landing force on Utah Beach. He fought during the battle for Normandy and was offered a battlefield commission to second lieutenant. After hostilities ended, he was transferred to the military government and sent to Schwabach, where his knowledge of German was fully employed.

In 1946, Mr. Erickson returned to Kansas to teach languages at a small college. Later that year, recalling a USO-sponsored trip to Rome, where the imposing U.S. embassy had made a great impression on him, he applied to the State Department for work and was readily accepted.

Following training in Washington as a code clerk, he was sent to the consulate general in Mukden, Manchuria, in February 1948. There the Chinese Nationalists were attempting to hold the line against the Chinese Communist military forces. On Nov. 1, however, the Communists marched into Mukden unopposed.

Within a month, the American transmitters were confiscated, guards were in place around the consulate general and the living compound two blocks away, and the 13 Americans were taken hostage. Ultimately, Consul General Angus Ward and four staffers were removed and put in solitary confinement. Within the compound, conditions during those winter months were horrendous. The electricity had been cut off, and it was so bitterly cold that the pump froze, and they could not bathe. Their baked bread had to be sliced to remove the cockroaches.

After a month, Ward and the others were returned. In June 1949, after a sham trial, Erickson was sentenced to three years in prison for "espionage." The sentence was later commuted to immediate deportation and banishment. However, this saga did not end until December, when the Americans were suddenly informed they were to depart in 24 hours. After 40 hours aboard an ice-cold train with windows stuck wide open to the frigid air, they reached Tientsin, and were turned over to American diplomatic personnel.

From 1950 to 1954, Mr. Erickson served in Algiers in the economic section; from there, he was assigned to Paris. He was commissioned as an FSO in 1955, and in 1956 returned to Asia for a tour in Vientiane. There he met Foreign Service staff assistant Patricia Gordon, a Berkeley graduate and fluent French-speaker, whom he married upon completion of their tours in Laos.

The East Asia Bureau in Washington was next. A highlight of that tour was serving as escort officer for Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia on the latter's visits to the U.S. In 1962, the Erickson family, now including a son, Mark, arrived in Kobe, where Mr. Erickson served as economic officer and deputy principal officer. In 1964, he attended the Air War College in Alabama, before being posted to Beirut as economic counselor in 1965.

With its scores of banks and head offices of many foreign businesses, Beirut was considered an island of calm in a troubled region. That changed suddenly with the outbreak of the Six Days War in 1967, and the Erickson family joined hundreds of other evacuees leaving by air or by ship for Rome or other safe havens.

Mr. Erickson served as chief of personnel for the Far East Bureau in Washington from 1967 to 1970, not a happy sinecure during the time of forced assignments to Vietnam. He then became consul general in Rotterdam, an assignment that ended in 1974. A posting to Tokyo as economic/commercial counselor followed. Pollution-related health problems of his family forced a curtailment of that assignment, and Mr. Erickson next went to Ottawa as economic/commercial counselor from 1975 to 1978. His final assignment was to the consulate general in Frankfurt, ironically the place where he had first sat for the Foreign Service examination three decades earlier.

Following retirement in 1980, Mr. Erickson worked on Freedom of Information Act issues and as a fact-checker for *U.S. News & World Report*.

He is survived by his wife of 50 years, Patricia Erickson, of Solomons, Md., and their son, Mark, of Tampa, Fla.

Sharyn Roberta Moss, 62, a former cultural affairs officer and wife of the late FSO Stanley Moss, died on Aug. 29 at her home in Novato, Calif.

Born in New York City on Oct. 15, 1945, Sharyn Moss graduated from Sheepshead Bay High School in Brooklyn and received her bachelor's and master's of science degrees from Brooklyn College. She then taught physical education at Sayville High School, Long Island, N.Y., for five years. During a vacation, she planned to meet her girlfriends in Greece after first visiting Israel. In Greece, however, she decided to cut her visit short to go back and spend more time in Israel. Falling in love with the country, she returned to New York, learned Hebrew, left her promising teaching position and lived in Israel for the next 10 years.

In Israel, Ms. Moss served as a cultural attaché at the embassy in Tel Aviv, where she met her husband, FSO Stanley David Moss. The couple returned to the U.S., married and settled in Marin County. Living in Tiburon, Calif., for a year, they then

discovered Pacheco Valley and moved to Novato in 1986. Ms. Moss worked for the U.S. District Court in San Francisco for 12 years.

After her husband's death in 1999, Ms. Moss worked as a legal assistant at three prestigious San Francisco law firms and was active in the Novato community. As president of Indian Valley Artists, she helped establish an art gallery and studios for the group. She served as chair of the Novato Arts Commission and as a board member of the Novato Arts Foundation. She also served on the city's Strategic Plan Oversight Committee, the Sustainable Novato organization and as a board member of Foreign Service Retirees of Northern California.

In mid-2006, Ms. Moss suffered a stroke, and was diagnosed a year later with Amyotrophic Lateral Sclerosis, commonly known as Lou Gehrig's disease. She approached ALS with the same positive strength and humor with which she had lived her entire life. Despite her medical condition, in 2006 she hosted many Novato Architecture Selection Committee public meetings in her home to complete her service as vice chairperson. Ms. Moss cherished her roots in Novato as well as her loving cats, TomTom and Maggie.

She is survived by her father and mother, Dr. Harold and Selma Carl of Florida, and an aunt, Charlotte Russell of New York.

David Brighton Timmins, 78, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on July 16 at his home in Salt Lake City, Utah.

Born in Salt Lake City on May 21, 1930, the son of William Montana and Mary Brighton Timmins, he attended the University of Utah, where he earned B.S. and M.S. degrees. He later attended Harvard University as a Littauer Fellow, earning a master's degree in public administration and a Ph.D. in economics. Mr. Timmins' dissertation on the newly created Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the first analytical treatment of this organization, was published in book form (*The International Policy Coordinator Instrument — the OECD*) on the OECD's silver anniversary in 1986.

In 1952, Mr. Timmins married Laurel Mae Nelson of Morgan, Utah. They had four children and were later divorced. In 1978, he married Lola Ann Gygi of Salt Lake City.

Mr. Timmins joined the Foreign Service in 1955. His overseas postings included the U.K., France (twice) and Iceland. He served as executive assistant and secretary of delegation to the NATO ambassador and, later, as chief of the economic section in Spain, Morocco and Guatemala. He also had several assignments at the State Department in Washington, D.C., including a tour as a member of the Board of Examiners.

As deputy director of the Bureau of Economic Research, Mr. Timmins briefed the under secretary of State for economic affairs, predicting the OPEC oil embargo and organizing an international seminar on the emerging problem of multinational corporations. He also served as senior economist in the State Department's Office of International Monetary Affairs and as deputy director of the Office of European Political-Economic Affairs.

Following his retirement in 1982, he accompanied his wife Lola on her Foreign Service assignments to France, Mexico, China, Romania and Switzerland.

Mr. Timmins particularly enjoyed teaching international economics and finance at some of the foremost universities in the countries where he and his wife served, as well as in the Washington, D.C., area. On assignment in Guatemala, he was also executive director of the American Chamber of Commerce, a board member of the Guatemala-America Society and professor of finance and economics at Francisco Marroquin University. During tours in Paris, he was also professor of comparative economics at the American University of Paris, business manager of the American Cathedral and consultant to the International Energy Agency.

While an accompanying spouse in Mexico, Mr. Timmins assisted with establishment of the temporary worker visa program centered in Hermosillo, while simultaneously teaching economics at the Instituto Tecnológico de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey. In China, he was business manager of the International School of Beijing, and also worked at the embassy. In Switzerland, he taught at the Geneva Campus of Webster University.

During Washington assignments, Mr. Timmins was a visiting lecturer at The George Washington University, the University of Maryland and the University of Northern Virginia. Upon the couple's return to Utah, he taught at Brigham Young University-Salt Lake City for several years. In 1996, he ran (unsuccessfully) for Congress from Utah's second district. During his active career, he was listed in *Who's Who* and *American Men and Women of Science*.

Mr. Timmins is survived by his wife Lola, of Salt Lake City, Utah; sons Mark David of Provo, Utah, and Robert William (and his wife, Karen) of Eagle River, Ark.; daughters Karen Marie Brown (and her husband, Blaine) of Provo, Utah, and Catherine Margaret McGreevy (and her husband, Patrick) of Folsom, Calif.; and 16 grandchildren. ■

BUILDING RESILIENCY IN GLOBAL NOMADS

MOVING CHILDREN FROM COUNTRY TO COUNTRY IS BOTH CHALLENGING AND REWARDING. HERE IS A GUIDE TO THE ISSUES OF TRANSITION THAT ARE INVOLVED.

BY REBECCA GRAPPO

As the afternoon sun filtered its golden rays through the curtains, I sat on the sofa facing a young man earnestly telling me about his life abroad. There was pain in his eyes as he described how he did not feel like he could connect with his extended family and his peers now that he was home again. He wondered what was wrong with him that made it so difficult to fit in. I asked him if he had ever heard of Third Culture Kids. As I explained TCKs to him, the light bulb went on and I could see a huge weight lift from his shoulders. "You mean it's not me? I'm not weird? There's nothing wrong with me?" I smiled and told him, "No, you are absolutely normal. It's just that you are a classic Third Culture Kid." The sense of relief on his face made me both smile and feel sadness for a young person who had felt so misunderstood.

As Ruth van Reken and the late David Pollack, two of the foremost experts in the field, wrote in *Third Culture Kids: The Experience of Growing Up Among Worlds* (Nicholas Brealey, 2000): "A Third Culture Kid is a person who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parents' culture. The TCK builds relationships to all of the cultures, while not having full ownership in any. Although elements from each culture are assimilated into the TCK's life experience, a sense of belonging is in relationship to others of similar background."

If one can generalize about TCKs, they have experienced life overseas, outside of their home cultures and comfort zones, and feel that their lives have been enriched by the many diverse experiences they have had. Most of these young people understand that they now possess a three-dimensional world view, and have become more flexible in their thinking as a result of the many transitions they have made. The typical TCK appreciates diversity and multiculturalism, and finds life in a place where everyone is the same to be boring. They tend to be more mature than many of their peers, comfortable with adults and self-confident. As a result of living in new and changing environments, they often develop an active and curious mind.

The young man in this anecdote, though not an American, is typical of the many Foreign Service youth and other young people I work with. Despite the many advantages that come from growing up overseas, many TCKs wonder where they belong, and don't understand why they feel so different from their peers when they return to the country of their passport. Defining "home" is a challenge. It may be at once everywhere and nowhere, because the emotional and physical state of "home" may not be the

Rebecca (Becky) Grappo, an educational consultant and FS spouse, raised three children and sent them all to college while in the Foreign Service. She specializes in boarding schools and college planning and is a Certified Educational Planner and a member of both the Independent Educational Consultants Association and the National Association of College Admissions Counselors. A former education and youth officer in the Family Liaison Office at the Department of State, she is currently posted with her husband in Muscat. You can visit her Web site at www.rebeccagrappo.com.

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His or her entire world can change with a single plane ride — with people, places, things, sights, smells, lifestyle and identity gone forever.

same. One Foreign Service family I know has a plaque they take everywhere with them that sums it up: "Home is wherever we are."

From a young person's point of view, probably the single biggest issue with a highly mobile lifestyle is finding and keeping friends. The good news is that TCKs have friends all over the world — and the bad news is that their friends *are* all over the world. On the one hand, these kids tend to invest heavily and quickly in relationships: they understand that it's important to jump in because the clock is ticking. On the other, some are so tired of goodbyes that they become reluctant to invest in new relationships they know will end.

They also understand what it's like to be the new person, and are often empathetic to newcomers. In some locations, the American international school is dominated by local children so it is difficult to break into established patterns and groups, especially if there are language differences. These challenges with friendships are particularly important during adolescence, when peer acceptance is such a huge part of a young person's identity and self-esteem.

Dealing with Loss

In addition to feelings of confusion about the sense of belonging and finding and keeping friends,

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

there are the feelings of loss and sadness that accompany moves. It is very important to understand the extent to which loss can affect the individual child. His or her entire world can change with a single plane ride — with people, places, things, sights, smells, lifestyle and identity gone forever. There is no rite of passage to mark this loss, so many young people actually grieve the loss of life as they knew it. In fact, I have heard young people describe moving almost as if a death had occurred.

TCKs need to be able to articulate their emotions and understand that the sense of loss is also a normal part of the adjustment process. Failure to adequately process these feelings can lead to other emotions that may include anger, denial, depression, withdrawal from activities, rebellion and, on rare occasions, self-destructive behaviors. Transitions are a time when the Foreign Service young person needs comfort more than ever. They need to understand that it's okay to express their feelings so that healing can take place. Knowing that their parent, a teacher or a mentor cares and understands what they are going through is vital.

Parents of TCKs are understandably concerned about the effect of the moves on their children. So what can parents do to help bring out the best of these experiences and minimize and cope with some of the negatives? Perhaps the first step is to understand the phases of transition.

Leaving begins when the news of the next move is first announced; slowly the psychological separation from a post starts to take place.

One well-known transition model espoused by Pollack and Van Reken defines five phases. They are: involvement, leaving, chaos/crisis, entering and re-involvement. Awareness of these stages helps parents and schools respond appropriately. The goal is to guide our families through the transition in a way that enhances each member's resiliency.

Five Phases of Transition

Involvement is the stage when life is humming along, before a move. Everyone is used to their routines and feeling well-adjusted. **Re-involvement** happens when, after a move, the family is once again back on track — feeling happy, in control of life. Kids will tell you they just want life to be "normal" again. It's what happens in the middle of this cycle — the leaving, chaos/crisis/ and entering part — that is the great challenge!

Leaving begins when the news of the next move is first announced; slowly the psychological separation from a post starts to take place. A family might have a year to go through this stage, or just a few months or weeks. As someone once told me, telling the family is like dropping a fishing line. You drop the info, keep it out there and, eventually, the family takes it on board. Each member will process it in his or her

Continued on page 88

USEFUL LINKS:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Schools at a Glance

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

School Name	Page Number	Enrollment	Gender Distribution M/F	Percent Boarding	Percent International	Levels Offered	Common Application	Accepts/Offers ADD and LD	Miles to Int'l Airport	Int'l Students Orientation	Dorms w/E-mail & Phones	Holiday Break Coverage	Annual Tuition, Room & Board (USD)
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL													
Browne Academy	80	288	49/51	NA	1	PK-8	N	N	5	NA	NA	NA	12,210-20,240
ELEMENTARY/JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL													
Langley School, The	94	477	50/50	NA	0	PS-8	Y	N	15	NA	NA	NA	12,600-25,410
ELEMENTARY/JUNIOR/SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL													
Barrie School	80	400	50/50	NA	NA	PK-12	NA	Limited	31	NA	NA	NA	11,300-23,150
Holton-Arms School, The	98	650	NA	NA	3.5	3-12	N	NA	20	NA	NA	NA	28,500
Washington International School	82	885	48/52	NA	70	PK-12	N	Limited	8	Y	N	N	26,910
JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL													
Indian Mountain School	99	260	60/40	37	12	PK-9	N	Y	50	N	Y	N	39,915
North Country School	88	92	49/43	88	23	4-9	Y	Y	125	N	Y/N	N	46,900
JUNIOR/SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL													
Brandon Hall School	100	120	84/16	46	20	4-12, PG	Y	Y	32	Y	Y	N	25,500-49,000
British School of Washington	93	380	55/45	NA	50	PK-12	N	N	10	Y	NA	Y	20,475
Hawaii Preparatory Academy	77	575	50/50	37	20	6-12, PG	Y	N	36	N	Y	N	36,150
Oldfields School	98	180	All girls	75	15	8-12, PG	Y	Limited	35	N	Y	Y	40,075
SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL													
Advanced Academy of Georgia	79	100	45/55	100	11	11-12*	N	Limited	50	Y	Y	Y	10,300-19,900
Conserve School	93	147	46/54	100	25	9-12	N	N	250	Y	Y	N	30,000
Darrow School	78	98	60/40	80	15	9-12	Y	Y	40	Y	Y	N	41,200**
Foxcroft School	80	185	All girls	76	16	9-12	Y	Limited	30	N	Y	Y	40,950
Georgetown Preparatory School	100	466	All boys	20	10	9-12	N	Y	20	Y	Y	N	42,000
Idyllwild Arts Academy	92	270	45/55	85	32	9-12, PG	Y	N	120	Y	Y	N	44,900
Interlochen Arts Academy	80	475	40/60	89	18	9-12, PG	N	N	16	Y	Y	N	35,850-37,450
King George School, The	89	72	60/40	100	5	9-12	Y	Y	60	N	N/N	Y	5,800/mon
Lawrence Academy	89	398	50/50	50	15	9-12	Y	Limited	40	Y	Y	Y	44,200
Lowell Whiteman School, The	94	97	55/45	50	4	9-12	Y	Y	195	Y	Y	Limited	32,250
Mercersburg Academy	84	440	54/46	85	14	9-12, PG	Y	Limited	90	Y	Y	N	41,350
Olney Friends School	100	65	50-50	90	41	9-12	Y	N	100	Y	N	N	27,200
Rock Point School	89	40	60/40	88	3	9-12	Y	Y	6	Y	Y	N	44,300
St. Paul's School	96	533	50/50	100	17	9-12	N	Y	70	N	Y	N	41,300

Notes: NA - Not Applicable ADD - Attention Deficit Disorder LD - Learning Disability PK - Pre-Kindergarten PG - Postgraduate

** Younger students may apply. ** Tutorial program additional.*

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SCHOOLS AT A GLANCE

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

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 85

SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL (CONTINUED)

School Name	Page Number	Enrollment	Gender Distribution M/F	Percent Boarding	Percent International	Levels Offered	Common Application	Accepts/Offers ADD and LD	Miles to Int'l Airport	Int'l Students Orientation	Dorms w/E-mail & Phones	Holiday Break Coverage	Annual Tuition, Room & Board (USD)
Villanova Preparatory School	97	320	50/50	35	30	9-12	Y	Limited	82	Y	Y	N	39,000
West Nottingham Academy	95	123	40/60	67	22	9-12, PG	Y	Y	50	Y	Y	N	34,900
Western Reserve Academy	98	370	55/45	68	12	9-12, PG	N	N	30	Y	Y	N	37,900

MILITARY SCHOOLS

Marine Military Academy	87	340	All boys	100	18	8-12, PG	N	Limited	1	Y	Y	N	26,800

SPECIAL NEEDS SCHOOLS

Gow School, The	97	148	All boys	100	22	7-12, PG	N	Y	20	Y	Y	N	46,250
Kildonan School, The	90	140	70/30	60	7	2-12, PG	N	Y	90	Y	Y	N	51,500
Landmark School	99	447	60/40	50	10	2-12	N	Y	25	N	Y	N	Call
Riverview School	92	180	50/50	96	4	6-12, PG	N	Y	75	Y	Y	N	65,498
Vanguard School, The	82	131	70/30	98	30	5-12, PG	Y	Y	50	Y	Y	N	41,500

DISTANCE LEARNING

American Public University		30,000 students; 50-50 ratio; 1% Intl.*; AA, BA, MA; ADD & LD; Tuition: 750/3 credits, 825/3 grad. credits.
University of Missouri-Ctr. Distance & Ind. Study	83	Independent study: Grade 3 through university. Bachelor's degree completion. For more information, go to cdis.missouri.edu/go/FSD8.aspx

OVERSEAS SCHOOLS

American Overseas School of Rome	99	630	50/50	NA	65	PK-12, PG	N	Y	30	Y	NA	N	11,121-23,367
Country Day School, Guanacaste	91	150	50/50	15	80	PK-12	N	N	40	Y	Y	N	24,580
Escuela Campo Alegre	88	617	50/50	NA	80	N-12	NA	Limited	20	Y	NA	N	19,895
Jakarta International School	81	2,438	50/50	NA	80	K-12	NA	Limited	30	Y	NA	N	6,400-19,070
Leysin American School in Switzerland	95	370	52/48	100	65	8-12, PG	Y	Limited	75	Y	Y	N	38,000-43,000
Marymount International School, London	93	250	All girls	40	75	6-12	N	Limited	12	Y	Y	Y	49,000
Marymount International School, Rome	89	750	40/60	17	58	PK-12	N	Limited	15	Y	N	N	10,125-19,500
St. Stephens School	98	229	48/52	17	65	9-12, PG	N	N	12	NA	Y	N	38,000**
TASIS, The American School in England	78	750	46/54	21	39	PK-12	Y	Limited	8	Y	Y	N	9,350-45,475
Woodstock School	96	470	50/50	85	56	PK-12	N	N	230	Y	Y	N	19,000

POST-SECONDARY

St. Mary's University	83	2,372	40/60	49	4.3	BA, MA, PhD	N	Y	13	Y	Y	N	29,928
Quest University Canada	100	Liberal Art and Sciences degree; Block plan: one course at a time; Twenty-student seminar-style classes; international student body; www.questu.ca											

*Notes: NA - Not Applicable ADD - Attention Deficit Disorder LD - Learning Disability PK - Pre-Kindergarten PG - Postgraduate * 10% + overseas U.S. citizens*

*** 29,550 Euros - USD equivalent based on the November 2008 exchange rate.*

Continued from page 82

own way and according to their developmental stage. It is the task of each person to, at once, remain engaged and yet disengage, in order to be ready to move on.

Family members begin thinking ahead and talking about where they will be, what it will be like, what they want to take with them (both souvenirs and memories), as well as the things they want to do "one last time" before departing. This is when kids might start thinking about having to say goodbye to friends. Don't be surprised if your child fights with his or her best friend as the move gets closer — subconsciously, some children find ways to get mad so that leaving won't be so hard. The role of parents is to guide them through this so that all goodbyes can be said on good terms, and there is a sense of closure.

Chaos/Crisis is what hits when life gets packed up in a box. The household is torn apart — nobody can find anything — and everyone is feeling off-balance. The stress level increases, and tempers may shorten. There may be many rounds of farewells, and everyone is running in different directions. It's the hardest time to be present for one another, yet probably the most important. This is when it's essential to manage concerns and expectations about the upcoming move, and for everyone to be able to express feelings and worries. Parents should model the attitudes and behaviors they want the children to emulate, but they may be feeling ambivalent and frazzled about the move, too.

It is a good idea for the family to discuss the bumps in the road ahead and make a plan for how they will overcome them.

It is a good idea for the family to discuss the bumps in the road ahead and make a plan for how they will overcome them. They may consciously ask themselves how they feel now and how each wants to feel after the move. By setting an optimistic and determined tone for the relocation, while admitting their own struggles in an honest and appropriate way, parents can lay the basis for their children's growing resiliency.

This is vital, as children are often the "canary in the mine." They can mirror the feelings they perceive at home, so it's critical that parents are able to lead the family in positive ways. If there are additional or extraordinary stress factors at home, it is important to inform the school staff who interact with your children so that they can offer comfort and support as needed.

Entering is the other end of the chaos/crisis stage. Perhaps your life-in-boxes hasn't arrived yet, or perhaps it just did — all 7,000-plus pounds, unpacked and strewn about the house! This is when the family is faced with many survival tasks: Where do we find the things we need to get on with daily life? How do we get the kids enrolled in school? Where are the sheets and pillowcases so we can sleep tonight? How can we get Internet and phone service to reconnect with the outside world? Parents may be worried about the logistics of living, and one or both may be confronting a new work and commuting situation. There are a million things to do, nerves are frayed, and money may be tighter than usual.

For kids, the overriding concern may be who will eat lunch with them on the first day of school.

For kids, the overriding concern may be who will eat lunch with them on the first day of school. "Will anybody like me? Will I ever make any new friends?" they wonder. They are probably more concerned about peer acceptance than they are about academics. Most likely, everyone in the family is going through some form of culture shock (whether it's a return to one's home country or some other exotic place), as well as feeling a sense of loss for the home they just left behind.

Setting the Tone

Some parenting strategies that have been found to be effective during this difficult time include maintaining routines, structure and discipline at home to give a sense of order to everyday life. It's important to uphold family standards of behavior and avoid the "parenting by guilt" syndrome. Children need to have some sense of control in their lives, but fight the battles over small choices, not ones that involve lowering

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The feeling that "we're in this together" probably explains why so many Foreign Service families think of themselves as close-knit.

standards or expectations of rules and behavior. Knowing that many parents feel guilty about moving the family invites some young people to exploit that vulnerability to test limits.

During this time of "entering," children and adolescents need the security of the family more than ever. The feeling that "we're in this together" probably explains why so many Foreign Service families think of themselves as close-knit. Kids are looking to parents for guidance on how to feel, react and behave to a life that may seem out of control. It's okay for parents to acknowledge that they have bad days, too, but a positive focus and outlook need to be maintained.

This may be the hardest time to manage family mealtime together; yet it is very important to do so, as children need to process and talk about what has happened to them during the day. Upholding family traditions also helps to bring order out of chaos. For instance, traveling with the same few objects that always represent "home" can help everyone feel more settled.

Perhaps one of the most difficult challenges for TCKs is to find out how they can reconnect with their peers again; and the older they get, the more complicated that may be. If they have developed a portable skill, talent or interest, they can more easily join a like-minded group in

their new community. But this is also a chance to encourage them to take advantage of new opportunities they previously did not have.

With younger children, parents can still guide the choice of friends and help to arrange opportunities to play together. Older children and adolescents will need to do this on their own more, and it is important that they choose a positive group of peers. Young people who have been bruised by the move may be at greater risk for falling in with a negative group. Parents must be vigilant during this time. The higher the child's self-esteem, the choosier they will be about their friends.

TCKs may find that one of the hardest questions to answer is "Where are you from?" They may wonder whether that means the last place they lived, the place they liked best, where they were born, where their house is, where their relatives live or where they spend summers. Does this person want the long or the short version of the story? It's not an easy question to answer, and it might be good to help your children practice a response.

It's always wonderful if TCKs can land in a place where their experience is valued, but that's not always possible.

Also, many people may not be able to relate to their experiences, and they will need parental guidance on how to handle that. It's always wonderful if TCKs can land in a place where their experience is valued, but may not always be possible. It's easy to dismiss those who don't value the international experience, especially when young people realize how much they have gained from it. However, in the words of Fiona Hogan, a Foreign Service teen: "The fruits of our Foreign Service life experiences should not make us proud as much as they should make us humble. The real virtue of being a Foreign Service kid is not how much we know, although it sure is a lot, but how much we should realize we don't know."

Most TCKs are able to make the adjustments in an international move with relatively few bumps and bruises. But how do you know when you should be concerned? Some warning

If you are at all concerned about your child, you should make school personnel aware of what your child has been experiencing.

signs might include: the inability to focus in class, regression in the behavior of young children, more frequent episodes of crying or anger, sadness or depression, withdrawal from friends and activities and, on rare occasions, self-destructive behavior. If you are at all concerned about your child, no matter what the age, you should make school personnel aware of what your child has been experiencing. If you feel your child needs more support than he or she is getting in the classroom, talk to a guidance counselor, family physician, psychologist or other mental health professional. Be sure the person consulted understands TCKs and transition issues.

Being a global nomad is a lifestyle full of adventure, fun and amazing experiences. But it's not easy on our youth. Often they are not able to articulate their own responses to the moves and upheaval. Families and schools can make a huge difference in the way these young people transition through these changes. Greater sensitivity to, and awareness of, their needs contribute to the ultimate goal: to raise healthy, happy and resilient Third Culture Kids. ■

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