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JOURNAL

THE MAGAZINE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS



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*AFSA's 2010 Annual Report*

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Shawn Dorman, EDITOR

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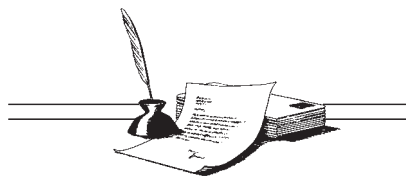
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# LETTERS

## Keep Pushing the Reserve Corps ...

Having read Susan Johnson's January President's Views column, "Time for the Foreign Service Reserve Corps," I agree with her points 100 percent. When you look at the benefits of utilizing a Foreign Service reserve corps — bottom-line cost and the experience it brings to State — it is a no-brainer. I encourage AFSA to continue highlighting this subject. It is good for State and it is good for those who served.

*Monte Marchant  
FSS, retired  
Canberra, Australia*

## ... And Don't Forget about FSNs

I agree with Susan Johnson's proposal in her January President's Views column to establish a reserve corps, uniting all the current When Actually Employed staff under one roof. Having been a WAE employee myself, I think this is a step in the right direction. However, there is a missing element that should be considered.

Every year the State Department loses a knowledgeable cadre of staff who are invaluable yet overlooked. By this I mean the retired Foreign Service Nationals (now called Locally Employed Staff), particularly those who have received special immigrant status.

Since the vast majority of these individuals have in excess of 20 years of dedicated service, they could help meet critical needs of the department.

I was employed in the Foreign Service for almost 20 years as a financial management officer. During this time I became acquainted with several hundred FSNs employed in financial management sections, many of whom could have performed my own job better than I did, and definitely better than many of the newly hired FMOs. When the department faces a critical situation, such as the establishment of a new embassy, these retired FSNs could be mobilized to assist in the training of new employees. And this expertise is not unique to the financial management area.

I realize that AFSA's mission does not actually extend to the FSN community, but is there any Foreign Service employee — generalist or specialist — who has not depended heavily on FSNs for help doing their jobs? AFSA should welcome FSNs as associate members, and include them in the development of the reserve corps.

*Jim Maher  
FSS, retired  
Royal Palm Beach, Fla.*

## Women in the Foreign Service

As someone who entered the Foreign Service as an FSS-13 secretary in

1955, and later served as an FSO-7 economic officer in 1966, I read with interest Ronald Spiers' letter in the December *Journal* about the improved attitudes toward women within the Foreign Service ("Letting Women Lead"). However, he failed to note that the commitment of FS women themselves contributed to this trend.

My own heroines include the feisty Sofia Kearney, consul at my first post (Lima) and among the earliest female Foreign Service officers; and Ann Merriam Claudius, chief of the visa section in Mexico City in the early 1960s, who fought the rules and persuaded the State Department to allow her to remain in the Service following her marriage to a foreign national. They may not have reached the pinnacle of the hierarchy, but they showed me that it was possible to succeed as an FSO despite the manmade obstacles.

I am, of course, greatly pleased by the growing acceptance of women in leadership roles in the Foreign Service and the recognition that women have strengths of their own to contribute. But we should not forget our foremothers, who had a much harder road to travel and who, by their example, taught us that "Yes, we can."

*Bonnie Lincoln  
FSO, retired  
Fort Myers, Fla.*

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PASSPORT

## LETTERS

### China Expertise Wasted

I read with great interest and appreciation the FS Heritage article by Hannah Gurman in your November 2010 issue (“John S. Service: A Cold War Lightning Rod”).

Mr. Service, along with his colleague John Paton Davies and many other China hands of that generation, was a true inspiration to me during my university years; indeed, their example was a significant motivation in my desire to embark on a career in the Foreign Service. The damage to our diplomacy and to Sino-American relations done by their forced removal from the State Department and China affairs is incalculable, but it most certainly set us back several decades.

One would hope the department would have learned from this experience. But that does not appear to be the case. At a time when Beijing is re-asserting itself on the world stage, and will undoubtedly be our most important foreign policy relationship for the foreseeable future, the State Department appears to have blacklisted an entire generation of its current China specialists. It has done so by adopting a policy precluding service in China for my Foreign Service colleagues with PRC-born spouses, regardless of the spouses’ U.S. citizenship status.

There are perhaps dozens of such officers with extensive China experience gained before joining the Foreign Service, decades in some cases. They have developed expertise on China’s language, culture, history, economy and politics that the department desperately needs. Yet State allows these critical human resources to go to waste, precisely when it requires them the most.

I submit that we should have a more open and transparent dialogue

about the consequences of this policy. How dispiriting it must be for these officers to be held under an unwarranted cloud of suspicion by the department, simply for possessing the life experience that has prepared them help the State Department carry out our nation’s most important long-term foreign policy mission.

*Franc Shelton*

*FSO*

*U.S. Embassy Vientiane*

### Mind the Caps

I hope my fellow *Foreign Service Journal* readers will appreciate the following comment I recently submitted to *The Economist* magazine:

“The obituary of Ambassador Richard Holbrooke in your Dec. 18-31, 2010, issue again erroneously refers to the U.S. ‘foreign service’ (sic). Please be aware that the Foreign Service is an organized career corps with its own entry, promotion, salary and retirement systems, separate from both the Civil Service and the armed forces. Thus, to write ‘foreign service’ in lower case is the equivalent of referring to the ‘royal navy’ or ‘black watch.’

*Richard S. Dawson Jr.*

*FSO, retired*

*Uzès, France*

### Remembering Maynard Glitman

Ambassador Maynard W. Glitman died on Dec. 14, 2010. But “Mike” Glitman (no one who knew him for more than a Washington moment ever called him Maynard) died long ago, his mind stolen by dementia, a body- and consciousness-killing combination that destroyed one of the finest minds in the Foreign Service.

There were no diplomats or global internationalists in Mike’s family. Rath-

## LETTERS



er, his commitment to U.S. foreign relations came from study and a personal appreciation that the global challenge of communism was one that the generation following World War II was destined to face.

Isaiah Berlin divides people into “hedgehogs” and “foxes” — the foxes know and pursue many truths, and the hedgehog knows one great truth. Mike was the consummate hedgehog, and his truth was the North Atlantic Treaty Organization alliance and the effort to protect Europe and the West from Soviet domination.

After the standard variety of introductory Foreign Service assignments, Mike was sent as the politico-military specialist to Embassy Paris, where I met him. There he developed a life-

time appreciation of the value of NATO-U.S. relations and the professional skill to know how to maximize the “possible” from the starting point of disagreement.

Following high-level assignments at State and the Pentagon (where he was one of the authors of the “3-percent solution” to increase NATO conventional force strength and upgrade theater nuclear forces), Mike was assigned as deputy chief of mission for the U.S. Mission to NATO. There he encountered intermediate-range nuclear forces close up and personal — the challenge that would occupy the bulk of his professional career.

The long saga of the INF is recounted in *The Last Battle of the Cold War*, Mike’s tour-de-force analysis

(both strategic and tactical) of negotiating effectively with Soviets while managing the vagaries of the NATO alliance and the Washington interagency process. Which element was more difficult on a given day was never predictable.

Mike’s ability to balance all of the contending elements was remarkable; his ability to meld an interagency “team of rivals” into a coherent negotiating team was unique. It was appropriate, albeit accidental, that in 1987 Presidents Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev signed the INF Treaty on his birthday, Dec. 8.

For more than 23 years now, Mike’s team has met in early December for an INF reunion/birthday party. In years to come, we will continue to honor our

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good fortune to have played on the A Team with him as our captain.

*David Jones*  
FSO, retired  
Arlington, Va.

### Don't Praise the Human Rights Council

Although it's nice to know that entry-level FSO Sarah Ciaccia is enjoying her tour of duty at the U.N. Human Rights Council in Geneva, her piece in the December *FSJ* ("A Day at the UNHRC") makes no mention of the fact that the council is widely regarded as a toothless, mostly anti-American international bureaucracy.

As veteran foreign correspondent Jackson Diehl noted recently in the *Washington Post*, "The council is dominated by human rights abusers who devote most of the agenda to condemnations of Israel."

*Guy W. Farmer*  
FSO (USIA), retired  
Carson City, Nev.

### Pakistan's Presidency

One reads book reviews with the expectation that the reviewer knows at least the basic elements of the subject matter under review. Imagine my surprise, then, to read Patricia Lee Sharpe's review of Philip Oldenburg's *India, Pakistan and Democracy: Solving the Puzzle of Divergent Paths* in the January *FSJ*, in which Ms. Sharpe makes the following statement:

"By contrast, not only did Pakistan's Muslim League lack the long history of the Congress, but its leader Mohammad Ali Jinnah opted to become president instead of assuming the challenges of parliamentary leadership."

At Pakistan's independence on Aug. 14, 1947, Mohammad Ali Jinnah was appointed the new nation's governor

general (not president), a position he held until his death in September 1948. Liaquat Ali Khan became prime minister until his assassination in October 1951.

Pakistan did not have a president until March 1956, with the adoption of the nation's first constitution and the naming of Iskander Mirza as its first president. Prior to that time, the India Act of 1935 provided the legal basis for Pakistan's parliamentary government.

*William H. Barkell*  
FSO, retired  
Arlington, Va.

### The Hunger Site

Thank you to Editor Steve Honley for recommending *The Hunger Site* (www.thehungersite.com) as the Site of the Month in January's edition of *Cybernotes*. It is a great Web site that I would not have found on my own.

*Judy Jones*  
FSO, retired  
Sanibel, Fla.

### CORRECTION

Due to an editing error, the reference on p. 40 of Ken Brown's January Appreciation of the late Ambassador Stephen Low, "A Visionary and Activist for the Foreign Service," should have stated that Amb. Low worked very closely with John Sprott, former deputy director of the Foreign Service Institute (rather than Representative John Spratt, D-S.C.) to acquire the new campus as a permanent home for FSI. We regret the error. ■

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Letter to the Editor  
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# CYBERNOTES

## Crisis in Côte d'Ivoire

The standoff in Abidjan between long-time ruler Laurent Gbagbo and the internationally supported victor of the Nov. 28 runoff election, Alassane Ouattara, has yet to be resolved as we go to press in mid-February. As the situation in Côte d'Ivoire deteriorates, the international community is striving to find a solution that both reflects the outcome of the election and halts the country's downward spiral.

According to the United Nations, as of late January more than 200 people had been killed in post-election violence, and the 22,000 refugees who have fled thus far were already challenging aid organizations in Liberia.

The African Union, the Economic Community of West African States, the United Nations, the European Union and the United States have all endorsed Mr. Ouattara's presidency, yet President Gbagbo refuses to yield power.

As a result, the Obama administration has imposed limited sanctions against the president and his associates, including a travel ban and asset freeze. In addition, the World Bank has suspended financing and the Central Bank of West Africa has officially cut off Gbagbo.

Following the election, three ECOWAS heads of state accompanied former South African President Thabo Mbeki, the African Union's mediator, to Côte d'Ivoire to attempt to forge a

I think I will be answering concerns about WikiLeaks for the rest of my life, not just the rest of my tenure as Secretary of State. I've told my team that I want to get one of those really sharp-looking jackets that rock-and-roll groups have on tours. And I could have a big picture of the world, and it could say "The Apology Tour," because I have been very, very much involved in reaching out to leaders and others who have concerns about either the general message of our confidential communications being exposed in this way or specific questions about their country or themselves.

That aspect of it has receded a lot. I've done an enormous amount of work, as have other members of our government, but it still is in the atmosphere. So I think it is always better to affirmatively raise it, and set forth the concerns that we know our friends have.

— Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton, speaking to reporters en route to Dubai on Jan. 9; [www.state.gov](http://www.state.gov).

diplomatic solution. They were unsuccessful, but Kenyan Prime Minister Raila Odinga traveled to Abidjan as the A.U.'s chief mediator on Jan. 16 to continue negotiations.

Meanwhile, there are limited resources with which to cope with the crisis. The U.N. presence in Côte d'Ivoire consists of 10,000 troops, plus 900 French soldiers who are pledged to back the organization. Lawrence Wocher of the U.S. Institute of Peace writes in the January 2011 edition of *On the Issues: Genocide and Prevention* that "the situation in Côte d'Ivoire merits close monitoring for signs that the political conflict could metastasize into large-scale targeted violence against civilian populations" ([www.usip.org](http://www.usip.org)).

In a Dec. 3 post titled "Côte d'Ivoire on the Brink," Mohamed Vall of Al-Jazeera recounts the ominous parallels that exist between the present climate in the country and the climate that led to civil war in 2002 (<http://blogs.aljazeera.net>).

During a Jan. 14 teleconference with the Center for Strategic and International Studies from the Abidjan hotel in which Gbagbo's forces have blockaded him, Mr. Ouattara supported the use of force to remove Mr. Gbagbo, and declared that "if ECOWAS shows clearly its will to intervene, Mr. Gbagbo will stop." Ouattara also emphasized the need to fully implement the sanctions of the regional central bank and stated that he would like Washington



and other Western capitals to instruct their banks not to deal with Gbagbo's government (<http://csis.org>).

In a Dec. 22 post titled "The Fight to Restore Democracy in Côte d'Ivoire," Morgan Roach of the Heritage Foundation concurs that it is up to neighboring African leaders, like Nigeria's President Goodluck Jonathan, to press Gbagbo to step down. Roach adds that the U.S. must work with the A.U., U.N. and E.U. to ensure that democratic governance is restored (<http://blog.heritage.org>).

A Dec. 5 *Le Monde* story lays out three possibilities for how the situation could develop: diplomatic compromise, international embargo or violence ([www.lemonde.fr/afrique](http://www.lemonde.fr/afrique)).

However, Ouattara does not yet support global economic sanctions because they would hurt the Ivorian people. One option for compromise would be a power-sharing agreement like those in Kenya and Zimbabwe.

Several experts are wary of this path. In a Dec. 6 *Foreign Policy* post titled "The Case Against a Unity Government in Côte d'Ivoire," Elizabeth Dickinson cautions against the co-presidency option, given the fact that the two rivals are professional and personal foes who would be unlikely to get along (<http://blog.foreignpolicy.com>). The U.S. Institute of Peace also cautions against a power-sharing agreement, noting in the January edition of its *Prevention Newsletter* that Mr. Ouattara was the clear winner ([www.usip.org](http://www.usip.org)).

The overall outlook for a diplomatic solution is increasingly grim. In a Jan. 16 article titled "Mission to Abidjan — Will Raila's Carrots and Stick Strategy Work?" Jaindi Kisero of *The East African* writes that Gbagbo's willingness to negotiate a peaceful end to the

## 50 Years Ago...

Two years ago the U.S. Information Agency began giving psychiatric and psychological tests to all its new Foreign Service recruits, including wives. So far, there are no plans to give these tests to employees already serving overseas. Although USIA officials still consider the program experimental and admit it will be several years before they will be certain just how good it is, they are already encouraged by the results.

The State Department's Medical Division has followed USIA's experiment closely, but, as far as we know, has no plans to follow suit. Nevertheless, the signs, it seems to us, indicate that a P-and-P evaluation, as it is called in USIA, may some day become required of all personnel interested in government service abroad. USIA's experience in this field thus deserves attention and comment.

— Editorial, "Psychiatric Testing for All?" *FSJ*, March 1961.



crisis without preconditions and Ouattara's readiness to ensure a dignified exit for Gbagbo present a glimmer of hope. But Gbagbo's actions since the mission by Mr. Odinga and the ECOWAS team have dimmed that hope (<http://alafrika.com>).

In a Jan. 12 *International Herald Tribune* op-ed, "What to do about Ivory Coast," Council on Foreign Relations Senior Fellow John Campbell also expresses reservations about a co-presidency and lays out his own plan for the U.S. to best contain the conflict. Washington should underscore Mr. Gbagbo's pariah status, assist neighboring states with refugee outflows and stanch the flow of arms into the country.

Mr. Campbell further urges Washington to provide diplomatic support to the A.U. and ECOWAS in international forums like the Security Council, and warn Pres. Gbagbo that he and his supporters will be held accountable for any human rights violations they perpetrate. Finally, the international community should plan the delivery of humanitarian assistance should fighting break out in Côte d'Ivoire ([www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com)).

— Danielle Derbes, *Editorial Intern*

## OECD Downplays Risks of Cyberattacks

Attacks on computer systems have limited potential to cause global catastrophe, but only in combination with another disaster, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development concludes in a Jan. 17 report titled "Reducing Systemic Cybersecurity Risk" ([www.oecd.org](http://www.oecd.org)).

In the study, conducted as part of the OECD Project on Future Global Shocks, authors Peter Sommer (Information Systems and Innovation Group, London School of Economics) and Ian Brown (Oxford Internet Institute, Oxford University) say very few single cyber-related events have the capacity to cause a global shock. The main possibility is an attack on one of the underlying technical protocols on which the Internet depends, such as the Border Gateway Protocol, which determines routing between Internet service providers.

Otherwise, most breaches of cybersecurity — such as malware, distributed denial of service and espionage, and the actions of criminals, recreational hackers and hacktivists — have relatively localized and short-term im-



pact, despite the exaggerated, sensationalistic language many analysts employ to assess them. Accordingly, rolling all these activities into a single statistic leads to grossly misleading conclusions about the likelihood of concerted cyberattacks and the damage they might inflict.

Sommer and Brown point out that many critical computer systems are well enough protected that designers of new cyberweapons would first have to identify new weaknesses, then learn how to exploit them — a tedious, time-consuming process. Moreover, the effects of cyberattacks are difficult to predict due to the interconnectedness of systems, and could well backfire on the perpetrators and their allies.

All that said, the authors do encourage governments to take steps to withstand and recover from a wide range of unwanted cyberevents, both accidental and deliberate. But such preparations are complicated by the fact that large sections of the critical national infrastructure of most OECD countries are in private hands, not under direct government control.

The authors flag three current trends of particular concern. First, World Wide Web portals are being increasingly used to provide critical government-to-citizen and government-to-business facilities. Although these portals potentially offer cost savings and increased efficiency, overdependence on them could result in a repeti-

**Site of the Month: <http://iranprimer.usip.org/>**

Ever since the 1979 Iranian Revolution, the West has struggled to understand the Islamic Republic and how to deal with it. The challenge looms even larger in the face of Tehran's controversial nuclear program, disputed 2009 elections, growing human rights violations and angry rhetoric.

Although *The Iran Primer* promotes a new book with a similar title (*The Iran Primer: Power, Politics and U.S. Policy*, U.S. Institute of Peace, 2011), the Web site stands on its own. Each link connects to a chapter in the book addressing one of 62 subjects in 10 categories, with printable PDF attachments available at the bottom of each chapter. (The entire book is available free on the site.) In addition, each week new analysis is added to the "Author Talk" section, analyzing recent developments in Iran.

Both in the book and on the site, 50 top Western and Iranian experts, including scholars from 20 think-tanks and eight universities, as well as senior foreign policy officials from six U.S. administrations, offer comprehensive but concise overviews of Iran's politics, economy, military, foreign policy and nuclear program. Reflecting the diversity of the site's contributors, no single political perspective or agenda predominates.

*The Iran Primer* also features a wide-ranging database of chronologies, nuclear sites, sanctions resolutions and other information, including an Iran Factbox with a map of the country and a wealth of statistics. These are constantly updated to provide reliable information about the many facets of a complex country with which the United States has not had diplomatic relations for more than three decades, offering context and analysis for what lies ahead.

— Steven Alan Honley, Editor



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tion of the problems Estonia suffered in 2007 from concerted cyberattacks, believed to have originated in Russia.

Second, several OECD governments have outsourced critical governmental computing services to the private sector. This yields economies, but the contractual service-level agreements may not be able to cope with the unusual quantities of traffic that occur in an emergency.

Finally, cloud computing holds real potential for savings and resilience, but may raise concerns about confidentiality, if authentication is not robust, and loss of service. With that in mind, the authors recommend that governments take the following steps to minimize the risk of cyberattacks and mitigate any damage:

- Ensure that cybersecurity policies encompass the needs of all citizens, not just government facilities.
- Encourage ratification of the CyberCrime Convention and other international treaties.
- Support end-user education to reduce the number of unprotected computers available for hijacking.
- Use procurement power, standards-setting and licensing to influence computer industry suppliers to properly test hardware and software.
- Extend the development of police and forensic computing resources.
- Support the international Computer Emergency Response Team community, as the most likely means by which a large-scale Internet problem can be averted or mitigated.
- Fund research into such areas as strengthened Internet protocols, risk analysis, contingency planning and disaster propagation analysis, human factors in the use of computer systems and security economics.

This report is part of a broader

OECD study of events that could precipitate “Future Global Shocks.” Other examples to be evaluated include a further failure of the global financial system, large-scale pandemics, widespread pollution, and long-term meteorological or volcanic conditions inhibiting transport links.

— *Steven Alan Honley, Editor*

### **Korean Tricks and Tweets**

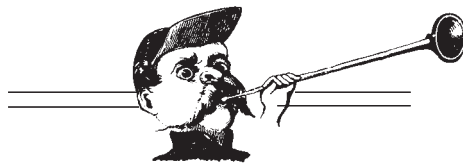
We reported back in November that South Korea’s spy agency had accused the North of launching cyberattacks that briefly paralyzed the Web sites of some South Korean and U.S. government agencies and commercial firms. In what may be a case of turnabout as fair play, on New Year’s Day the North Korean government’s official Twitter account (<http://twitter.com/uriminzok>) denounced leader Kim Jong Il and heir apparent Kim Jong Eun as sworn enemies of the Korean people and called for their removal from power.

The *Telegraph* reported on Jan. 8 that the site’s 11,000 followers received tweets about the regime’s profligate spending on nuclear weapons and lavish drinking parties “while three million people are starving and freezing to death” ([www.telegraph.co.uk](http://www.telegraph.co.uk)). The unidentified hackers, believed to be South Korean, also posted a video to Pyongyang’s official YouTube site depicting a caricature of Kim Jong Eun driving a luxury sports car, running over women and children on the side of the road, but it was quickly removed.

The tweets were in Korean, limiting their impact overseas. However, the hacking came as an embarrassment to the regime, particularly because Jan. 1 is thought to be Kim Jong Eun’s birthday. ■

— *Steven Alan Honley, Editor*





## *AFSA Members Speak Out on the WikiLeaks Mess*

**E**ver since late November, when WikiLeaks released the first of more than a quarter of a million Department of State cables that had been stored on a Defense Department database, the debate has mainly focused on whether making sensitive diplomatic reporting public was justified. We asked AFSA members to weigh in on the impact of the disclosures, posing the following questions in a message sent via the AFSAnet listserv:

- What do you see as the ramifications of the leaks for future reporting from the field?
- How are your overseas contacts reacting to the disclosures?
- What are you and your colleagues doing to minimize potential damage to bilateral relations from the leaks?
- What do you think the story has done to the image of the Foreign Service?

*Our thanks to all who responded so thoughtfully to our invitation to comment.*

— Steven Alan Honley, Editor

### **Life After WikiLeaks**

My cell phone rings with an unknown number. An old contact wants to know if he's going to be featured on WikiLeaks. Having just returned from a news-free vacation, I'm caught off guard. He's more curious than concerned. "At least some good information is getting out there," he says, of the

material released so far.

Calls from other old confidants from prior posts are not so sanguine, infused with fears of retribution from the powerful in places where rights and freedoms are notional. I wonder if statements made to me in confidence could cause these people harm and imagine worst-case scenarios. Some colleagues receive similar calls, trying to be supportive and make some sense of the situation.

I didn't get any inquiries from world leaders. Like most diplomats, I don't know any. Instead, we talk to human rights workers, journalists, bureaucrats, political and labor organizers, school administrators — anyone who can shed some light on a particular subject that might help policymakers better understand the countries where we serve. The fact that people speak candidly to a U.S. diplomat should not endanger their privacy or safety.

Despite promises to protect vulnerable cable sources, some redactions by WikiLeaks and its partner media have been comically inept. Failing to consistently remove or disguise individual names, occupations, locations and other information makes identities obvious. Imagine this line in a cable: "We spoke with the first African-American president of the United States, Barack XXXXX."

Moreover, when Julian Assange felt legal action might be taken against him,

this "hero" was quick to threaten release of the entire tranche of cables, without review or redaction.

WikiLeaks is not the *Pentagon Papers*. In that situation, journalists obtained information about a specific U.S. policy, reviewed and understood it, and deemed it vital to public knowledge. In the current case, an army private and Web-site host allegedly stole 250,000 documents with no idea of their content, releasing them "willy-nilly," as Bob Woodward puts it.

Leaks are sometimes justified as bringing forward new information significant enough to cross some cost-benefit threshold; e.g., something that would change public opinion. But there is no intellectual rigor or moral compass at work in Assange's copy-paste approach.

The cost of these alleged leaks to U.S. diplomacy should not be overstated, but it is significant. That's fine if you think the U.S. does more bad than good in the world. Then it's easy to justify depriving us of our secrets, think our sources get what they deserve, and absolve yourself of any responsibility.

But any sincere attempt to examine the totality of what the State Department does ought to give reasonable people pause before singling us out for blanket sabotage. Hindering our ability to report on overseas developments impedes all of our efforts, including the many important, benign things we do

## SPEAKING OUT



abroad (e.g., development, scholarships, demining, cooperation on crime, etc.). Perhaps the compilers of this data dump prefer military options that may have to be relied upon as a result of diplomatic failures.

Simply put, the world is not safer or better informed because of this release. But the Foreign Service can perhaps take some small consolation from the fact that more people now know that we do good work.

Let's get back to it, when the phones stop ringing.

*T. Joe Reik*

*FSO*

*Office of the Coordinator  
for Reconstruction and  
Stabilization*

*Washington, D.C.*

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***I am less troubled by  
what WikiLeaks has  
revealed than by the  
precedent the posting of  
our cables establishes.***

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### **The Value of Privacy**

A friend's relative, inherently suspicious of government, thought the disclosures by WikiLeaks were a wonderful thing. I asked him how he would


feel if he had consulted a lawyer about a very personal matter, such as a bankruptcy or a divorce, and then found a full copy of the lawyer's notes to his file now available for public viewing on the Web.

I then suggested that my friend's relative should see the Foreign Service as acting as the nation's lawyer abroad, consulting with our adversaries as well as our allies, and realize that the results of our consultations deserve the same privacy and respect as he would want his own consultations with his own lawyer to have.

The result? Probably no decrease in his mistrust of government, but perhaps some increase in being willing to acknowledge that private communications deserve to be protected from



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*The cost of these alleged leaks to U.S. diplomacy should not be overstated, but it is significant.*

public disclosure. Perhaps the above line of reasoning might persuade some that diplomatic consultations deserve a certain amount of privacy for a certain period of time.

*Charles O. Cecil  
U.S. ambassador, retired  
Alexandria, Va.*

### How Embassy Buenos Aires Handled the Fallout

On day one, the chargé d'affaires here in Buenos Aires said, "We have two bad choices: try to run and hide or go out and take a beating." His decision was to engage with the press and defend diplomacy — with a dose of humility.

In Argentina, where the negative views of the U.S. far outweigh the positive, many people wanted to see the "superpower" on its knees. Given our embarrassment at being unable to protect our contacts, and facing full exposure of controversial embassy assessments of the government, it wasn't hard to be humble.

The Spanish newspaper *El Pais* began its coverage of the WikiLeaks story with cables focusing on criticism of Argentine President Cristina Kirchner's government reported by our em-

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*SPEAKING OUT*



*WikiLeaks should be held accountable for what it has done, not to get even, but to defend our liberty.*

bassy, citing highly placed sources from within her own Cabinet. Yet the one cable the Argentine press seized upon was a biographical psychoanalysis questionnaire from State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research about whether Mrs. Kirchner had mood swings and, if so, what her doctors prescribed for them.

This led to repeated headlines along the lines of "Hillary Questions Cristina's Mental Stability." Embassy Buenos Aires had fortunately chosen at the time not to respond to those questions, whether for lack of substantiated data or prudence — or a combination of both. Still, the question itself became the story.

We immediately went out to the media. The information officer appeared on selected radio and TV talk shows to answer questions. She and other embassy officials talked to newspaper columnists, and the press section used the embassy Twitter account (a very popular medium in Argentina) judiciously to reinforce key points. When one magazine published a made-up story claiming the CIA had passed it a cable on the president's mental health, the embassy responded aggressively with a categorical denial of the story.

## SPEAKING OUT



When the ambassador returned after Thanksgiving, she taped a personal audio/print message for posting on the embassy Web page. Even without any press release, the news agencies picked up her statement and the story went everywhere. Because of her personal engagement, our “human face” diplomacy helped garner significant amounts of sympathy for American diplomats — both by depicting them not as culprits but, rather, as among the victims in this incident; and by recognizing that they had been doing their jobs responsibly.

The message that we consistently used had two elements: first, regret for any harm caused to our contacts due to the breach of privacy; second, determination to learn from the incident

and use it as a moment for reflection on how and what we report, and how we can better protect that information.

We did not comment on the content of the leaked documents, however. Rather, we sought to educate the public about the context and process of cable writing — including the fact that no ambassador or Secretary of State personally drafts all the cables bearing his or her name.

Finally, we reaffirmed a commitment to openness and transparency, while stressing the need for everyone, including journalists, to handle some information only on the basis of confidentiality.

*Diana Page  
Public Affairs Officer  
Embassy Buenos Aires*

### Defining Freedom of Speech

I am less troubled by what WikiLeaks has revealed — that we are a Foreign Service actively engaged in protecting freedom at home and promoting it abroad, and opposing terrorists, drugs and arms dealers, nuclear proliferation, human trafficking and many other threats to liberty and security for all — than by the precedent the posting of our cables establishes.

In the name of freedom of speech, freedom of speech is destroyed. How can one speak freely if some people proclaim themselves arbiters of what should be part of a private conversation? And what should be forever searchable, quoted and misquoted?

Since when does freedom of speech mean that I have a right to make pub-

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It has been argued that such infringements are necessary for the achievement of greater goals, like keeping government open, transparent and honest. But that argument fails to recognize — or chooses to ignore — that it is peoples' lives and careers, not institutions, whose privacy is being violated. Who has given WikiLeaks the right to decide whose privacy should be protected, and whose not?

WikiLeaks is specifically designed to deny people — not just governments and corporations — their right to privacy and, ultimately, to professional and personal dignity. It blatantly and irresponsibly ignores the negative consequences that extensive, out-of-context disclosures have on people's lives.

This is not journalism, where professional analysis and ethics gauges how information is presented. WikiLeaks is only engaged in abusive data dissemination.

All who choose to post and circulate unauthorized disclosures violate the Golden Rule: "Treat others like you want to be treated." What is next? Will WikiLeaks help a disgruntled journalist post the identities of dozens of his colleagues' confidential sources? A judge release scores of ongoing court proceedings? A banker disclose the transactions in hundreds of accounts? A doctor reveal thousands of patients' records?

Can these actions be justified because WikiLeaks decides that it could singlehandedly make the media, the justice system, the financial world and

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***I think State deserves a massive slap on the wrist for trusting the Pentagon on what appears to have been a one-way street.***

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health-care providers open, honest and transparent?

Liberty is destroyed when it is not exercised responsibly. WikiLeaks is part of the Internet, and so are we — willingly or unwillingly. Our lives are better because of what we do online.

In addition, it is also *our* Internet. We should not give it up to hackers, information thieves and their accomplices.

WikiLeaks should be held accountable and liable for what it has done and continues to do. Not to get even, but to defend our liberty.

*Rafael Foley*  
FSO

*Embassy Islamabad*

**Control Access**

Back in the late 1960s, an Indian colleague in New Delhi posed a question to me that comes to mind now in regard to WikiLeaks: "May we talk a little about the liabilities of affluence?"

After 9/11, several U.S. government agencies, civil and military, increased their efforts to share confidential information. Their efforts produced enormous volumes of data, paving the way for WikiLeaks to procure and disseminate thousands of messages.

Now, more than ever, our government must seek ways to facilitate the sharing of important classified information while, at the same time, making it harder for employees to pass confidential information to organizations like WikiLeaks.

*Morrie Blumberg*  
USAID FSO, retired  
Albuquerque, N.M.

**WikiLeaked!  
Unexpected Attention from  
Unintended Audiences**

The cat is out of the bag. Not only our adversaries and allies, but even our next-door neighbors can read what we have been classifying secret. The general public was never supposed to be the audience for our confidential analysis and reports, but this is a reality with which we must come to terms.

Reactions from foreign diplomats, U.S. citizens, journalists around the world, and even our own families give us an unexpected opportunity to take a fresh look at what our reporting says about our profession and its culture.

News reports and public comments aired about the content of the leaked State cables characterize FSOs in divergent ways, from "arrogant" and "brash" to "perceptive" and "vivid writers of tabloid-like headlines." One report heralded our cables as "their own literary genre."

In reference to our professional skills, some commentators have said that our cables show that diplomacy is in "capable hands." To others, like a freelancer who titled his blog post "U.S. diplomats are not stupid after all," our effectiveness comes as a big surprise.

A recent piece in *The New Yorker* details a few fantasy cables, describing FSOs breezily masterminding a definitive end to the Afghan conflict, among



other diplomatic feats. What struck me about this creative writing exercise was its realistic jab at our culture of self-congratulation. Do our training and our promotion system push us to weave tales of how our talents are indispensable to negotiations and political processes? Do we go overboard or engage in hyperbole to show results when they do not seem to come fast enough for Washington's demands?

While on a leave of absence this year, I served as a volunteer foreign policy lecturer at an international university in Rome. The WikiLeaks phenomenon has been a big topic of discussion here across academic disciplines, not only among colleagues in the international relations department.

I expected my students to side with

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***What WikiLeaks has done  
is not whistleblowing.***

***What evil or illegality  
is the flood of American  
diplomatic cables  
revealing?***

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Julian Assange and to champion his call for complete freedom of information, but they didn't. Many of them said

that the public did not need to know the granular details of ongoing negotiations or U.S. diplomats' assessment of the idiosyncrasies of foreign leaders like the hard-partying Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi.

The students were, however, intensely curious about diplomacy in action — why internal diplomatic communications are secret and how they are written, and how FSOs build relationships and make deals behind the scenes.

As a public servant, I am annoyed by Assange's bravado and his smug support for WikiLeaks' right to disseminate stolen government correspondence to the public without consequences. And as a public diplomacy officer, I am frustrated by the damage the release of

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these messages has done to our credibility with local audiences around the world.

Yet in the classroom I found a bright side to all of this — increased attention to the conduct of diplomacy by the Internet generation. This incident just might improve our image, at least among those members of our domestic audience with suspicions about the quality of our work in support of the national interest.

*Lillian deValcourt-Ayala*  
Public Affairs Officer  
Embassy Guatemala City

### A Silver Lining

I'm no longer in the field and so cannot comment about foreign opinions of WikiLeaks. However, from a U.S. university town perspective, the reaction has been very negative. But the reaction to the content has been general approval of the reporting, and belief in the accuracy of the reports. American diplomats are perceived as professional and well-informed.

*James Carter*  
FSO, retired  
College Station, Texas

### Consult FRUS

Those in the media who have commented that one good thing that came out of the leaks was that it showed how qualified and erudite our diplomats are should be made aware of the *Foreign Relations of the United States* publications. If they are interested in learning more about the high quality of our work, they can avail themselves of released documents without doing harm to our national security.

*Carol A. Colloton*  
FSO, retired  
Bureau of Administration  
Washington, D.C.

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***Despite promises to protect vulnerable cable sources, some redactions from WikiLeaks and its partner media have been comically inept.***

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### A Firing Offense

I think those who decided to put secret cables all over the Pentagon site should be fired for cause. I also believe those who allowed for insecure computers to have access to classified material should be fired. And I hope those who never bothered to look into this massive breach just waiting to happen will be reprimanded. The naive enlisted man charged with the theft should be given a trial and, if found guilty, should serve a meaningful, but not overly severe, sentence.

Finally, State deserves a massive slap on the wrist for trusting the Pentagon on what appears to have been a one-way street. "You share with us, we share with the world."

*John R. Savage*  
FSO, retired  
Charlotte, N.C.

### So Much for Securing Documents

I was reading Bob Woodward's latest book, *Obama's War*, as the WikiLeaks diplomatic cables began to appear, and was struck by the irony as I read the following passages in the book:

*p. 153: The Pentagon received [General Stanley] McChrystal's classified assessment of the Afghanistan War on Monday, Aug. 31. Secretary of Defense Gates was responsible for giving a copy to President Obama. The document was so sensitive that even parts of the review team who had helped draft parts of it and held security clearances could not obtain a copy.*

*p. 175: In mid-September, after a nearly two-hour interview, I asked one person, "You've got a copy of the McChrystal report here?" "Yeah, it's on my desk," was the answer, and that person photocopied the report for me.*

*Michael D. Thomas*  
FSO  
Board of Examiners  
Arlington, Va.

### It's Not Whistleblowing

With regard to the ongoing soap opera of WikiLeaks and Julian Assange, many commentators are calling this whistleblowing. But that term applies to revelations of evil or illegal acts. While some of the previously hidden military errors in Iraq or Afghanistan might fit that definition, what evil or illegality is the flood of American diplomatic cables revealing?

Diplomatic confidentiality has been respected by the whole world, going back to the Greek city-states, for more than two millennia. We accord similar rights to journalists to protect communications with their sources, lawyers with their clients, or doctors with their patients.

Assange's defenders should ask themselves what qualifies such continuing excesses and blowhard hubris as "whistleblowing." ■

*George Lambrakis*  
FSO, retired  
London





# 2010 ANNUAL REPORT

oping an internal advocacy team; forging better communication tools; seeking more direct engagement by our active-duty members and retirees around the country; establishing new organizational alliances and coalitions; and using our Political Action Committee strategically.

## Congress

Passage of a Foreign Relations authorization bill remains an important goal, but our biggest immediate priority is Overseas Comparability Pay.

Based on the Comparability Pay Act of 1990, all federal employees receive salaries adjusted to the prevailing market rates for similar skills and experience in the private sector. Working in parallel with management, we have obtained the first two tranches of OCP, but the fate of the third tranche is unclear.

Prospects for keeping OCP are at best uncertain, but AFSA is mounting a major effort to explain that denying comparability pay for service overseas — the mission of the Foreign Service — would undermine our civilian foreign affairs institutions by penalizing Foreign Service personnel at the very moment that we need them to serve overseas in increasingly difficult, dangerous and risky situations.

This coming year will present serious challenges for the Foreign Service. We will need to be determined and perhaps bolder than we have been in presenting our case against the backdrop of a very tough fiscal environment, with deficit reduction an understandable priority. We plan to call on our members to engage with us on the Hill and in home districts to speak up for the Foreign Services of all our member agencies.

## The Media

Our sharply expanded outreach, marketing and media program is described in detail elsewhere in this report. We have worked hard to raise the profile of diplomacy and development and have seen the number of press releases, letters to the editor, articles, and op-eds placed in major media increase markedly. WikiLeaks did its share to draw attention to diplomacy, and we have sought to use occasions such as the annual AFSA Memorial Plaque ceremony or the 30th anniversary of the release of American hostages from Iran as reminders of the courage and sacrifice of the Foreign Service.

Our newly established speakers program and AFSA Booknotes series have been effective outreach and educa-



Francesca Kelly

*Ambassador John Negroponte, left, and AFSA President Susan Johnson meet prior to his informal talk at AFSA headquarters on April 7.*

tional tools, explaining the importance of diplomacy to a broad range of professional and academic audiences. We reinforced these efforts with new programs such as our discussion series in partnership with Lockheed Martin and special events, such as the panel discussion we held on the 20th anniversary of German reunification. That event featured General Brent Scowcroft and Amb. Rozanne Ridgway.

## Membership

We have continued to build our active-duty and retiree membership, which has grown from 10,500 a decade ago to well past 15,000 members now. We are reassessing how we communicate with our members and plan to use our new Web site, along with our Facebook and Twitter accounts in more targeted and effective ways that will improve and expand our member services.

Already we are in a position to seek much greater member participation in telling the story of today's Foreign Service to Congress and to the American public in new and better ways.

## AFSA Internal Operations

This has been a transformational year in many respects, marked by some reorganization to promote better teamwork, investment in our new Web site and other communications technology, and some rethinking of AFSA staffing to strengthen capacity. We approved a number of new positions to do just that, deepening our bench in the areas of policy, legislative work, retiree services and information technology, to be supplemented by short-term contracting for special expertise or projects.

ANNUAL REPORT **2010****Labor Management Office's Advocacy Efforts****Meet with Success** ■ *BY SHARON PAPP, GENERAL COUNSEL*

**A** FSA's Labor Management office tackled a workload of between 350 and 400 e-mail, telephone and in-person inquiries every week in 2010. These issues covered all aspects of Foreign Service employment, including promotions, evaluations, assignments, travel, housing, retirement, investigations, discipline and security clearances. The numbers include ongoing work on the hundreds of grievances that our staff has assisted employees in filing both at the agency level and in the appeals process, before the Foreign Service Grievance Board.

In 2010, the Department of State changed the mandatory low-ranking percentage by promotion panels from 5 percent to 2 percent for any class numbering more than 20. This is an important change, for which AFSA has been lobbying both the department and Congress for many years. Dating back to the late 1990s, this requirement had its genesis in the need to reduce personnel numbers. Twelve years later, this is no longer a priority and boards routinely struggled with the task of meeting the 5-percent quota. While AFSA's ultimate goal is for the Department of State to adopt USAID's procedure, where promotion panels are not forced to meet a minimum quota but can low-rank as they deem appropriate, we believe the 2-percent figure is more reflective of reality.

We won an important victory in 2009 in the case of newly promoted Senior Foreign Service officers who had been denied the opportunity to compete for performance pay. 2010 saw its follow-up, with four separate boards convened to consider some 1,035 files that included the 205 Senior Foreign Service officers who had been newly promoted in 2006 and 2007 and were found to be eligible for consideration for performance pay in 2007 and 2008, respectively. Ultimately, 67 people have received either performance pay or pay-for-performance payouts in accordance with the appropriate precepts, including several employees who received performance pay awards of either \$10,000, \$12,000 or \$15,000, along with commensurate pay increases. This includes 55 SFS generalists and 12 specialists.

In 2010, we assisted Diplomatic Security agents who entered the Foreign Service in late 2008 and 2009, and

whose entry step had been wrongly assessed by the State Department's Human Resources Bureau. As a result, several dozen agents have had their entry step raised from FS-6, Step 3, to Step 4, and have received back pay with interest.

In addition to our representation of individual employees and discrete groups, AFSA negotiated or consulted with the HR Bureau on a wide variety of issues in 2010. These include the extension of language pay for hard languages, the need to restrict the number of linked assignments (despite their expansion to employees volunteering for service in Pakistan, Iraq and Afghanistan), the annual procedural promotion precepts and the rules for assignments.

We were also closely involved in the most recent update of the core precepts, which were revised to include sections that highlight the particular contributions made by the 21 specialist groups, and how their duties differ in emphasis from those of generalist officers.

Finally, we have been able to assist many members in their dealings with various commercial entities, successfully persuading some property, cell-phone and vehicle-leasing companies to allow Foreign Service employees to cancel their leases when proceeding overseas on government orders.

**The Memorial Plaques**

■ *BY PERRI GREEN, SPECIAL AWARDS  
AND OUTREACH COORDINATOR*

**T**he first AFSA Memorial Plaque was unveiled in 1933 by Secretary of State Henry Stimson. There are now two plaques in the C Street lobby of the State Department honoring members of the Foreign Service who have died in the line of duty, bearing a total of 235 names. In 2010, new names were added at an emotional ceremony on Foreign Affairs Day, May 7, at which Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton eulogized Victoria DeLong (killed in an earthquake in Haiti), Dale Gredler (died of a massive cardiac arrest while on tour in Almaty) and Terrence L. Barnich (killed by an improvised explosive device in Iraq).

# 2010 ANNUAL REPORT

## Legislative Affairs: Successes and New Challenges ■ BY CASEY FRARY, LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR

**D**uring the past year, AFSA remained very active on the legislative and advocacy front. Here are some highlights from 2010.

AFSA continued to press for full implementation of Overseas Comparability Pay, to close the pay gap once and for all.

### Overseas Comparability Pay

In late July, we were pleased to report more progress: The second tranche of back pay was authorized in the Fiscal Year 2010 Omnibus Appropriations bill and implemented on Aug. 15. With this development, 16.52 percent of the gap has been closed (7.7 percent last August, plus 1.12 percent in January 2010, and 7.7 percent in August 2010). The 1.12-percent increase in January was the locality pay portion of the increase that D.C. workers got over and above their base pay increase of 1.5 percent.

We were also successful in helping the International Broadcasting Bureau obtain the necessary funding to implement OCP.

While this is real progress, the fight is not over. Overseas Comparability Pay will continue to be authorized under the continuing resolution, but the federal fiscal situation is very tight, and we have already seen federal employee pay and benefits being targeted — Overseas Comparability Pay in particular. AFSA remains focused on securing a permanent fix to this problem.

### Funding the Foreign Affairs Agencies

2010 started out with a bang for the Foreign Affairs agencies and has, very frustratingly, ended with more of a fizzle. On Feb. 1, 2010, President Barack Obama released his Fiscal Year 2011 budget request, which was very robust for all our member agencies. It called for 610 new Foreign Service officers at the State Department and USAID and provided increased resources to help meet the new demands being placed on all agencies. The Senate Appropriations Committee also reported out bills that would have provided increased funding, but none of those bills were ever passed by the House or Senate. Since no appropriations bills were signed into law, the government

is operating on a continuing resolution — signed into law by Pres. Obama on Dec. 22 — to fund the government at enacted FY 2010 levels, through March 4, when the new Congress is scheduled to finish work on FY 2011 funding.

### Foreign Relations Authorization

One of AFSA's top priorities is passage of a Foreign Relations Authorization bill, which would make some much-needed changes to the State Department. On April 27, 2010, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee marked up and voted out of committee S. 2971, the Foreign Relations Authorization Act (the House passed its version of the bill in 2009). This bill would have fully implemented OCP, provided much-needed personnel expansion of the Foreign Service and prompted a renewed focus on training and professional development.

Historically, it has been a challenge for Congress to produce a comprehensive Foreign Relations Authorization bill; while important strides were made this year, the full Senate never considered the bill. AFSA will continue to work closely with both the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, encouraging them to move swiftly on drafting and passing this crucial legislation early in the 112th Congress.

### AFSA on Capitol Hill

Once again, AFSA remained the strong and present voice of the Foreign Service on Capitol Hill during 2010. We met with key members and congressional staff in both chambers and sent letters on issues critical to the Foreign Service. In addition, AFSA joined forces with other federal unions to expand our outreach efforts on the Hill. AFSA President Susan Johnson, State Vice President Daniel Hirsch, USAID Vice President Francisco Zamora, Foreign Commercial Service Vice President Keith Curtis, and Foreign Agricultural Service Vice President Henry Schmick had a busy summer of meetings with House and Senate Appropriations Committee members and their staff, including one with House State and Foreign Operations Subcommittee Chairwoman Nita Lowey, D-N.Y., to convey how important the continued investment in our Foreign Service agencies is for FY 2011.

ANNUAL REPORT **2010****Preparing for a Fight**

If the end of 2010 is any indication, the Foreign Service and federal employees are in for a daunting year in 2011. In December, Pres. Obama's National Commission on Fiscal Responsibility and Reform released a report that took a swipe at federal employees and the Foreign Service, specifically targeting OCP. Though the report failed to move, Senators Saxby Chambliss, R-Ga., and Mark Warner, D-Va., have announced plans to introduce legislation early in 2011 based on the report. Also, at the end of the year,

Pres. Obama announced a two-year pay freeze for federal employees, which was included in the CR.

Given the tough fiscal environment and the changes brought by the November election, AFSA and the Foreign Service have a tough year ahead. We will be up on Capitol Hill early in 2011, meeting the new members of Congress to inform and educate them about the critically important work the Foreign Service does. We will continue to expand our alliances with other unions and organizations to protect what we have fought so hard to gain.

## Outreach and Public Affairs Efforts Sharply Expanded

■ BY ÁSGEIR SIGFÚSSON, MARKETING AND OUTREACH MANAGER,  
AND TOM SWITZER, DIRECTOR OF COMMUNICATIONS

**A**FSA significantly increased its outreach efforts in 2010. An internal reorganization created a new four-person team focusing on communications, marketing and outreach, and the payoff has been a very successful expansion in the scope and definition of AFSA's outreach work. The story of the Foreign Service reached more Americans in 2010 than ever before.

**Special Events**

The past year saw AFSA host more events than at any time in its history. AFSA's charitable 501(c)(3) arm, the Fund for American Diplomacy, received a generous \$15,000 donation from Lockheed Martin, which enabled us to present a highly attended speaker series focusing on the skills and resources needed for 21st-century diplomacy. Among the speakers were Ambassador John Negroponte, Representative Nita Lowey, D-N.Y., and Alec Ross, the State Department's senior adviser for innovation.

In addition to this series, AFSA inaugurated a Book Notes program focused on titles related to foreign affairs and diplomacy. Among the authors who led discussions of their works were ambassadors John Limbert, Jack Matlock and Richard Solomon.

The fourth annual Adair Family Memorial Lecture took place on the campus of American University in September, where Ambassador J. Stapleton Roy provided an insightful overview of "U.S.-China Relations and Foreign Service Challenges" to a standing-room audience of more than 500 academics and students.



*Amb. J. Stapleton Roy, left, discusses the rise of China at the Adair Memorial Lecture on Sept. 1 at American University.*

Jeff Watts/American University

In late October, AFSA offered a blockbuster panel discussion on the 20th anniversary of German reunification, featuring former National Security Adviser General Brent Scowcroft and Ambassador Roz Ridgway, with journalist Marvin Kalb as moderator. All of these events were taped by WETA-TV for its Web site as part of a new partnership with the longtime Washington, D.C., PBS affiliate.

**Online Presence**

AFSA's online presence improved by leaps and bounds in 2010. Some readers will by now have visited the brand-new AFSA Web site ([www.afsa.org](http://www.afsa.org)), which was recently unveiled. Its content and navigation are a huge improvement, and we urge our members to visit the site for many AFSA resources. In addition, AFSA's list of Facebook fans crossed the 2,000 mark, and our Twitter feed also steadily added followers throughout the year.

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Michael Latocoma

Rep. Nita Lowey, D-N.Y., right, listens as Andrea Mitchell frames a question at AFSA HQ on June 15.

## Speakers Program

One of AFSA's most effective outreach elements is our Speakers Program, which in 2010 arranged for Foreign Service speakers to explain the critical importance of U.S. diplomacy to more than 31,000 professional and academic attendees in 41 states and Washington, D.C. AFSA's speaker corps comprises more than 480 retired Foreign Service officers, including 80 former ambassadors, most still actively involved in international affairs as teachers, authors, businesspeople and consultants.

Drawing on their personal experiences and historical perspectives, they offer audiences an opportunity to explore the complex international order that has replaced the Cold War, as well as to reflect on the evolving role of the Foreign Service in the face of challenges like global terrorism. Audiences ranged from world affairs councils and universities to community-service organizations, town meetings, adult education and high school classes.

Among the best programs was one given by retired FSO and China-expert Douglas Spelman, who lucidly explained the diverse challenges involved in doing business with China to an audience of academics and regional corporate representatives at the University of South Florida's business school in Tampa. Spelman addressed some five faculties at USF as part of a pilot series aimed at reaching out to institutions in major U.S. cities that might consider partnerships with AFSA.

Speakers addressed numerous other topics, highlighting the vital role the Foreign Service plays in advancing

America's security and economic interests around the globe. They also spotlighted AFSA's book, *Inside a U.S. Embassy*, and encouraged audience members to contact their congressional representatives to request increased funding for U.S. diplomatic readiness.

## Media

AFSA also expanded its media push in 2010, preparing a record 44 press releases for major outlets nationwide. We also placed, either directly or through AFSA retirees, 34 letters to the editor, op-eds, fact sheets and articles advocating increased public and congressional support for U.S. diplomacy in media entities including the *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Government Executive*, *Federal Times*, Associated Press, NPR and CNN.

A highlight was arranging media coverage for AFSA's annual Memorial Plaque Ceremony held at the State Department, which resulted in heavy network-TV coverage and in-depth treatment via some 20 outlets nationwide. AFSA officials also took part in frequent interviews regarding core AFSA issues with the more than 35 diplomatic correspondents attached to the State Department, as well as with writers and bureau chiefs of other national media based in Washington, D.C.

## Road Scholar

AFSA's longstanding collaboration with the national Elderhostel organization continued in 2010 under the new program name Road Scholar. Seven programs were offered in Washington, D.C., providing a look at foreign policy through the eyes of the Foreign Service. In addition, three programs took place in Chautauqua, N.Y.; two were held in St. Petersburg, Fla.; and one in Tucson, Ariz. The combined audience at these programs exceeded 700. Retired FSO Bernie Alter is the administrator of these programs for AFSA.

These outreach programs have promoted three important AFSA goals: broadening the Foreign Service constituency through outreach to the public, enhancing public awareness of global affairs and of the key role of the Foreign Service and diplomacy, and involving the AFSA retired constituency in significant programs which draw on their background and skills in telling our story to audiences nationwide.

*The story of the  
Foreign Service  
reached more  
Americans in 2010  
than ever before.*

## AFSA Awards: A Unique Tradition

■ BY PERRI GREEN, SPECIAL AWARDS AND OUTREACH COORDINATOR

**A** FSA's annual Awards Ceremony took place at the State Department on June 24. Ambassador Lowell Bruce Laingen received AFSA's Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy Award, and was introduced by Deputy Secretary of State Jacob J. Lew and Ambassador John Limbert. Three members of the Foreign Service community took home awards for constructive dissent: David M. Zwach (the Tex Harris Award for a FS specialist), Diana Briton Putman (the William R. Rivkin Award for a mid-level officer) and Kathryn A. Kiser (the W. Averell Harriman Award for a junior-level officer).

The AFSA Constructive Dissent Awards are unique in the U.S. government; no other organization recognizes federal employees for voicing a dissenting opinion. Yet it is con-

structive dissent that causes foreign policy to be reworked and improved. Appropriately, the awards are held in the Benjamin Franklin Room, where participants are surrounded by paintings of America's original constructive dissenters — the Founding Fathers.

At the same annual ceremony, AFSA also presents awards for outstanding performance. In 2010, the winners of these awards were: Anne Bridgman (the Avis Bohlen Award for a Foreign Service family member), Sarah S. Genton (the M. Juanita Guess Award for a Community Liaison Officer) and Allie Loraine Almero (the Delavan Award for a Foreign Service Office Management Specialist). In addition, James A. Fox was named AFSA Post Representative of the Year.

The ceremony was attended by many guests and dignitaries who en-



*Diana Putman, right, with AFSA Special Awards & Outreach Coordinator Perri Green.*

Patrick Bradley

## National High School Essay Contest

■ BY PERRI GREEN, SPECIAL AWARDS AND OUTREACH COORDINATOR

**S**ecretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton presented the first-place award in AFSA's 2010 National High School Essay Contest to Evaline Bai on Aug. 11. The award came with a check for \$2,500 and a \$500 check to the winner's school.

Bai, a rising 11th-grader at Upper Arlington High School in Columbus, Ohio, submitted her winning essay on the subject, "Challenges to the U.S. Foreign Service: Rebuilding Afghanistan." Her mother Jin Liu, her father Fred Bai, and brother Jason Bai, also met Sec. Clinton, who commended Ms. Bai for her work and encouraged her to pursue a career in the Foreign Service.

The 2010 contest drew more than 400 submissions from high school students nationwide. Students were asked to analyze and explain how Foreign Service members promote

U.S. national interests by participating in the resolution of today's major international problems.

The goal of AFSA's High School Essay Contest, now entering its 12th year, is to stimulate interest and understanding of the United States Foreign Service among high school students nationwide. (Foreign Service dependents are not eligible to enter.) AFSA promotes the contest widely through listings on various Web sites, including Facebook.

For more information about the essay contest, and to read this year's winning essay, please visit AFSA's Web site.



*Sec. Clinton presents Evaline Bai, center, with the first-place award for the 2010 high school essay contest.*

Michael Laiacoma

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thusiastically supported the winning awardees and honored Ambassador Laingen. In accepting the award for lifetime contributions to American diplomacy, he introduced his wife, Penne, as his main support. She modestly stood to great rounds of applause.

AFSA presents other awards throughout the year, such as the Sinclair Language Awards, which honor FS foreign language students for outstanding accomplishment in the study of a hard language and its associated culture. AFSA established the program based on a bequest from Matilda W. Sinclair, a former Foreign Service officer. The 2010 winners were Joshua

*The AFSA  
Constructive  
Dissent Awards  
are unique in the  
U.S. government.*

Baker (Arabic), Alfred Boll (Serbian), 2003 Serbian-language winner Laura Brown (Arabic), Alan Clark (Mandarin Chinese), William M. Coleman (Japanese), Scott Hansen (Mandarin Chinese), Adam Hantman (Thai), Zachary Harkenride (Dari), Meredith Rubin (Icelandic), Denise Shen (Mandarin Chinese) and

Vincent Traverso (Dari).

AFSA also sponsors the George Kennan Writing Award, given each year in honor of the best paper written by a State Department employee enrolled at the National War College. This year's winner was Andrew J. Weinschenk.

## Foreign Service Journal Builds Digital Audience

■ BY STEVEN ALAN HONLEY, EDITOR

This year's most popular edition of the *Foreign Service Journal*, judging from online hits, letters to the editor and other feedback, was February's "Exploring New Worlds: Life & Work after the Foreign Service," which brought 4,995 unique visitors to our Web site. Close behind were the July-August issue, which profiled AFSA's dissent and performance award-winners and featured a set of article-length Reflections pieces, and the January edition, whose cover story examined USAID's prospects.

Just days after we released the September issue, focus-

ing on the Office of Medical Services, the Department of State sent out a cable encouraging all employees to seek help to deal with stress. The message also assured them that doing so would not affect their security clearance, a key concern of many AFSA members who provided input for our coverage.

Working with a local company, Texterity, the *Journal* continued to upgrade its online presence, attracting more unique visitors. Thanks to our enhanced digital capabilities, we again significantly exceeded our target for online advertising this year.

## Foreign Service Books: *Inside a U.S. Embassy*

■ BY SHAWN DORMAN, EDITOR/PUBLISHER, FOREIGN SERVICE BOOKS

AFSA's popular introduction to the Foreign Service, *Inside a U.S. Embassy: How the Foreign Service Works for America*, continued to sell well in 2010, about 3,000 copies. We released a Kindle version of the book for Amazon in July, and by year's end had sold about 170 copies of the electronic edition.

The all-new edition, *Inside a U.S. Embassy: Diplomacy*



*at Work*, will be released in early 2011. Along with profiles of diplomats and specialists in most types of Foreign Service jobs (including State, USAID, FCS and FAS), day-in-the-life entries from Foreign Service members around the world, and tales from the field, the new edition will feature chapters on the Foreign Service exam process and a look at FS life and work. For more information,

please visit [www.afsa.org/inside](http://www.afsa.org/inside).



ANNUAL REPORT **2010****Retiree Services: A Very Busy Year**■ *By BONNIE BROWN, RETIREE ISSUES COORDINATOR*

**A** FSA staffed phone banks in a successful effort to increase retiree membership, and also continued to work on legislative efforts to eliminate the salary and hours caps on reemployed annuitants.

In 2010, AFSA began to actively consider establishing a grave marker program to honor Foreign Service personnel, as well as a contractor job placement service for retirees seeking employment with national foreign affairs and security agencies.

AFSA was successful in persuading the State Department to reverse a decision to automatically reduce survivor annuities to satisfy the debt of deceased annuitants. Also, in response to its efforts, AFSA received assurances

from the department that it would look into assisting retiree Foreign Service personnel who suffer from Agent Orange–related illnesses acquired while serving during the Vietnam War.

Retiree Coordinator Bonnie Brown assisted retiree members with more than 400 benefits issues this past year and increasingly focused on federal benefits issues, both in the *AFSA Retiree Newsletter* and online. Alongside Legislative Director Casey Frary, she worked to increase coordination with other federal unions. Bonnie Brown and AFSA President Susan Johnson also traveled to Florida to speak to retirees and participated in several question-and-answer sessions at the Foreign Service Institute's Job Transition Program.

**Scholarship Program Advances in 2010**■ *By LORI DEC, SCHOLARSHIP DIRECTOR*

**A** FSA's Scholarship Program underwent several key changes in 2010 that have improved its ability to help Foreign Service youth.

■ Under the oversight of the AFSA Committee on Education, the AFSA Scholarship Program bestowed \$35,700 in Academic and Art Merit Awards on 25 Foreign Service high school seniors. A total of 72 children of Foreign Service employees received AFSA need-based financial aid scholarships for undergraduate college study in the 2010-2011 school year, amounting to \$145,000. These programs allowed AFSA to assist 97 students with aid totaling \$180,700.

■ The competitive Academic Merit Award's scoring rubric was revised to better reflect the higher-level courses students take in high school. The new rubric will be implemented in the 2011 program.

■ In January 2010, the AFSA Scholarship Program hired Jonathan Crawford to work 20 hours a week as the



*AFSA's local Academic Merit Award Winners were honored at a May 4 reception.*

scholarship assistant.

■ The Scholarship Program also approved its first gift acceptance policy, giving donors and AFSA written guidance in making and accepting major gifts.

■ As of the 2010 Combined Federal Campaign, we are now called "Foreign Service Youth Scholarships — AFSA" (CFC# 11759). This year we produced the first CFC Scholarship Program video aimed at increasing donations.

■ Two one-time-only financial aid scholarships were established and bestowed in 2010: the Stella Panagoulis Stutz Scholarship and the Foreign Service Retirees of Southern Arizona Scholarship.

■ In other developments, Stephen A. Hubler renewed the annual financial aid scholarship in his name. Eric D.K. Melby added to the perpetual financial aid scholarship in his parents' name (Everett K. and Clara C. Melby), while Norton Bell and Ambassador Rozanne Ridgway added to the perpetual financial aid scholarships in their names.

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## State Department: A Year of Accomplishments

■ *By DANIEL HIRSCH, AFSA STATE DEPARTMENT VP*

**L**ast year was a busy one for AFSA. From revising core precepts to addressing airline fees for families, we have worked closely with the State Department on a multitude of issues all year long.

### January

The year began with a catastrophic earthquake in Haiti that took a quarter of a million lives — among them those of Foreign Service member Victoria DeLong, the wife and children of Andy Wyllie, and more than a dozen locally employed staff of Embassy Port-au-Prince. AFSA worked with the department to help evacuees to Washington with medical, personal and professional issues, develop an appropriate memorial; and, later, to seek more standardized procedures for dealing with the death of FS members abroad. We urged the Bureau of Overseas Building Operations to prioritize obtaining earthquake-resistant housing for all posts in earthquake zones, a goal that OBO has substantially advanced toward this year.

Throughout the 2009-2010 evaluation cycle, we provided the Bureau of Human Resources with summaries of member critiques on e-performance and monitoring improvement of the program. The large number of complaints and problems encountered convinced the department to delay mandatory implementation of e-performance overseas.

AFSA began working with the department to revise the core precepts for promotion, ensuring that they applied equally to Foreign Service members of all cones and specialties, both domestically and overseas. This includes recognizing that many FS jobs involve technical rather than political skills; that dealing with state and local counterparts in the U.S. requires similar skills to dealing with foreign counterparts; that supervisors should encourage required training; and that avoidance of a hostile work environment is an integral responsibility of management.

We also conducted our annual survey of AFSA member opinion, which provided us a better picture of the composition of our membership, your opinions on issues already known to us, as well as dozens of other issues communicated through the survey's comments section.

### February

AFSA met with the Bureau of Diplomatic Security to discuss clearance investigations in Canada. Because Canadian law prohibits foreign agencies from conducting background investigations in that country, DS was asking FS members who had lived or worked there to sign makeshift release forms granting the Canadian government *carte blanche* to investigate them. The bureau agreed to develop an official form that would limit the investigation in scope and time, restricting it to items required by the Security Policy Board's Uniform Investigative Standards for a security clearance.

We also convinced the Foreign Service Institute to include English As a Second Language among the online courses available to Eligible Family Members.

### March

We continued our ongoing efforts to eliminate the 15-year time-in-class limit for FS-4 couriers. While couriers do have opportunities for promotion to the mid-level and senior ranks when they reach FS-3, the structure of the skill code means they have minimal opportunities for overcoming that first crucial hurdle.

We noted a discrepancy in the Foreign Affairs Manual preventing rest-and-recuperation leave to employees arriving at post outside the normal transfer season. The department corrected this discrepancy.

We also obtained an agreement from the department to confer certificates signed by the Secretary of State to all specialists upon their attainment of tenure as career members of the Foreign Service.

### April

AFSA reported a change in DS policy with regard to Law Enforcement Availability Pay suspension for DS agents. Discussions revealed that the bureau was not following existing Foreign Affairs Manual procedures for decertifying special agents and lacked standard operating procedures for recertifying them — issues closely linked to LEAP. We are now discussing a draft of such an SOP.

We negotiated the procedural precepts governing the way the promotion boards operate and issues requiring special consideration. We inserted language to reduce bias

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against those serving in Washington, D.C., and also to require boards to take into account deficiencies in e-performance that could misrepresent the employee's position within an embassy or alter the space allotted to the rater's comments.

AFSA also intervened to convince Georgetown University that the value of overseas housing was not income and should not be considered as such in calculating financial aid to applicants with FS parents.

**May**

AFSA began a full-court press to eliminate the 5-percent low-ranking rule. The under secretary for management lowered the quota to 2 percent, a number acceptable to AFSA as it is within what many boards had reported would be the "natural number" they would low-rank based on performance, regardless of the quota.

We became aware of errors in entry-level salaries for newly hired DS special agents and similar problems in several other entry classes. AFSA worked closely with HR to identify all affected employees and ensure that their salaries were raised to appropriate levels.

**June**

After complaints from the field, AFSA urged DS to clarify its regulations regarding contact reporting of Facebook and other social networks. DS responded by urging employees to treat such contacts the same as real-life contacts for reporting purposes.

We met with the Office of Civil Rights to express concern over a growing number of cases in which it opened an investigation based not on any complaint from an aggrieved party, but rather on "tips" from third parties. Agreeing that there were some instances in which this might be proper, we nonetheless urged greater consideration of the reporting circumstances before launching an investigation.

**August**

We intervened to prevent elimination of opportunities for information management technical specialists to seek excursion tours. While the numbers allowed to do so are small, we kept the door open and continue to push to widen it for all specialists.

**September**

We successfully intervened and reversed a decision that

had removed the disabled daughter of an FS member from a state-funded program when her overseas parents were deemed to be no longer state residents.

**October**

The State Department agreed to reimburse recently introduced fees that some airlines charge to seat families together. We also convinced Volkswagen of America to eliminate penalty charges for FS members who sought to break a VW or Audi lease due to assignment overseas.

**December**

In talks with management, we raised issues related to Security Technical Specialist and Office Management Specialist career paths and assignments, seeking greater opportunities for advancement.

**FCS: Successes in a Rebuilding Year**

■ BY KEITH CURTIS, AFSA FCS VP

Our advocacy work with Secretary of Commerce Gary Locke paid off in a strong recommendation to President Barack Obama for more resources, which materialized in the National Export Initiative and the largest FCS budget increase request from the administration to Congress in our history.

Thanks to the White House, we were fortunate to work with Suresh Kumar, a strong director general with real international business experience, who has responded positively to all of our requests. He has strengthened the Office of Foreign Service Human Resources, freed our trust funds and appointed a very strong deputy, retired Ambassador Chuck Ford. AFSA had advocated for a Foreign Service officer who intimately knows our issues to be named to the position, so we were delighted to see Ford's appointment.

We have worked to make funding of the NEI for the Commercial Service a reality. We also advanced the issue of senior pay and made sure FCS was on board for locality pay, the biggest concrete benefit we have ever received. Despite efforts to obtain changes to the seven-year rule, we have not yet prevailed on that front, however.

Our fate still hangs in the balance after all that work but, all in all, it has been a very good year for FCS.

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## USAID: Preserving Past Gains

■ By FRANCISCO ZAMORA, AFSA USAID VP

The past year was not an easy one for USAID and its employees. But it began well: After a year of uncertainty, Administrator Rajiv Shah was finally confirmed on Dec. 24, 2009. Yet many important actions, such as the publication of the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review, kept being postponed. And, as we came to the end of 2010, several key positions, such as those for assistant administrator for the various bureaus, were still vacant. Nevertheless, the USAID AFSA office continued to look after your interests both globally and, in many instances, individually.

In March 2010, after receiving complaints from the field, AFSA carried out a worldwide employee survey on the State Department's move to consolidate USAID administrative platforms into embassy operations. The survey results documented employees' concerns over increased administrative costs, inefficiencies, poorer services, waste and inequalities for USAID.

AFSA's other lobbying efforts focused on preserving past successes, including the Overseas Comparability Pay phase-in and keeping mid-level hiring to reasonable levels.

Less well known are the hundreds of personal interventions we made on behalf of our members. For instance, we helped one overseas family move out of a neighborhood potentially contaminated by lead pollution. We supported medically compromised employees seeking extended sick leave donations once their own leave had been exhausted.

We routinely intervened with the Bureau of Human Resources to process late travel orders, reimbursements and annual leave issues. We also resolved payroll and billing problems, such as lease penalty payments, for departing officers.

There are too many other issues to mention individually here, but we have worked to address all of them fully. While most cases can be negotiated with HR, some involved the more complicated grievance process. Our success rate for those is high, as well.

To avoid litigation, we participated closely in the Foreign Service assignment system, as well as the annual evaluation and tenure processes, to ensure fairness and conformance with the rules.

We encourage you to contact us about your needs.

## AFSA by the Numbers in 2010

19	percent of unique visitors regularly reading the digital <i>Foreign Service Journal</i>
69	people following AFSA on Twitter
75	percent of overseas posts with an AFSA representative
97	students receiving AFSA scholarship aid
105	members participating in AFSA's newest benefit program, Zipcar
174	countries where people accessed the digital <i>Journal</i>
530	FS community members who are lifetime members of AFSA
2,114	fans of AFSA on Facebook
3,344	average number of visits per month to the digital <i>Foreign Service Journal</i>
6,365	regular online readers of the <i>Journal</i>
9,479	subscribers regularly receiving news updates from the AFSANET listserv
15,438	individual AFSA members
33,692	unique visitors to the online <i>Foreign Service Journal</i>
33,715	visitors to the <i>Inside a U.S. Embassy</i> Web page
\$103,703	December <i>FSJ</i> ad sales, a new monthly record
\$180,700	awards and scholarships bestowed to Foreign Service students for college
\$5,114,619	AFSA Scholarship Fund's endowment value as of Sept. 30

## International Broadcasting Bureau:

### New Year, New Agreement ■ BY AL PESSIN, AFSA IBB BOARD REP

**I**t was a year of slow-burn frustration on finalizing the now-two-year-old agreement with the agency on foreign correspondent time-in-class/time-in-service, low-ranking and related issues. But at last, in the final days of the year, the agreement was completed, and I signed it on Jan. 20, 2011.

The agreement makes the TIC/TIS freeze permanent for Voice of America foreign correspondents who were in service when the temporary freeze went into effect nearly 10 years ago.

Also in 2010, IBB implemented retroactive Overseas Comparability Pay in the spring, putting our staff on par with other agencies; and the agency paid the second increment in the fall. We expect the third and final increment in 2011, if Congress allows it to go forward.

AFSA continued to participate in IBB's labor-management committee, which has been a somewhat useful

forum for various issues. The group shepherded the ombudsman posting and selection process, and is trying to work on other issues. But with only one meeting per month and continuing mistrust on both sides, progress has been slow.

Finally, two new issues came up late in the year. VOA News is creating overseas editing GS positions. AFSA is working with management to try to get those changed to Foreign Service so all can compete. In addition, the IBB Technology Strategic Plan (<http://inside.bbg.gov/offices/tsi/default.aspx>), issued on Dec. 8, contains some potentially worrisome passages on privatizing the Thailand relay stations and planning for the "sunsetting" of shortwave broadcasts. AFSA staff and I are looking into the implications of that for our constituents.

As always, I stand ready to help with individual or group concerns. Please contact me at [apessin@voanews.com](mailto:apessin@voanews.com).

## FAS: To Boldly Go and Justify ■ BY HENRY SCHMICK, AFSA FAS VP

**T**here is something very satisfying about ending one year and starting the next. We like to imagine the new year brimming with many rosy things, while we discard the old year like recycled newspaper. In the looming dark days of flat pay, more work and fewer resources, however, we might be looking back at 2010 as the good old days.

To review 2010 in short, blunt words: the AFSA/FAS contract renegotiations have stalled, and we've reached a new Washington Placement Plan agreement for 2011-2013. FAS/Washington has been slightly reorganized, and many key officials have changed — among them the deputy under secretary, administrator, associate administrator and many deputy administrators. There's a continuing lack of attention to the FAS Human Capital Strategy, particularly for the Foreign Service. Several new initiatives remain undefined, including Labor-Management Forums and Cultural Transformation.

With apologies to "Star Trek," our mission in 2011 will

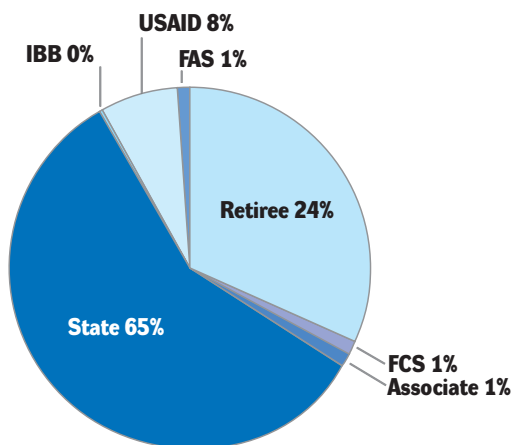
be to boldly justify everything we do to a very skeptical U.S. public and eager-to-cut Congress. Our talking point will have to be, "FAS boosts agricultural exports, which generates U.S. jobs." We do much more than that, of course, but efforts to improve global food security, etc., are weak tea. Live long and prosper.



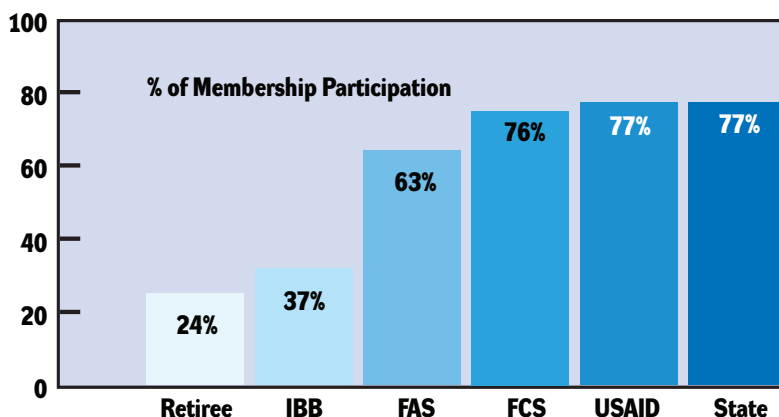
*Foreign Agricultural Service Attache Holly Higgins with villagers in Lucknow, India.*

# 2010 ANNUAL REPORT

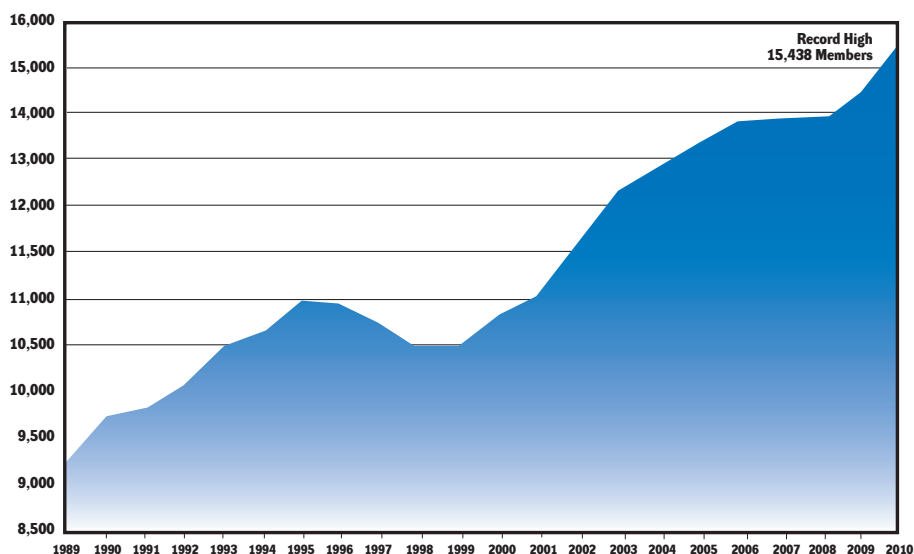
## Membership by Constituency December 2010



## Membership Participation by Constituency December 2010



## Total Membership 1989 to 2010



## 2010 Budget in Brief\*

INCOME .....	\$	EXPENSES .....	\$
Membership Dues .....	2,884,000	Membership Programs .....	1,436,188
Foreign Service Journal .....	547,500	Foreign Service Journal .....	968,916
Insurance Premium .....	23,000	Legislative Affairs .....	136,566
Legislative Action Fund .....	37,000	Administration .....	596,552
Other .....	57,400	Professional Programs & Outreach .....	340,246
Professional Programs & Outreach .....	312,743	Scholarships .....	442,973
Scholarships .....	483,684	Contribution to Reserve .....	423,887
<b>TOTAL</b> .....	<b>4,345,327</b>	<b>TOTAL</b> .....	<b>4,345,327</b>

\*Approved Budget figures. Audited Financial Statements for 2010 will be available at [www.afsa.org](http://www.afsa.org).

# ANNUAL REPORT 2010

## AFSA Board of Governors

Back row (left to right): Bill Farrand, Al Pessin, Keith Curtis, Bob Houdek, Stephen Morrison, Mary Ellen Gilroy, Andrew Winter, Michael Haughey, Lynn Nelson, Ako Cromwell.

Front row (left to right): Les Hickman, Henry Schmick, Molly Williamson, Joyce Namde, Francisco Zamora, Janice Bay, Mary Glantz, Susan Johnson, Sharon White, Daniel Hirsch, Carleton Bulkin.



Patrick Bradley

(Not pictured: Tex Harris, Raymond Maxwell, Bruce Matthews.)

## The Foreign Service Journal Editorial Board

Back row (left to right): Chairman Ted Wilkinson, Joseph Bruns.

Middle row (left to right): Jim SeEVERS, Kate Leonard, Lynn Roche.

Front row (left to right): George Jones, Julie Gianelloni Connor, Rachel Schneller, Mary Glantz, Kelly Adams-Smith.

(Not pictured: Stephen Buck.)



Amy McKeever

## AFSA on the Web

Visitor traffic to the AFSA Web site ([www.afsa.org](http://www.afsa.org)) continues to grow; in 2010 we had close to 1.6 million page views overall. That is a tremendous number for an organization of AFSA's size and speaks well of the quality of information we have made available to our members.

The most popular sections continue to be the *Foreign Service Journal*, high school essay contest, scholarships, the Tax Guide, our ambassador project, *Inside a U.S. Embassy* and our member guidance section.

We are also very active when it comes to social networking. Our Facebook page has new postings almost every day and now has close to 2,200 fans. We have also started tweeting regularly on Twitter ([www.twitter.com/afsatweets](http://www.twitter.com/afsatweets)), and we hope

you will start following us there. In addition, we started our own channel on YouTube and hope to utilize that outlet more in the future ([www.youtube.com/afsatube](http://www.youtube.com/afsatube)).

We are especially excited about the brand new [afsa.org](http://afsa.org) Web site, which will have launched shortly before you read this blurb. We have added more helpful information, made the whole site easier to read and navigate, and improved its overall look and feel. We hope you like it as much as we do.

The most beneficial change to visitors and members is the new ability to become a member and renew your membership online. You can also make donations, update your profile information, and subscribe to the *Foreign Service Journal* — with just the click of a button. Our original site launched in 1999 and didn't change much over the years. We are very pleased to be able to bring [afsa.org](http://afsa.org) into the 21st century!

— Ásgeir Sigfússon, Marketing/Outreach Manager

# 2010 ANNUAL REPORT

## Staff

### Executive Director

Ian Houston



Amy McKeever

### Finance

- Accounting
- Financial Management

Left to right: Assistant Controller Cory Nishi, Controller Kalpna Srimal and Finance Director Femi Oshobukola.



Amy McKeever

### Foreign Service Journal

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



Amy McKeever

Left to right: Editor Steven Alan Honley, Associate Editor Shawn Dorman, Senior Editor Susan Maitra and Advertising and Circulation Manager Ed Miltenberger. (Not pictured: Art Director Caryn Suko Smith.)

### Labor Management

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



Amy McKeever

Left to right: Senior Staff Attorney Neera Parikh, General Counsel Sharon Papp, Staff Attorney Michael Willats, Office Manager Christine Warren, Deputy General Counsel Zlatana Badrich and Staff Attorney Raeka Safai. (Not pictured: USAID Senior Labor Management Adviser Douglas Broome and Labor Management Specialist James Yorke.)

## Communications, Marketing & Outreach

- Speakers Bureau
- Legislative Affairs
- Road Scholar
- Memorial Plaques
- Foreign Service Day
- AFSA Awards
- AFSA Web site
- National High School Essay Contest
- Corporate Relations
- AFSA Events
- Fundraising



Patrick Bradley

Left to right: Awards and Outreach Coordinator Perri Green, Marketing & Outreach Manager Ásgeir Sigfússon, AFSA News Editor Amy McKeever and Director of Communications Tom Switzer. (Not pictured: Legislative Director Casey Frary.)

### Member Services

- Member Recruitment
- Post Reps
- Insurance Programs
- Address Changes
- AFSANet Listserv
- Member Inquiries
- Member Records



Amy McKeever

Left to right: Member Services Director Janet Hedrick and Administrative Assistant & Office Manager Ana Lopez. (Not pictured: Membership representatives Michael Laiacona and Richard Buscemi.)

## Professional Programs and Executive Support

- Financial Aid, Merit and Art Scholarships
- Retiree Services
- Retiree Newsletter
- Retiree Directory
- Governing Board & Executive Support
- Special Projects



Amy McKeever

Left to right: Scholarship Assistant Jonathan Crawford, Scholarship Director Lori Dec, Retiree Issues Coordinator Bonnie Brown, Staff Assistant Patrick Bradley. (Not pictured: Executive Assistant to the President Austin Tracy.)



ANNUAL REPORT **2010**

## Benefits of AFSA Membership

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

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

**Congressional Advocacy:** AFSA is your advocate before Congress on issues affecting the careers of active members and the annuities of retired members.

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

**Voice of the Foreign Service:** As the professional association of the Foreign Service since 1924, AFSA works to strengthen our profession and is ever vigilant for threats to the career Foreign Service.

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

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

**Foreign Service Journal:** Our monthly magazine offers provocative articles that will keep you current on developments in the foreign affairs profession.

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

**AFSA Web Site:** Our online member area includes a member directory and member forums.

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

**Insurance Programs:** You can choose among competitively priced insurance programs designed for the Foreign Service community, including professional liability, long-term care, accident, dental and personal property/transit.

**AFSA Scholarships:** Approximately 100 merit-based and financial-need scholarships are granted every year to Foreign Service family members. Since 1926, AFSA has awarded nearly \$5,000,000 in scholarships.

**AFSA Awards:** This unique program honors constructive dissent and outstanding performance.

**Retiree Newsletter:** This bimonthly newsletter is exclusively for retired members.

**Directory of Retired Members:** This invaluable annual listing, by state, of contact information for retired members is provided to all retired AFSA members.

**Discounts:** AFSA members are eligible for special discounts on subscriptions to major foreign affairs journals. AFSA is also very pleased to have a new partnership with Zipcar, the world's largest car-sharing and car club service. Members receive a significant reduction in annual fees and hourly rates.

**Esprit de Corps:** We work to build a sense of common cause and professional pride among all Foreign Service members: active-duty and retired; generalists and specialists; entry-level, mid-level and senior.

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

## AFSA Core Values



### THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

Established in 1924.

#### Mission

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

#### Vision

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

- **Responsiveness:** We listen to our members and actively promote their interests.
- **Effectiveness:** We act with a sense of urgency, get results, and make a difference.
- **Integrity:** We demonstrate openness, honesty, and fairness in everything we do.
- **Efficiency:** We carefully expend our resources where they can have maximum impact.
- **Community:** We foster teamwork, respect each other, and enjoy our time together.
- **Courage:** We encourage responsible risk-taking in order to achieve results.
- **Patriotism:** We are faithful to the grand and enduring ideals that gave our nation birth.
- **Empowerment:** We trust each other to give our best efforts guided by these core values.

# TOWARD A MORE PERFECT UNION

T

he publication of AFSA's annual report offers an opportunity to comment on two central questions that each new Governing Board grapples with: Is the American Foreign Service Association adapting well to changing circumstances? And is it serving the interests of its members in the best possible way?

AFSA's mission in 1924, when the association was formed, was to "foster an esprit de corps" in the Foreign Service, whose consular and diplomatic functions had been brought together by the Rogers Act passed earlier that year. For its first 50 years, before it became an "exclusive representative," it served principally as a fraternal management society like the American Bar Association and the American Medical Association, dedicated to promoting the interests and the influence of an elite corps of professionals.

This core mission hasn't changed, but the organization's scope and activities have broadened considerably, particularly in recent decades. AFSA has evolved from a handful of dedicated staff (mostly unpaid volunteers), whose main function was publishing a monthly journal, into a sophisticated, multifunctional, nonprofit organization with a

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*Ted Wilkinson, a Foreign Service officer from 1961 to 1996 and AFSA president from 1989 to 1991, is the chairman of the FSJ Editorial Board.*

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AFSA IS A MUCH BIGGER ENTITY THAN WHEN FOUNDED IN 1924, BUT ITS TOP PRIORITY REMAINS SERVING THE INTERESTS OF ITS MEMBERS.

---

BY TED WILKINSON

salaried staff of 29, an annual budget of \$4.5 million, and a membership of more than 15,400.

## **AFSA Becomes a Bargaining Agent**

The social ferment of the late 1960s had an impact on the Foreign Service, just as it did on most American institutions. AFSA was no exception, and the "Young Turks" who took charge of the association in the early 1970s (Bill Harrop, Tom Boyatt, Lannon Walker and others) were determined to modernize the practice of diplomacy as a profession.

When President Richard Nixon signed his 1972 executive order mandating the election of bargaining agents to represent federal employees at each agency and department, AFSA's leadership seized the opportunity. AFSA easily defeated the American Federation of Government Employees to become the exclusive representative for all Foreign Service employees of the Department of State, the U.S. Agency for International Development and the United States Information Agency in 1973.

The idea of taking on a union's functions didn't sit well with everyone in the Foreign Service. Traditionalists felt the existing personnel system worked well enough, and many of them tended to identify more with management than "labor." But AFSA's new leadership recognized the

opportunity that exclusive representation constituted to sweep away some of the cobwebs of outmoded practice in the Service. These included confidential annexes to efficiency reports, the archaic rule that female FSOs had to resign if they married, and the feudal hierarchies of Foreign Service wives under the chief of mission's wife at overseas posts.

It quickly became clear just how badly the Foreign Service needed an organization to pursue employee rights more broadly, and how little senior management could be counted on to stick up for them. As chairman of AFSA's Members' Interests Committee, which was charged with labor-management negotiations in the late 1970s, I took up the issue of duties, taxes and import limits being imposed by many host governments on Foreign Service employees assigned abroad, in violation of the Vienna Convention.

We proposed an obvious mechanism for ending such inequities: establishing reciprocal rules for the embassies and consulates of those governments in the United States. This idea ran into a wall of resistance, for neither the Secretary of State nor our ambassadors in those countries wanted to encumber our bilateral agendas with such matters. The department complained that reciprocity would require burdensome, detailed accounting rules for each country, which the department lacked the manpower to meet, and argued that too much interagency coordination would be required.

But in the end, State relented. In 1982 it set up the Office of Foreign Missions, and began to apply the same strictures to foreign diplomats based in the U.S. as were being applied to our personnel abroad. Just as AFSA had expected, foreign governments quickly lifted many of their improper restrictions.

### **Bread-and-Butter Issues**

There was resistance, too, when AFSA pressed management to raise Foreign Service salaries to match what Civil Service personnel in comparable jobs were earning. Budget-conscious managers argued against the idea, claiming that the Foreign Service enjoyed compensating benefits such as rent-free housing abroad. In the end, AFSA found sympathy on Capitol Hill, which incorporated more favorable comparability linkages into the Foreign Service Act of 1980.

Despite such successes, tensions persisted between AFSA's new union responsibilities and the old fraternal association role. As post representative in Brussels in the

early 1970s, I had to suppress my own traditionalist instincts to take on a politically powerful ambassador to NATO on two personnel issues that the deputy chief of mission was unwilling to raise with him. (In both cases, the ambassador wanted to disregard provisions of the Foreign Affairs Manual he found inconvenient, but he wisely decided not to proceed once he understood the consequences.)

Some traditionalists found it hard to adjust to AFSA's new focus on bread-and-butter issues. When it sought overtime pay for junior officers working 12-hour shifts in the Operations Center or as staff aides, for instance, Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Claiborne Pell, D-R.I., expressed indignation. The idea of overtime pay had never even occurred to him or anyone else in his own days as a junior FSO (1945-1952).

AFSA's obligation to defend the rights of individual members in trouble also sometimes proved to be costly. While I was AFSA president in the early 1990s, I had to answer for our legal counsel's defense of a senior officer who was found to have had the official representational silver packed and sent to his home in the U.S. on reassignment, for which he was severely punished. He claimed that it was inadvertent, but several senior officers in the department's management branch said he should have known better, and resigned from AFSA in disgust at our willingness to represent him.

Nor is our "union" image always helpful when resource issues play such a prominent role in our relations with Congress. For instance, we are still struggling to implement fully a tremendous, multiyear initiative to recoup the benefits of locality pay for personnel assigned abroad — an effort eerily reminiscent of AFSA's long struggle to get local-currency rent and cost-of-living allowances raised after Washington went off the gold standard in 1971, and the dollar's value sank by about a third.

Year in and year out, AFSA presidents have beaten the halls of Congress supporting the efforts of successive Secretaries of State to obtain adequate resources to run the department. Legislators tend to run for cover when they see AFSA coming to call, because they know that our pitch is going to be "send more money!" — even though much of each year's budget request goes for the training, staffing and overhead to run an effective organization, not into our members' pockets. Nevertheless, it goes without saying that we will be obliged to repeat the litany this year and probably for years to come.

AFSA's secondary identity as a union has other draw-

## F O C U S

backs in today's context, when for the first time in history there are more unionized Americans in government (counting the state and local levels) than in the private sector. Recent polls show a strong belief that public servants are paid too much, and considerable sympathy for the idea of freezing government salaries.

It is entirely appropriate for us to draw the usual distinctions between Civil Service responsibilities and our own unique challenges. But the Foreign Service has an additional image problem that we probably have yet to live down — the October 2007 town hall meeting with Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, during which the press got an unauthorized glimpse of the internal furor over possible mandated assignments to Iraq. Despite the fact that volunteers ultimately filled all positions, the episode sent the message that some diplomats were reluctant to serve on the front lines.

*AFSA has evolved  
into a sophisticated,  
multifunctional, nonprofit  
organization.*

### **Let's Emphasize Professional Concerns...**

At this point it should be pretty clear what I think AFSA's focus has to be going forward. On top of dealing with current labor-management issues, the association must concentrate on what has always been part of its job description: showing our

fellow Americans the public face of a broadly representative, disciplined corps of dedicated public servants, and promoting and explaining the importance of diplomacy.

There are lots of ways to do this, and AFSA is already carrying out an imaginative array of programs:

- Sending issues speakers on demand, encouraging retiree chapter activities around the country and organizing "Road Scholar" (formerly Elderhostel) educational events;
- Conferring and publicizing lifetime diplomacy awards and awards for constructive dissent and independent thought within the Foreign Service, along with conducting

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## F O C U S

a high school essay contest about the importance of diplomacy;

- Using the *Foreign Service Journal* to publicize and document what AFSA is doing and to air diverse opinions, and making sure that the magazine gets to all national legislators and many libraries;

- Publishing *Inside a U.S. Embassy*, AFSA's popular introduction to the Foreign Service, which reaches thousands; and

- Hosting author appearances and public issues forums at AFSA headquarters, and conducting outreach to business organizations.

### **...And Speak Out**

Beyond that, I would encourage AFSA to consider speaking out about the key foreign policy issues being debated nationally, when the practice of diplomacy is threatened. In fact, we have consistently maintained a high

*The idea of taking on a union's functions didn't sit well with everyone in the Foreign Service in the early 1970s.*

profile on the use of ambassadorships as rewards for campaign contributors, a highly sensitive political issue. AFSA was successful in getting language into the 1980 Foreign Service Act to enshrine a preference for career personnel as ambassadors, but the results have been disappointing. We need to keep calling attention to this principle, even if we

seem to be beating our wings on a lampshade, considering how little respect is paid to it in practice (including by the Obama administration).

AFSA has also sprung to the defense of individual diplomats who have been pilloried publicly for reporting unpopular views from the field — e.g., “China hands” John Service, John Davies, et al. Yet we have consistently stopped short of taking positions on other foreign policy issues, even when basic principles are involved, on the grounds that the Foreign Service exists to implement pol-



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## F O C U S

icy, not to make it, and that AFSA must avoid becoming enmeshed in partisan political disputes.

The problem with this approach is that the organization ends up looking parochial. We are vocal about our budgets and our people, but where does the organization stand on other matters of principle? For instance, diplomacy depends in large measure on the rule of law in international relations, but advocacy of American “exceptionalism” (the belief that such rules don’t apply to us because of our uniqueness) surfaces all too often in both major political parties.

Is it really enough for former ambassadors to speak out as individuals against such aberrations? Shouldn’t AFSA also resist them publicly, pointing out that flouting the rules ourselves can only damage our efforts to build respect for the law elsewhere? And as a corollary, shouldn’t AFSA add its voice to efforts to get the Senate to ratify the Law of the Sea Treaty, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and the Inter-American Treaty on the Illegal Export of Weapons, and to support free trade agreements with key allies?

I recognize that drawing a line between abstract princi-

ple and partisan applications is difficult to tackle — maybe even impossible for a corporate entity like AFSA — and that the task of defending diplomacy should normally fall to individual spokespersons, rather than to the organization. But when it is necessary for AFSA to speak out, it should not hesitate to do so.

In the meantime, we can take some comfort from a perverse outcome of the WikiLeaks episode. Whatever the complications Julian Assange and his colleagues have caused for the practice of diplomacy, the chorus of praise is growing for the quality of Foreign Service work and the reporting that’s been publicized.

Years ago, when I told the late Representative Stephen Solarz, D-N.Y., about a cable that I had written to State about our visit to a refugee camp, he observed: “Oh, you reported to the Black Hole.” WikiLeaks has opened many foreign affairs pundits’ eyes worldwide, both to what Foreign Service personnel do and how well we do it. AFSA might well consider publishing a compendium of such commentators’ remarks, which add some much-needed luster to the FS image! ■

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# MAKING A DIFFERENCE IN CONGRESS FOR OUR MEMBERS

AFSA'S CONGRESSIONAL OPERATION HAS ADVANCED KEY INITIATIVES BENEFITING FOREIGN SERVICE MEMBERS AND ENHANCING DIPLOMATIC EFFECTIVENESS.

By THOMAS D. BOYATT

**I**t is axiomatic that Foreign Service officers know the political structures, intricacies and nuances of every country save their own. Perhaps that phenomenon explains why it has taken AFSA more than 30 years to evolve a highly effective congressional operation. But we have done so, to the great benefit of the people of the Foreign Service and the processes of diplomacy.

Shortly after becoming the “exclusive employee representative” for all Foreign Service employees following an 1973 election, the AFSA leadership was called to the office of the senior active-duty FSO at the State Department, Under Secretary for Political Affairs Alex Johnson. He had heard that we intended to “petition the Congress” independently of the department, and wanted us to know he thought that was “unthinkable.”

A few months later, we met with Secretary-designate Henry Kissinger to explain our views and intentions.

---

*Thomas D. Boyatt, an FSO from 1959 until 1985, served as ambassador to Colombia and Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso) and chargé d'affaires in Chile, among many other postings. Currently the treasurer of AFSA's political action committee, AFSA-PAC, Ambassador Boyatt has been AFSA's president, vice president and treasurer, and is president of the Foreign Affairs Council.*

When I told him we intended to testify against clearly unqualified, politically appointed ambassadors, he smiled and told me, “And you must remember, I can always send you to Chad.”

We did testify against several political appointees but, after being ignored by Republican and Democratic senators alike, we ceased quixotically breaking our lances against that particular windmill. But we continued to lobby the Hill on “bread and butter” and personnel issues. This activity became particularly intense when a later iteration of AFSA leaders led by Ken Blakesley played a major role in drafting Public Law 96-465, the Foreign Service Act of 1980. The members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee wanted to be sure the people of the Foreign Service (through their elected union) supported the legislation. AFSA made significant contributions to the substance of the law and learned significantly more about “working the Hill” as a result of these experiences.

In the later 1980s and 1990s, AFSA built on those gains. First, the Governing Board engaged a series of consultants with long experience in positions on Senate and House staffs for advice on how to proceed. Some years later AFSA created a full-time position for legislative relations, and our knowledge of Capitol Hill, and ability to operate effectively there, increased markedly with such experts on staff.

*The ABCs of Education Allowances*  
By Pamela Ward

*Online High School Courses*  
By Kristi Streiffert

*Online Education:  
Unprecedented Opportunities*  
By Kristi Streiffert

*Community College:  
Time To Take Another Look ?*  
By Rebecca Grappo

*Getting Found: Global Nomads 2.0*  
By Mikkela Thompson

*Building Resiliency in Global Nomads*  
By Rebecca Grappo

*Flying Solo — Going to College  
from Overseas: A Guide for Parents*  
By Rebecca Grappo

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## F O C U S

In 2002 I recommended to the Governing Board that AFSA organize and fund under existing legislation a political action committee similar to those operated by every other union, nongovernmental organization, business entity, church, etc. My argument was that while we had a constitutional right to petition Congress, the most effective way to do so was defined by the culture of that body, not by us. The recommendation was accepted, and AFSA-PAC was organized.

### **The Value of AFSA-PAC**

AFSA-PAC differs from most other PACs in several important respects. First, we are funded by voluntary contributions, not a dues check-off, and we contribute to both parties equally, as required by our internal bylaws. In addition, we donate only to House and Senate campaigns, as well as to sitting members who are on relevant

*AFSA-PAC has given us a seat at the table whenever relevant legislation is being forwarded or discussed.*

committees or are proven “friends of the Foreign Service.”

The purpose of our PAC (like any other) is to make organizational views clear to the relevant committee and subcommittee chairs and ranking members, and other members. By contributing to these legislators’ “Committees to Re-elect,” we

are invited to their small, personal functions (breakfasts, lunches, receptions and dinners) at which all participants have the opportunity for discussions directly with the principal.

Over time, this process has had the effect of giving AFSA a seat at the table whenever relevant legislation is being forwarded or discussed. There is nothing sinister about this educative process. Indeed, every FSO who has made diplomatic representations at a cocktail or dinner party to a local official should recognize its utility.

During the past four years, AFSA’s congressional op-

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As AFSA prepares to institute more environmentally friendly practices, significantly reducing our consumption of paper, we are asking our members to please ensure that we have their valid e-mail addresses on file. This will allow us to contact you by e-mail rather than cluttering up your home with paper mail, and it also leads to significant savings in postage.

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## F O C U S

eration has been of fundamental importance in two developments critically important to the people of the Foreign Service and to diplomatic effectiveness. First, as a result of AFSA's fight for overseas comparability pay, in June 2009 Congress acted to begin to close the ever-widening OCP gap.

Second, from 2007 through today the AFSA congressional team has partnered with the American Academy of Diplomacy in pushing for an additional 4,700 new positions for State and USAID to be funded by the 150 Account. Through the regular budgets and supplementals of 2008, 2009 and 2010 (and possibly 2011), some 3,200 new positions have already been added. This is an historic achievement. All empty State positions in Washington and abroad have now been filled; USAID is growing in numbers and capability; and

*Past victories  
validate the value of  
our congressional operation.*

*But they do not, of course,  
guarantee future success.*

we have made a strong start on establishing a training float that will produce dramatic improvements in professional development for all Foreign Service personnel.

Past victories validate the value of our congressional operation. But they do not, of course, guarantee future success. We currently face enormous pressure

for reductions in the 150 Account, so the period immediately ahead is going to be extraordinarily challenging for us. Mindful of this, AFSA is working to deepen our advocacy strength further through internal management changes and development and reconfiguration of the professional staff.

Still, in the last analysis the key to our effectiveness will remain, as always, the financial and operational support of our members. ■

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# WHAT IS CULTURAL AFFAIRS?

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A PRACTITIONER OFFERS AN OVERVIEW OF A FOREIGN SERVICE  
FUNCTION THAT DESERVES TO BE BETTER KNOWN AND APPRECIATED.

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BY MICHAEL MACY

**R**ecently a new Foreign Service officer asked me what the cultural affairs section does. While I was glad to enlighten him, his question made me realize that such uncertainty is widespread, possibly extending even to some of us who do it. So I offer this essay as an attempt to define cultural affairs, the least understood of Foreign Service functions, and explain its importance.

Most people understand what political officers do, even if they can't distinguish between a demarché and the March Hare. Indeed, when the wider world thinks of diplomats (however rarely), it imagines political officers. Similarly, the work economic and management officers do is defined in the title they bear.

And because most people understand visas and American citizen services, they are readily able to form an accurate idea of consular work. Even the information officer function is fairly well understood, for its tools — press releases, press conferences and, now, blogs, tweets and Facebook — are all in the public domain. But cultural affairs still seems to defy simple definition.

Friends and family back home figure I must be a spy. After all, isn't being the cultural attaché always the cover spies use in novels? Sorry to disappoint them, but I haven't

had a classified login for years, let alone a top-secret mission.

For their part, many of my colleagues think I make my living going to parties, receptions and performances. Admittedly, going out is part of the job, but it is hardly the *raison d'être*.

## Building Bridges

So what do we do? To paraphrase one definition, cultural affairs officers seek to establish and maintain mutually beneficial relationships between the United States and our host country. Or, as one of the categories in the Mission Performance Plan puts it, we facilitate “mutual understanding.”

Put another way, CAOs use a variety of tools to build bridges between cultures, delivering information and impressions that help our target audiences better understand the United States. We try to do that by delivering the right message to the right audience at the right time and in the most efficient manner possible.

More often than you might think, the tools we use to build the bridges are mistaken for the bridge. (And the bridge itself is sometimes confused with the destination.) It really is the tools that most often define what we do, but in actual fact that observation is no more useful than saying a carpenter is someone who uses a hammer.

Even so, that is a good way to start defining cultural affairs work: the use of culture as a tool to span the chasm between countries. But just as a hammer isn't the right tool for every carpentry job, neither is there any one program that can always be used to build bridges.

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*Michael Macy joined the Foreign Service in 1994 and has served in London, Bamako, Valletta, Riyadh and Kabul as a cultural affairs or public affairs officer. He is currently the cultural affairs officer in New Delhi.*

Truth be told, no single activity fully defines the sum and substance of what we do. Exchanges, the International Visitor Program, performances, exhibits, speakers, libraries, etc. — all are useful tools, but still just tools.

### **Building Relationships**

Cultural affairs practitioners generally impart impressions and images that help make the audience more receptive to the specific information that the embassy press office delivers. The best analogy I can think of is that cultural affairs is to the press office what public relations is to advertising. I know I tread on dangerous ground here, for many of my colleagues would hate any parallels between public diplomacy and any form of marketing communications. But as a well-respected public affairs officer once told me, “We don’t sell hamburgers.”

He was right. Public relations is never a call to action, the actual sale; that role should be left for advertising. Rather, cultural affairs develops relationships, so that when we do issue a call to action — support for a treaty, a vote in the United Nations, a commitment to send troops to Afghanistan — the host-country audience supports us, or is at least thoughtful in its criticism. Even if the foreign government does not go along with our request, its citizens will resist the temptation to condemn us for asking — if we have done our cultural affairs work well.

As my conversation with the young officer I mentioned at the beginning of this article continued, he asked what I need to know to do my job well. I told him that while there is a tendency to think that the key is to understand the host country, it is equally important to understand American culture. In fact, the three skills any cultural affairs practitioner should develop are the ability to: understand American culture; learn how to communicate effectively; and identify your primary audience.

### **Culture Vultures**

Most of us spend little time analyzing our own culture. We think we instinctively know it simply from being constantly immersed in it. But that’s like thinking fish are natural hydrologists just because they spend their whole lives in water.

Every culture is a filter that defines how we experience the world. Unless we are aware of that, we don’t know what we’re missing, and we don’t know how to make comparisons

with people who don’t have the same filters. So I encourage my colleagues, particularly new ones, to study American culture with their minds open, learn about their prejudices and trace them back — by reading widely, watching movies and TV shows, listening to all kinds of music and, yes, studying cultural analysis.

We also need to understand American culture because so many people all over the world wrongly think they already understand it — and us — from watching our TV shows and films and listening to our popular music. If anything, the movies and programs most indicative of American culture are often the most misunderstood and unpopular overseas. “*Fargo*” is a good example: most Americans don’t get the duck stamp reference in that movie unless they’re from the Midwest, so it is even less likely to make sense in places like Riyadh.

Just as buying a Ford doesn’t give you automatic insight into life in America, neither does watching a Hollywood movie directed by an Australian in Budapest. An important part, then, of what we do in cultural affairs is challenging people’s preconceptions about the United States. But how can we do that if we don’t know our own culture?

### **What We Have Here...**

The second element needed to do this job may seem obvious: the ability to communicate. Most people consider themselves experts at this. After all, didn’t we do well on university papers and then pass the Foreign Service exam? And haven’t we been talking for years? Doesn’t that make us world-class communicators?

As a matter of fact, no. Far too many Foreign Service personnel have never studied how to put forward a message: planning a campaign, evaluating its effectiveness, identifying audiences and choosing among different forms of communication. Effective communication entails going beyond organizing events to create experiences that reach foreign audiences on multiple levels, both intellectually and emotionally. And to do that well, cultural affairs officers have to know why some performances and works of art still move us even though we already know the story behind them.

The third key element of the cultural affairs function is the audience. Cultural affairs officers need to know how, and how quickly, inhabitants of the host country establish relationships. That will help indicate whether it is more pro-

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primary audience.*

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ductive to try for a broad audience by using television or other mass media, or to host an exclusive event with limited attendance. In other words, will it be more effective to reach out to the same people repeatedly to reinforce a particular theme, or send the message just once?

Sometimes the turnout for an embassy event is but a fraction of the secondary audience, which may be the real target of our outreach. For example, organizing an awareness campaign about a USAID program may not draw many people, but it raises the program's profile and underscores the commitment of the United States to helping the local population.

### Best Practices

The most effective cultural affairs programs are those that bring people together in the spirit of Edward R. Murrow's exhortation to bridge the

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use a variety of tools  
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between cultures.*

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“last three feet.” It's best if a meal is part of the program (there is a reason most religions have rituals centering on food). One reason exchange programs are so useful is that they create experiential relations. Alumni programs maintain those relationships.

To improve our professional skills as cultural affairs officers, we could offer courses in communications theory and practice as part of public diplomacy

training at the Foreign Service Institute. Another area would be cultural analysis. Two of the greatest names in that field, Joseph Campbell and Edward T. Hall, once taught at FSI. We should strive to reach that level again.

Another step would be to recruit officers who have studied American history, literature and culture, and worked in public relations. There are ongoing attempts to develop metrics for what we do, and that should be encouraged, as well. We won't know if we're effective — and why — if we can't (or don't) measure it.

Cultural affairs will grow increasingly important as the century unfolds. As we face the challenge of state-controlled capitalism, along with other threats to our core values of democracy, human rights and free markets, the battle for “hearts and minds” increasingly needs the cultural affairs shock troops. ■

**FSJ FasTrax**

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# CHANGING HEARTS AND MINDS

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THE INTERNATIONAL VISITORS LEADERSHIP PROGRAM IS A STRIKING EXAMPLE OF THE KIND OF EFFECTIVE “SOFT POWER” DIPLOMACY AMERICA NEEDS TO PRIORITIZE.

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BY JOANNE GRADY HUSKEY

While watching the 2009 film “The Hurt Locker,” I was haunted by the little children hiding behind window curtains and peering through doorways, watching with wide uncomprehending eyes the alien robotic creatures roaming their streets. What did those little Iraqi children take away from watching the huge, intimidating American soldiers in heavy armor and with massive guns clamoring down Baghdad’s streets?

How could they possibly comprehend what they saw daily in their neighborhoods? Was this really the way to build a new Iraq? Could infantry laden with armor and guns meaningfully “befriend” the people? Will these children grow up with fond feelings for America and want to cooperate with us?

I am dubious. As we pull our troops out of Iraq after eight long years of war, we need to re-examine our priorities. Shouldn’t we, as a nation, put more emphasis on “promoting peace” than on “fighting terrorism”?

One program that has been changing hearts and minds about America through “soft power” for 60 years is the International Visitors Leadership Program. As a seasonal pro-

gram officer at the Meridian International Center, working with the International Visitors Program, I have been especially privileged to have “promoting international understanding” as my job description.

The IVLP works to reverse ingrained anti-American attitudes by presenting a very different picture of the United States to some 5,000 visitors, all selected to come to the U.S. each year as guests of the State Department’s Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. Designing and coordinating these professional exchange programs for up-and-coming young leaders in various fields, to meet and exchange ideas with their American counterparts, has made me step back and think about what our nation really stands for and the values we espouse and hold dear.

I have sought to give these visitors, most of whom have never been to the United States before, a broad taste of all that is American — a personal experience of our cultural diversity, our generosity, and our spirit of volunteerism. They might meet a member of Congress, have dinner or stay overnight in an American home, attend a town hall meeting, meet the head of a major corporation, or work as a volunteer in a soup kitchen. They spend their free time strolling the streets of American cities and towns, mingling with people and attending cultural events.

## A Broad Taste of America

During their three weeks in the U.S., these visitors witness firsthand how Americans live and work — and that is what most impresses them. There is no hard sell. Average Americans, just being themselves, are enough to bring words of praise from many IVLP participants. An Iraqi teacher of English as a Second Language, who took part in one of my

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*Joanne Grady Huskey is a seasonal program officer at the Meridian International Center and a member of a Foreign Service family that has served in Beijing, Chennai, Nairobi and Taipei. A graduate of Harvard University, she is the author of The Unofficial Diplomat (New Academia/Scarith Books, 2009), a volume in the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training’s Memoirs and Occasional Papers Series. She presently resides in Bethesda, Md.*

programs last year, told me: “The tolerance I have seen here in the U.S. was remarkable. I honestly didn’t think it would be so. At home I am so accustomed to [our people] being divided into Sunnis, Kurds and Shiites, who no longer tolerate each other. I felt accepted and welcomed everywhere we went in the U.S.”

A group of Indian journalists on a visit last June commented on their interaction with professional counterparts: “What an excellent meeting at the *Washington Post*! Our hosts were incredibly informative, and the meeting reminded us of an MBA case analysis session. First, our hosts discussed the changes in the industry; then they discussed how these changes impacted the *Post*. And then they presented the measures employed to cope with the changes. ... It was a great meeting!”

A visiting group of Pakistani lawyers traveled to Oklahoma City, where they met with the director of the Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism and discussed counterterrorism techniques. They came to understand that terrorism is a global phenomenon, rather than being unique to their part of the world.

When they were invited to offer Friday prayers in a mosque in Oklahoma built by the local Muslim community, the visitors were filled with a sense of pride and brotherhood. A lawyer from the Swat Valley put it this way: “This is the most memorable experience of my life. It has broadened my vision and given my perception a global dimension. ... I hope in the future people of both great nations will understand each other in a better way. These confidence-building measures will definitely accrue one day, and we will be able to explore ways to cooperate and work together for global peace.”

### **Getting Behind Stereotypes**

In light of the recent controversy over the proposal to build an interfaith religious center near Ground Zero in

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New York City and the increase in anti-Islamic sentiments in America, these firsthand, noncontroversial interactions with hard-working people of Muslim descent, as well as with people of every nation, help promote much-needed understanding.

An Iraqi deputy governor visiting various U.S. municipalities last October told me that he was amazed at the openly helpful and hospitable nature of average American citizens. While he was in the States, county officials and mayors from three geographically diverse cities — Arlington, Va.; Colorado Springs, Colo.; and Phoenix, Ariz. — shared with him their insights about governance and city management. He returned to Iraq full of ideas for city planning, budgeting and developing infrastructure that he can use in his devastated province. And he made many contacts with whom to exchange useful information for years to come.

Visitors often arrive here with a large dose of skepticism, even animosity, toward the U.S. One West Bank/Palestinian ESL teacher visiting last July told me: “On a personal level, I, as well as most Palestinians, had false stereotypes about the American people. This is mainly due to the American foreign policy in the Middle East, in general, and in Palestine, in particular.

“Americans are usually judged by

Arabs based on their political positions in the Middle East. However, my view changed when I met ordinary American people and negotiated human and political issues face to face with them. Now I better understand the way Americans think of themselves and of others. What I like best about them is that they are kind, caring, honest and hardworking. Despite the diversity of people, they enjoy a peaceful life in which respect and dignity are reciprocal.”

Another teacher from the West Bank had this to say after her IVLP program ended: “All the meetings presented a wonderful insight about America. Both formal and informal appointments and meetings, which we had all around the States, provided us with knowledge about the norms and habits of the American people. This is simply the place where freedom can be enjoyed.

“Another advantage of this program is that there were many things I shared with my American counterparts. In addition to talking about our experiences in teaching English, we also shared our values, cultural aspects, norms of life and points of view about different issues. We talked about the common points that bridge the gaps among our cultures.”

### **“Globalizing” That Cuts Both Ways**

A side benefit of the IVLP program is the opportunity it gives Americans from all walks of life to meet with visitors from around the world. For many Americans, it is the first time they have conversed with someone from Pakistan, India, the West Bank, Ghana or other places. Volunteers working in nonprofit Councils for International Visitors in all 50 U.S. states and the District coordinate programs that bring people together, and provide a platform for the exchange of ideas.

Visitors from Mongolia might meet people in North Dakota, or young



leaders from Tajikistan might hold long discussions with local leaders in Mississippi. These unique and enlightening experiences cut both ways, “globalizing” both our foreign visitors and Americans in every part of our country.

The IVLP’s people-to-people diplomacy is a powerful tool, enabling group after group to return to their home countries with a new understanding of America — one based not on media distortions, military action, or rumors and misinformation, but rather on seeing and meeting firsthand real Americans in all their diversity. This increased knowledge of the U.S. then informs their professional work and, hopefully, has positive long-term effects on international relations.

### **An Impressive Record**

Nearly 300 alumni of the IVLP have become heads of state or government. These include France’s Nicolas

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*These experiences cut  
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Sarkozy, England’s Gordon Brown, Afghanistan’s Hamid Karzai, Egypt’s Anwar Sadat, Kenya’s Mwai Kibaki, Mexico’s Felipe Calderón, Turkey’s Abdullah Gul and India’s Manmohan Singh. Many other distinguished world leaders in government and the private sector have come to the States on this program as young professionals, and that has made a world of difference in how they see the U.S. today.

The cost of this diplomatic offensive is minuscule compared to that of our defense budget. Yet the result might last a lifetime and multiply before it can be fully measured in each visitor’s life. The added mutual benefit from “globalizing” Americans more than warrants the \$95 million annual cost of the program, a mere fraction of total federal expenditures.

With that in mind, as our own Secretary of Defense Robert Gates has said, we must make it a national priority to invest more money in diplomacy, both official and unofficial. Initiatives such as the International Visitors Leadership Program have proven their ability to change the world’s image of America.

As a young Indonesian blogger text-messaged his millions of readers in Sumatra, while sailing across San Francisco Bay on the final day of his IVLP program: “America is beautiful. I have seen it with my own eyes and felt it with my heart!” ■

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# AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • March 2011

## Iran Hostages Mark 30 Years Since Release From Captivity

BY AMY MCKEEVER

They were all imprisoned for 444 days, with some sentenced to solitary confinement and others facing mock executions and beatings. All the hostages taken during the seizure of Embassy Tehran faced unspeakable horrors.

But speak about it they did, at an AFSA-sponsored event at the State Department on Jan. 28. Five former hostages — Ambassador L. Bruce Laingen, Ambassador John W. Limbert, Barry Rosen, Donald J. Cooke and Alan B. Golacinski — joined mod-

erator and NBC News chief foreign affairs correspondent Andrea Mitchell to reflect on the event on the 30th anniversary of their release. They spoke candidly and, at times, lightheartedly, about their imprisonment, subsequent liberation and the shock waves that the crisis sent through the diplomatic community.

### Tales of Captivity

When the Iranian students first stormed the embassy, nobody imagined it would turn into the 444-day saga that ensued. As Amb. Limbert describes, the expectation was that this was a 1970s university-style sit-in, staged simply to send a message. Even the strategists of the takeover thought it would play out that way, Limbert added.

“People today can’t imagine what happened to us and how that could have happened,” said Golacinski. “How could it possibly happen that this magnificent embassy goes down like this to what at that time was termed as a bunch of students?”

The men on the panel recounted stories of American bravery, both during the seizure and throughout the confinement. Golacinski recalled a U.S. Marine security guard who held 60 stu-

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ASGER SIGLUSON

AFSA commemorated the 30th anniversary of the release of the Iran hostages throughout the last week of January, wearing yellow ribbons and also tying them to the trees outside AFSA headquarters.

## Top U.S. Officials Visit AFSA for Discussion on Multilateral Diplomacy

BY AMY MCKEEVER

On Jan. 11, AFSA and the *Foreign Service Journal* teamed up to host a discussion on multilateral diplomacy, the focus of the *Journal's* December issue.

Moderated by Molly Williamson, a retiree member of the AFSA Governing Board, the panel consisted of Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs Esther Brimmer, Representative Russ Carnahan, D-Mo., and Brett Schaefer of the Heritage Foundation. The panelists debated the U.S. role

at the United Nations and discussed their visions for reform of that body.

### The U.S. at the U.N.

U.S. leadership on the United Nations Security Council remains absolutely vital, Brimmer said. She noted several recent successes in multilateral diplomacy, including the role of the United Nations peacekeeping mission in Southern Sudan's referendum. She also cited new sanctions on Iran and the positive influence of U.S. membership on the

Human Rights Council.

Though Schaefer conceded that the U.S. seat on the HRC has produced some successes, he believes these have been limited. For example, while the U.S. prevented Iran and Belarus from joining the council, Libya did win a seat. Responding to a question from the audience, Schaefer said that peacekeeping missions can serve a valuable role, even though he doesn't necessarily agree with the Government Accountability Office's finding that they also save money.

Carnahan, too, conceded that international organizations are not perfect. He voiced frustration with the sometimes contradictory behavior that stems

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# AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



## AFSA 2011 Memorial Plaque Ceremony

Please mark your calendars for Fri., May 6, when the Department of State will once again celebrate Foreign Affairs Day. This annual event brings foreign affairs retirees back to the department for a day of meetings, ceremonies and remembrances.

As is now customary, the AFSA Memorial Plaque Ceremony will take place in the C Street lobby during the morning of Foreign Affairs Day. This solemn occasion honors those Foreign Service employees who have given their lives in the line of duty. We are sad to report that we will, once again, be adding new names to the plaque this year. More information on those being honored will be forthcoming in next month's *AFSA News*.

Following the official programs at the department, AFSA will welcome retirees and others to its headquarters at 2101 E Street NW for a reception and light refreshments. During the reception, we will also honor this year's AFSA scholarship recipients and donors.

The Memorial Plaque Ceremony is a very important occasion to pause and remember the sacrifices of America's diplomats around the world, so we hope that our members will join us on May 6. More information on AFSA's Memorial Plaques is available on AFSA's Web site.

## 2011 Saigon Embassy Reunion

About 20 years ago, U.S. Marine Security guards who had served at Embassy Saigon between the late 1950s and its fall in 1975 began having reunions. Through the years, employees of State and other agencies employees who served there have been invited, as well.

The 2011 Saigon Embassy Reunion will be co-hosted by Frank Soto, U.S. Marine Corps, and State Department retiree Judy Chidester, in Albuquerque, N.M., on Sept. 14-18.

If you are interested in attending, please visit the Web site, [www.saigonmac.org](http://www.saigonmac.org), and click on "reunions" for information on the hotel. Complete information on registering for the reunion will be added to the Web site soon.

## Notice: AFSA Governing Board Elections

Please visit the AFSA Web site to learn more about the current AFSA Governing Board Elections, including a list of candidates and access to the online forums for discussing campaign issues ([www.afsa.org/elections/](http://www.afsa.org/elections/)). All members in good standing as of March 1 should receive a ballot to be mailed on or about March 28. In the event that you do not receive your ballot, please contact [AFSAelectionsupervisor@dol.gov](mailto:AFSAelectionsupervisor@dol.gov).

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dents at bay with a riot shotgun — one that he did not fire, an event that would have played directly into the demonstrators' hands. Laingen also praised the actions Canada took to rescue a handful of the hostages.

"We are a fortunate country in having a neighbor like that," Laingen said, to great applause.

The Iranian guards had also identified key hostages early on, the panelists said, meaning that those diplomats were given much harsher treatment than the rest, facing beatings and worse. It didn't always make sense — but it didn't have to, either.

"The first thing you learn as a prisoner is that the situation you are in is the ultimate in unreason and illogic," said Limbert.

But the panelists all agreed that it did not matter who received what kind of treatment.

"Being in prison for 444 days, whether you are 'treated well' or treated badly is horrendous," Rosen said. "No matter how you look at it, we were imprisoned and treated badly."

### Back at Home

The Iranian guards had kept their hostages in the dark when it came to American public opinion regarding their captivity. So the diplomats, remembering how quickly the 1968 North Korean seizure of the USS *Pueblo* had faded from the news cycle, assumed that they, too, had been forgotten. That, of course, was not the case.

"Just as most Americans can tell you where they were when President Kennedy was shot or when the Twin Towers came down on 9/11, I think every diplomat of a certain age recalls what they were doing when our colleagues were taken hostage in Tehran," said Foreign Service Director General Nancy Powell in her opening remarks.

And, indeed, a crowd waited in Newburg, N.Y., to greet the hostages when they finally returned to the U.S. on Jan. 23, 1981. Limbert recalls peering out the airplane window at all of the cameras and bright lights, wondering if someone

important had arrived at the airport at the same time. His wife had to tell him to wave — the crowd was there for him and his colleagues.

"That was a very big difference and a real surprise — clearly a very pleasant surprise — for us to know that really everybody in the United States really cared," Cooke said.

Amb. Laingen paid tribute to his family and those of the other hostages who had coordinated with (and sometimes fought against) the State Department as it worked to secure their release. His own wife, Penelope, had tied a yellow ribbon to the oak tree in their front yard in remembrance of the hostages.

"We're supposed to be heroes," he said. "That's the way we were seen. But all of us sitting here, we've always said the real heroes were our families back home. They were the ones who worked the hardest against unknown circumstances."

Limbert joked, though, that one of the great aspects of FS life is that it always brings you back to earth. He recounted his first run-in with personnel upon returning to the U.S. When he stopped in to ask about onward assignments, the officer merely replied, "Well, they really released you at a very bad time."

### A Lasting Impression

Historians have missed the real significance of the hostage crisis, Cooke said, which is that it signaled the end of the Vietnam War period during which many Americans were embarrassed by their citizenship. The seizure of a U.S. embassy and mistreatment of scores of American diplomats was an outrageous act that bound the country together.

"This was a chance for Americans to say, 'No, we really are something different. We really are not what our enemies declare that we are,'" Cooke said.

And as Director General Powell said, there were important lessons learned



NBC News chief foreign affairs correspondent Andrea Mitchell (center) led five former hostages in a discussion about their time in captivity and its effect on diplomacy today. The panelists included (from left to right) Donald Cooke, Amb. Bruce Laingen, Amb. John Limbert, Alan Golacinski and Barry Rosen.

from the hostage crisis.

One such lesson was the need for better protection of U.S. diplomats working overseas. Cooke explained that back in 1979 there wasn't much effort to track the actions of "irresponsible junior officers" like himself at high-risk posts. He said he would go out at night or on holidays with Iranian friends without questioning. But now in Iraq, from which he recently returned from a one-year tour, nobody goes out the door without humvees and bodyguards.

Still, as Amb. Limbert pointed out, it's not easy to prepare for a crisis like 1979. "The one thing we still have great difficulty doing is thinking the unthinkable."

Stronger security measures were not the only takeaway from the Iran hostage crisis, though. Indeed, one of the main lessons Americans learned was the courage and resilience of their diplomatic corps.

"May none of us ever have to endure what they did," Powell said. "And may we all draw strength from their strength and their courage in facing and, indeed, overcoming the challenges and the dangers of our very unpredictable world."

Mitchell seconded the FS director general's sentiments with a reference to the recent unrest in Cairo and Tunis.

"It is simply another reminder that you are all on the front lines serving quietly and effectively in posts around the world," she said, "often unheralded and underappreciated." □

**Multilateral Diplomacy • Continued from page 57**

from countries sending separate delegations to the United Nations and Washington. "Countries shouldn't have one set of rules in New York and another in D.C.," he said.

Still, he said, it is in the world's interest to have a strong human rights arm at the United Nations. He noted that the U.S. has not needed to use its veto power for anti-Israel resolutions since 2006 because they are not even permitted to get on the table.

Multilateral diplomacy is rarely an easy path to solving problems, Schaefer noted. The more negotiating partners one has, the more difficult it is to find the source of any sticking points. Vote trading and consensus-driven votes further complicate the process, he says. Iran and North Korea continue to flout U.N. resolutions, while U.S. concerns about treaties often go ignored, he added.

"It's often a losing battle," he said, "but

it's a battle that has to be fought."

**Visions of Reform**

The Obama administration agrees that multilateral diplomacy is extremely difficult, Brimmer said. She stressed the value of reaching out to countries that are not just U.S. allies to make the case for what the U.S. believes in. But, she said, it's also important to remain diligent about making international organizations work well.

She acknowledged that the U.N. needs to face reform in key areas such as management and budgeting practices, but she argued that the best way to reform an organization is to stay active within it. "It is our goal to strengthen the U.N., not tear it down," she said.

Schaefer, on the other hand, concluded that the U.S. shouldn't assume it receives tangible benefits from membership in each international organization.

In any case, Schaefer argued, the U.S. doesn't have to engage the U.N. to act multilaterally. He urged members of Congress to act as the "bad cop" to the State Department's "good cop" in order to wield more influence in U.N. negotiations.

Under the newly divided Congress, Carnahan pointed out, the U.S. can expect to see some changes in the way the legislative branch approaches multilateral diplomacy. He added that he expects Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, R-Fla., the new chairwoman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, to make changes, including greater oversight on waste, fraud and abuse.

Despite the panelists' differing visions in regard to the usefulness of international organizations, Brimmer declared that there are "really exciting opportunities" for Foreign Service personnel in multilateral diplomacy right now. □

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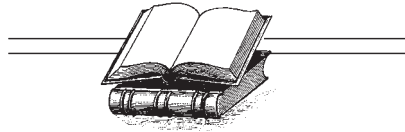
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# BOOKS

## Gardens, Not Garrisons

### Washington Rules: America's Path to Permanent War

Andrew J. Bacevich, *Henry Holt and Co.*, 2010, \$25, hardcover, 286 pages.

REVIEWED BY STEVEN ALAN HONLEY

Back in May 2003, just after American forces entered Iraq, I reviewed Philip Bobbitt's *The Shield of Achilles: War, Peace and the Course of History* in these pages. I began my review by quoting Bobbitt's magisterial prologue: "We are at a moment in world affairs when the essential ideas that govern statecraft must change. For five centuries it has taken the resources of a state to destroy another state." He then advocated the use of pre-emptive war to deal with such threats.

Andrew J. Bacevich's latest volume, published at the other end of the Iraq War, is far slimmer than Bobbitt's, but equally ambitious in its scope. However, it presents a very different vision of U.S. national security priorities. In Bacevich's view, the time has come for Washington to abandon "the abiding conviction that the minimum essentials of international peace and order require the United States to maintain a global military presence."

Bacevich calls this set of beliefs the "Washington Rules," and devotes the

bulk of his book to illustrating how this creed, forged at a historical moment when American power was at its height, has remained sacrosanct for two-thirds of a century despite periodic pledges by U.S. presidents to revisit it in light of new conditions.

To make his point, Bacevich asks us to imagine our reaction if China's defense minister announced plans to:

- Increase military spending so that annual expenditures by the People's Liberation Army will henceforth exceed the combined defense budgets of Japan, South Korea, Russia, India, Germany, France and Great Britain;
- Create a constellation of forward-deployed PLA garrisons to conduct war games and exercises in strategically sensitive areas around the world, including Latin America; and
- Partition the planet into sprawling territorial commands, with one four-star Chinese general assigned responsibility for the Asia and Pacific, another for the Middle East, and so forth.

Bacevich wryly adds: "No doubt the defense minister would caution other nations not to view this program as posing any threat, the People's Republic of China being sincerely committed to living in harmony with others. The minister might even argue that China, both a venerable civilization and a rising nation-state, has an inherent responsibility to contribute to global stability."

Such assurances would give cold

comfort, of course. Yet, as *Washington Rules* documents, this imaginary program pales in comparison with the existing military posture of the United States — a program that has literally become unaffordable.

So far, so good. Alas, Bacevich's solution, which he lays out in the concluding chapter, "Cultivating Our Own Garden," is breathtakingly simplistic: bring our troops home. To be fair, such a move would be considerably cheaper than our current approach (at least in the short run), and has the real virtue of rolling back our society's slide into acceptance of permanent war as the normal state of affairs. But as Bobbitt explained in his 2002 book, home gardening does not equip us to deal with genuine threats.

Particularly disappointing is Bacevich's failure to explore the potential of diplomacy and soft power to obviate the need for armed conflict in the first place. (Indeed, other than taking a truly cheap shot at former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright about mid-way through, he makes almost no references to the subject at all.)

Still, despite that alarming blind spot, I highly recommend *Washington Rules*. As I said about Bobbitt's book, whether you agree with Bacevich's thesis or not, it will change the way you think about the world. ■

*Steven Alan Honley is the editor of the Journal.*

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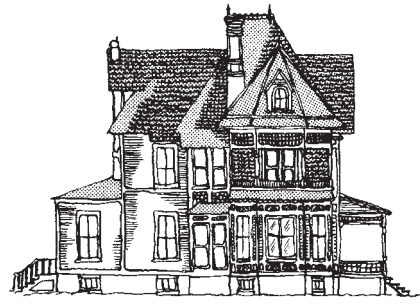


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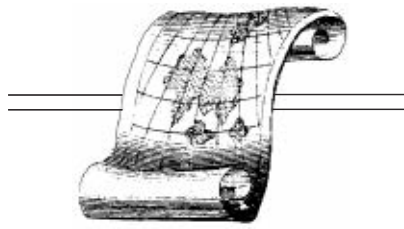
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# REFLECTIONS

## *Saying It Out Loud*

BY DAVID HUGHES

Back in the 1960s, I asked an older Foreign Service officer why there had not been an uproar within the Department of State when John S. Service and John Paton Davies Jr. were subjected to seven and nine Loyalty Board hearings, respectively.

His answer still haunts me today, a half-century later: “You don’t know what it was like in the Department of State in the 1950s. Saying something would almost surely cost you your job, your career.”

I initially ascribed the anguish in his voice to fear. Looking back on it now, though, I think it was actually shame that he, and others like him, had looked the other way.

Service and Davies, both supremely capable Foreign Service officers, were accused of being communist dupes if not actual communists. Some State officials apparently gambled that setting up a star chamber to examine their loyalty would head off calls for closer scrutiny of the Foreign Service. They were wrong.

The first Loyalty Board to examine Jack Service found him to be a loyal public servant. So did the next five. Finally, with the seventh board, State got what it wanted. He was held to lack the loyalty required of the nation’s Foreign Service officers and was discharged.

The son of American missionaries in China, Service spoke and knew Chinese, and the country, in a way that few Americans ever achieve. Being a China hand was his life’s work, so

*Contemplate  
the desolation of  
being locked out  
of your career.*

cashiering him was an act of cruelty akin to taking away the baseball from Willie Mays or depriving Pablo Picasso of a paintbrush.

*You don’t know what it was like.* Imagine, if you can, seeing colleagues in the hallways of State turn the other way lest they be condemned by association for speaking with you. Or worse, telling you surreptitiously that they supported you but just couldn’t say it out loud. Contemplate the desolation of being locked out of your career. Try to feel the stark loneliness of being obliged to shoulder the blame.

Sure, eventually the Supreme Court determined that Jack Service had been unjustly deprived of his livelihood. But denied promotions, he finished out his career as consul in Liverpool.

I once asked him, “Why did you go through seven Loyalty Boards, and then the courts?” With barely a pause, he said, “Because the Foreign Service is too important to be left in the hands of those people.”

In August 1968, when the *FSJ* published an article by Henry B. Day recalling John Davies and quoting Eric Sevareid’s poignant 1954 condemnation

of his dismissal from the Foreign Service, I was inspired to write a letter to the editor on the importance of standing up for what is right.

“Fifteen years is a long time to wait for even a small measure of justification and/or sympathy from one’s colleagues for 23 years of life cut short by ... whom? There will always be people to staff that ninth Loyalty Board, but it is up to the rest of us to make sure that there are not any 8th, 7th, 6th, 5th, 4th, 3rd and 2nd loyalty boards,” I wrote.

“In the new Foreign Service Club building [then under consideration], will there be one small plaque to mark those men like Davies and Service who believed so much in our Foreign Service that they would take all the abuse and still fight to stay?”

Some months later, I received a packet in the mail. Inside was a China Research monograph, *The Amerasia Papers: Some Problems in the History of U.S.-China Relations*, from Jack Service. It was inscribed, “For David Hughes, with gratitude for a generous remark boldly made in a public place.”

I have thought about those words for many years, and about the courage it took these heroes to go to bed each night, and get up the next morning, to struggle to right a terrible wrong — and to have to do it alone.

Will the Foreign Service display more courage the next time the Know-Nothings come calling? ■

*David Hughes is a retired FSO.*



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