

# FOREIGN SERVICE

JOURNAL

THE MAGAZINE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS



## LATIN AMERICA & THE U.S.

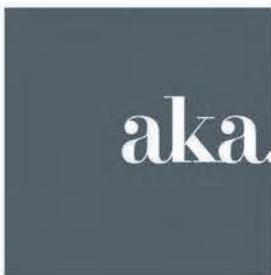
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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

## *The Ambassador: Linchpin of Field Diplomacy*

BY SUSAN R. JOHNSON

In this age of fast, direct and open communications, and phenomenal interaction in every sphere of human activity, are U.S. ambassadors the equivalent of glorified post office boxes for passing messages to and from overseas capitals — convenient but not essential? Or are they unique catalysts for advancing U.S. interests and promoting peace, security and development in the world?



These perennial questions about the ambassador's role are acquiring even greater relevance in the new, dynamic, global environment. And they lie at the heart of the related debate over whether diplomacy remains a critical instrument of national power.

It is simplistic, if not dangerous, to suggest, as some critics do, that complex interstate relationships are mainly governed by power dynamics, like market forces under laissez-faire doctrine. To the contrary, interstate relations need to be nurtured, cultivated, developed and guided by skilled professionals. A knowledgeable chief of mission still represents a hugely valuable, low-cost asset, particularly with a strong team behind him or her.

If we aspire to continue to play a leadership role on the international stage, we cannot just depend on the autonomous workings of our soft and hard power. To give our policies direction, effective diplomacy remains an

essential ingredient.

Whether for the promotion of bilateral relations or for the protection of our interests in regional and international fora, ambassadors play a key role around the world. They are

best-placed to understand and evaluate the environment of their assignment, make sound recommendations and, within their mandates, to take initiatives.

In a bilateral context, an ambassador who understands the circumstances and culture of the host country, and who enjoys trust at home, can leverage our strengths more adroitly to promote relations or manage challenges in a difficult environment. In the wider regional and global dimensions characterized by contemporary trends of competition and cooperation, there is little room for the amateur to compete successfully.

It is true that our tradition draws heavily on political appointees to key ambassadorial posts, especially in missions where relations are fairly stable and there is a broad convergence of U.S. interests with those of the host countries. On average, more than 30 percent of U.S. ambassadorial appointments go to political figures, a figure that rises to nearly 80 percent for countries that are Group of 20 members.

This practice raises two questions. Do we truly believe that relations with these countries have little room for fur-

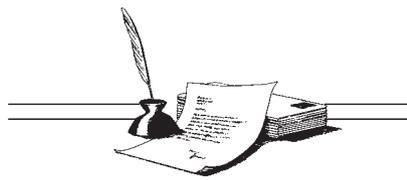
ther development that would require trained, qualified persons as heads of mission? And what is the impact of taking those positions off the table for Foreign Service professionals who entertain legitimate expectations of reaching the ambassadorial level?

Whatever the answers to those questions, it seems self-evident that the United States should select its best ambassadors, whether political or career. Such individuals should bring knowledge of the history, language, culture, politics and economics of the country to which they are accredited. They should also have the professional communications, negotiation, managerial and leadership skills required in any field.

Moreover, each administration should strive to ensure that the balance of ambassadorial appointments serves to strengthen our diplomatic service, not weaken it. After all, who besides the American public and taxpayer has the greatest stake in effective ambassadors? Is it not the president, who first and foremost should value the diplomatic and development services as a key tool to success in foreign policy?

Former Secretary of State Colin Powell frequently described U.S. ambassadors as his "field commanders." We must select our best people to play that role, recognizing the value of effective diplomacy and development to national security and to promotion of our interests overseas. ■





# LETTERS

## Security for Diplomatic Communications

Your March article, “AFSA Members Speak Out on the WikiLeaks Mess,” was interesting and, more than that, extremely important.

Prior to the revelation that a Defense Department employee allegedly leaked thousands of classified diplomatic cables, the Foreign Service held a nearly impeccable record of protecting its national-security information.

This was achieved by carefully controlled communications practices, such as diligent attention to communications security procedures and thoughtful use of special captions, markings and channel designators to restrict dissemination of sensitive information.

This was all supported by an elite team made up of the very best communications professionals working inside the U.S. government — Foreign Service Information Management Officers and Information Management Technical Specialists.

In the post-9/11 operating environment, the call for more integrated intelligence and information-sharing has been an especially loud one. But the requirement to protect our own information remains. In this context, the Information Resource Management Bureau’s senior management needs to give its information technology programs and strategies a long, serious look.

Equally important, our senior leadership, from the Office of the Secre-

tary to our front-line ambassadors abroad, should bear in mind the trusted communications security ethos central to the commitment of IRM officers: “Leadership which gambles with COMSEC gambles with the lives of the men and women they lead.” Let’s never forget that information is the lifeblood of the Foreign Service. After our people, it’s the single most valuable asset our institution possesses.

*Timothy C. Lawson  
Senior FSO, retired  
Hua Hin, Thailand*

## Experience Matters

There was an interesting contrast of opinions in the April letters from C. Robert Dickerman and former Secretary of State George P. Shultz. The former Secretary decries the “gigantic waste of talent” when State loses the professional skills of people who must retire, in his opinion, too early. Mr. Dickerman urges a maximum entry age of 31 for career Foreign Service officers, presuming that older officers are not likely to cultivate productive relationships with youth worldwide.

I disagree with the latter view, and would urge the State Department to revisit the U.S. Information Agency’s recruiting campaign during the Cold War era. That effort aimed to bring in seasoned professionals with experience in communicating with a diversity of audiences in the field of public, educa-

tional and cultural affairs.

I came into the Foreign Service at the age of 43 as such a professional, and served at seven posts in the course of a 22-year career, most of them in South Asia and Africa. During that period, I earned State’s Meritorious Honor Award, USIA’s Superior Honor Award and, ultimately, USIA’s Career Achievement Award.

Rather than lowering the maximum entry age for career Foreign Service officers, the State Department would reap the greater benefit by raising the mandatory retirement age.

*Eddie Deerfield  
FE-OC, retired  
Palm Harbor, Fla.*

## Standing Out

I read Rochelle Park-Yancy’s article about her Fulbright teaching semester in Armenia (“An African-American Fulbright Scholar in Armenia,” April) with bemused interest. I have had similar experiences (albeit of shorter duration) as an African-American diplomatic courier.

Like hers, my most memorable encounters occurred in the former Soviet republics of Uzbekistan, Georgia and Turkmenistan. There were the stops, stares and finger-pointing. Instances of complete strangers coming up to me and — suddenly — draping an arm around my shoulder before snapping photos were, initially, unsettling. But once I saw their curiosity was genuine

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## LETTERS

and (most times) without malice, I relaxed.

Remaining open and flexible, and maintaining a respectful attitude, are among the purest forms of diplomacy.

*Keith Battles  
Diplomatic Courier  
Bureau of Diplomatic  
Security  
Washington, D.C.*

### Core Skills for All

As part of the ongoing discussion, both in the *Foreign Service Journal's* pages and elsewhere, of what skills are needed for today's U.S. diplomats to succeed, I would like to offer the following thoughts. Today's Foreign Service officers need knowledge beyond the traditional studies of international relations, political science, economics, history and area expertise (although familiarity with U.S. diplomatic history is essential, of course).

Additional possible disciplines include international agriculture and development theory, security and terrorism, humanitarian affairs and international law, mass communication and, certainly, research methods, ethics and management in an international environment, among others. Science, technology, engineering and mathematics, collectively known as STEM, and other subjects that cross disciplines should also be incorporated into such a curriculum.

Once there is agreement on the exact skill set required, we can develop delivery techniques. Many of the tenured generalists lacking a master's degree, for example (about half of FSOs), could apply for a pre-approved university program. State and other agencies could work with colleges and universities across the United States — e.g., members of the National Associa-

tion of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration — and not just schools in the Washington, D.C., area. In addition to expanding geographic diversity, this would promote public outreach by the Foreign Service.

Tenured officers who already have master's degrees could obtain the additional required skills via professional certification programs, which are widely available through a number of universities or through distance learning and online programs.

Historically, the State Department has had only limited success with mid-level training strategies. But once it accepts a reality that has been long ingrained in our military's culture — that certain skills must be gained through training during every step of a career — U.S. diplomats can likewise meet the exacting demands the 21st century places on our profession.

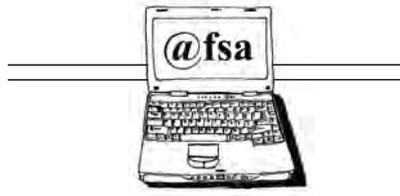
Perhaps we are finally ready for that paradigm shift.

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

### More on Amb. Rubottom

With respect to the obituary of Ambassador R. Richard Rubottom Jr. in the April *Foreign Service Journal*, allow me to add a couple of details. While serving as assistant secretary of State for inter-American affairs (1956-1960), Amb. Rubottom played an important role in U.S. relations with the fledgling revolutionary government headed by Fidel Castro, who took power in Cuba on Jan. 1, 1959. In addition, I believe he was present when then-Vice President Richard Nixon visited Venezuela in 1958.

*Thomas Morgan  
FSO, retired  
McLean, Va. ■*



# CYBERNOTES

## Is Turnabout Fair Play?

On April 8, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton and Assistant Secretary Michael Posner of the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor released the department's 2010 *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices*. In her remarks, Secretary Clinton also announced the launch of [Humanrights.gov](http://Humanrights.gov), a new Web site intended to serve as "one-stop shopping

for information about global human rights from across the United States government." (See the box below for more details.)

The 2010 report, totaling more than 7,000 pages, covers 194 countries in painstaking detail. Several governments have issued statements on the annual report, with perhaps the most energetic response coming from the People's Republic of China. Attempt-

ing to rebut the report's criticism of Beijing's crackdown on dissidents and restrictions on the Internet, the Chinese government issued its own human rights report on the United States via the state-owned Xinhua news agency. The document attacks the State Department report as part of America's "malicious design to pursue hegemony under the pretext of human rights" and accuses the U.S. of hypocrisy for campaigning for Internet freedom overseas while targeting WikiLeaks.

The Chinese report focuses on social and economic issues in the U.S. and cites statistics on violent crime, gun ownership and poverty. But in an Apr. 11 article titled "China Accuses U.S. of Double Standards," Tania Branigan of the *Guardian* points out that the PRC rebuttal draws on a "mish-mash" of sources, including Human Rights Watch — whose Web site is blocked in China by government censors.

Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs also took aim at the U.S. report, telling the press that its diplomats "would be interested to know how the State Department that likes lecturing others about the issues of human rights would comment [on] torture and inhumane treatment that take place in the U.S."

Moscow lodged a similar complaint the following week about the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office's 2010 *Report on Human Rights and*

### Site of the Month: [www.humanrights.gov](http://www.humanrights.gov)

The Department of State has been posting each year's set of new country human rights reports on its Web site for decades now. But this year it has gone a step further, setting up a brand-new site, [www.humanrights.gov](http://www.humanrights.gov), that not only offers the new reports but a wealth of other resources.

These include a glossary of frequently-used terms; official comments on breaking developments; references (documents, speeches and a chronology of U.S. human rights events); and hot topics, each with its own set of links. (Current listings include China, civil society, Cote d'Ivoire, Cuba, Egypt, Internet freedom, Pakistan and Russia.) While the site does not, alas, offer past volumes of State human rights reports, those documents are available all the way back to 1999 at [www.state.gov](http://www.state.gov).

A particularly laudable resource on the site is "2011 Hours Against Hate," a campaign to stop bigotry and promote respect across lines of culture, religion, tradition, class and gender. U.S. Special Representative to Muslim Communities Farah Pandith and Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism Hannah Rosenthal are asking young people around the world "to pledge their time to stop hate — to do something for someone who doesn't look like you, pray like you or live like you. We are asking the next generation to work together to build a stronger, more prosperous world. No one group can do it alone."

Pandith and Rosenthal officially launched the campaign — whose motto is "Stand Up and Speak Out. Hate Is Hate, No Matter Who the Target Is" — at the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe on Feb. 17 in Vienna. Participants can join the campaign via Facebook and Twitter, as well.

— Steven Alan Honley, Editor



*Democracy:* “We are open to a constructive and mutually respectful dialogue on human rights themes with our foreign partners, but not for moralistic admonitions and pinning labels.”

Brazil’s Foreign Ministry refused to dignify the publication with a rebuttal, confining itself to a terse statement that Brazil does not comment on unilateral reports based on domestic laws and criteria. More positively, the chief of the National Police in the Dominican Republic, José Armando Polanco Gómez, issued a statement that he respects the report and will analyze its accusations of extrajudicial killings in his country. And in Panama, Roberto Troncoso, who chaired the commission to investigate the clashes between police and workers in Bocas del Toro last summer, called the information “important references.”

Closer to home, Amnesty International USA Managing Director of Government Relations Adotel Akwei hailed the report as “a tool in shaping how the United States should approach the changing political landscapes of Tunisia and Egypt. . . . [It] could also shape a sustainable approach to developments in Bahrain and Yemen that complement the aspirations of the people, as opposed to just the desires of the government in power.”

— *Danielle Derbes, Editorial Intern*

### **Peru: Caught Between the Lady and the Tiger**

Writing in the April 11 *Miami Herald* ([www.miamiherald.com](http://www.miamiherald.com)) about the disastrous results of the first round of presidential elections in Peru, retired Ambassador Dennis Jett explains “Why Peru’s Political Suicide Should Matter to Americans.” Although the field of 10 candidates included several well-regarded centrists, among them former President Alejandro Toledo, they split

the vote, allowing two extremists to proceed to a run-off on June 5.

On the far left and coming in first was Ollanta Humala, a former army officer and coup plotter. Humala also placed first in the first round of the last presidential election, held five years ago, but lost the runoff to the current president, Alan Garcia, by a few percentage points.

Humala went to great lengths this time to seem more moderate and to distance himself from Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez, who is unpopular in Peru. But if he wins, as seems likely, many observers, including Jett, expect him to pursue similar policies.

Facing off against him will be Keiko Fujimori, daughter of Alberto Fujimori, the former president who is now in prison for crimes committed during his regime. She has offered no coherent political program beyond pardoning her father.

As a result, no matter who wins, Jett views prospects for another decade of economic growth, low inflation and good governance as poor.

— *Steven Alan Honley, Editor*

### **On Kazakhstan’s Bumpy Road to Democracy**

On April 3, Kazakhstan re-elected President Nursultan Nazarbayev to a new five-year term with a landslide 95.5 percent of the vote. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe stated that observers saw “serious irregularities” in the election, including numerous seemingly-identical signatures on voter lists, several instances of ballot box stuffing, restrictions on international observers, lack of transparency in tabulating the votes, and intervention by local authorities to increase turnout.

The U.S. Mission to the OSCE

stated that Embassy Astana’s observers noted similar irregularities. In an April 7 statement to the OSCE Permanent Council in Vienna, Carol Fuller, chargé d’affaires at the U.S. Mission to the OSCE, declared that the Kazakh government “still needs to make improvements to meet its democratic commitments, particularly in the fields of freedom of assembly and media.”

One issue in the recent election was the absence of any serious opposition. Out of the 21 potential candidates, only three ran against the incumbent. Several others failed the required (and reportedly grueling) examination to demonstrate proficiency in the Kazakh language.

One potential candidate for the presidency, Amantay Asilbek, was quoted in a local magazine stating that he believes polygamy would solve the “national tragedy” of the abundance of single women in Kazakhstan. A Feb. 18 article in the *Telegraph* paints Asilbek as a Borat-like character who began his political career as a serious campaigner on nuclear and other issues, but now campaigns on an Islamic and nationalist platform — and also offers up polygamy as a solution for social ills.

In a Mar. 31 op-ed in the *Washington Post* titled “Kazakhstan’s Steady Progress Toward Democracy,” Pres. Nazarbayev offers a glowing assessment of his country’s progress toward democratic participation during his 20-year presidency. He also cites a twelve-fold increase in gross domestic product per capita and substantial growth in the private sector since 1991. Low unemployment rates, an abundance of natural resources, investments in education and social tolerance complete Pres. Nazarbayev’s sparkling image of his homeland.

Meanwhile, former U.S. Ambassa-



## 50 Years Ago...

We have learned — in Korea and elsewhere — that it is possible to pour very large sums into an underdeveloped area with a low return in terms of the pace of its economic development. High levels of foreign aid are compatible with stagnation. There is virtually no limit to the amount of resources we can put into an underdeveloped area, if they are not used productively. We now know firmly that the most important component in foreign aid is the willingness and the ability of the aspiring nation to organize its own human and material resources.

— Walt W. Rostow, “The Future of Foreign Aid,” *FSJ*, June 1961.



dor to Kazakhstan William Courtney offers up another image of the country: a “toxic brew.” In an April 6 op-ed in the *International Herald Tribune*, “The Father of Kazakhstan,” Amb. Courtney compares the Kazakh situation to that of Hosni Mubarak’s Egypt. He notes that in both societies, the ruler lifted the economy and public expectations, but remained vulnerable to public resentment over corruption.

Courtney also worries about the tolerance level of the tens of thousands of talented young people, many of whom are educated abroad, have high expectations for political participation, and are already frustrated by political stasis and debilitating greed.

Not surprisingly, Kazakh Prime Minister Karim Masimov is more sanguine. Asked about the protests in Egypt, Tunisia and Syria, he told Reuters: “What is the biggest difference between them and us? People in Kazakhstan, the young generation in Kazakhstan, have hope and they have an opportunity to go forward.”

Several commentators concede that Pres. Nazarbayev is genuinely popular in his country. However, judging the current regime’s popularity presents a serious challenge. In her Apr. 9 *New York Times* article, “In Kazakhstan, a

Good Old-Fashioned Sham Election,” Ellen Barry examines this thorny problem.

In the Soviet Union, she notes, elections “represented less a political choice than a ritual expression of loyalty to the regime,” so local officials viewed voter turnout in their regions as a measure of their personal success. The competition to get more people to the polls became a strong motivation for those local officials, who pressed the population to vote in a way similar to that noted by observers in Kazakhstan.

Barry concedes that “if [Nazarbayev’s] government has drifted toward a Soviet model, that may also reflect the people’s will.” However, that model has a serious disadvantage: it impedes the ability of the government to judge its own popularity.

Where Barry and many observers see a president whose immense popularity leaves little room for real opposition candidates, others — like Amb. Courtney and *Foreign Policy*’s Steve LeVine — see a potentially restless youth population. They cite prominent Kazakhs, like millionaire Bulat Abilov and intellectual Oraz Jandosov, who support genuine competition in the political process.

— Danielle Derbes, *Editorial Intern*

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— Dan Glickman and Mark Green, "We Risk America's Security If We Cut the International Affairs Budget," April 14, [www.foxnews.com](http://www.foxnews.com).

### The Battle for Press Freedom

Global and regional institutions with a responsibility to guard press freedom are largely failing to fulfill their mandate as journalists worldwide continue to face threats, imprisonment, intimidation and killings. That is the chilling finding of *Attacks on the Press*, a yearly survey released on Feb. 15 by the Committee to Protect Journalists ([www.cpj.org](http://www.cpj.org)).

This comprehensive guide to international press freedom, with thorough analyses by the CPJ's regional experts of the key factors that obstruct a free press, includes a special feature detailing some measures governments around the world are using more often to curb journalists from doing their jobs. These include Internet surveillance, malicious software and the elimination of news sites from the Internet.

The CPJ found that a halfhearted, inconsistent approach to defending press freedom plagues institutions like the United Nations, the Organization of American States and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, among others. "While valiant special rapporteurs at various institutions battle anti-media violence, their efforts are stymied by a halting political will to guarantee press freedom," notes CPJ Executive Director Joel Simon.

With a preface by Al-Jazeera Eng-

lish-language anchor Riz Khan, the report offers an overview of media conditions in more than 100 countries, along with data on the 44 journalists killed and 145 imprisoned last year. Here are the main regional trends.

*Africa:* A rise in investigative reporting has led governments in the region to crack down on journalists, particularly those tracking the provision of basic services and the use of public money. From Cameroon to South Africa, authorities are moving aggressively to unmask confidential news sources, criminalize possession of government documents, and retaliate against probing journalists — all while governments across the continent, under pressure from donor countries, pledge more transparency and accountability.

*Americas:* Decades after democratization took hold in the region, censorship caused by government repression, judicial interference and intimidation from criminal groups is again on the rise. In some countries, a climate of impunity perpetuates a cycle of violence and self-censorship. In others, governments abuse state resources to silence critical reporting, and powerful figures routinely utilize politicized courts to override constitutional guarantees of free expression.

*Asia:* With a mixture of violence and official repression, censorship in Asia

takes many forms. China's anti-media policies are becoming ever more entrenched, even as local journalists test the daily guidelines flowing from the Central Propaganda Department. Asian democracies like Thailand, the Philippines and Indonesia appear incapable of reversing the impunity with which journalists are being killed, while Sri Lanka's peace dividend never materialized for journalists. Pakistan was the world's deadliest country for journalists in 2010.

*Europe and Central Asia:* Newer and subtler forms of censorship are taking hold across the region to counter the rise of electronic journalism, particularly in Russia and the former Soviet republics. These include the targeted use of technological attacks and the untraceable disabling of independent media Web sites. The physical violence already employed in several countries to harass and intimidate journalists working in traditional media now extends to bloggers. Meanwhile, journalists face restrictions and potential punishment from defamation laws and anti-extremism statutes.

*Middle East and North Africa:* Throughout the region, governments are conflating critical coverage of counterterrorism with terrorism itself, claiming national security grounds to suppress news and views considered unfavorable. From Egypt to Turkey, sweeping national security legislation has been enacted, criminalizing the coverage of terrorism and politically sensitive topics. Iran leads the region in its abuse of anti-state charges; and from Sudan to Bahrain, to limit coverage and conceal controversial activities and flawed policies, authorities resort to threats, harassment and restrictions on individuals' movements. ■

— Steven Alan Honley, *Editor*



# SPEAKING OUT

## *Is the Foreign Service Still a Profession?*

BY GEORGE B. LAMBRAKIS

When AFSA surveyed its active-duty members last year, it included a question asking them to describe what they see as “Foreign Service values.” Some respondents, including many who had served in the military prior to joining State and other foreign affairs agencies, answered not by citing positive characteristics of their new organization, but by expressing unhappiness about the lack of organizational values, mentoring and other aspects of strong management that they were used to from their time in the armed forces.

That reaction brings into focus a disturbing trend in recent years. Consciously or unconsciously, the up-or-out system — which works very well in the military, where its need seems self-evident — has turned the career Foreign Service into just another set of occupations, not a unified profession with a core set of values.

Reflecting this change, today the Foreign Service recruits entrants on the basis that if they don’t like the work, they need not think of it as a lifetime commitment. (Admittedly, neither IBM’s value-laden career system, nor the similar Japanese model, is present in Microsoft, Google or other corporate giants of today.) That there is considerable disagreement within our profession as to whether the For-

*The up-or-out system has turned the career Foreign Service into just another set of occupations, not a unified profession with a core set of values.*



Foreign Service even *has* a core set of common values, let alone what they are or should be, only emphasizes this point.

Institutional values are imbued through comradeship, training and the idea of group solidarity — which is best protected if there is an element of elitism being conveyed. Yet the Foreign Service specifically strives to avoid elitism of any kind, making no distinctions in prestige between its people and others in government. (Contrast that with how the Marine Corps treats its people. I have served with career ambassadors who are still proud to have once been Marines.)

### **It’s the Foreign Service**

So what kind of values does that leave us? And to what or whom, pre-

cisely, should FS professionals be loyal? To answer, “to the Foreign Service,” would be elitist, not to mention dangerous for one’s working future. To the United States? Of course — but then what is so special about diplomacy, as opposed to other jobs helping your country?

An argument could be made that the dominant Foreign Service value should be *service*. Yet many of the replies to AFSA’s active-duty member survey underscore the point that there is a strong element of individualism in how FSOs see the way colleagues do their jobs (and seek credit for doing so), as well as in the dog-eat-dog and “devil take the hindmost” competition for assignments and promotions.

Some see the system as so highly competitive that it actually creates a strong disincentive to help others. That, of course, tallies with the majority of jobs in our capitalist society, but it runs exactly contrary to the value system of a military career. This attitude was less prevalent before the 1980s introduced a fairly brutal weeding-out system, just at the point where mid-career and senior people had put their trust in the Service and committed to a unique career.

That poses a dilemma. Either the Foreign Service resumes thinking of itself as a lifelong profession (as it is for



lawyers, doctors, journalists, academics and military personnel, whom we seem to be emulating in other respects), and uses that cachet to recruit new members. Or it continues the drift into becoming just another set of jobs in the field of international affairs, complete with easier lateral movement into and through related lines of work: think-tanks, nongovernmental organizations, advocacy groups, political causes and international businesses.

One could cite as evidence supporting the latter position the changes currently being implemented through transformational diplomacy — or the fact that public diplomacy practitioners use the Internet and social media (very properly) in ways applicable to many organizations in today's world, not just those led by the Department of State. Of course, State as an institution could continue to try to lead and dominate its rivals — if it can.

If we continue on our current path, that will at least relieve us of the need to defend diplomacy as a profession unique to State and the Foreign Service. But if we are serious about preserving the idea that members of the Foreign Service are indeed unique practitioners of an important set of skills and values, who promote the U.S. national interest in a way no other institution or career can, then we need to act accordingly.

### **Not for Everyone**

In the early 1980s the *Foreign Service Journal* published an article I wrote (co-signed by Hank Cohen) arguing that the up-or-out system, first introduced in the 1946 Foreign Service Act but greatly strengthened in the 1980 overhaul, was a mistake. I pointed out that the approach confused military priorities, such as physical vigor and

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***Foreign Service  
members promote the  
U.S. national interest  
in a way that  
no one else can.***

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the management of large groups of men and huge resources, with the priorities of diplomacy, which focuses on wisdom drawn from experience, patience and an understanding of foreigners helped by languages. Such qualities are all appropriate to diplomacy's different job in the world.

My article was countered by one submitted by friends among AFSA's "Young Turks" who argued, among other things, for the need to streamline the Foreign Service so that outstanding young officers could rise quickly to positions of leadership.

Thirty years later, I still believe more than ever that we need to drastically reduce or eliminate "up or out" precepts, while maintaining the older option of selection-out for habitually underperforming officers. By all means, let us find a way to promote outstanding officers faster — provided we know what they are outstanding at! Brainy but raw officers can be very good at writing policy papers, but less good at getting the policy to work in today's complicated world.

Of course, the Marine Corps is not for everyone. Perhaps neither is the Foreign Service.

These days I teach diplomacy to

young people from the United States, and from many other countries, in London. Many more non-Americans prize, even dream of, a diplomatic career (lifelong in most countries) than do Americans. This may be because Americans like and are offered more private-sector opportunities than most other nationalities. But it may also stem from the fact that so few of them know or even come into contact with diplomats and see what they do — as opposed to the large numbers of U.S. military personnel, businesspeople and employees of nongovernmental organizations who regularly go abroad.

### **A Division of Labor**

Regrettably, I see little chance of broadening these American perceptions, especially in this era of the Tea Party movement. Perhaps one answer is a degree of "de-Wristonization": some redivision of the unified Foreign Service between those happier in, and better suited to, the policy wonk atmosphere of Washington, and those more interested in acquiring the skills involved in interpreting the actions and values of foreigners and persuading them to support our policies.

Much of the work done in Washington, D.C., is, of course, handled by Civil Service employees in the State Department and other foreign affairs agencies. But perhaps there could be a separate cone for Foreign Service generalists who are drawn more strongly (and, one would hope, expertly) to writing and negotiating with fellow Washington bureaucrats than with serving abroad and dealing with different kinds of foreigners.

There is little doubt in my mind that the Foreign Service teaches its people how to deal with foreigners far better than any other government pro-

## SPEAKING OUT



*If we don't sing our own praises and point out our value to America's security and well-being, no one else will.*

fession. Yet I also recall my A-100 classmate Lawrence Eagleburger, the only career FSO ever to become Secretary of State, saying that with the right assistants, he could dominate the policymaking process in Washington. Why not try that?

I think there is little to be gained by consciously avoiding the appearance of being an elite. By all means, let us not be elitist in whom and where we hire. But let us also not downplay our skills and value in the open marketplace that today's journalism and Internet have developed among the American people.

If we don't sing our own praises and point out our value to America's security and well-being — even if we do so mainly to fellow elites in policymaking circles — no one else will. ■

*George B. Lambrakis was a State Department Foreign Service officer from 1957 to 1985, after spending two years with the U.S. Information Agency in Vietnam and Laos. He served as chargé d'affaires in Beirut, Bissau and Mbanne, among many other assignments in Washington and abroad. He now teaches international relations and diplomacy in London and Paris.*

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# U.S. POLICY IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE



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THERE IS NO ONE-SIZE-FITS-ALL POLICY FOR LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN. OUR DIPLOMACY MUST ACKNOWLEDGE THE DYNAMISM AND DIVERSITY OF THE REGION.

BY CYNTHIA J. ARNSON

ver the last decade, it has become more and more difficult to conceive of, let alone implement, a one-size-fits-all U.S. policy for Latin America and the Caribbean. It is true that the sharp ideological divisions of the Cold War have receded. And regional leaders of the center-left and center-right have converged around a commitment to democratic practices and macroeconomic stability, as well as the belief that the state has an important role to play in advancing social welfare.

At the same time, however, differences between and among countries and subregions are growing. These differences have to do with levels of economic development, wealth, human capital and social cohesion; the strength of democratic institutions and adherence to the principles of representative democracy; and the degree of interaction with the United States.

For example, Brazil is now the world's seventh-largest economy, singlehandedly accounting for 40 percent of the entire region's gross domestic product. Brazil's state-controlled oil company, Petrobras, is the world's fourth-largest corporation (trailing only ExxonMobil, Apple and PetroChina). According to the World Bank, South America as a whole grew at an average rate of between 5 and 6 percent a year from 2004 and 2008, double the rate of U.S. growth in this same period; and this gap has only widened since the onset of the 2008 recession. Largely due to Chinese demand, countries rich in commodities and agriculture, such as Chile, Peru and Argentina, have grown robustly during a period of global recession.

By contrast, the U.S. financial crisis of September 2008 brought havoc to those countries and regions most deeply integrated with the United States due to patterns of trade, investment, remittances and migration: Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean. Mexico has begun to recover, but many smaller countries remain mired in recession. Their proximity to illegal markets in the United States has drawn us together in more perverse and destructive terms, as well.

In the Andean region, it is hard to imagine countries

*U.S. power to control, let alone prevent, the diversification of Latin American foreign relations is limited and, in some cases, nonexistent.*

more different in their political and economic orientations than Colombia and Venezuela, despite the recent warming of relations between these two neighbors. Colombia's economy is booming and foreign investment is at record levels, while oil-rich Venezuela is the only country in South America whose economy is contracting.

Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador and Nicaragua, members of the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America, known as ALBA, share similar patterns of hyper-presidentialism, autocracy and authoritarianism. But there are also important differences among them, including the constituencies that constitute their core of support and the strength, coherence and broad-based appeal of their political opposition.

Thus, while it is appealing to speak of "U.S. policy in the Western Hemisphere," the truth is that diplomacy must take into account the variety among and between countries and subregions. The Obama administration's recognition of this diversity, and of the more nuanced diplomacy required to meet it, represents an advance over previous decades.

### **Diminished Control or Diminished Influence?**

As South American democracies have matured and deepened in the decades since the transition from authoritarian rule, the continent's leaders have sought to diversify foreign policy partners and to give priority to relationships beyond the United States. High levels of economic growth over the last 10 years, coupled with social policies that have reduced poverty and expanded social cohesion, have created the conditions for the projection and exercise of "soft power" by many countries of the hemisphere.

Some of this projection, particularly that exercised by Venezuela, is aimed explicitly at limiting or undermining U.S. influence in the region. Other manifestations of assertiveness and independence, however, reflect the increased economic and political capacity of stable democracies. Virtually all countries in the region, regardless of political orientation, have sought to expand their trading partners and political alliances.

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In this environment, U.S. and Latin American interests will inevitably clash at times, as they did mightily when Brazil's President Lula da Silva attempted early last year to broker an agreement with Iran over that country's nuclear ambitions, in opposition to the United States as well as the major powers of the U.N. Security Council. By agreeing to extradite accused drug trafficker Walid Makled to Venezuela rather than to the United States, Colombia demonstrated the priority it attaches to the relationship with its immediate neighbor (as of early May, Makled had yet to be turned over to authorities in Caracas). Aggressive efforts by such actors as China, Russia and Iran to expand their political, economic and military relationships in the hemisphere also pose challenges to U.S. interests. But U.S. power to control, let alone prevent, the diversification of Latin American foreign relations is limited and, in some cases, nonexistent.

Indeed, U.S. influence — not control — will be maximized to the extent the United States recognizes, accepts and works to situate itself within the changed circumstances in the hemisphere. This is the normal functioning of diplomacy among allies, whose interests will converge some but not all of the time. The current administration's emphasis on multilateralism and partnership is promising in that it recognizes that the United States not only does not have all the answers but, quite often, has much to learn from Latin American countries themselves.

It is no coincidence that our greatest policy fiascos in the hemisphere of the past several years — the dreadful handling of negotiations over a U.S.-Colombia base agreement and the decision to break with the rest of the hemisphere over how to respond to the 2009 coup in Honduras — occurred precisely because the impulse to “go it alone” prevailed over the more time-consuming processes of consultation and consensus-building.

Relations with the populist regimes of the Andean region have proved the most vexing for the Obama administration. It has broken the ALBA bloc down into its component parts, recognizing important differences in the political and social dynamics of Ecuador, Bolivia and Venezuela. But the April expulsion of U.S. Ambassador Heather Hodges from Ecuador — an apparent casualty of WikiLeaks — represented a major setback: currently the United States has no ambassador in Venezuela, Ecuador

*China's growth has had a profound impact on countries throughout the hemisphere.*

or Bolivia.

The State Department has largely continued a policy — initiated in the later years of the Bush administration by then-Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Shannon — of avoiding confrontation with President Hugo Chávez. The logic of that policy has been to deprive Chávez of opportunities to blame mounting domestic troubles on the United States, or to paint the increasingly successful opposition as U.S. puppets. Indeed, in the midst of a burgeoning economic and public security crisis inside Venezuela, the Obama administration bent over backward to remain neutral about opposition gains in the country's September 2010 parliamentary elections.

U.S. liberals and conservatives have criticized the Obama administration for not doing more to oppose Chávez's attacks on the democratic process in Venezuela. What is less clear, however, is what policy will be *effective* in achieving U.S. goals, particularly in the realm of democratic governance. Regional institutions and like-minded regional governments may be better positioned to make a difference in this regard.

### **Patterns of Trade, Aid and Investment**

Trade partners and trade patterns are rapidly changing throughout the region. The United States remains by far Latin America's largest trading partner (with trade totaling just over \$500 billion last year), although once Mexico is factored out of the equation, the U.S. role is more limited. Asia (primarily but not exclusively China) is Latin America's second-largest partner, overtaking the European Union. According to a 2010 study by the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, China has now surpassed the United States as the top export destination for Brazil and Chile; the same became true for Peru by mid-2010. It is also the second-largest export destination for Argentina, Costa Rica and Cuba.

China's growth has had a profound impact on countries throughout the hemisphere. The impact has been most positive for net exporters of energy, raw materials and agricultural products, and most negative for those countries whose manufactured exports have been undermined by Chinese competition in such major markets as the United States. All told, Beijing's trade deficit with Latin America

## F O C U S

totaled some \$2 billion in 2010, largely due to raw material exports from Brazil and Chile.

At the same time, there are growing concerns expressed within Latin America, as well as by international financial institutions, about Beijing's commitment to environmental and labor standards, and about the ways that Chinese models of trade and investment reinforce centuries-old patterns of commodity dependence on the part of Latin American economies. Clearly, managing the growing relationship with Beijing and ensuring that deepening economic ties contribute to Latin America's own development goals and priorities are challenges for much of the hemisphere.

When it comes to foreign direct investment in Latin America, the U.S. share continues to dwarf that of other countries or regions. According to CEPAL, the United States accounted for 37 percent of total FDI in Latin Amer-

### *U.S. ability to take advantage of the growth and dynamism in South America has not been fully realized.*

ica and the Caribbean from 1998 to 2008. It is also the case that, even at a time of deep recession, assistance to Central America from the U.S. Agency for International Development actually increased, as did the commitment to the proven development practice of microenterprise.

And the United States is still — by overwhelming margins — the largest single donor to the reconstruction of earthquake-devastated Haiti.

Even so, the ability of the United States to take advantage of the growth and dynamism in South America has not yet been fully realized. The U.S. trade agenda has stalled, largely because free trade agreements have become proxies for a national debate over winners and losers in the process of globalization. While more open trade contributes to growth in the U.S. economy, it does so unevenly and to the direct detriment of certain regions and economic sectors. The current experience of jobless re-



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covery and burgeoning inequality in the United States has set the stage for rising protectionist sentiment. Absent a broader social pact in our own country that invests in productivity and spreads the benefits, as well as the costs, of free trade more equitably, the protectionist impulse will remain difficult to counter.

In any case, the stalled free trade agreements with Colombia and Panama deserve to move forward. In April, an agreement between Colombian President Juan Manuel Santos and President Barack Obama on labor rights issues improved the chances that the accord would be submitted to Congress. But generally, trade pacts are unlikely to gain long-term, broad-based support in the absence of a coherent, shared vision of the role of trade in U.S. economic growth, coupled with a strategy for cushioning the adverse effects of trade on specific sectors and communities. Trade adjustment assistance has been a positive component of the agenda in the past, and should remain so in the future.

### **North versus South America**

Much of the focus, and certainly the resources, pertaining to U.S. policy in the hemisphere have been devoted to addressing the security crises in Mexico and Central America, and to a lesser extent the Caribbean, due to drug trafficking and other activities of organized crime. This is entirely appropriate and urgent given U.S. proximity to these countries and subregions, the role of American demand for illegal narcotics in fueling the violence, and the role of arms trafficking and money laundering on the U.S. side of the border. The Obama administration has made great strides in embracing the notion of shared responsibility for the orgy of drug violence engulfing Mexico.

Under the Merida Initiative, announced in 2007 and funded in 2008, a widening array of U.S. agencies — the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives, the Justice Department, Customs and Homeland Security — have deepened strategic cooperation with Mexican counterparts on issues from intelligence sharing to banking regulations. U.S. assistance to the countries of Central America and the Caribbean has also gone up, but may not be sufficient to reverse or halt the penetration of drug car-

*Mexico demonstrates how U.S. domestic political considerations trump foreign policy in ways that undermine hopes for a new direction.*

tels at all levels of society.

Meanwhile, Gil Kerlikowske, director of the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy, has made modest but nonetheless significant adjustments in U.S. domestic counternarcotics budgets, increasing spending for prevention and treatment of drug use by more than 17 percent in 2010 and treating domes-

tic drug consumption as a public health issue, not just a law enforcement problem. But there is still no national debate over more fundamental ways to reduce the demand for drugs in this country, which remains a central driver of violence and institutional decay throughout the region.

Despite the shift in U.S. policy emphases, Mexico demonstrates more than any other Latin American country how U.S. domestic political considerations trump foreign policy in ways that undermine hopes for a new direction. By September 2009 the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives had revoked the licenses of only 11 of the thousands of gun shops along the 2,000-mile U.S.-Mexican border. Nor has there been any push by the administration or by Congress to renew the 10-year ban on assault weapons that expired in 2004. And neither the administration nor the Senate has made ratification of the Inter-American Convention Against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Ammunition, Explosives and Other Related Items a priority. (CIFTA was adopted by the Organization of American States in 1997 and submitted to Congress the following year by President Bill Clinton.)

### **The Dangers of Partisan Polarization**

Ultimately, U.S. policy toward Latin America will remain a product of domestic priorities and partisan considerations as they interact with changed realities in the hemisphere. There is little evidence to suggest — and much to refute — that the United States is irrelevant to Latin America or no longer considers the hemisphere a priority in diplomatic or economic terms.

At the same time, many Latin American countries are unimpressed with the United States' record on issues that we have declared a priority, including reducing poverty and inequality, addressing climate change and developing al-

## FOCUS

ternative energy sources. Latin American countries are rightly proud of their own innovation and progress, so our inability at times to practice what we preach undermines our credibility.

The growing polarization of our own domestic politics is an added impediment to productive engagement with the hemisphere. There are sharp divisions in the policy community, for example, over how to characterize the nature of Iran's relationship with such countries as Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador, and the degree of threat that relationship represents. Similarly, there is no consensus on the proper way to respond to sharp reversals of the democratic process in such countries as Venezuela and Nicaragua, let alone how to engage with the process of change taking place in Cuba.

It is also worth noting that, according to the U.S. Department of Energy, more than 60 percent of Venezuela's oil exports are destined for the United States. That amounts to about 12 percent of U.S. oil imports, creating a bizarre form of economic interdependence at odds with

the chill in political relations. The temptation to use such hot-button issues for partisan advantage is enormous, although such debates rarely produce better policy.

It is time for us to rethink what we want from hemispheric relations, avoiding historic impulses to paternalism, on the one hand, and the tendency to pay attention only in the face of security threats, real or imagined, on the other. The U.S. economy is in deep crisis, and will remain so for the foreseeable future; our country is still in the midst of two major wars. We should not pretend that Latin America will be a foreign policy priority, and claims to the contrary will only ring hollow.

That said, we should see the political and economic advances in the region over the last decade as a strategic asset for the United States. Forging partnerships among equals by definition means that we cannot get our own way all, or even most, of the time. There is enough common ground, however, for the United States and the rest of the Americas to see each other as paths to the realization of their own interests and goals. ■

## Calling All Foreign Service Authors!

The October 2011 issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* will include a list of recently published books written by Foreign Service-affiliated authors.

FS authors whose books have been published in 2010 or 2011, and have not been featured in the roundup, are invited to send a copy of the book, along with a press release or backgrounder on the book and author to:

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# MEXICO'S ANGUISHED DECADE

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istory doesn't consider Porfirio Diaz to have been a visionary in most respects, but the former Mexican president was prophetic when he lamented: "Poor Mexico, so far from God and so close to the United States." The last decade has illustrated Diaz's aphorism in ways he never could have imagined.

The 21st century dawned auspiciously enough with elections in both countries. Because American presidents serve a four-year term and Mexican presidents serve for six, they are only elected concurrently once every 12 years. The last time that happened was in 2000, when Vicente Fox and George W. Bush were elected.

The coincidence seemed fortuitous. The two new presidents were both former state governors, spoke some of each other's language, represented conservative parties and, as rancher-businessmen, liked to project a macho, man-of-the-land image, complete with boots and cowboy hats.

President Bush had already promised to devote more

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*Ted Wilkinson, a Foreign Service officer from 1961 to 1996, served twice in Mexico City, the second time as minister counselor for political affairs from 1991 to 1994. He was AFSA president from 1989 to 1991 and currently chairs the Journal's editorial board.*

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THE LAST TIME U.S. AND MEXICAN PRESIDENTS TOOK OFFICE IN THE SAME YEAR, 2000, MANY PREDICTED CLOSER RELATIONS. SO WHAT HAPPENED?

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*By TED WILKINSON*

attention to Latin America, in general, and to Mexico, in particular. Many Mexicans and Americans alike hoped that his administration would promote a legislative solution to regularize the northward flow of Mexican workers to meet U.S. demand, and to open a window to adjust the status of the six million undocumented Mexicans already in the country. The North American Free Trade Agreement, which entered into force in January 1994, had already facilitated a doubling of bilateral trade, and Mexico had surpassed Japan as our second-largest trading partner, after Canada.

Moreover, Fox's election — the first opposition presidential victory after some 70 years of one-party rule — seemed to augur a meaningful democratic opening in Mexico. Only 12 years earlier, the 1988 presidential election was widely believed to have been stolen by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (known in Spanish as the PRI) officials from Cuauhtemoc Cardenas, the candidate of the left. Since that time, however, new reforms had made election supervision truly independent, leveled the campaign playing field and instituted tamper-proof ID cards for voters. An opposition-party state governor was allowed to take office for the first time in 1989, in Baja California Norte; and in 1997 the opposition gained a majority in the Chamber of Deputies for the first time.

The two new presidents took office within weeks of one another. The prospects seemed good for bilateral relations and for further reforms in Mexico, in particular to open up the economy with greater competitiveness and investment stimuli, and to improve the administration of justice.

### **What a Difference a Decade Makes**

Lower the curtain at that point, and raise it again 10 years later, when Fox's successor Felipe Calderon came to Washington on March 3, 2011, for his fifth meeting with Pres. Bush's successor, Barack Obama. Far from the rosy pronouncements that the beginning of the century might have led us to expect, the *Wall Street Journal* saw fit instead to run a headline declaring that "U.S.-Mexican relations hit low point." As former Foreign Minister Jorge Castaneda remarked, "I don't recall this kind of bad blood in a long time." What brought us to this sad state of affairs?

The immediate answer is, of course, the Mexican president's understandable pique at the WikiLeaks release of cables from Embassy Mexico City, for which Ambassador Carlos Pascual took the hit, announcing on March 19 his intention to resign his post. The cables were said to express frustration at the slow and uncoordinated response of Mexican government agencies to opportunities to move against the crime syndicates.

More broadly, President Calderon and his government are in distress because of the appalling and growing atrocities perpetrated by what were once known as the narcotics "cartels" (embassy officers now use a more precise term: "transnational crime organizations"). There are seven such enterprises in Mexico, several of them with tentacles extending throughout the hemisphere, particularly in the northern tier of Central America. Rivalries involving the largest, the Sinaloa Cartel, are said by Mexican authorities to have caused two-thirds of the drug-related murders there since 2006.

Calderon blames the U.S. for furnishing the TCOs with a market for illegal drugs worth between \$20 billion and \$40 billion a year, and for allowing vast quantities of high-powered weapons to be bought here and smuggled into Mexico for the TCOs' use. He claims that his government has now seized 100,000 weapons (85 percent of them from the U.S.),

### *Even without narcotics and law enforcement issues to contend with, the last decade has been rough for Mexico's relations with Washington.*

many of them semiautomatic "assault" weapons, which were banned from sale in the U.S. from 1994 to 2004. (In contrast to the 6,700 stores in the four southern U.S. border states where these and other weapons can currently be bought legally, Mexicans can only buy guns legally in one Mexico City store.)

Calderon's points are valid, and Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton earned substantial credit with

the Mexicans when she acknowledged that publicly in early 2009, during her first official visit there: "Our insatiable demand for illegal drugs fuels the drug war. [Smuggled U.S. guns] cause the death of police, soldiers and civilians."

Each year seems to bring new horrors in the Mexican drug wars: beheadings, beginning in 2006; bodies suspended from bridges in 2007; narcomantas (warning notices on banners, sometimes pinned to corpses); grenades thrown into a crowd in 2008; mass killings in rehab centers in 2009; and car bombs, roadblocks and other violence that spread from border areas to Monterrey, Guadalajara and the tourist meccas of Acapulco and Cuernavaca in 2010. Drug gangs hold sway within Mexican prisons, and jailbreaks are frequent. This year alone, two prison directors had already been killed as of late March, both within weeks of assuming their duties.

Beyond the figures on drug-related murders (which had been steadily rising and crossed the 15,000 mark in 2010), there has been a wider impact on civilian life. The TCOs no longer target merely rivals and police officers who collude with rivals. Fourteen Mexican mayors and nine reporters were killed in 2010. Fear has effectively muzzled crime reporting in Mexican border newspapers for the last several years. Spouses and children are no longer immune from gangland reprisal slayings, and groups of transients in Tamaulipas en route to the Mexican border have been slaughtered en masse for refusing to work for the TCOs. In addition, requests by Mexicans for asylum in the U.S. are rising.

Official Americans began to feel the impact directly last year. The first consulate personnel were murdered in Ciudad Juarez in early 2010, and the first American law enforcement officer in 25 years was killed on the road in San Luis Potosi in February of this year. Americans at border posts now receive danger pay, and some dependents have

been evacuated.

Kidnapping and extortion by the TCOs have also become more common. In one notable case, the 1994 presidential candidate of Partido Accion Nacional, Fox's and Calderon's party, was kidnapped and held for six months until an undisclosed seven-figure ransom was paid last December. One notorious group, a particularly brutal organization of Mexican military deserters and other criminals called "Zetas," has even gotten into the business of hijacking oil from the state-owned company, Pemex, and selling it to customers in the U.S.

How much of the fault for the increase in crime and violence lies with the United States? There is no question that we are the main source for weapons. Pres. Obama promised to seek reinstatement of the assault weapons ban during his campaign, but admitted during his first visit to Mexico in 2009 that he didn't have the votes in Congress to do it. Even a proposed rule to require stores to report when any individual purchased multiple "long guns" in one week was temporarily blocked by Congress this spring.

As for the narcotics market, U.S. consumption has remained relatively constant in the last two decades. White House documents estimate that the number of adult users of marijuana in the United States is about 25 million; cocaine, about five million; and approximately 850,000 methamphetamine users and 450,000 heroin users. But there is also a major domestic market in Mexico, which is said to have doubled in the last decade.

### **Calderon Agonistes**

No one could claim that Calderon hasn't been trying hard to address this crisis. Using a poker analogy, one senior Drug Enforcement Administration officer put it simply: "Calderon is all in." He was elected in 2006 by the skin of his teeth. With personal security already the number-one issue, all but three of the 17 states north of the capital went for him. The opposite was true in the south, where poverty and unemployment were of even greater concern, and voters preferred the populist candidate of the left, Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador. Calderon's overall margin of victory was less than 1 percent.

The new president wasted no time implementing his mandate to take action. A first step was to call in major

*Secretary Clinton earned substantial credit with Mexicans in 2009 when she acknowledged that insatiable U.S. demand helps fuel the drug war.*

military reinforcements for the overwhelmed police in the "plazas" (nodes of narcotics trafficking). The military simply had more personnel available, could concentrate force and weaponry more effectively than police against TCO squads, and had the advantage of being far more trusted by the people. Some 45,000 troops have been deployed

in 10 Mexican states since 2007.

An embattled Calderon went so far as to don a military uniform soon after his election, reportedly the first time a Mexican president has done so since the 1910-1917 revolution.

In parallel, he sought authority to change an outmoded system of administration of justice under which, according to an authoritative Mexican study, only 12 percent of crimes are reported and only 2 percent result in arrests — but 85 percent of those brought to trial are convicted, largely because there are no procedural rules of evidence to protect the accused. Confessions are routinely made under duress. (A prize-winning Mexican film, "Presumed Guilty," made in 2008, illustrates this poignantly.)

In 2008, the Mexican Congress and the states approved a constitutional amendment to adopt some parts of the system the U.S. and most other Latin American countries use: an adversarial (as opposed to inquisitorial) system. Mexico has still not adopted juries, but trials are to be open and will have oral witnesses, so the public can see and hear what happens. The states have eight years to implement the amendment.

Although he is not the first Mexican president to attempt police reform, Calderon has also been accelerating his predecessors' efforts to make the police more honest, effective and technically qualified, starting at the federal level. He inaugurated a national police academy in San Luis Potosi, which has already graduated several thousand new, college-educated additions to federal forces, and has brought most federal law enforcement functions together under Public Security Minister Genaro Garcia Luna, who now commands over 40,000 federal agents. A next step — still stalled in the Congress — is to consolidate the 4,000-odd state and municipal police forces into 32 unitary forces, one for each state and the Federal District.

### **The U.S. Steps In**

Pres. Calderon found a sympathetic audience in the U.S. when he called for stepped-up anti-narcotics assistance soon after his December 2006 inauguration. Washington had already been providing about \$40 million per year, principally for training. Meeting Calderon at Merida in March 2007, Pres. Bush agreed to enhanced cooperation. The Merida Initiative, announced in October 2007, proposed a dramatic, tenfold increase in assistance for three years. This assistance was intended to cover helicopters and border inspection equipment, plus training and technical assistance, and to help create a complete national electronic police database.

The Merida funds were appropriated, but among the Mexican disappointments have been the human rights conditions attached to the funds by the U.S. Congress, and the slow pace of disbursements. The Obama administration plans to continue the initiative as new funds are appropriated, but to focus the assistance more on training than on equipment. Foreign Minister Patricia Espinosa and Secretary Clinton agreed last year that the joint focus would be fourfold: disrupting the drug-trafficking organizations; institutionalizing the rule of law; building a modern border; and creating strong, resilient communities.

Modernizing the border will be challenge enough: a million people, 300,000 passenger vehicles and 70,000 trucks cross it daily. Former Mexican Deputy Foreign Minister Andres Rozental characterizes the frontier as the site of “the three I’s — irritation, inefficiency and illegality.” Homeland Security has allocated major separate appropriations to a Southwest Border Initiative and designated Alan Bersin as a border “czar” to coordinate bringing border operations into the 21st century.

Even more challenging is the goal of rebuilding communities. A test case may be Ciudad Juarez, where the crime rate has reached appalling new heights and the social context has virtually disintegrated. The Calderon government has inaugurated “Todos Somos Juarez” (We Are All Juarez), a program infusing new funds into schools, recreational facilities, etc., to recapture the streets from youth gangs recruited by rival trafficking organizations. There’s little improvement to show for it to date, but the goals are long-term, and consistent commitment to it may yet bring results.

*No one can claim that  
President Calderon  
hasn’t been trying hard  
to address the problem.*

### **Unintended Consequences**

Ironically, the breakdown in law and order may be partly a product of the country’s recent democratization. Throughout the 70 years that it dominated Mexican politics (1930-2000) the PRI maintained a patrimonial hierarchy that ensured stability. Garcia Marquez called it “the perfect dictatorship.” PRI national leaders coopted dissenters into the party; selected their successors, state governors and union bosses; made sure they got elected; and expected them to maintain order and loyalty in their districts.

In return, the officials were free to collect whatever it cost to keep things running smoothly, including from the narcotics traffickers. At least half a dozen Cabinet-level officials in the 1980s and 1990s were implicated in lucrative “pactos” with narcotics capos. As the archtypical PRI politician, Carlos Hank Gonzalez, put it: “Un politico pobre es un pobre politico” (A politician who is poor is a poor politician).

Now many of the tools of centralized control are gone. One of them, the secret police (Direccion Federal de Seguridad), operated for years outside the law under the interior minister (in effect, the vice president) before it was discredited and disbanded in 1986. The political opposition now holds two-thirds of the country’s governorships, so the central government is far less able to exercise regional control.

Nor have state institutions yet filled the vacuum. The longstanding practice of paying mordidas (bribes) to police officers and other government officials is economically driven and hard to change. Mexicans aren’t used to taking issues of citizen responsibility and local administration into their own hands — to “empower” themselves in effect — to resist the TCOs operating in their areas. In short, cultural change is needed, which will take a lot of time. Until it does take hold, the U.S. role in this part of the Merida program will perforce be limited.

One source of Mexican resentment is the claim often heard from some influential Americans that a state of insurgency exists where TCO rivalries have led to the most violence — the northern Mexican Gulf states; the Juarez area; Baja California Norte; the “Golden Triangle” of narcotics cultivation in Sinaloa, Chihuahua and Durango; Michoacan state; and the Acapulco area. It’s true that civil

institutions in these areas are stressed and often under TCO influence. But those organizations no more have political agendas than do the Italian Mafia or 'Ndrangheta, the Chinese tongs, the Japanese yakuza or the Russian bratva.

Moreover, however sensational the news of drug murders may appear in the American media, annual per capita Mexican murder rates in 2009 (the last year for which full figures are available) were less than a third of what they were in Venezuela, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala and Jamaica, and less than half of Colombia's.

### **Crime Isn't the Only Problem**

Even without narcotics and law enforcement issues to contend with, the last decade has been rough for Mexico and for its relations with Washington. The Fox-Bush honeymoon lasted only through the Fox state visit to Washington in the first week of September 2001. Then came the 9/11 attacks.

The foreign ministers of the Americas were meeting in Lima that day, and Mexico joined the chorus of condemnation over the attacks. Even so, prospects for the immigration legislation that Fox had hoped for, already dim, receded even further. The Fox administration bent over backward to make sure that no terrorists entered the U.S. from Mexico, but it stopped short of supporting the Bush administration's position on Iraq. Mexico's abstention from the U.N. Security Council resolution seeking authorization for U.S. intervention caused lasting heartburn in the Bush administration.

The Texas Supreme Court didn't help relations in 2002 by refusing to stay the execution of a Mexican convicted of murder, even after the International Court of Justice had ruled that his case (and 50 other death row cases) should be reopened on procedural grounds. Fox then canceled a visit to the Bush ranch in Texas.

Economic issues added to the gloom. Dogged already by the H1N1 scare, Mexico's economy took the biggest hit of all countries from the global recession. There was no cumulative net gross domestic product growth for 2008-2010. In fact, average annual growth for the decade was only 1.3 percent, compared with an average for Latin America and the Caribbean of 3 percent. After surpassing Japan during the 1990s, Mexico fell behind China in trade with the U.S.

Even the vaunted North American Free Trade Agreement (which the Obama campaign had made vague noises

about renegotiating) proved to be as much an irritant as a blessing, at least for a time. The agreement stipulates that Mexican trucks must be allowed into the U.S., but the U.S. Congress effectively suspended implementation of the measure two years ago. Mexico responded with retaliatory tariffs on a range of American imports. The issue was only tentatively resolved in the two presidents' meeting on March 3.

Mexico has no shortage of good economists, and many recognize that the country's declining competitiveness in global trade indices is due to the administration's stalled reform program. Unable to rely on the rubber-stamp legislatures that the PRI could count on before 1997, neither Fox nor Calderon has yet been able to achieve the anti-monopoly and labor reform laws that are badly needed to boost productivity. After a long fight in 2007-2008, the Congress did pass limited measures to help encourage private-sector investment in the petroleum industry. But the Mexican oil bonanza is still drying up, and it's not yet clear whether deep-sea drilling can reverse the trend.

Despite all these woes, Calderon's feisty spirit and unwillingness to compromise with the TCOs have made him many friends and admirers, both at home and in the U.S. Recent polls have shown declining public confidence in the Mexican government's ability to win the drug wars, but a majority still endorses the president's efforts.

### **No Escape**

Because U.S. and Mexican presidents will both be elected next year, 2012 represents a watershed. Calderon's party lost many legislative seats in the 2009 midterm elections, so he may find it hard to transfer his mantle to another PAN presidential candidate. (All Mexican presidents are limited to a single six-year term.) The betting today is that the PRI, which holds 19 of 32 governorships, stands the best chance of regaining the presidential palace next year.

Whoever succeeds Calderon will be tempted to seek reduced violence through accommodation of TCOs, applying the law selectively against only the most brutal violators. Some Mexican critics are already advocating this. But formulating consistent, explainable guidelines for such a policy would be next to impossible and would endanger firm support from Washington.

Being "so close to the United States" is never easy. One can only hope that the next Mexican president will find that the benefits outweigh the burdens. ■

# BRAZIL AND THE U.S.: REMAKING A RELATIONSHIP

THE CONFLICTS WASHINGTON AND BRASILIA SOMETIMES EXPERIENCE ARE ONLY TO BE EXPECTED WHEN TWO POWERFUL COUNTRIES DEAL WITH ONE ANOTHER.

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BY *PETER HAKIM*

**B**razil's outsized global aspirations and diplomatic heft were on full view in Tehran back in May 2010. Brazilian President Lula da Silva and his Turkish counterpart had triumphantly announced they had persuaded Iran to move uranium enrichment activities overseas — an objective the U.S. had earlier pursued in vain. Washington, however, did not applaud. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton angrily condemned Brazil, denouncing Lula's negotiating success as irresponsible meddling that threatened a fragile international consen-

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sus to impose new sanctions on Tehran. U.S.-Brazilian relations were left badly bruised.

When she took office on Jan. 1, 2011, Brazil's first female president, Dilma Rouseff (who, like her predecessor, is universally referred to in Brazil by her first name) was well aware that ties with the United States were deeply strained and needed close attention. In a *Washington Post* interview, she called for closer relations with the U.S. and criticized Brazil's earlier opposition to the United Nations vote censuring Iran for human rights abuses.

Her comments immediately raised expectations in Washington that the Rouseff presidency would produce a warmer bilateral relationship. What she and her advisers have said and done since then has kept those expectations high. And they were further boosted by President Barack Obama's visit to Brazil in March.

Although he also traveled to Chile and El Salvador, Brazil was Pres. Obama's most important stop. He was enthusiastically received by the Brazilian population, and succeeded in initiating a productive dialogue with Dilma. No real progress, however, was made on the high-profile issues besetting U.S. Brazilian relations, such as Iran or nuclear proliferation, which did not even get much of an airing.

The Brazilians were left disappointed, though not

necessarily discouraged, on the two questions most important to them: whether the U.S. would endorse Brazil, as it had India, for a permanent seat on the U.N. Security Council; and whether there was any prospect of Washington easing the multiple barriers to agricultural imports from Brazil, particularly its sugar-based ethanol, which is cheaper and superior to the corn-based American version. Still, both official Brazil and the country's ordinary citizens were charmed by Pres. Obama and buoyed by the visit, which almost certainly raised America's standing in the country.

The same held true for the president's other stopovers, where his repeated call for equal partnerships with the countries of the hemisphere was well received. But many Latin Americans remain skeptical about the U.S. readiness for partnership, so it is clear that Washington still has a lot of work to do to show it can be a reliable partner and ally.

### **Long Memories**

It will certainly not be easy for Washington and Brasilia to build a more cooperative and trusting relationship. In the past few years, the two governments have openly clashed over many issues as Brazil vigorously pursued an increasingly ambitious international role. Despite a large reservoir of genuine good will, the situation could worsen in the coming period — regardless of how adroitly and carefully Dilma and her advisers manage Brazil's foreign policy, or the care with which the Obama administration conducts U.S. diplomacy.

For the foreseeable future, it is almost inevitable that Brazil and the U.S. will continue to bump up against one another, both in the hemisphere and worldwide. Both nations are deeply engaged in global affairs, but pursue policies and agendas that reflect divergent interests, priorities and approaches. They will not always be able to find common ground or keep their disagreements in check. So in most respects, the U.S.-Brazil relationship will involve both conflict and cooperation — just like U.S. ties with other powerful nations.

Brazil's progressively more assertive role in Latin America has led to a variety of squabbles. It surprised and irritated Washington with its intense opposition to a new U.S.-Colombia security pact. By subsequently concluding its own, albeit far more modest, military accord with Wash-

*Brazil's progressively more assertive role in Latin America has led to a variety of squabbles.*

ington, Brazil demonstrated a welcome flexibility. But it left no doubt that it expected the United States to consult and get its agreement before embarking on any new security initiatives in South America — a position endorsed by every other nation on the continent.

The country also crossed swords with Washington in Honduras, where a military coup some two years ago produced a still-unresolved political crisis. Unlike the U.S. and many Latin American governments, Brasilia has refused to accept the results of the November 2009 Honduran presidential elections. That disagreement has caused a divisive standoff in hemispheric relations.

The U.S. and Brazil are on opposite sides of the Cuba issue, as well. Washington stands alone in its diplomatic and economic isolation of Havana, while every Latin American capital has normal relations with the island. Brazil and the U.S. also clashed in 2009 over the conditions under which the Cuban government could be readmitted to the Organization of American States.

But while they will surely continue to collide on many hemispheric questions, Brazil and the U.S. have also demonstrated their capacity to cooperate in regional affairs. As noted above, Brasilia recently reached a framework security agreement with Washington. The U.S. has appreciated Brazil's lead role in peacekeeping efforts in Haiti since 2004, and the two countries worked closely on humanitarian relief following that country's devastating January 2010 earthquake.

Although the two governments have dealt very differently with the challenge Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez poses, Brazil has been helpful on occasion in moderating his virulent anti-Americanism. Washington has spoken favorably of Brazilian efforts to strengthen the Union of South American Nations, even though a more cohesive and institutionalized UNASUR (as the organization is known in Spanish) could well diminish U.S. influence in hemispheric affairs.

### **On the World Stage**

The most serious clashes between the U.S. and Brazil are likely to arise over global, not regional, issues. What has most exasperated Washington and unsettled bilateral relations in recent years is Brasilia's close, supportive relationship with Iran, including strong and growing economic

ties. U.S. officials were encouraged that President Rouseff swiftly changed Brazilian policy in one crucial area: Her government will no longer ignore or downplay Tehran's repression, and she has instructed her United Nations ambassador to endorse an investigation of human rights abuses in Iran. However, it remains uncertain how Brasilia will deal with other U.S. concerns, such as Iran's support of terrorist groups and its unrelenting threats toward Israel.

What most troubles Washington is Brazil's defense of Tehran's nuclear program and its right to enrich uranium. Washington was particularly infuriated that Brazil and Turkey negotiated an agreement with Iran designed to halt a U.S.-led drive for new U.N. sanctions against Tehran. Neither Brazil nor the U.S. managed this incident particularly well.

In a letter to Lula, the Obama administration even appeared to encourage the Brazilian negotiating initiative. Washington later made clear its opposition to Brazil's involvement, but the Lula administration proceeded as if it still had American agreement. In any case, if Washington had not been so focused on pursuing stronger sanctions against Iran, it might have recognized the potential value of the deal, rather than rejecting it out of hand. Perhaps Brasilia did overreach, but officials believed they could help build the confidence needed to facilitate new, U.S.-led talks with Iran.

Iran will likely remain an irritant for bilateral relations. While Washington is convinced that Tehran is developing nuclear weapons, Brasilia has steadfastly opposed sanctions, although it has respected those imposed by the United Nations. The two capitals might usefully explore the question of what evidence would be sufficient to conclude either that Tehran is pursuing a weapons capability or that its intentions are peaceful. Narrowing the gap on this central question would be a helpful step toward greater accord. The U.S. might also consider bringing Brazil and Turkey into the six-power talks with Iran (the five members of the U.N. Security Council plus Germany). Their presence might diminish Iran's distrust of the negotiations and potentially increase the prospects of some advance.

Over time, Brazil's own nuclear activities may emerge as a major source of contention. True, Brazil has signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and is committed to forgoing nuclear arms by its own constitution, the hemisphere-wide Treaty of Tlatelolco and an agreement with

Argentina. So the U.S. today has little concern that Brasilia seeks atomic weapons, though it has embarked on a uranium enrichment program and will soon have the ability to build such weapons.

Brazil and the U.S. are, however, at odds over Brasilia's refusal to sign the NPT's additional protocol, which calls for more intrusive inspections of enrichment facilities. Washington sees Brazil's rejection of the new protocol as weakening already-shaky global nonproliferation efforts. For its part, Brasilia asserts that Washington and Moscow are the players who have most egregiously failed to fulfill their obligations under the treaty. Tension over this issue will become harder to contain as Brazil and a few other nations come closer to a weapons capacity.

Ideally, nuclear development should be an area for cooperation, not a matter of dispute. U.S. technology could contribute a great deal to Brazil's development of a world-class nuclear energy industry. Washington's three-year-old agreement with India (which already possesses a nuclear arsenal) is the model for a technology accord with Brazil. What the U.S. would want in exchange is greater Brazilian support for the NPT and other nonproliferation initiatives.

### **The Trade Agenda**

Trade has long been a source of bilateral friction. Various subsidies, tariffs and quotas sharply restrict U.S. imports of half a dozen or more of Brazil's major export crops. They have, for example, effectively closed the U.S. market to Brazilian ethanol, which is substantially cheaper and more energy efficient than the U.S. variety. Last year, trade tensions rose sharply after Brazil won its World Trade Organization suit against Washington, in which it claimed U.S. cotton subsidies violated international trade rules. Because the subsidies will remain in place at least until the relevant U.S. legislation terminates in 2012, the WTO authorized Brazil to retaliate by slapping tariffs on an array of U.S. imports and disregarding U.S. patents.

After some acrimony, Washington managed to paper over the dispute and postpone retaliation for the next couple of years by agreeing to compensate Brazil directly for its lost cotton sales (thereby, in essence, subsidizing both U.S. and Brazilian cotton growers). And cotton is not the only problem. Brazil just recently prevailed in another WTO case over U.S. countervailing duties on Brazilian orange juice, and is prepared to continue its challenges to other U.S. agricultural protectionist measures.

Their ongoing clashes notwithstanding, the two coun-

tries would both benefit from new global commercial arrangements. By joining forces, the world's two leading food exporters could increase the chances of reviving the nearly moribund Doha global trade talks — a declared priority of both nations. However, that would require them to make politically difficult concessions, not only on agricultural issues, but also on trade in services, industrial tariffs and intellectual property. Brazil would have to press its closest Doha allies (including India and China) to give ground on these issues, while the U.S. would confront a bitter domestic political battle.

One issue on which the U.S. and Brazil have found agreement is China's undervaluation of its currency, which makes the Asian giant an unfair competitor. Although the two countries are not prepared to jointly pressure Beijing, they are pursuing reinforcing efforts. Yet while the two capitals hold a common position on China's exchange policies, Brazil is also a vocal critic of the U.S. Federal Reserve's "quantitative easing," a policy that it claims holds down the value of the dollar.

Brazil has worked hard to gain increased authority for itself and other developing nations in multilateral forums, and Washington has largely supported its demands for stronger representation and influence at the United Nations, International Monetary Fund, World Bank, WTO and other global institutions. The U.S. was a strong advocate for replacing the Group of 7 (now the Group of 8) — all rich, highly industrialized countries — with the G-20 (which includes Brazil and other important developing countries) as the principal forum for debating global economic questions.

Still, Washington's reluctance to support Brazil's long-standing aspiration for a permanent seat on the U.N. Security Council has been particularly disappointing to Brazilians. The issue became even more galling last November, when Pres. Obama endorsed India's claim to a Security Council seat. With its global status and influence still rising, Brazil will eventually have its own seat. The question is whether Washington will get out in front of this issue or will stand back and await the inevitable. Brazilians will not soon forget America's choice.

Both countries are at the center of international debates on climate change and energy use. In particular, global

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efforts to address these issues will be crucially affected by how Brazil manages the Amazon, develops its biofuel industry and exploits its huge, untapped petroleum reserves, as well as U.S. policies. What remains uncertain is whether the two nations will end up mostly cooperating or colliding on these and other global challenges. A mix of the two is the most likely outcome.

**Moving Toward Partnership?**

A question often raised in both Brazil and the United States is whether the two nations should be seeking to form a "strategic partnership." What such an arrangement would mean in practice and how it would serve the interests of the two countries are both topics worth debating, but progress in that direction appears remote for the time being.

Over the past dozen years, Brazil has clearly shown its ability to pursue its international aims despite minimal U.S. support. It has widely diversified its global relations and built strong ties to an array of industrial and developing countries. As a result, it exercises considerable influence in almost every regional and international forum, usually independent of the U.S. and sometimes even in opposition to it. Dilma may succeed in shaping a closer relationship with Washington, but her administration hardly seems ready to move toward a full partnership.

For its part, while Washington is monitoring Brazil's rising power and reach, it does not yet consider Brasilia a major force in global economic affairs or a relevant actor in regard to U.S. security challenges. Nor do U.S. policymakers view Brazilian foreign policy as consistently reliable or responsible. Brazil's relations with Tehran and defense of its nuclear program continue to make U.S. officials wary. They have also been troubled by Brazil's inattention to democracy, human rights and nuclear proliferation in its diplomacy. It is still an open question whether Dilma will be able to make significant changes to Brazilian policy on these issues.

Still, even when bilateral relations have become strained in recent years, the two countries have never been adversaries. Rather, they have almost always sought to moderate and defuse their disputes, and have been willing to tolerate considerable disagreement. Building and sus-

taining a constructive relationship, however, may demand greater effort and attention than either country has put forth to date.

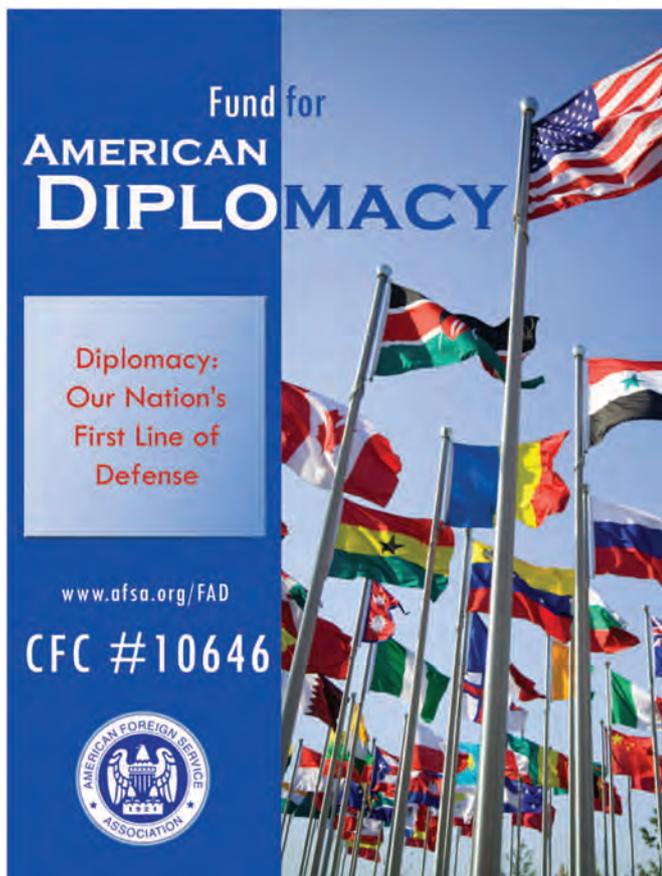
Both governments need to better understand the interests, priorities and positions of the other on the full range of regional and global issues. They also need to consult routinely and inform the other of proposed decisions and actions. Systematic consultation, for example, might have averted (or reduced the intensity of) the clashes over the Brazil-Turkey-Iran negotiations and the U.S. Colombia security agreement.

In particular, Washington and Brasilia need to work harder to find opportunities for cooperation. Modest initiatives, such as the 2010 U.S.-Brazilian defense accord or this year's agreement to jointly develop an aviation biofuel, may strengthen the bilateral relationship. But the two countries can and should be far more ambitious.

*Both governments will play major roles in the increasingly urgent issue of climate change.*

Unavoidably, Brazil and the United States will play major roles on the increasingly urgent issue of climate change. What role Brazil chooses to play will have an enormous impact on a whole host of international environmental challenges. Brasilia can take much of the credit for one of the few achievements of the December 2009 Copenhagen climate change talks: the Global Forest Protection Fund. But it is hard to know whether the two countries will be allies on these issues until there is consensus in Washington on U.S. climate change policy.

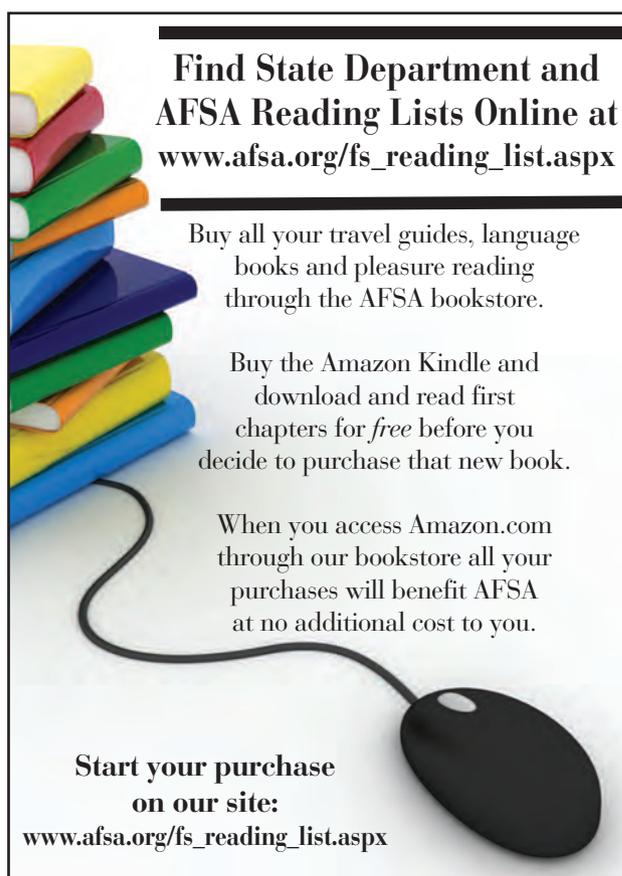
No one should think U.S.-Brazil relations will be easy to manage in the short or medium term. Both countries will continue to experience frustration and disappointment, and conflict may be more common than cooperation. All that should be expected, however, when any two powerful countries deal with one another. ■



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# HUGO CHÁVEZ: NO FRIEND OF THE UNITED STATES

THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION'S CAUTIOUS, LOW-KEY APPROACH IS THE WAY TO DEAL WITH THE REAL THREAT HUGO CHÁVEZ POSES TO U.S. INTERESTS.

BY ROBERT BOTTOME

**F**or nearly 170 years, relations between the governments of Venezuela and the United States were founded on mutual trust and shared interests. Today, however, the relationship is one of distrust and conflicting interests and ideologies.

This was dramatically exposed for all to see in March, when Venezuela and two of its closest allies not only opposed United Nations intervention in Libya but expressed support for Moammar Gaddafi. Until then, few analysts had realized that Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez not only admired Gaddafi but that many, if not most, of his policies and programs bore a remarkable resemblance to those in Gaddafi's "Green Book."

The clash is straightforward. The United States continues to promote democracy in Latin America while seeking to contain — and eventually eradicate — trade in narcotics and terrorism. Venezuela's government is authoritarian, and several of its senior officials are alleged to be involved, one way or another, in narcotics.

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Both countries are currently represented by their respective deputy chiefs of mission. Last year, Venezuela revoked its agreement to receive Larry Palmer as U.S. ambassador following his unusually frank (and unusually accurate) analysis of the situation in Venezuela in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. In response, Washington revoked the visa of Venezuela's ambassador to the U.S., Bernardo Álvarez, in December 2010.

In retrospect, there probably was little the United States could do to prevent Venezuela's tragic slide from a liberal democracy with a reasonably open economy to an autocracy on the classic Latin American caudillo model. This slide had its start in the 1980s and inspired an unsuccessful 1992 coup attempt by a group of dissident leftist military officers — headed by Lieutenant Colonel Hugo Chávez Frías.

At the time, neither U.S. policymakers nor members of the Venezuelan business, political and intellectual elites took a proper measure of Col. Chávez. A few observers, to their credit, did see him for what he was: ruthlessly ambitious and dictatorial. But the prevailing view on both sides of the Caribbean was that he was mostly bluffing about his extremism and that, if elected to the presidency in December 1998, he would turn out

to be just another moderate Latin American leftist.

Chávez skillfully promoted that view, promising that his administration would promote foreign investment, among other things. In retrospect, he clearly played upon a tradition of Western naiveté going back a half-century, to the myth that if only the Eisenhower administration had shown a willingness to cooperate with Fidel Castro's regime from the very beginning, Havana would never have ended up in the Soviet camp.

### **Actions Speak Louder Than Words**

U.S. policy, when Chávez came to office, was to extend the hand of friendship, in the hope that he would, indeed, turn out to be a pragmatic member of the left-center with his country's interests at heart.

That bet, if it could be called that, initially looked like a winner. Early in his first term, Pres. Chávez continued to talk of the need to promote investment and to continue to support private business. He kept on the Caldera administration's highly respected minister of finance, Maritza Izaguirre, and submitted a modern "investment protection" bill to the Venezuelan Congress, which passed it. And he charmed just about everyone on his June 1999 visits to New York and Houston.

But another Chávez was hard at work behind the scenes, drafting a new constitution that vastly increased the powers of the national executive and undermined *Petróleos de Venezuela*, the country's national oil company.

"Don't pay attention to what we say, but watch what we do." That's what John Mitchell, President Richard Nixon's attorney general, once told a reporter. That advice fits the Chávez administration to a "T."

Even as Pres. Chávez affirmed his commitment to democracy and the rule of law, his administration was busily flouting treaty obligations and legal commitments. Examples include the decision to bar Colombian trucks from entering Venezuela (a treaty violation), the refusal to authorize annual CANTV (telephone company) rate increases (a contract violation), and the decisions to "suspend" the Frameca (Caracas Metro Line 4 contract) and

*When Chávez came to office, the U.S. extended the hand of friendship in the hope that he really was a pragmatist.*

Aucoven (Caracas-La Guaira toll road concession contract) — all within the new administration's first three months in power.

The prohibition on Colombian trucks presaged a steady deterioration in relations with Bogota, culminating in Venezuela's withdrawal from the Andean Community and a temporary suspension of diplomatic relations on two separate occasions.

Despite some recent improvement, relations between Caracas and Bogota remain on tenterhooks.

The beginnings of what was to become a virulent anti-U.S. stance could also be seen during Chávez's first months as president. His government declared that there were no human rights violations in Cuba and refused to allow U.S. planes to pass through Venezuelan airspace on their way to Colombia on drug-spotting missions.

In January 2000, the Chávez administration turned back two shiploads of road-clearing machinery the U.S. had sent to assist in the effort to repair Venezuela's flood-ravaged coastal highways. Though the aid had been requested in December by beleaguered Venezuelan authorities, the Chávez administration changed its mind at the last minute. By then, it should have been clear to all concerned that the new leader was no friend of the United States.

What was not to become clear for several years, however, was the extent to which Chávez had the will, and the means, to wreak terrible damage on the interests of the United States and the fragile democracies of the region. Instead, too many analysts dismissed him as a clown ("I smell the odor of sulfur," he quipped as he followed President George W. Bush at a podium at the United Nations).

At home, his administration pursued the gradual destruction of all democratic and free-market institutions. Foreign investors — oil and mining companies at first, telephone and electricity companies next and, most recently, food processors and distributors — were harassed and their assets seized, often without the Venezuelan government bothering to go through the motions of complying with the requisite legal and constitutional procedures.

## 170 Years of Mutual Trust and Shared Interests

**O**n Oct. 25, 1825, General Marquis de Lafayette delivered a letter, and an accompanying locket, from George Washington's family to Simón Bolívar, the Venezuelan general and politician known as the Liberator. The locket, which Bolívar is said to have worn for the rest of his life, contained a copy of Gilbert Stuart's portrait of Washington and a lock of Washington's hair. It can be seen (in miniature) on most of Venezuela's bank notes and paper currency issued from 1890 through the 1970s. (The bolivar replaced the peso as Venezuela's currency in 1879.)

The United States was among the first nations to establish diplomatic relations with the newly created republic of Venezuela, doing so in 1830. And most of the patriots who drafted Venezuela's Declaration of Independence (ratified on July 5, 1811) were admirers of the United States, and modeled the document on the U.S. Constitution.

In 1904 and 1905, President Theodore Roosevelt intervened to prevent German and British creditors from seizing Venezuelan territory in payment of past-due debts. Thanks to Roosevelt the debts were restructured (and eventually paid in full on July 5, 1930). And in 1940, the Venezuelan government invited Herbert Hoover Jr., son of the former U.S. president, to help draft Venezuela's oil legislation. The result was the "50/50" profit split, which became the industry standard in almost all oil-producing countries through the 1970s.

Venezuela was slow to declare war on Germany during World War II but cooperated fully with the war effort, ensuring a steady flow of oil to the United States. President Isaías Angarita Medina drew up and applied a blacklist limiting economic activity by German citizens or descendants of German citizens for the duration of the war. He was also the first Venezuelan president to venture outside the country during his term, visiting Washington, D.C., to meet with President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1944.

In 1945, President Harry Truman provided then-Venezuelan ambassador and presidential candidate Diógenes Escalante with air transportation home, on the presidential "Sacred Cow." (Escalante subsequently fell ill and dropped out of the race; his absence provoked a crisis that ended with Medina driven from office on Oct. 18, 1945, by a coup.) After some hesitation, Washington decided to back the civilian-military junta headed by Rómulo Betancourt, and subsequently supported the democratically elected government (1948) of Rómulo Gallegos.

Gallegos not only visited the United States shortly after his inauguration, but was invited to address Congress — one of the first Latin American presidents to be so honored. But even

though Marcos Pérez Jiménez led a coup to depose Gallegos, the Eisenhower administration, preoccupied with the Cold War, cultivated friendly relations with him.

A low point in bilateral relations came in March 1958 when Vice President Richard Nixon disregarded advice from the U.S. ambassador in Caracas and came to visit the country in the midst of the confusion following Pérez Jiménez' ouster. Nixon was booed and his limousine attacked but, fortunately, no one was hurt.

Just a few years later, Washington pulled out all the stops in a successful effort to support Venezuela's nascent democracy, especially during President Betancourt's term (1959-1964). President and Mrs. John F. Kennedy's December 1961 visit highlighted the best of U.S. policy toward the region at the time (democracy and social progress). Pres. Kennedy inaugurated a housing project and visited hospitals and schools, all the while celebrating Venezuelans' courage for having turned out to vote in the face of threats by extreme leftists.

Other high points include Venezuelan President Carlos Andrés Pérez's role as facilitator in the negotiations between President Jimmy Carter and Panama's Omar Torri-

*Beginning in 1959,  
Washington pulled out  
all the stops in a successful  
effort to support Venezuela's  
nascent democracy.*

jos that culminated in an agreement to transfer control of the Panama Canal to Panama on Dec. 31, 1999. Presidents Pérez and Luis Herrera also played key roles in the effort to pacify Central America.

Neglect of the bilateral relationship on both sides left officials from both countries completely off guard when a group of military officers, headed by Lieutenant Colonel Hugo Chávez Frías, attempted a coup on Feb. 4, 1992. The documents left behind by the plotters very clearly identified the ringleaders, including Chávez, as being ideologically of the extreme left, if not outright communists, with close ties to Cuba's Fidel Castro.

*Even sadder, many members of Venezuela's political and intellectual elite supported the 1992 coup attempt.*

Sadly, the country's elites failed to understand the nature of the threat posed by Chávez's movement and, even more importantly, the reasons for his popular appeal. Even sadder, many members of Venezuela's political and intellectual elite not only sympathized

with, or supported, the coup backers (known as chavistas) but went on to work full time to undermine the Pérez administration's efforts to address the population's needs and concerns.

This, along with charges of widespread government corruption, paved the way for Hugo Chávez to be elected president on Dec. 6, 1998, a position he has held ever since.

— Robert Bottome

### **April 2002: A Setback for All**

Popular resistance to the changes being wrought by the Chávez administration, especially regarding the oil industry, culminated on April 11, 2002, as some 800,000 Venezuelans marched on the Miraflores presidential palace calling for the president's resignation. Armed Chávez supporters fired on the protesters, leaving 19 dead and effectively preventing the march from reaching the presidential palace.

(It was later reported that Chávez had ordered the Venezuelan Army to fire on the marchers, but for reasons not entirely understood, the army high command refused to act on that order.)

Several hours later, Chávez agreed to resign as president on the condition that he and his family be given safe passage to Cuba. The vice president was nowhere to be found. Accordingly, it was up to the Venezuelan Congress to appoint a successor to Chávez.

In the ensuing confusion, Pedro Carmona Estanga, a businessman, was asked to form a new government. Unfortunately, instead of appealing to Congress for authorization to proceed, Carmona appointed himself president on April 12. That action delegitimized his nascent administration, alienated virtually all of his potential supporters and cleared the way for Chávez to reassume the presidency on April 13.

Chávez subsequently tried to blame the United States

for his short-lived ouster, accusing the Central Intelligence Agency, the State Department and President George W. Bush of complicity. But the U.S. had absolutely nothing to do with the events of that weekend. In fact, Ambassador Charles Shapiro, acting on orders from Washington, made a special effort to contact Carmona on April 12, warning that America would not support him if he swore himself in without complying with the Venezuelan Constitution. Carmona reportedly told Shapiro that "we know what we are doing" and proceeded to condemn himself and his nascent administration to failure.

The U.S. government has been widely criticized for its supposed failure to denounce Hugo Chávez's removal from office, which several of his supporters were describing as a coup at an Organization of American States meeting taking place that very same day in Costa Rica. But the fact is that Chávez resigned, so there was no coup to denounce. At the same time, there was no new government in Caracas to recognize or support — a situation which would explain Washington's decision to say nothing at the time (i.e., Friday, April 12, 2002).

The George W. Bush administration does, perhaps, deserve to be criticized for its failure to denounce Pedro Carmona's actions, particularly his self-proclamation as president. That step definitely qualified as a coup, which Ambassador Shapiro had warned Carmona is exactly how Washington would treat it.

In any event, by Sunday, April 14, 2002, Chávez had been restored to office and the whole issue was moot.

**Reality Comes  
Crashing Down**

Apart from the oil and mining industries, most businesspeople were slow to see what was coming, in part because they were blindsided by the record profits registered during the 2004–2008 oil revenue–fueled boom. So long as the United States continued to be the main customer for Venezuela’s oil and the primary source of imports, they saw no problem.

By 2009 and 2010, that illusion had evaporated as Chávez tightened his controls over the commercial and industrial sectors. His administration seized more than three million hectares of private farm land and expropriated at least 600 companies in just five years. Meanwhile, U.S. imports of Venezuelan oil fell from more than 1.6 million barrels a day to fewer than a million barrels a day, a nearly 40-percent drop. Today, Venezuelan businesspeople are running scared.

U.S. policymakers also appear to have been slow to see what was coming. While Washington continued to emphasize the fact that America was the principal customer for Venezuelan oil, Chávez was aggressively developing commercial ties with such non-traditional trading partners as Russia, Belarus and, most important of all, China. Today, Beijing is Venezuela’s largest creditor; the total owed, or committed to it, is on the order of \$28 billion and is to be repaid with oil shipments — 250,000 b/d today, rising to 300,000 b/d in 2012.

The People’s Republic of China, along with Brazil, is the beneficiary of huge construction contracts (primarily railways and housing) and reportedly is in line to assume responsibility for managing Venezuela’s aluminum smelters. In addition, the PRC and a baker’s dozen of other countries have signed formal agreements calling for joint development of Venezuela’s huge, extra-heavy oil reserves. However, China is the only one of these nations with the financial capacity to undertake its share of a project worth between five and seven billion dollars.

More important, however, in terms of U.S. interests in the region, is the fact that Chávez has aggressively supported radical groups in several countries, providing them with financing and tactical and strategic support. He has

*It is difficult to imagine  
a worse mistake for  
the U.S. than to impose  
sanctions against Caracas.*

strongly backed the rise to power of Evo Morales in Bolivia, Rafael Correa in Ecuador and Manuel Zelaya in Honduras (elected, then deposed), as well as the re-emergence of Daniel Ortega in Nicaragua, and has propped up Fidel Castro in Cuba.

Chávez-backed candidates in several other countries came close to gaining power in 2006, as well, including Perú (Ollanta Humala) and Mexico (Andrés Manuel López Obrador).

Chávez’s efforts to gain influence in Argentina included providing sufficient cash so that it could break relations with the International Monetary Fund (a particular *bête noire* for leftists). Even so, one gets the impression that the Argentines played him for a chump, accepting his cash and contracts but ignoring most of his ideological and anti-Yankee initiatives.

Likewise, Chávez reportedly supported Brazilian President Lula da Silva’s Workers’ Party, but his influence there was not decisive. Like the Argentines, the Brazilians exploited the relationship with Chávez to sell goods and services (especially in the construction field) to Venezuela. But neither Lula nor his elected successor, Dilma Rousseff, has been beholden to Chávez.

On the contrary, Rousseff seems to be putting distance between herself and Chávez thanks to improved U.S. diplomacy in the region, including visits by Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama. Still, there’s a lot more Washington could do to counter Chávez, such as lifting the burdensome tariff on ethanol imports and lobbying for Brazil to be assigned a permanent seat on the U.N. Security Council.

Another Chávez stratagem that appears to have been underestimated by U.S. policymakers was his campaign to position himself as a leader of the Third World. During the past 13 years, Chávez has forged closer links to the likes of Iran, Syria, Russia, Belarus and Libya. He has purchased huge quantities of arms from Moscow and, at one point, he offered the Russian Navy free access to Venezuelan ports — a measure clearly intended as an affront to Washington.

More worrisome still is Chávez’s continuing support for such terrorist groups as the Colombian FARC (which he lobbied to have declared “belligerents”) and Spain’s ETA, as well as such Middle Eastern extremist groups as Hezbollah and Hamas.

## FOCUS

On the whole, it seems fair to conclude that Chávez's actions have been less damaging to U.S. interests in the Middle East than to those in Latin America. But they were still harmful, nonetheless.

### Washington Wises Up

Over the past two or three years the U.S. appears to have developed the beginnings of a sensible approach to dealing with Chávez. Washington has gone to great lengths to isolate him while ensuring that the region's heads of state are fully aware of the dangers he poses.

One dramatic instance of this policy at work occurred last July, when Ambassador Larry Palmer gave detailed, widely disseminated answers to questions from Senator Richard Lugar, R-Ind., the ranking minority member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, during his confirmation hearing. Amb. Palmer's statements in effect confirmed the veracity of Colombian President Álvaro Uribe's detailed charges of Venezuelan support for the FARC and other narco-guerrilla groups. So there should no longer be any question in anyone's mind as to what

Chávez is up to in the region.

Perhaps with that in mind, the United States, at long last, has begun to cultivate allies in the region after 15 years or more of benign neglect. Visits by Presidents George W. Bush (Brazil, Uruguay, Colombia, Guatemala and Mexico in 2007) and Obama (Mexico, Brazil, Chile and El Salvador this year) have helped highlight U.S. priorities in the region, as did the fact that Pres. Obama only cut his visit short on the final day to deal with the Libyan crisis.

One consequence of the improved policy approach is that many countries, notably including Brazil, are now seeking to put some distance between themselves and Venezuela. Still, none has gone so far as to reject the cash contributions Chávez continues to send their way, especially countries in the Caribbean and smaller nations like Uruguay and Paraguay.

As noted above, the U.S. will have to do much more to regain the confidence of democratic leaders in the region. In the short term, that would include ratifying the Colombian Free Trade agreement, which has been await-



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## F O C U S

ing congressional action for more than five years now.

In the medium term, it would be a mistake to try to outspend Chávez. Where the U.S. can do the most good is by cooperating with the efforts to modernize Latin American economies and to create jobs via scholarships, technical support and financial assistance, as well as dealing with immigration problems.

While U.S. policy is, at long last, pointing in the right direction, Congress does not appear to understand the logic behind the policy. Instead, various leaders have publicly called on the State Department and White House to apply sanctions against Venezuela.

It is difficult to imagine a worse mistake. For one thing, there is no chance that sanctions against Caracas would work any better than they have in Cuba, Iraq and Iran. On the contrary, as in Cuba, such measures would strengthen

*Chávez has aggressively backed radical groups in several Latin American countries through financing and tactical support.*

Chávez's hold on Venezuela's economy and political institutions while weakening, or destroying, indigenous, pro-democracy civil society groups, as well as the country's already-debilitated private sector.

Moreover, Latin American public opinion and the region's governments would react very negatively to sanctions. These would be seen as yet another instance of the Giant

of the North using force to get its way in the region and would go a long way to undermine U.S. efforts to promote democracy and prosperity in the region. They would also cause governments to think twice before agreeing to cooperate with Washington in the effort to curb drug trafficking.

Instead, the Obama administration's cautious, low-key approach is the best way to deal with the very real threats Hugo Chávez poses. ■

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## FS HERITAGE

# MALCOLM TOON AND THE MOSCOW PRESS

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MAC TOON HAD AN OPINION ON EVERYTHING, AND WAS NEARLY ALWAYS  
HAPPY TO EXPRESS IT IN WEEKLY BRIEFINGS FROM 1977 TO 1979.

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By *ROBIN KNIGHT*

**D**iplomacy and journalism are like chalk and cheese. One profession is discreet, the other public. One is pragmatic and nuanced, with progress measured in inches. The other is skeptical and black-and-white — effectiveness is defined by impact and headlines. But on occasion, interests coincide to the mutual benefit of all parties.

One such episode occurred in Moscow in the latter stages of the Cold War as East-West relations bogged down in arcane negotiations over throw-weights and disagreements over human rights, while an aging, conservative elite in the Kremlin showed no interest in breaking the deadlock. Almost in exasperation, and certainly in a spirit of shared frustration, American ambassadors to the Soviet Union began briefing accredited U.S. correspondents in the Soviet capital on a regular basis.

The sessions, usually held on Friday afternoons in the embassy, took place on a background basis — that is, off the record and not for attribution. But the correspondents could

use the material the ambassador provided by crediting it to “a senior Western source” or a similar designation — an important consideration since a number of American publications refused to publish anonymous quotations.

In late 1976 the briefings had been somewhat bland, low-key affairs under the direction of Ambassador Walter Stoessel. The arrival of Malcolm (Mac) Toon in December was to change all that. For the next three years the embassy and the American media were to be locked in a tight embrace to the mutual satisfaction of everyone except, possibly, Toon’s superiors in the State Department and his long-suffering press attachés.

“Mac Toon knew how to manipulate the press better than any ambassador I ever knew,” says Fred Coleman of *Newsweek* in a typical comment from one of the correspondents based in Moscow at the time. “We in the media loved him for it, both his style and his substance. I like to think the country benefited from his savvy.”

On the other side of the fence, Ted McNamara, then a political affairs officer in the Moscow embassy and later ambassador to Colombia and ambassador-at-large for counterterrorism, agrees that Toon knew exactly what he was doing. “He had three audiences in mind as he talked: the American public, Washington beyond Foggy Bottom and the Kremlin. He enjoyed those sessions. He loved to be the center of attention.”

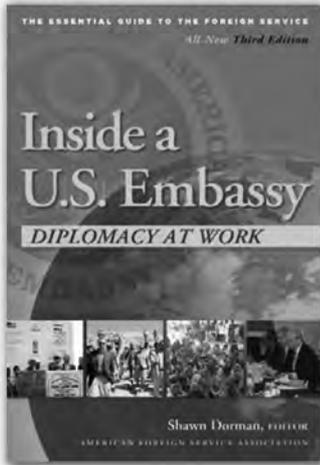
Toon had arrived in Moscow in 1977 with distinct pluses and minuses. Already a three-time ambassador, he was one of the most experienced U.S. diplomats of his era. He spoke good Russian, had served twice before in Moscow and had

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*Robin Knight, Moscow bureau chief for U.S. News & World Report between 1976 and 1979, worked for the magazine until 1996. From 1997 to 2003 he was BP plc’s editorial writer. Since then, he has run his own corporate writing company, Knightwrite Ltd ([www.knightwrite.co.uk](http://www.knightwrite.co.uk)). These vignettes are based on notes from 62 briefings the author attended during U.S. Ambassador Malcolm Toon’s tenure in Moscow, from January 1977 through July 1979.*

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*Already a three-time  
ambassador by the time  
he arrived in Moscow,  
Toon displayed  
consummate tactical and  
strategic skills during  
his tenure there.*

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been involved in high-level arms control negotiations. Against those advantages, he was a carryover from the Ford administration and was not close to the new president, Jimmy Carter, or to Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. He was also detested by the Soviets, who had prevented his nomination in 1973 for his alleged “hardline” views.

Within days of reaching Moscow, and weeks before his nomination was confirmed in Washington, Toon held his first briefing on Jan. 21, 1977. Asked what he thought his role in Moscow should be, he replied, “I think my job is to teach these guys how to act like a great power instead of some two-bit banana republic.” To say that the reporters in the room sat up is an understatement. Clearly, we were in for an interesting ride.

Seven weeks later, still awaiting confirmation, Toon noted that at a meeting with Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet foreign minister had “acidly” commented on his indeterminate status and said that “if he heard anything from [Soviet Ambassador to the United States Anatoly] Dobrynin, he’d let me know.” The message to Washington was loud and clear: stop prevaricating!

Mac Toon’s core attitudes regarding the USSR and communism were

always clear and acerbic, yet ultimately offset by innate diplomatic caution. At his first briefing, he put it like this: “I think I’m a realist. I find the philosophy and the system repugnant. I don’t agree with what they’ve done to their own people and to Eastern Europe. But we have to do business with them.”

On occasion his comments verged on the provocative, as when he announced: “The Soviets are the worst racists in the world — anti-Jew, anti-black, anti-Asiatic.” After a trumped-up incident involving an American businessman, he noted sardonically: “It should be understood that the Soviets can dig up ‘evidence’ against anyone — mostly phony.”

At other times he claimed that “Russian people are notoriously without taste,” that *Pravda* was “a lousy paper,” and that Mikhail Smirnovsky (a foreign ministry official, later a Soviet ambassador to the United Kingdom) was “the only smart Soviet I’ve ever dealt with.” In reference to suggestions that policymakers back in Washington knew best, he once parried: “There’s no substitute for being here on the scene and dealing firsthand with these scoundrels in this benighted city.”

On the reasonable assumption (given the many lapses of embassy security in this period) that the briefings were listened in to by the KGB, there really was no excuse for Toon’s hosts to misunderstand the man. But the strain on the correspondents to maintain the anonymity of these illuminating, not to say undiplomatic, observations proved to be considerable.

Certain topics cropped up time and again in these sessions — negotiations over SALT-2, détente, dissent and human rights, the Mideast, the Soviet leadership, the role of Amb. Dobrynin, Toon’s own role and incidents involving Embassy Moscow.

Space does not permit an account of the ambassador’s take on all these matters. It is, perhaps, sufficient to say

that Mac Toon had an opinion on everything and (except on one occasion) was prepared to share it with the correspondents.

### Some SALTy Remarks

Détente, as exemplified in the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty negotiations, represented the first real example of the huge degree of trust Toon placed in the American press corps in Moscow from the outset. Having just been confirmed as ambassador, he revealed his advice to Cyrus Vance ahead of the Secretary of State's visit to the Soviet capital to present the Carter administration's initial SALT proposals.

"I told him frankly, 'This bird won't fly.' My advice was based on public and private Soviet statements that they wouldn't move. They meant what they said." Normally in life, it is not a good idea to say 'I told you so.' But Mac Toon never believed in ambiguity.

Throughout the tortuous pas de deux of the following two years, Toon made sure his attentive and potentially influential audience was fully up to speed on the talks. At the end of 1978, well before the Carter administration did the same thing in Washington, he detailed the key issues dividing American and Russian negotiators, revealing the cryptography issue for the first time.

Nor did he ever hide his frustration at being sidelined from the SALT negotiations, sniping occasionally at the chief U.S. negotiator, Paul Warnke. As he put it in November 1977: "There are still wide differences. I'm surprised by Warnke's optimism. It's not my understanding that the differences are minor."

Nor was Toon ever at ease with the Carter administration's other Soviet preoccupation: human rights in the USSR. In essence, he believed the importance of the dissident movement in the Soviet Union was exaggerated

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*The sheer unpredictability  
of Soviet-American  
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and inimical to improved bilateral ties.

One consequence was that he tightened up regulations in the embassy involving contact with dissidents in order to avoid incidents as far as possible. He also made no effort to disguise his discomfort. An early human rights pronouncement by President Carter in January 1977, for example, led Toon to say: "Personally, I would not have made that statement" — quite a position for an ambassador to adopt under any circumstances, even off the record.

In June 1977, Toon met with Carter alone for the first time and was unnerved to discover the extent of the president's ignorance of the Soviet system. He also learned that Carter and Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev had been corresponding directly without his knowledge, a fact he shared with the correspondents on his return to Moscow.

By the end of 1978 he was somewhat more relaxed, but still damned the administration's approach with faint praise. Washington was handling human rights, he said, "with a good deal more finesse."

It was the dissidents, however, who triggered Toon's angriest outburst at a briefing. A February 1979 Jack Anderson column in the *Washington Post* alleged that the ambassador was deny-

ing embassy support to Russian dissidents and getting in the way of improved Soviet-American relations because of his "hardline" views.

The column itself was bad enough from Toon's point of view, particularly since he had only recently made a series of speeches in the United States at Sec. Vance's express request to help sell SALT. "I didn't do that to look for a cushy (retirement) job," he complained. Much worse, as he saw it, was the silence from Washington that followed publication of the column — "completely contemptible." From then on, Toon was convinced that unnamed "small minds (in Foggy Bottom) who get great delight out of sniping at people at or near the top" were responsible for the leaked details of embassy procedures contained in Anderson's report.

Generally, though, Toon was careful not to get involved in Washington infighting or to step over the policy line. According to McNamara, the ambassador "did not get into trouble with Washington even if some officials disliked his high profile." So he continued to call it as he saw it.

In January 1978, he met with the president again on a visit to the States. At this meeting he informed Carter that U.S.-Soviet relations "were bad — 3½ out of 10, and they are probably going to get worse" — and made sure the U.S. press corps in Moscow knew what he had told the president, who had not yet met the Soviet leadership.

### Comments on the Soviet Leadership

The insider role in superpower relations that his opposite number, Anatoly Dobrynin, played was a constant irritant throughout this period. Toon cordially disliked Dobrynin, blaming him, among other things, for trying to block his earlier ambassadorial appointment to Israel. But his real gripe was the way Vance preferred to deal directly with the Soviets, especially on

SALT, through Dobrynin rather than via the U.S. embassy in Moscow.

Briefing after briefing produced examples of Toon's seething resentment on this topic. "It's the primary job of the American ambassador in Moscow to interpret Soviet motives and actions — not for the Soviet ambassador in Washington to do this direct[ly]," is one typical quote from the period.

In June 1978, following the trial of Soviet dissident Anatoly Shcharansky, Toon upbraided Dobrynin for shirking "his share of joint responsibility" for limiting the ensuing tension in bilateral relations. Then, as the SALT negotiations reached their climax, he let slip that he had been "overruled" in his opposition to Dobrynin's involvement. "There should be double-tracking," he observed pointedly.

As the Vienna Summit of June 1979 drew near, Toon continued his offensive, saying straight out that Vance's reliance on Dobrynin had weakened the American negotiating position. "It was a mistake," he argued. "It led to errors in presentation of the American position and to the Soviets downgrading the U.S. embassy in Moscow deliberately. If this trend deepens and broadens, we won't need an embassy here at all." He added that he planned to tell Vance this in Vienna. Whether he did is not recorded.

Throughout these years the health, competence and intellectual capacity of the aging Soviet leadership fascinated all Western analysts based in Moscow. Toon set out to use his position to pry open the Kremlin by requesting meetings with all and sundry in the Politburo, using the press briefings to let the Russians know his intentions in advance. This initiative produced patchy results — and Toon's candid views on the various individuals he did manage to meet cannot have helped much.

Leonid Brezhnev, he declared once, "has really seriously deteriorated. His eyes are opaque. He can't focus properly." The Kremlin's world-

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*Amb. Toon had three audiences in mind as he talked: the American public, Washington beyond Foggy Bottom and the Kremlin.*

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view was another target. "The Soviet leadership has a totally simplistic view of how the U.S. system works," he complained in mid-1978.

Boris Ponomarev, a longtime Politburo member with responsibility for Third World relations, was a particular bete noire. In November 1978, Toon reported a "vigorous exchange" with the dyed-in-the-wool Marxist ideologue, during which he ended up telling Ponomarev, as he later recalled, that "my view is that 12 U.S. senators are more important to the USSR than Ethiopia." He also relentlessly pursued a potential Brezhnev replacement, Grigory Romanov. When he did finally meet the Leningrad party boss, he dismissed him as "emotional, short and peppery," and said Romanov "did a lot of shooting from the hip — a smart arse."

Still, Toon was not prescient about the future of the USSR. He consistently favored Andrei Kirilenko to take over from Brezhnev, never saw Yuri Andropov as a serious candidate and dismissed Konstantin Chernenko as a "paper-shuffler." Forecasting that it would be "50, 60, 70 years before you see a basic change in the Soviet world outlook," he was equally withering toward the notion that a new generation of leaders would differ much from the Brezhnev generation. He argued that

"no basic internal changes (are likely) for a long, long time to come."

By this stage the reader may well be wondering how Toon avoided being recalled by Washington or expelled by the Soviets. Walking the fine line he did in these weekly briefings required consummate tactical and strategic skill to avoid being drawn out too far beyond U.S. policy, while remaining true to himself and getting his message out.

### **Lively Exchanges**

Toon, who turned 61 in 1977, was at the height of his powers: a superior operator, a four-time ambassador with decades of international experience under his belt and a born leader on his last foreign assignment, who owed little to Vance or Carter. He was helped, too, by the caliber of his audience.

As with diplomats, the U.S. media tended to send its brightest and best to serve in Moscow during the Cold War. Between 1977 and 1979 the 25 American-accredited reporters in the Soviet capital included two future Pulitzer Prize winners, four future foreign editors, the authors of half a dozen books on the USSR, a future New York publisher, a future head of Radio Liberty/Radio Free Europe and National Public Radio, and a Rhodes Scholar. They understood the rules of the game and often gave as good as they got. Ambassador McNamara remembers Toon leaving one particularly lively briefing and saying to him, "I enjoyed that."

Yet the sheer unpredictability of Soviet-American relations throughout the period constantly threatened to wrong-foot even the savviest envoy. And as Toon neared the end of his time in Moscow, things seemed to get steadily worse.

A succession of staged incidents involving the embassy, American journalists and U.S. business representatives in the Soviet capital threatened SALT's passage and suggested the Kremlin was losing interest in a more constructive relationship. It was a test-

ing time for everyone, including the ambassador.

In Washington the hunt for palliatives got under way, and the perception spread that only an arms control deal would improve matters. Toon, ever the realist, was having none of it.

“Just because we reach agreement, it is not suddenly going to mean sweetness and light in Soviet-American relations,” he said, again going out on a limb. “We can expect continuing problems and incidents until the Soviet system changes. But without SALT we could look forward to a serious worsening of relations.” History was to prove him correct.

Well before that point was reached, Mac Toon would have to endure the spectacle of Carter kissing Brezhnev at the Vienna summit, and watch from the sidelines as the final details of the SALT agreement were hammered out without his input. Frustration over

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*Toon's core attitudes  
regarding the USSR and  
communism were always  
clear and acerbic, yet  
ultimately offset by innate  
diplomatic caution.*

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those developments led to his single most politically explosive comment to those Moscow-based correspondents who had followed him to the Austrian capital.

Amb. Toon briefed his regular audience on the evening of June 18, 1979,

the final day of the meeting. Asked his views on SALT-2, he said: “Whether or not I support it will depend on whether it is verifiable. At the moment I’m not sure. I have to be certain none of the verification rests on trust. So before I go public I have to have more information than I have now.” Not content with this bombshell, he went on to pour scorn on the so-called ‘Spirit of Vienna’ proclaimed by Carter, declaring that “it doesn’t exist.”

Fortunately, as far as I can tell, not a word of this highly damaging ambassadorial assessment ever reached the public. But within five months of that briefing, the Soviet Union would invade Afghanistan, and the SALT-2 Treaty would never be ratified.

Mac Toon left Moscow for good in October 1979, and retired from the Foreign Service soon afterward. He died in February 2009 at the age of 92. ■

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# THE FOREIGN SERVICE BLOGOSPHERE IN 2011

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE BLOGOSPHERE HAS GROWN STEADILY IN SIZE AND STATURE DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS. HERE IS OUR THIRD SURVEY OF THIS BRAVE NEW WORLD.

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BY DANIELLE DERBES

For the far-flung members of the U.S. Foreign Service, the blogosphere represents an opportunity to build community ties, discuss important issues and communicate directly with both domestic and foreign audiences. FS bloggers now form a strong community online. They comment on each other's posts, follow the blogs of fellow members and have developed a great sense of camaraderie.

The Foreign Service blogosphere has quadrupled in size over the past three years. In early 2008, there were only about 60 active, unofficial blogs. By late 2009, that number had doubled to 120. Today, there are approximately 250 active, unofficial blogs maintained by members of the Foreign Service, retirees and family members.

FS bloggers use the blogosphere as a platform to foster personal and professional ties and to facilitate discussion on a wide range of issues. A recent survey by Technorati, a Web site that tracks blogs worldwide, found that connecting with like-minded people and sharing opinions on areas of interest are the top reasons that people blog. When asked how the activity affected their professional lives, most bloggers state that they are better known within their professional communities as a result of their blogs.

For the Foreign Service community, the blogosphere offers the opportunity to share updates with friends and family back home, to maintain friendships after leaving post, and to connect with other members of their global community. The on-

line society also provides support to its members. It is replete with offers of help or advice during evacuations and other trying times. Foreign Service bloggers have even created a weekly summary of the goings-on in their online community called the State Department Weekly Blog RoundUp, for which they rotate responsibility (see box next page).

The FS blogosphere also constitutes an open forum for discussing concerns and brainstorming solutions with colleagues from around the globe. These discussions often focus on issues encountered in FS life, such as housing and overseas schools, but also extend to policy discussions. How to express opinions on policy and on the host country online is a common topic.

The tricky question for FS bloggers is not "What should I put in?" — for the possibilities are limitless — but rather, "What should I leave out?" Most of the blogs include a disclaimer stating that the views expressed belong only to the blogger. However, deciding what to exclude based on potential political impact is usually less straightforward than deciding what to exclude for security reasons. Katie at *Adventures in Good Countries* (<http://kakiser.blogspot.com>) articulates this conundrum in a Dec. 7 post titled "Pause."

"I have often stopped myself from writing things on my blog because I was uncertain of the potential impact. That's been true from the beginning of my Foreign Service career, but more true since I've been stationed here (in Jordan). It's one thing to talk about funny visa stories; how can I talk about human rights issues in my host country? How can I talk about Jordanian politics? Or our policy approach to the region? It's frustrating, because they are things I want people to discuss — things people *should* discuss."

As the FS blogosphere has grown, it has shown an in-

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*Danielle Derbes is the Journal's Editorial Intern. She recently completed a master's degree in international relations at Cambridge University.*

creased ability to influence the public discourse. A wide variety of people now read FS blogs. Current FS personnel read each others' blogs both for networking opportunities and to learn more about prospective posts during the bidding process. Some blogs, like *Best Regards from Baghdad* ([www.baghdadanne.com](http://www.baghdadanne.com)), are designed specifically as guides to postings in Iraq and Afghanistan.

However, the FS blogosphere has an impact beyond its own community, raising the profile of the work of the Foreign Service among the public. The blogs of FS members draw an honest picture of life as a U.S. diplomat and can provide on-the-ground perspectives on issues that are absent from media coverage.

Students and Foreign Service aspirants use the blogosphere as a resource for information on life as a U.S. diplomat. FS family members use the blogosphere as a way to network and share their experiences of living abroad with friends and family back home. And news junkies see commentary by FS employees as a unique opportunity to gain an insider's perspective on foreign affairs.

The ability to present the work and perspectives of our Foreign Service directly to both foreign and domestic audiences is a tremendous opportunity to tell the story of U.S. diplomacy — before the history books are written.

The following is a sampling of the FS blogosphere at this writing. However, blogs come and go, so the *FSJ* cannot vouch for the continued existence of these sites. In addition, the opinions expressed in each blog are solely those of its writer. For a complete list of FS blogs, visit: [www.afsa.org](http://www.afsa.org), and go to "Publications and Resources."

We are providing the following key to quickly identify some characteristics of the blogs:

- Outstanding photography
- ✿ Good resource on raising children in the Foreign Service
- ★ Long-established blog
- \* Blog is new to this compilation

### The Journal

The most common form of blog is the personal journal. These sites are chronicles of the life and musings of the blogger. For the FS blogger, this usually entails frequent updates pertaining to life at post, observations on the local culture and miscellaneous thoughts on life, family and foreign policy. Readers leave comments, creating a forum for discussion of the blogger's experiences.

### The Afghan Plan \* ■

<http://theafghanplan.blogspot.com>

Following his former blog *Face the Sun: Let There Be Light*, this FSO has started a new blog for his assignment with a Provincial Reconstruction Team in Afghanistan. The site is well designed, with helpful bars on the left and right showing

frequently used acronyms, favorite Meals Ready to Eat and brief descriptions of the "cast of characters" whose nicknames appear in the blog. The posts are witty and entertaining.

### Hick/Hitchhiker/...Diplomat (!?) \*

<http://4brianhall.blogspot.com>

Brian, a former hitchhiker and current FSO, is now serving in Ecuador. Brian's blog contains his musings on everything from his current post and his native Nebraska, to the etiquette of kissing cheeks as a greeting and the process of joining the Foreign Service.

### The Guatemala Holla: Kabul, Afghanistan Edition ★ ■

<http://guatemalaholla.blogspot.com>

This blog started as a chronicle of the life of Matt, "a low-level American diplomat" serving in Guatemala. Matt went to Latvia after Guatemala and is now in Afghanistan. He posts regularly about his life in Afghanistan, his travels and the local culture — often including at least one stunning photograph per post.

### Worldwide Available \*

<http://worldwideavailable.posterous.com>

Carrie is a USAID Foreign Service officer in Ukraine. In a Dec. 29 post titled "Humbled," she discussed giving a speech on volunteerism in a rural town. She found her impact as an American diplomat humbling and reflected on her role: "As 'an American,' I find that I'm more an idea than an actual person. I have to think of a way to reconcile that idea of America

### The State Department Weekly Blog RoundUp

The State Department Weekly Blog RoundUp ties together the posts of different FS blogs from the week. Kolbi at *A Daring Adventure* started this weekly summary as part of her own blog. Today, FS bloggers rotate responsibility for hosting the RoundUp on their blogs, and the blogger responsible for writing it often chooses a theme for the week.

Recent themes include household help — "(Before the FS) I never knew..." — and overseas housing. FS bloggers send in submissions from their blog posts for the theme, and the blogger hosting the RoundUp searches through the community's blogs for updates that fit the theme. For example, the RoundUp for Jan. 28 was on the topic of children and languages. Ogles and Observations (<http://oglesandobservations.wordpress.com>) was the host and provided commentary on the topic as well as a summary of posts from nine blogs that dealt with children learning languages.

The RoundUp strengthens the online community by bringing together its disparate elements and generating discussion on the week's blog posts. It also provides opportunities to learn how different FS bloggers address common issues and to catch up on the recent goings-on in the FS blogosphere, without reading through every blog.

To read recent RoundUps, visit A Daring Adventure's RoundUp Calendar: <http://adaringadventure.typepad.com/blog/weekly-state-department-blog-roundup-calendar.html>. — Danielle Derbes

that I might represent with the practical steps I may be able to take in order to help them along the way. This is my job.”

### **Life After Jerusalem ★**

<http://lifeafterjerusalem.blogspot.com>

FSO blogger Digger is currently doing Estonian-language training in Washington, D.C. She describes her blog as “the musings of a two-spirit American Indian, public diplomacy-coned Foreign Service officer.” Before joining the Foreign Service, Digger was an archeologist and reporter for the *Charleston Press and Courier*. She blogs frequently on issues that affect her and her career.

### **Foreign Service Family Members**

The spouses and partners of the Foreign Service make terrific bloggers! Their posts contain interesting stories and observations from their everyday lives that demonstrate how cultural differences affect the FS family while abroad. These blogs generally have greater longevity and more frequent updates than those run by FS employees.

### **Email from the Embassy ★ ❖**

<http://emailfromtheembassy.blogspot.com>

Freelance writer and mother of four Donna Gorman entertains her readers with stories about the challenges and joys of living abroad as a family. She is now in Amman, following three years in China. A Jan. 19 post titled “Tiger Mom: The Story Just Won’t Die” examines Amy Chua’s controversial book and *Wall Street Journal* editorial on parenting from the perspective of Donna’s experiences raising children in Beijing.

### **Short Term Memory ★ ❖**

<http://stmemory.wordpress.com>

Blogger Short Term Memory started writing her blog in 2009 when her

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## *The Foreign Service blogosphere has quadrupled in size over the past three years.*

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husband joined the Foreign Service. She is currently in Nicaragua with her husband and is on the register to become an FSO. She posts interesting insights on Nicaraguan culture, such as the local beliefs about temperature and disease, alongside chronicles of her everyday adventures.

### **The Perlman Update ★ ❖**

[www.theperlmanupdate.blogspot.com](http://www.theperlmanupdate.blogspot.com)

Foreign Service spouse Jill is a stay-at-home mom with two daughters, a son and “one crazy dog.” She has remained in the U.S. while her husband is on a one-year tour in Iraq. She updates her blog frequently, dealing honestly with the challenges and opportunities of FS family life, living abroad and (currently) separation from her husband.

### **Small Bits ★ ❖**

<http://smallbitsFS.blogspot.com>

Becky started her blog in 2010 and updates it frequently. Her posts include a section called “FS Kids,” which chronicles the experiences of her four children in the Foreign Service and offers parenting tips, such as how to move

## **Joining the Blogosphere**

### *Getting Started*

First, the prospective blogger should decide on a topic and a purpose. Will it be like a newsletter of the family’s life at post written for friends and family back home? A daily chronicle of life in the Foreign Service? An insider’s commentary on world affairs?

### *Selecting a Domain*

Once the blog’s topic is selected, the prospective blogger needs to find a domain to host the blog. More experienced Webhands may wish to purchase their own domain. However, most FS bloggers use the free and simpler domains. The most popular among FS bloggers is Google’s Blogger ([www.blogger.com](http://www.blogger.com) or [www.blogspot.com](http://www.blogspot.com)), although [www.wordpress.com](http://www.wordpress.com) and [www.typepad.com](http://www.typepad.com) are also common choices. Writing in the Nov. 2009 edition of the *Journal*, former Editorial Intern Mark Hay recommended using Google’s Blogger because of its tagging and archiving abilities.

### *Hosting Pictures*

Google’s blogger allows users to upload documents, photos and other media. However, there are several reliable, free multimedia hosting sites. The most popular among FS bloggers is Flickr ([www.flickr.com](http://www.flickr.com)), which includes privacy options, the ability to share

photos with the Flickr community and options to limit further distribution.

### *Getting Plugged-In*

Introducing yourself around the FS blogosphere is a great way to network and increase traffic at your blog. Get “plugged in” by reading and commenting on other blogs. Providing links to other FS blogs in the sidebar of your blog is also a good way to gain recognition within the community.

### *Privacy and Security*

Security is a major concern of FS bloggers. Google’s blogger offers the option to require readers to e-mail the blogger a request before viewing the blog’s content. However, very few FS bloggers choose to make their writings entirely private. Most keep their blogs public but are careful not to post anything potentially harmful. When FS bloggers are at hazardous posts, it is not uncommon for them to inform readers that they will no longer post certain information online for security reasons.

### *Disclaimer*

The majority of FS blogs contain a disclaimer, often at the top of the right sidebar. The standard disclaimer states that the opinions expressed in the blog reflect only the opinions of the blogger, not the Department of State or the U.S. government.

with kids, find new schools and obtain childcare abroad.

### **The Embassy Wife ❄️**

<http://www.tweekniks.com/embassywife> and  
<http://kellyarmstrong.pnn.com>

Kelly is a stay-at-home mom currently living with her husband in Costa Rica. The Embassy Wife includes helpful links to guides at the top of the page, such as “Five-Minute Recipes” and an “Embassy Wife How-Tos” section that provides useful travel advice. She posts entertaining, well-written stories of the daily tribulations — large and small — of her life abroad.

### **The Both-Spouses Approach**

### **Travel Orders: Our Life in the Foreign Service ■ ❄️**

[www.travelorders.com](http://www.travelorders.com)

Public diplomacy-coned Alex entered the Foreign Service in 2010. Her husband, Andy, is on the register to join as a management-coned officer. Alex has recently finished language training, and the two bloggers will leave for her posting in Benin after the birth of their first child in May. Their joint blog provides the perspectives of husband and wife, entry-level officer and applicant, as well as expectant parents in the Foreign Service.

### **Two Crabs \***

<http://twocrabs.blogs.com>

The pseudonymous Mr. and Mrs. Crab are currently in Manama, where Mr. Crab is serving at his first post. They blog about starting out in the Foreign Service and living in Bahrain, and comment on news relevant to the FS. Their blog has helpful links in the sidebars to resources on expat living in Bahrain and on joining the Foreign Service.

### **Monestel Family Odyssey ■ ❄️**

<http://monestelfamily.blogspot.com>

Currently serving in Bangladesh,

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## *The FS blogosphere is raising the profile of the work of the Foreign Service among the public.*

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Regional Medical Officer Robert and his family write about their adventures in foreign countries and cultures. He and his wife collaborate on the blog, with occasional insights from one of their three young children.

### **The Insider**

These bloggers synthesize and analyze all the news pertaining to Foreign Service life and U.S. foreign policy. They carefully search through news Web sites, press releases and other Foreign Service blogs to find relevant stories. Their work helps to build the credibility of the blogosphere as a forum for discourse on foreign policy and FS life.

### **DiploPundit \***

[www.diplopundit.blogspot.com](http://www.diplopundit.blogspot.com)

Whenever there is an important, engaging or amusing story pertaining to U.S. diplomacy or the Foreign Service, DiploPundit will find it, comment on it and provide resources for further information on it.

### **The Skeptical Bureaucrat \***

[www.skepticalbureaucrat.blogspot.com](http://www.skepticalbureaucrat.blogspot.com)

Meticulous in reporting, the Skeptical Bureaucrat maintains a comprehensive account of diplomatic news with commentary on each topic. Posts are thoroughly researched and draw information and opinions from multiple sources.

### **Muttering Behind the Hardline ★**

[www.mutteringbehindthehardline.com](http://www.mutteringbehindthehardline.com)

Consular-coned blogger NoDoubleStandards declares his blog to be a compilation of the “rants of a Foreign Service officer on the things that matter to you — and matter to you not at all.” NoDoubleStandards primarily focuses on serious commentary on foreign affairs, but occasionally delves into more philosophical topics such as a Jan. 29 post titled “What, If Anything, Does Looting Say about the Condition of Man?” The blog was formerly named Calling a Spade a Spade.

### **Retirees’ Reflections**

Former members of the Foreign Service have an entire career’s worth of insights on U.S. foreign policy and the domestic politics of the countries in which they served. Many of them write high-quality, well-researched posts that provide commentary on current world events.

### **John Brown’s Public Diplomacy Press and Blog Review, Version 2.0 \***

<http://publicdiplomacypressandblogreview.blogspot.com>

A Foreign Service officer for more than 20 years, John Brown is now affiliated with Georgetown University. He focuses on the relationship between propaganda and public diplomacy. He writes observations on current events through this lens and provides quotes and links from other blogs and media sources.

### **Whirled View ★**

[www.whirledview.typepad.com](http://www.whirledview.typepad.com)

Writer and former FSO Patricia Lee Sharpe created this blog with her colleague Patricia Kushlis in 2004. The blog provides retirees’ reflections upon foreign policy. It is a resource-laden blog with incisive commentary and analysis on current affairs. ■

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# AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • June 2011

## AFSA Holds “Rally to Serve America”

BY STEFAN GEYER, AFSA STAFF



DONNA AYERST

Foreign affairs agency personnel came to express their desire to serve and their displeasure with the threat of a government shutdown.

On April 8, AFSA held a rally aimed at showing support for thousands of foreign and civil service workers. AFSA members were joined by employees from the State Department, USAID, FCS, and FAS. More than 100 people gathered outside the State Department in the Edward J. Kelly Park at noon, waving American flags, holding handmade signs and cheering. They gave up their lunch breaks and braved a chilly drizzle to show their support for their fellow federal workers.

AFSA President Susan Johnson stated, “The men and women of our civilian agencies are dedicated to patriotic service on behalf of the American people, just as our brothers and sisters in the military are... We are here to speak out on the importance of diplomacy and development and the work we do to protect our national security and to promote our national prosperity.”

A State Department employee expressed the importance of the role public servants play by stating, “We are directly affecting people’s lives every single day, and we need to keep working!” The crowd chanted, “We want to serve! We want to serve!”

“When people think of federal workers, they don’t put a face to the employee — but we are not faceless. We are patriotic

people who work on behalf of the United States,” said USAID AFSA VP Francisco Zamora. “We, members of the Foreign Service, are who the rest of the world sees most often, we are in more than 100 countries around the world representing the United States. When they see us, they see the United States.”

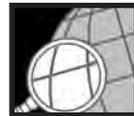
The rally drew a large contingent of media outlets, with international and domestic coverage by the BBC, Al-Jazeera, Japan Fuji TV, ABC, CBS, NBC, FOX, CNN, AP, C-SPAN and the *Washington Post*, among others. □

See page 51 for photo montage of the rally.



DONNA AYERST

# AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



## Upcoming AFSA Book Notes Program

**N**oted author, academic and commentator Andrew J. Bacevich will discuss his brand-new book, *Washington Rules: America's Path to Permanent War*, on June 24, at 10 a.m. In the book, Bacevich offers a critique of the assumptions guiding American military policy. In his estimation, these central tenets have dominated national security policy since the start of the Cold War and have condemned the U.S. to "insolvency and perpetual war."

Bacevich is currently director of undergraduate studies and professor of international relations and history at Boston University. A graduate of the U.S. Military Academy, he received his Ph.D. in American diplomatic history from Princeton University. Before joining the faculty of Boston University, he taught at West Point and Johns Hopkins University.

The program takes place at AFSA-HQ at 2101 E St NW. We welcome all members and anyone else with an interest in attending. Please RSVP to [events@afsa.org](mailto:events@afsa.org).

## New AFSA/TLG Intern Chosen

Since 1992, AFSA has collaborated with the Thursday Luncheon Group to sponsor a minority college student for a summer internship at the Department of State. This summer, the 24th intern in the history of the program will come to Washington for what AFSA hopes will be an exciting experience.

Mathew Tompkins, a rising senior at Humboldt State University in northern California, is studying Mandarin Chinese and spent a semester abroad at Xi'an International Studies University. Originally from Los Angeles, Mathew will spend the summer interning in the Office of India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Bhutan and Maldives Affairs in the Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs. AFSA and TLG co-sponsor a \$2,000 stipend for Mathew to defray living expenses, and will provide him with social and networking opportunities throughout the summer.

## Daughter Continues Support for the John Campbell White Scholarship

**M**argaret Bennett has been making generous donations to her late father's AFSA scholarship for more than 20 years. The John Campbell White Memorial Financial Aid Scholarship was first established in 1967, after his death. After joining the Foreign Service in 1914, White served for 31 years, including as ambassador to Peru and Haiti. He was also the first president of Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired. Amb. White was the son of Henry White, ambassador to Italy and France, and a signer of the Treaty of Versailles.

## The Peace Corps "Enterprise Solutions to Poverty" Essay Contest

The National Peace Corps Association and the SEVEN Fund are sponsoring a global competition inviting the submission of essays that describe innovative ideas for fighting poverty. The winning author will be a special guest at a distinguished panel in Washington, D.C., on Sept. 24, during the four-day weekend of events celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Peace Corps.

Writers are invited to submit essays exploring first-person experiences with small enterprise development solutions to poverty in the developing world. Essays should highlight personal grassroots efforts and successes that can serve as models for creating prosperity around the world. Papers that approach this topic through the lens of diverse cultural, religious, philosophical, technical and academic traditions are welcome. The goal is to assemble a collection of essays that is definitive both in breadth and depth.

Deadline for submissions is July 31. Contest rules may be found at [www.peacecorpsconnect.org/resources/peace-corps-50th-anniversary/sevenfundessaycontest](http://www.peacecorpsconnect.org/resources/peace-corps-50th-anniversary/sevenfundessaycontest).

Briefs Continued on page 57

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## Scenes from AFSA's April 8 "Rally to Serve"



DONNA AYERST



## Something Larger than Ourselves

The term “Foreign Service culture” has gotten a bum rap in recent years. For many, it conjures up images of proverbial striped-pants cookie pushers, socially privileged graduates of the same Ivy League schools united by a lack of diversity, uniformity of outlook, fear of change or innovation, inability to take a firm position, make decisions, operate in the “real” world or manage their way out of a wet paper bag. In short, it calls to mind an image of a Foreign Service that is very different from the one we know today.

An organizational culture is not, however, an inherently bad thing. It provides necessary reference points for new members, anchors a shared set of goals and mission, builds esprit de corps, provides a sense of worth, and provides context for a career that, for many of us, is a job, a lifestyle, a community and a key component of our own self-identity.

From my vantage point in AFSA, I see many signs that the failure of the old Foreign Service culture to adapt to new realities, and a rush to put an undesirable image of the old Foreign Service behind us, has left a vacuum — which, as often happens with vacuums, has been filled by a number of ideas that divide the Foreign Service, tarnish our image and hurt our credibility. Some play directly into the hands of our critics, some of whom now seek to diminish our influence, reduce our salaries and limit our operations.

Some of these ideas have, at their core, the notion that because we do things differently than private industry, the military or another agency in which an individual FS employee may have earlier served, we are doing them wrong. I have heard FS members imply that because we do not sacrifice in the same way as the military, we do not sacrifice; or that because we defend our individual rights as employees, we do not serve as loyally.

Other ideas derive from political mindsets that devalue

(or fail to understand) the services we provide to our country and its citizens. A surprising number of FS members do not have a “big picture” understanding of the mission of the State Department or the range of services we provide.

And many false notions derive simply from the fact that we provide too little training to incoming FS members, too little guidance in early postings and, in a corps in which two-thirds of our members have less than a decade of service, fail to pass on those ideas, viewpoints and cultural trivia that should serve to unite us as individuals and as team members. Any “old-timer”

reading the Secretary’s Sounding Board will see ideas that were old when we started out, but are now viewed as “new” because they were not passed on to the next generation. Many of the queries AFSA receives stem from someone not having information when it is needed.

The Foreign Service truly represents the citizens of a nation whose ideals derive from the shared contributions of one of the most varied populations on earth. A full spectrum of backgrounds, viewpoints and experiences brings much-needed strength, insight, agility and flexibility to a Service that needs them. But it is essential to meld the many individuals who make up the Service into effective teams, a well-integrated corps and a successful community.

As the Service grows, it becomes increasingly incumbent on every member to mentor and guide both subordinates and colleagues, to pass on knowledge, experience and, hopefully, esprit de corps. We are working with management to increase public awareness of our profession, such as fuller use of the oral history project and projects related to the creation of a Foreign Service museum. But ultimately, the future of our culture comes down to the effort each of us makes to become part of something larger than ourselves. □

We are working with management to increase public awareness of our profession, such as fuller use of the oral history project and projects related to the creation of a Foreign Service museum.

## The AFSA Plan

BY HERMAN J. COHEN, CHAIRMAN,  
AFSA INSURANCE COMMITTEE

If you are among the several thousand AFSA members who will be moving to a new assignment or transferring this year, please consider the AFSA Plan for your personal property insurance needs.

In 1972, Ralph Hirshorn and I co-founded the AFSA Plan, an insurance product that covers your personal property while in transit to an overseas location, in an overseas location, in transit back to the United States, and in storage anywhere.

Why is the AFSA Plan better than all the other personal property coverage out there in the insurance market? Ralph Hirshorn has been improving the AFSA Plan steadily since its inception, while providing personal attention and a keen understanding of the particular needs of Foreign Service personnel. Here are some of the advantages:

- No surcharges or exclusions for hazardous posts.
- You are insured wherever you go without exception and always at the same rate.
- No exclusions for natural disasters like earthquakes, tsunamis and floods.
- No exclusions for acts of terrorism.
- Marring, scratching, breakage and denting are covered.
- The premiums for coverage at post (.75 per hundred dollars of value), transit coverage and for scheduled articles (valuables) are lower than ever and less expensive than most.
- Valuable items are insured for agreed amounts. In the event of loss, settlement is for the full scheduled amount. Personal effects are insured for full replacement, including any necessary freight charges to your current location.
- Personal liability coverage is available worldwide for an additional premium.
- The underwriter of the AFSA Plan is Chubb, one of the most financially solid and respected insurance companies.

To purchase insurance or obtain more information, please contact the AFSA desk at the Hirshorn Company at (800) 242-8221, or [afsainfo@hirshorn.com](mailto:afsainfo@hirshorn.com). □

V.P. VOICE: FAS ■ BY HENRY SCHMICK



## Rising to the Challenges

My original title for this column was going to be “Staring into a Deep and Dismal Budget Abyss.” No matter which political party you belong to or which brand of economic theories you believe in, the coming years will be completely driven by budget concerns. The United States and most other so-called developed countries must reshuffle social promises (health, retirement, housing, education and even food assistance) to address serious budget deficits.

So as we, the foreign affairs community, attempt to address our issues — from overseas comparability pay to staffing and professional development — we will be fighting for a larger slice of the shrinking federal budget pie. Fights are likely to be ongoing, brutal and intense. Not only will we need the best financial data, success stories, outreach and lobbying, but a new set of brass knuckles and staff to use them, as well.

Diplomacy is way  
cheaper than war;  
trade negotiations are way  
cheaper than World Trade  
Organization disputes.

### *Financial Data & Success Stories:*

Diplomacy is much cheaper than war; trade negotiations are far cheaper than World Trade Organization disputes. The return on tax dollars invested in foreign affairs agencies is incredibly high. It is far easier to determine a return on investment for the trade-oriented agencies, FCS and FAS; but disasters averted, famines avoided and reforms supported (think State, USAID and IBB) also generate high ROIs. One dollar invested in the foreign affairs agencies pays for itself hundreds, if not thousands of times over. All foreign affairs agencies need to develop more refined success stories and publicize our high ROI rates.

*Outreach & Lobbying:* After developing our success stories, we all need to make sure the general public is aware and appreciates what we do for them overseas. While Defense Secretary Robert Gates has been a wonderful supporter, we won't always have such a vocal friend at Defense. Whether by design or historical accident, DOD has an outreach and lobbying operation that dwarfs anything the combined foreign affairs agencies could field. We — AFSA and the foreign affairs agencies — need to reach out to all voters and to Capitol Hill in a much more intensive and extensive manner than we do now.

*Brass Knuckles & Staff:* For our Hill lobbying, we will need a new set of “brass knuckles” to knock on all the locked doors and to gain the rapt attention of some of the attention-deficit members of Congress and their staffers. Toward that end, we (AFSA) need to consider an extraordinary increase in our dues (per Article IV of the AFSA bylaws) to fund an increase in our congressional legislative staffing. Presently, any dues increase is tied to the consumer price index, but the threat of extraordinary budget cuts calls for more resources if AFSA is to help its members survive the looming fiscal drought. □

## Women in Security and Development

BY SUSAN MAITRA AND DONNA AYERST

Women in security and development, the focus of the April *Foreign Service Journal*, was the topic at a special panel discussion at AFSA headquarters on April 18. Panelists for the AFSA/*FSJ* event included Kathleen Kuehnast of the U.S. Institute of Peace, Jacqueline O'Neill of the Institute for Inclusive Security and USAID Deputy Administrator Donald Steinberg. Julie Gianelloni Connor, director of the Office of Global Systems in State's Bureau of International Organization Affairs and a member of the *Journal's* editorial board, served as moderator.

Panelists agreed at the outset that although many view gender issues as a "pet rock," the inclusion of women in all aspects of peacemaking and governance is vital — not just for the sake of morality or equality, but as a very practical requirement for effective policy. In the conflicts in Darfur and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, for instance, viable settlements and subsequent progress hinge on the active participation of women in peace negotiations.



Audience members take notes and ask questions.

The panelists also addressed such issues as violence against women in post-conflict societies, the ramifications of social networking for women's involvement in developing countries and the need for better education for girls.

The importance of symbolism was stressed. Each panelist remarked on the fact that at most governmental or international organization meetings they attend in developing countries, they rarely



Kathleen Kuehnast (center) makes her point as moderator Julie Gianelloni Connor (far left), and panelists Jacqueline O'Neill and Donald Steinberg listen.

see women participants. Kuehnast, who heads USIP's Gender and Peacebuilding Center, commended the example Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton sets by frequently including meetings with women's groups when on official travel.

USAID Deputy Administrator Donald Steinberg, an FSO and former ambassador to Angola, shared an example of how he strives to get the message across in his work. On a recent trip, he scheduled a meeting with an important women's group before his meeting with government officials, all of whom were men. On entering the meeting with officials, he said, "Sorry I'm late, but I just had a great meeting with this women's group," and went on to discuss the issues they had raised.

While social networking tools have played a role in recent developments in the Middle East, panelists cautioned that there is still a need to broaden civil society and reach out to rural areas, where people have little access to the Internet and cell phones. O'Neill, who co-leads the Institute for Inclusive Security's work in Africa with a focus on Sudan, cited an observation made by one of her Egyptian contacts: "While everyone was on Facebook (in Egypt), the Muslim Brotherhood was in their faces."

A lively question-and-answer session followed the panel's formal discussion. □

### AFSA Annual Awards Ceremony to Take Place June 23

AFSA's Award Ceremony will take place on Thurs., June 23, from 4 to 5:30 p.m., in the Benjamin Franklin Room of the Department of State.

This year, AFSA will present Ambassador Roz Ridgway with the Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy Award. AFSA will also present the dissent and performance awards at the event. Profiles of the award winners will appear in the July-August edition of *AFSA News*.

AFSA members and anyone with a valid State Department ID are welcome to attend the ceremony. Due to Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton's tight schedule, the event will begin promptly at 4 p.m. We ask that all attendees arrive in the Benjamin Franklin Room by 3:55 p.m. at the latest.

# Looking Out for Our Foreign Service Pets

BY DONNA AYERST

**P**ets are family. Studies have found that they not only provide us with companionship and unconditional love, but also help to alleviate stress, nurture us when we are ill, give us a sense of security, and provide long-term physical and emotional health benefits. Our Foreign Service pets also provide continuity and connectedness within our mobile lifestyle.

AFSA's recent pet survey garnered 2,694 respondents, a testimony to the importance of pets in the Foreign Service community. Ninety-one percent of respondents (unaccompanied, married or partnered, married or single with children) stated they have had pets while assigned to an overseas post.

When it comes to the bidding process, many Foreign Service personnel factor in their pet's needs along with quality of schools, employment opportunities for family members and quality of life at post. Fifty-eight percent of respondents considered their pet's needs "very important" (with another 33 percent considering them "somewhat important") when bidding on assignments.

While the survey did not directly ask what would happen if a pet could not be taken to post, many respondents addressed the possibility, with comments such as: "I would not apply for an assignment unless my pet could also come." "I would stay in D.C. and not go overseas." "I am not leaving without my cat!" "I would not go to that post." "I have no idea — it would be a real challenge." "I don't know; I have always been able to, and hope I will not have to face this."

## Pets in Evacuations

Be it a natural disaster or a manmade one, the uncertainty of what may happen to the pet(s) adds enormous stress and anxiety to an already urgent scenario. The current Department of State policy on pets during an evacuation from post is simple: they are not evacuated.

Despite that, from time to time, missions have assisted in evacuating pets from post at the owner's expense, but only under special circumstances. There is no guarantee. If time allows, many decide to leave their pets with domestic help, at a boarding facility, the veterinarian's office or with local friends at post. Unfortunately, evacuations are reviewed in one-month increments, so the decision to return to post could take months.

To remedy this, AFSA has sent a memo to Director General Nancy Powell and Under Secretary for Management Pat Kennedy suggesting ways to include pets in emergency preparedness planning. The memo points out that by doing so, the department and post will be better able to focus on critical emergency tasks, bring department policy into conformity with U.S.

legal and societal norms on animals, contribute to a positive public perception of the department, and support the health and morale of employees and family members.

The U.S. Army has addressed the issue of pets by acknowledging their role within the family: "Although the evacuation of pets with families is not authorized by federal regulations, past experience has shown that evacuees will bring pets with them. Therefore, repatriation centers and intermediate processing/staging areas must be prepared to take care of pets. Families are financially responsible for moving their pets to and from the theater."

Japan's recent disaster, subsequent concern over possible radiation contamination and evacuation of Foreign Service and military personnel from Japan all prompted the Animal Legal Defense Fund to urge Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton and Secretary of Defense Robert Gates "to clarify the U.S. government's policy on whether or not military families can bring their pets with them — or must be forced to choose between staying in harm's way and abandoning a beloved companion."

In 2005, Hurricane Katrina devastated the Louisiana and Mississippi Gulf coasts, a human tragedy of great proportions. The tragedy was compounded when residents were evacuated, but forced to leave their animals and pets behind. The widely published photo of a lone dog on the roof of a floating house said it all.

As a result, the U.S. House of Representatives passed the Pets Evacuation and Transportation Standards Act, which became law in 2006. Public Law 109-308, known as PETS, requires states seeking Federal Emergency Management Agency assistance during disasters to accommodate pets and service animals in their evacuation plans.

## Other Concerns

Even under normal circumstances, traveling with a pet to post can be a hair-raising experience. As one survey respondent pointed out, "The logistics of trying to coordinate safe transport from post to post are enormous!"

My own experience as a Foreign Service spouse offers a good illustration. After home leave, I returned to Kigali to pick up our two dogs. The flight to Maputo was via an overnight stop in Johannesburg. The dogs had to fly as cargo due to quarantine restrictions in South Africa. As I waited for my luggage, I was horrified to see Cali and Hunter's orange crates coming down the conveyor belt: they had landed in South Africa! The

Continued on page 57

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## Book Notes: The Architecture of Diplomacy

BY DONNA AYERST

On April 14, AFSA's first Book Notes program of 2011 presented Jane C. Loeffler, historian and author of *The Architecture of Diplomacy: Building America's Embassies*, published earlier this year by Princeton Architectural Press and now in a second edition. The event attracted a large audience of AFSA members, architects and personnel from the Bureau of Overseas Buildings and Operations.

Dr. Loeffler began by taking the audience on a tour of the history of America's embassy buildings, beginning in the 19th century and ending with Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design-certified embassies. In addition to architectural and aesthetic issues, she addressed the effect that modern security and safety regulations have had on the look, feel and openness of America's embassies.

Her presentation included photos of many embassies built over the last half-century, during which period American embassies morphed from inviting, modernist symbols celebrating democracy and transparency into forbidding, military fortress-like structures. The



Jane C. Loeffler's April 14 talk on the architecture of diplomacy drew a diverse crowd of diplomats, architects, civil servants and other interested parties.

August 1998 bombings of the U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam and the 9/11 attacks accelerated this trend, but now the most recent designs are using architectural landscaping to solve security issues, while returning to a more inviting streetscape.

Her book is the latest installment to the ADST-DACOR Diplomats and

Diplomacy Series. *Library Journal* calls it "a fascinating, readable and scholarly chronicle," while *American Studies International* says it is "an indispensable contribution to understanding our current diplomatic problems and an invitation to think seriously about how to solve them."

Dr. Loeffler is a graduate of the Harvard School of Design and received her Ph.D. from The George Washington University. She teaches architectural history in the Honors College at the University of Maryland, College Park.

The next Book Notes event will be held at AFSA headquarters on Fri., June 24 at 10 a.m. The book, *Washington Rules: America's Path to Permanent War*, is by noted author, academic and commentator Andrew J. Bacevich (see the *March Foreign Service Journal* for a review). Please RSVP to [events@afsa.org](mailto:events@afsa.org).

Book Notes events are made possible by donations to AFSA's charitable organization, the Fund for American Diplomacy.

Learn more about the FAD at [www.afsa.org/fad](http://www.afsa.org/fad), where you may also make a contribution part of our "\$20.11 for 2011" campaign. □



OBO Acting Director Adam Namm (with OBO's Joe Toussaint, Rob Nolan and Christy Foushee) describes the shift toward excellence in design and placing future embassies in urban locations whenever possible.

## AFSANEWSBRIEFS

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### AFSA Elections

Votes for the 2011 AFSA Officer and Governing Board election are being tabulated on June 2, 2011, and results will appear in the next issue.

### AFSA WELCOMES NEW STAFF MEMBER

AFSA welcomes Andrew Large to our labor management staff. Andrew is the new staff attorney in our State Department office, assisting our members with a variety of issues. He was born in Syracuse, N.Y. and spent most of his life in Richmond, Va. He has a law degree from Catholic University – class of 2010 – where he focused on labor, employment and administrative law. Most importantly, Andrew says, he has been a Washington Capitals fanatic since 1989. You may get in touch with Andrew at (202) 647-8160 or LargeA@state.gov.

### FOREIGN SERVICE YOUTH FOUNDATION'S ANNUAL WELCOME BACK PICNIC

Please join us on Sept. 18, from 4 to 6:30 p.m., at Nottoway Park, 9601 Courthouse Rd., Vienna, Va., for a picnic in honor of all Foreign Service families who have recently returned to the D.C. area from an overseas assignment. This annual picnic offers food and fun for the entire family. This year, the picnic will feature a carnival theme complete with a magician, face painter and games. FSYF will provide hamburgers (including a vegetarian option), hot dogs and drinks. Please bring a salad, side dish or dessert to share. All Foreign Service families are invited. Come make new friends, reconnect with old friends and welcome home your colleagues. RSVP to fsyf@fsyf.org by Sept. 17.

### ANNOUNCING THE PUBLICATION OF AFSA'S INSIDE A U.S. EMBASSY: DIPLOMACY AT WORK

We are delighted to announce the publication of *Inside a U.S. Embassy: Diplomacy at Work*, the third edition of AFSA's popular introduction to the Foreign Service. This all-new volume rolled off the presses on April 8 and is now available. The new book includes profiles, day-in-the-life chronicles and stories from 82 Foreign Service members serving at more than 50 U.S. posts around the world. It has been greatly expanded to include guides to the hiring process (State FSO and FSS, USAID, FCS, FAS and IBB) and sections on the country team and the Foreign Service career and life.

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June 8	MQ000	LGBT in the FS
June 11	MQ116	Protocol
June 13-15	MQ110	DCM Spouse Seminar
June 16-17	MQ104	Regulations, Allowances, and Finances
June 20	MQ250	Young Diplomats Day
June 21	MQ914	Youth Security Overseas Seminar
June 27	MQ250	Young Diplomats Day
June 28	MQ914	Youth Security Overseas Seminar
July 11	MQ250	Young Diplomats Day
July 12	MQ914	Youth Security Overseas Seminar
July 14	MQ703	Post Options for Employment/Training
July 16	MQ116	Protocol
July 18-20	MQ110	DCM Spouse Seminar
July 25	MQ250	Young Diplomats Day
July 26	MQ914	Youth Security Overseas Seminar

To register or for further information, e-mail the FSI Transition Center at [FSITCTraining@state.gov](mailto:FSITCTraining@state.gov).

### Pets • Continued from page 55

airline had mistakenly sent them as accompanied baggage, not as cargo.

The dogs were sent to quarantine, while I headed to a sleepless night at the airport hotel. In the morning, the head of quarantine at first insisted the dogs be returned to Kigali; but after much cajoling, he finally agreed to send them on to Maputo.

The AFSA pet survey revealed other concerns by FS pet owners. Many cited the difficulty in interpreting regulations from country to country, the paper-work and health certificates required, airline rules and, most importantly, the health and safety of the animal while in transit.

Unaccompanied tours present additional problems. The AFSA survey asked if there was interest in in-home pet foster care similar to what the military support network already provides to its members. (Military personnel have NetPets, which has placed 13,000 pets in foster care in homes over the last 10 years.) Fifty-six percent of respondents said they were interested in such a service, and 26 percent indicated they may be. Fully 75 percent of respondents expressed interest in a pet relocation program (paid for by the pet owner) that would provide transport for their pet or companion animal.

Having pets in the Foreign Service can be complicated, but then a lot about the Foreign Service is complicated! The good news is that you don't have to face these complications alone. Our survey showed that many people are unaware of FSPets, a Yahoo group at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/FSPets>, and Foreign Affairs Friends of Animals Network on Facebook at <https://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=298021694910>. Join both groups to make your next transition/evacuation less stressful and more compassionate for your loving pets. □

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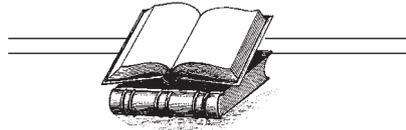
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# BOOKS

## Caught Off Guard

### **The Colonels' Coup and the American Embassy: A Diplomat's View of the Breakdown of Democracy in Cold War Greece**

Robert V. Keeley, *The Pennsylvania State University Press*, 2011, \$74.95 (hardback), \$55.01 (paperback), 306 pages.

REVIEWED BY PATRICIA H. KUSHLIS

On April 21, 1967, a tight-knit group of shadowy colonels staged a coup d'état that set Greek democracy back seven years. In this memoir, retired FSO Robert Keeley describes the coup from the vantage point of a mid-level political officer trying to keep up with a rapidly unfolding and confusing situation, while offering his own prescriptions for U.S. policy — none of which, he admits, were followed.

This book is the first public account of the coup by a knowledgeable embassy insider. As such, it fills in several blanks in the history of Greek-American relations. For instance, Washington has often been accused of complicity in bringing about the coup, but Keeley persuasively debunks these claims. (An official who had been deputy Central Intelligence Agency station chief at the U.S. embassy in

*The Colonels' Coup  
offers lessons for  
American diplomats  
that remain valid  
45 years after  
the fact.*

Athens told me the same in a 1971 interview for my dissertation research on Greek politics.)

Keeley confirms that Embassy Athens had known about a potential generals' coup planned for later in the month, but had no advance knowledge of the actions of these mid-level military intelligence officers. (The CIA did have an informant among the colonels, but this individual had stopped passing information two months before the coup.)

He also tells us that embassy officers had scant contact with the leaders of the country's political opposition, led by the Center Union Party, before the coup. Nevertheless, it had long been obvious that the center would win the 1967 elections if they occurred.

The problem was that the embassy had become so vested in the ruling political right that it failed to expand its network of local contacts to be able to

predict, let alone adjust to, the coming sea change. For example, Keeley met Center Union heir-apparent Andreas Papandreou through a friendship that had developed between their wives, but he had not known Papandreou well. Nor did his embassy superiors encourage him to cultivate the relationship.

If Keeley's version of events is correct — and I take him at his word — the embassy dropped the ball badly. Above all, State Foreign Service officers should have been encouraged to develop contacts with Greeks across the political spectrum, not discouraged from doing so. Such outreach is crucial in volatile countries — and Greek politics are almost always volatile.

Valuable as *The Colonels' Coup* is in many ways, it skims over or leaves out some important events related to the turbulence. These include the behind-the-scenes maneuvering of Queen Frederica, widow of the politically astute King Paul, on behalf of her young son Constantine, who had assumed the throne at the tender age of 24 upon his father's death in 1964.

The author also gives short shrift to the devastating toll the political elite's machinations took on the average Greek. Disruptive demonstrations and crippling strikes remain etched in my brain from the time I taught in Thes-

saloniki from 1965 to 1966: from huge protests during my first night in Athens to a mammoth crypto-communist demonstration in Thessaloniki's center three months later. Disrupted bus service, uncollected garbage, undelivered mail, successive strikes, a caretaker government that couldn't govern — all were under way long before the colonels' coup brought a surface calm to the country.

Yet whatever the memoir's shortcomings, and despite its hefty price tag, I commend Keeley for sharing a wealth of previously unpublished details about a pivotal episode in Greek history. The book offers lessons for American diplomats that remain as valid today as when Keeley learned them on the job in Athens 45 years ago.

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*Patricia H. Kushlis was an FSO with the U.S. Information Agency from 1970 to 1998. A longer version of this review appeared on Whirled View, the world politics, public diplomacy and national security blog she co-writes with former FSO Patricia Lee Sharpe (<http://whirledview.typepad.com>).*

## More Relevant Than Ever

### The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History

Samuel Moyn, *The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010, \$27.95, hardcover, 336 pages.*

REVIEWED BY  
ELIZABETH SPIRO CLARK

In *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History*, Columbia University Professor Samuel Moyn skillfully orchestrates a single theme: the idea of

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**Samuel Moyn**  
**skillfully orchestrates**  
**a single theme:**  
**the idea of human**  
**rights has never been**  
**what it seems.**

---

human rights has never been what it seems. For instance, the concept's roots are not, as some suppose, found in the French Revolution and the Rights of Man. Rather, they are “recent and contingent.”

Moreover, when the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, it did so not to express a new and powerful idea, but precisely because that construct was not taken seriously, especially by international lawyers. Not until the 1970s, in fact, would the West come to define human rights as a “hope for the future” and a “utopia of international law.”

Following World War II, Moyn explains, Western powers were still colonialists, so the concept of human rights assumed the identity of a fight for freedom — which was defined as the self-determination of peoples, not individual human rights. In addition, human rights had always been identified with the state (the rights of the citizen) including revolution against the ruling authorities.

In the postcolonial world, however,

responsibility for human rights was freed from the nation-state. So the time was ripe for President Jimmy Carter's adoption of a human rights policy in what Moyn called “the crucial year” of 1977.

But as with so much else in the history of human rights, Moyn says, this breakthrough was not quite what it seemed. It both emerged from the movements of the 1960s and profited from their collapse. Yet it also owed much to small contingencies, such as newly inaugurated Pres. Carter's need to explain meeting with Soviet dissident Vladimir Bukovsky in the face of official Soviet protests.

As this reviewer noted in a January 1977 *Worldview* article (“A Paradigm Shift in U.S. Foreign Policy: From Self-Determination to Human Rights”), congressional action in 1974 amending U.S. foreign assistance legislation to deny assistance to “gross violators of human rights” was an unintended stage setter for the Carter administration's human rights policy. In fact, the legislation probably owed more to farm state interests than idealism.

That same year, historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. drove the nail into the coffin of human rights as self-determination, when he wrote: “States may meet all the criteria of national self-determination and still be blots on the planet” (“Human Rights: How Far, How Fast?”, *Wall Street Journal*, March 4, 1977).

The view of human rights as universal and transcendent did not last long, however. In the U.S. it quickly became a weapon of partisan politics, as the Reagan administration put human rights behind “democracy support” as a tool to fight communism. The new administration viewed

## BOOKS

democracy promotion as a way to support right-wing dictatorships — but ironically, the shift would ultimately strengthen the cause of human rights.

In his 1975 Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech, Russian physicist and dissident Andrei Sakharov expressed concern that future revolutions would define — and contaminate — the morality of human rights. But as Moyn documents, such worries were needless.

We see the vitality and universal appeal of the concept in the ongoing international interventions in Libya and Côte d'Ivoire — and, perhaps even more importantly, in the idealism that millions of Egyptians attach to their right to vote, which they clearly regard as both their human right and as a

practical tool to stop corruption and repression.

It is hard to set a bottom line on as serpentine a subject as human rights. But Moyn comes close in this excellent history when he writes, “From having triumphed because it lacked a political blueprint, the human rights movement was forced to draw up plans to remedy a crisis-ridden world.” ■

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*Elizabeth Spiro Clark, a retired FSO, writes widely on global democratization both in the Foreign Service Journal and other media. She has been a consultant and official elections monitor for the National Democratic Institute in Lebanon, Jordan and Yemen.*

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# IN MEMORY

**Ralph Helale Cadeaux**, 84, a retired Foreign Service officer, died of lung cancer on Nov. 29, 2010, near his home in Maidenhead, England.

A retired U.S. Marine veteran who was wounded on Iwo Jima, Mr. Cadeaux studied at The George Washington University in Washington, D.C. He then worked for the American Red Cross for four years before joining the Foreign Service in 1954.

Mr. Cadeaux was posted in Italy, Africa, Vietnam, England, Northern Ireland and Israel, as well as at the State Department and the Foreign Service Institute. He retired as consul general and counselor of the embassy in Tel Aviv in 1976.

After retirement he worked at a Geneva-based nongovernmental organization, and later taught at an international university in London. His great interests were traveling and international politics, and he had friends and family in many parts of the world.

Mr. Cadeaux is survived by his wife, Margaret of Maidenhead; his son, Daniel of New York City; and his daughter, Sarah of London.



**Martha Allene (Jane) Painter Caldwell**, 94, wife of the late FSO Robert W. Caldwell, died on Feb. 15 in the Health Care Center at Goodwin House in Alexandria, Va., her home for

the past 17 years.

Mrs. Caldwell was born on Dec. 24, 1916, at the Painter family farm near Goss, in Monroe County, Mo. The youngest of three children, she graduated from Monroe City High School in 1935, playing on the Missouri State Women's High School Basketball State Championship team her graduation year.

After working as executive secretary for Missouri State Superintendent of Schools Dr. Lloyd King in Jefferson City, and attending the University of Missouri, Columbia, she joined the Department of State in 1944. She was posted to Embassy Athens, then in exile in Cairo, where she worked in the code room.

In Cairo she met Vice Consul Robert Wallace Caldwell (1919-1994). Their first date was a camel ride out to the pyramids at Giza. At the end of the German occupation, the couple returned to Athens, where they were married on March 12, 1945. As was required at that time, Mrs. Caldwell surrendered her commission in the Foreign Service upon marriage but, her children recall, always took pride in serving her country as the wife of an American Foreign Service officer.

After Athens, Mrs. Caldwell accompanied her husband to assignments in Dublin (1949-1952), Copenhagen (1952-1958), Karachi (1958-1960), Madras (1964-1968), Addis Ababa

(1972-1975) and Ankara (1975-1979). They also had two four-year stints in Washington, D.C. (1960-1964 and 1968-1972). Her children remember that, when asked which post was her favorite, she always replied: "There is no favorite — each was so very special, as were our experiences there. It is almost like having lived nine different lives!"

The couple raised three children abroad: Wallace Franklin, born in 1947 in St. Louis, Mo.; George Marvin, born in 1951 in Dublin; and Margaret Catherine, born in 1956 in Copenhagen — and all three went on to receive degrees from Cornell University.

Throughout her life abroad, Mrs. Caldwell was engaged in charity work and diplomatic entertaining. She also enjoyed developing her own interests, particularly making stone rubbings of ancient designs in Pakistan, India and Ethiopia that were threatened by environmental and human factors.

In 1995, she donated a large collection of this visual record, together with a complete catalogue, to the University of South Carolina in Columbia, where it is on permanent public display in the Thomas Cooper Library. Many duplicate rubbings are still displayed by local archaeological museums, the library at Yale University, and by family members and friends around the world.

Throughout her life, Mrs. Caldwell was an active member of the PEO Sis-

## IN MEMORY



terhood. Shortly before her death, she was honored as a 75-year member. Friends and family remember Mrs. Caldwell's positive outlook on life, her supportive attitude toward all with whom she associated and her gracious skills as a hostess. She also made a concerted effort throughout her life to keep in touch with extended family and friends; her address list contained well over 600 entries. And as family members recall, she could recite in detail her association with each and every person.

Martha Caldwell was predeceased by a son, Robert Wallace Caldwell Jr., who died in 1945, and by her husband, Robert, who died in 1994.

She is survived by three children, the Reverend Wallace Caldwell of Kirksville, Mo., the Reverend George Caldwell (and his wife, Kathleen Goodness Caldwell) of Alexandria, Va., and Margaret Catherin Caldwell-Ott (and her husband, Derek) of New York, N.Y.; two grandchildren, Tara Nayak-Palmore (and her husband Joe Palmore) of Washington, D.C., and Sushila Nauyak-Millas (and her husband, Orestis Millas) of London, England; and three great-grandsons, Simon, Teddy and Charlie Palmore of Washington, D.C.



**Glen Fisher**, 88, a retired Foreign Service officer, died April 9 at his home in Monterey, Calif., after a debilitating stroke following heart surgery.

Mr. Fisher was born in Nappanee, Ind., in 1922. He received a Ph.D. in cultural anthropology from the University of North Carolina in 1953. He had an unusual career, combining diplomacy and scholarship, that stretched from 1953 to 1999.

From 1953 to 1965, he served as a

staff sociologist and Latin America area specialist at the Foreign Service Institute. From 1971 to 1974, he served as dean of the Center for Area Studies at FSI. His overseas Foreign Service assignments included Venezuela, the Philippines (both at Cebu and Manila) and Bolivia. From 1965 to 1967 he was chief of the Office of Ecuadorean Affairs for the Department of State.

Mr. Fisher was a major figure in the emerging field of cross-cultural and global communications. An assignment as the first holder of the Edward R. Murrow Chair of Public Diplomacy gave him the opportunity to produce *Public Diplomacy and the Behavioral Sciences*, which was published in 1972. This pioneering interdisciplinary work served as a handbook introducing practitioners in diplomacy, business and the military to the findings of anthropologists, psychologists and sociologists working with cross-cultural communication and negotiation.

In 1997 he published his most popular book, *Mindsets: The Role of Culture and Perception in International Relations* (Nicholas Brealey). His books were used in diverse places, and translated into Japanese and Arabic. In 1976 he received a Meritorious Honor Award from the State Department "for meritorious work in building bridges between scholarly theory in the social sciences and the realities of political, personal and cultural interactions in the foreign relations process."

After retiring from the Foreign Service, Mr. Fisher worked as an adjunct professor of international communication at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service from 1976 to 1981. From 1982 to 1999, he served as a professor-diplomat at the Monterey Institute of International Studies in Monterey, Calif., and con-

tinued to write, lecture and participate in seminars on cultural analysis, educational exchange and international negotiation.

Mr. Fisher is survived by his wife of 66 years, Lorita of Monterey; a daughter, Kathy Pampiks of Monterey; and a son, Wayne (and his wife, Joanne) of Ann Arbor, Mich.



**Maynard Wayne Glitman**, a retired FSO and former ambassador, died on Dec. 14, 2010, in Shelburne, Vt.

Known to his friends as "Mike," Mr. Glitman was born in Chicago, Ill., on Dec. 8, 1933, to Reada and Ben Glitman. He earned a bachelor's degree with highest honors in 1955 from the University of Illinois, where he was a member of Phi Beta Kappa. In 1956 he completed a master's degree from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.

He began his career in the U.S. Foreign Service in 1956. For the next 38 years, he served in both the departments of State and Defense in Washington, D.C. He served as deputy assistant secretary for international trade policy and also as deputy assistant secretary of Defense for international security affairs.

Among Mr. Glitman's early postings were Nassau, Ottawa and Paris. In 1977 he became deputy chief of mission at the United States Mission to NATO in Brussels. Next, he became intensely involved in arms control issues as the deputy chief negotiator in the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Negotiations in Geneva.

During the hiatus in the talks caused by the walkout of the Soviet delegation, he was posted to Vienna,

## IN MEMORY



where he served as the chief United States representative to the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction Negotiations. When the INF talks resumed six months later, President Ronald Reagan called him to return to Geneva and lead the delegation in renewed talks with the Soviet Union. Those talks concluded successfully in 1987, when the U.S. Senate ratified the INF Treaty, eliminating an entire class of nuclear weapons, a significant achievement in ending the Cold War.

Mr. Glitman's last posting, as ambassador to Belgium, concluded a long and successful career in service to his country. In recognition of his work, he received the Presidential Distinguished Public Service Award in 1989 and the Presidential Meritorious Public Service Award in 1987 and 1984. The Department of Defense conferred on him its Meritorious Public Service Medal in 1977 and its Outstanding Public Service Medal in 1980.

After retiring from the Foreign Service, Ambassador Glitman wrote articles for many foreign affairs publications and served as diplomat-in-residence and an adjunct political science professor at the University of Vermont. He chronicled his experiences with the arms talks in his book, *The Last Battle of the Cold War: An Inside Account of Negotiating the Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces Treaty* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

Amb. Glitman is survived by his wife, Christine (Amundsen) Glitman of Shelburne, Vt.; five children, Russell of Rutland, Vt., Erik (and his wife Diane Kirson) and Karen (and her husband, Glenn Russell) both of Jericho, Vt., Matthew of Winooski, Vt., and Rebecca (and her husband, Michael Trieb) of Attleboro, Mass.; and six grandchildren, Sarah and Abbi

Glitman, Molly and Alice Russell, Tristan Glitman and Katerina Trieb. He also leaves his sister Paula Glitman, his brother Joseph Glitman, and many nieces and nephews.

Amb. Glitman's family would like to thank the caring staff at The Arbors in Shelburne, who made his last years as comfortable as possible. As he enjoyed the outdoors, especially hiking and skiing in the woods and mountains of Vermont, the family requests that in lieu of donations or flowers in his memory, please enjoy a walk in the woods.



**Donald Keith Guthrie**, 73, a retired FSO, died from complications resulting from Parkinson's disease on March 18 at his home in Albuquerque, N.M.

Mr. Guthrie grew up in Las Cruces, N.M., where his parents were professors at New Mexico State University. He attended Las Cruces High School and New Mexico State University, and he received degrees from the University of California at Berkeley and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University in Boston, Mass. As a Fulbright Scholar, he studied at the University of the Andes in Bogota.

Mr. Guthrie served as a Foreign Service officer with the State Department from 1961 until his retirement in 1991. His overseas posts included the Philippines, Panama, Indonesia and Saipan, and he had numerous assignments in Washington, D.C., as well. His last posting abroad was as chargé d'affaires in Belize.

One of Mr. Guthrie's lifelong interests was railroads. Following retirement, he researched and wrote articles

about the logging railroads in Virginia. Other interests included stamp collecting, bird watching, sailing, hiking, music, playing the piano and clarinet, travel and languages.

Mr. Guthrie is survived by his wife, Judy Stanford; his brother Kenneth Guthrie; and members of his extended family, Simon Stanford of London, Nick Stanford of Edinburgh, Andy Stanford of London, Lauren Sawyer of Boulder, Colo., Peyton and Brett Sawyer of Albuquerque, N.M. and Jonathon Sawyer of Dallas, Texas.

In lieu of flowers, donations in Mr. Guthrie's memory may be made to the Mesilla Valley Audubon Society, P.O. Box 1645, Las Cruces NM 88004.



**Rex Leon Henry**, 88, a retired FSO with USAID, died on Nov. 24, 2010, in a hospital near Lisbon, after a losing battle with prostate cancer.

Born in West Plains, Mo., on April 7, 1922, Mr. Henry worked on the family farm before joining the National Guard. He later served in the Army during World War II, training recruits in Fontainebleau, France, and afterward as a member of the occupying forces in Germany.

Following the war, he returned to continue his education at the University of Missouri in Columbia, Mo., in 1951, majoring in animal husbandry and general agriculture. A recipient of the Alpha Zeta Award from the National Scholastic Society, Mr. Henry spoke French and some Portuguese and Spanish. From 1951 to 1957, he worked as a county agricultural agent in Missouri, Kansas and California.

Mr. Henry's career with USAID began in 1958 in Tunis, where he served as chief livestock adviser until

## IN MEMORY



1961. During that assignment, Mr. Henry met his wife, Lee, and saw Tunisia emerge as an independent nation. In 1961 he was transferred to Morocco, where he successfully closed out the drought emergency livestock feed program for foundation herds and, with Moroccan counterparts, developed the plan to use PL-480 program grains as an incentive for livestock owners to plant and harvest forage for their livestock. This program required negotiation with and coordination of six ministerial departments.

In Nigeria, from 1967 to 1969, Mr. Henry was an animal husbandry instructor and ranch manager. From 1969 to 1973, he was detailed to the Lake Chad Basin Commission as a member of a three-man team to prepare 10 livestock and range management projects in Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria. From 1973 to 1974, he was regional livestock project officer for Mali, Mauritania and Senegal, based in Dakar.

His work required many field trips, often under difficult and sometimes dangerous conditions. Frequently traveling in a Land Rover over sandy trails, he relied on rations when he did not encounter friendly villagers who were happy to share a meal with him.

On one occasion, the only way to reach an isolated village was by camel. A survey for the Lake Chad Basin Commission took him completely around the lake. However, the most awesome and terrifying experience was surviving a plane crash unscathed in Mali, when his Cessna ran out of fuel because the pilot was unable to find the airstrip and had to crash-land in a wooded area. The wings were completely sheared off, but all four passengers were able to walk away.

After retiring from USAID, Mr.

Henry worked for the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations in Nouakchott for one year, and as a consultant on an American project for forage seed production and processing in Portugal.

Mr. Henry was a dedicated professional who thoroughly enjoyed helping others. During his extensive travels, he captured on film many memorable shots of the people and scenery.

He remained busy and active during most of his senior years. He was interested in experimenting with drought-resistant grass varieties, and one species he created was listed in the national catalog of plant varieties in Portugal. But he primarily devoted his time to breeding, training and riding purebred Lusitano horses, a passion he and his wife shared. They also enjoyed making new acquaintances and friends at local and international horse shows.

Mr. Henry recently accompanied his wife on a trip to France and Switzerland to visit family and friends. During that trip, they saw some of their equine offspring, two of which had reached the ripe old age of 30. Mr. Henry's last major trip was to California for the holidays with his son before his life's journey came to an end.

He is survived by his wife, Leonie (Lee) of Lisbon; two sons, Mark of Grand Terrace, Calif., and Jack of Paris, France; and an adopted daughter from a previous marriage, Vicki Bondon of Kansas City, Mo.



**David Caryl Holton**, 80, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on April 2 in Washington, D.C.

Born in London, Ohio, Mr. Holton was an Eagle Scout. He graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Miami University in

Oxford, Ohio.

Mr. Holton spent three years in the U.S. Navy before joining the Foreign Service in 1960. He served overseas at posts in Germany, Japan, South Africa, New Zealand, Norway and Canada. In Norway he discovered a passion for cross-country skiing that continued for the rest of his life.

After retirement, Mr. Holton served for five years with the Fulbright Program. He also served as president of the ski touring section of the Potomac Appalachian Trail Club. While with the PATC, he was a volunteer in the construction of Tulip Tree Cabin, a log cabin on the trail.

Mr. Holton is survived by his wife of 55 years, Dorothy of Washington, D.C.; three children, John of Baltimore, Md., Ruth Holton Hodson (and her husband, Tim) of Sacramento, Calif., and Stephen (and his wife, Charlotte) of Ossining, N.Y.; and two grandchildren, David and Ben Holton of Ossining.

Donations in Mr. Holton's memory may be sent to the Japan Earthquake Relief Fund, the Japan Society, 333 East 47th Street, New York NY 10017.



**Paul Donald McCusker**, 89, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Nov. 23, 2010, at his home in Durham, N.C., after a long illness, less than three months after the death of his wife of 62 years, Joan.

Mr. McCusker was born on Sept. 23, 1921, in Niagara Falls, N.Y., the third child of Alexander McCusker and Catherine Barron. He achieved early fame at age 13 when he won the title "Boy Champion Speller of the United States" at the National Spelling Bee in Washington, D.C. He went on to the

## IN MEMORY



College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Mass., and graduated with a B.A. in economics after three years. Immediately thereafter, he joined the U.S. Army and was assigned to Stanford University to study the Italian language and European history.

While at Stanford, he met his future wife, Joan Gross, of Denver, Colo., a Phi Beta Kappa student at Mills College in Oakland. Despite growing fluency in Italian, Mr. McCusker served in India during World War II.

Honorably discharged in 1946, he decided against a Foreign Service career, although he had passed the written examination, in favor of obtaining a law degree from Cornell Law School. In 1948, he married Joan, received his law degree from Cornell and was admitted to practice in New York in 1949.

Because he had won a Fulbright fellowship to do research on the Italian legal system for a year, the McCuskers sailed off to Rome. There, toward the end of his Fulbright studies, Embassy Rome, aware of his background in both Italian and American law, arranged to offer him a post as a legal officer.

In that capacity, he assisted American citizens with claims against Italy under the Paris Peace Treaties of 1947 for property losses resulting from World War II. After a year as deputy agent of the United States before the Italian-United States Conciliation Commission, he was named secretary of the commission and legal consultant to the body's one American member.

During his six-year sojourn in Rome, Mr. McCusker became a career Foreign Service officer, earned a doctoral degree in Italian law from the University of Rome and lectured

in Italian throughout Italy on comparative political-legal topics. The couple's first two children, Karen and Mary, were born in Rome.

Transferred to the Department of State in Washington in 1955, Mr. McCusker discovered — as he put it at the time — what it was like to be a bureaucrat rather than a diplomat. He nonetheless became an expert in international judicial assistance and the functions of consular officers. His next posting was to Hamburg, where he was chief of the consular section and then of the economic and commercial section. The couple's son Paul Alexander was born there.

In 1963 Mr. McCusker was named to the U.S. delegation to the Vienna conference on the multilateral Convention on Consular Relations, which was adopted that same year.

In 1965, the family moved to Jakarta, where Mr. McCusker was counselor of economic affairs. His tenure included the 1965-1966 period of political upheaval, when embassy families were evacuated and President Sukarno was eased out of power by Suharto. During this assignment, Mr. McCusker's fourth child, Ian Francis, was born in Penang.

Mr. McCusker left the Foreign Service to join the United Nations in 1969. He was with the U.N. for 13 years, including a stint with the United Nations International Development Organization in Vienna from 1973 to 1976. He and his family were residents of Pelham, N.Y., during the years of his service with the U.N. Secretariat. He retired from the position of director of professional recruitment services at the U.N. Secretariat in 1982.

After leaving the United Nations, Mr. McCusker practiced law with the

New York law firm of Garrity, Connolly, Lewis, Lowry & Grimes. As adjunct professor at Long Island University, he also taught a course on public international law to graduate students.

In 1993, Mr. McCusker withdrew from what had become the law firm of Garrity & McCusker, but continued to do pro bono legal work. He also translated a book, *The Popes: Histories and Secrets* by Claudio Rendina, from Italian into English.

In 1999, the McCuskers moved to Durham, N.C. They loved their adopted home and were active in cultural groups in the community. Mr. McCusker continued to teach courses in international law at the Duke Institute for Learning in Retirement and work on estates and wills until just a few years ago. Fluent in several languages, he was a lover of classical music, particularly opera, and an adept bridge player.

In 1985, his youngest son, Ian Francis, died tragically in an accident playing Frisbee at Georgetown University, where he was a freshman.

Mr. McCusker leaves three children: Karen McCusker of Chevy, France, Mary McCusker McLoughney of Chapel Hill, N.C., and Paul Alexander McCusker of Maconnex, France; five grandchildren, Claire McCusker, Tessa and Rory McLoughney, and Daniel and Samuel McCusker Alvarez; and two step-grandchildren, Daragh and Niamh McLoughney of Dublin, Ireland.

Memorial donations to the scholarship fund set up for Ian at Georgetown University are welcome. Please send them to: Georgetown University Office of Advancement, Attn: Jessica Perlman, 2115 Wisconsin Avenue NW, Suite 500, Washington DC 20007.

## IN MEMORY



**Paul Andrew Modic**, 86, a retired Foreign Service officer and former Voice of America executive, died on Feb. 12 in Berlin, Md., of complications from Parkinson's disease.

Mr. Modic was born in Cleveland, Ohio, on Feb. 26, 1924. After high school, he entered the U.S. Naval Reserve Officers Training Program. He served as a fire control officer on a destroyer in the Pacific at the end of World War II. After the war, thanks to the GI Bill, he completed his higher education, graduating from Oberlin College in 1948 with a B.A. in political science.

Mr. Modic worked as a reporter for the *Providence Journal* and the *Cleveland News* before joining the Foreign Service in 1951. His diplomatic career

included assignments in Burma, Hong Kong, Lebanon, Germany, Japan — where he was the deputy commissioner general of the U.S. Pavilion at the 1970 World Fair in Osaka — and Washington, D.C. From 1976 to 1979 he served as director of programs at the Voice of America.

Following retirement, Mr. Modic settled in Bethesda, Md. He was appointed to four two-year terms with the Foreign Service Grievance Board, and volunteered in the Clinton administration's Office of Presidential Correspondence, where he wrote the Proclamation for National Pearl Harbor Remembrance Day. Mr. Modic was a longtime member of the D.C. chapter of the Barbershop Harmony Society.

His wife of 50 years, Lois M. Modic, died in 2004. He is survived by a sister, Mildred Barba of Euclid, Ohio; a stepdaughter, Diane D. Wayman of Berlin, Md.; three grandchildren, Seth A. Wayman of Pittsburgh, Pa., Sarah W. Johnson of Germantown, Md., and Katherine A. Wayman of Burlington, Vt.; and two great-grandchildren, Taylor Johnson and Jonah Wayman.



**Jeanne Jaccard Parker**, 87, wife of the late FSO and former ambassador Richard B. Parker, died in her sleep on Jan. 8.

Born and raised in Kansas, Mrs. Parker attended Manhattan High

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School. She met her husband when they were both students at Kansas State University. They were married in 1944. She then transferred to Northwestern University, where she majored in speech.

Mrs. Parker loved the adventure of traveling with her husband throughout his career as an Arabist in the U.S. State Department. She accompanied him to posts in Australia and the Middle East, providing a warm home for her family and their many friends.

Before Julia Child made French cuisine popular, Mrs. Parker completed a course in French cuisine with Madame Petro-Colonna in Virginia and began her lifelong love affair with cooking and good food. Later, in 1986, she received a diploma "D'Etudes Professionnelles" from L'Academie de Cuisine in Maryland. She was known for her unending search for the perfect recipe.

Mrs. Parker organized theater groups in Cairo and Rabat, directing and starring in several plays.

Jeanne Parker was predeceased by her husband. She is survived by two daughters, Alison P. Kenway of Portland, Maine, and Jill Parker of Arlington, Va.; two sons, Jeff D. Parker of Boston, Mass., and Richard J. Parker of Danvers, Mass.; nine grandchildren; and two great-grandchildren.

In lieu of flowers, contributions may be made to the American Near East Refugee Aid, at [www.anera.org](http://www.anera.org).



**Nuel L. Pazdral**, 75, a retired Foreign Service officer and the husband of retired FSO Ronna Sharp Pazdral, died on Nov. 8, 2010, at Fairfax Inova Hospital in Fairfax, Va., of complications resulting from a stroke.

The son of an Army (and later Air Force) surgeon, Nuel Logan Pazdral was born on Nov. 17, 1934, at Jefferson Barracks, an Air Corps station near St. Louis, Mo. Mr. Pazdral's first memories were of Mindanao and Corregidor, the Philippine islands where he lived until 1939. He grew up on Army posts in Utah, Texas, Alabama, California and Alaska, sheltering during the war years with family in the Washington, D.C., area.

In high school, a prize for photography led to his special interest in journalism and his part-time work as a sports reporter and photographer for what was then Alaska's second-largest newspaper. At Stanford University, where he graduated in 1956 with a B.A. in political science, he was a stringer for several local papers and Stanford's school daily. He then worked briefly for a San Francisco daily newspaper before the Army picked up his college deferment and sent him to Ft. Benning, Ga., and later to Korea for a 13-month tour as a rifle platoon leader and regimental liaison officer.

Mr. Pazdral worked for a San Francisco television station before joining the Foreign Service in 1961. His first tours were in Washington, D.C., as a post management officer in the Bureau of African Affairs, staff assistant to the Africa Bureau's assistant secretary and a systems analyst in the Office of Management Policy. In 1966, he was assigned to Copenhagen as a consular officer; this was followed by a posting to Bonn as deputy science attaché. In 1970, Mr. Pazdral transferred to Warsaw as the science officer responsible for a PL-480 science exchange program that grew from \$1 million in 1970 to more than \$20 million by 1973.

After completing FSI's advanced

economics training, Mr. Pazdral worked in the Bureau of Aviation Negotiations and then as special assistant to the assistant secretary for economic affairs. Following brief tours on the Board of Examiners and as the Cyprus desk officer, in 1977 he was assigned as principal officer to Consulate General Krakow. There he reported on the beginnings, in southern Poland, of the democratic opposition publication *KSS-KOR* and the development of the Solidarity movement, as well as the election of Cardinal Carol Wojtyla, from Krakow, as Pope John Paul II.

In 1979, he was assigned to Paramaribo as deputy chief of mission, followed by a posting to Lagos in 1981 as deputy chief of the political section. While in Nigeria, Mr. Pazdral met his future wife, FSO Ronna Sharp, also assigned there. They married in 1983.

Mr. Pazdral returned to Eastern Europe in 1983 as chief of the political section in Bucharest, where he focused on human rights violations under the Ceausescu regime. His final assignment was as director of the Office of Multilateral Affairs in the Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs.

Following retirement from the Foreign Service in 1988, Mr. Pazdral became a consultant to the State Department, completing numerous temporary-duty assignments as he accompanied his wife to her overseas postings.

An active outdoorsman, Mr. Pazdral joined a Danish sailing club in 1966 and simultaneously enrolled in Danish language classes achieving both language and sailing proficiency qualifications to navigate Danish waters. Years later he purchased his own 34-foot sloop and sailed it from the Baltic to the Adriatic Sea and back to the U.K., with many port calls en route.

## IN MEMORY



Mr. Pazdral also obtained his private pilot's aviation license at Bitburg Air Force Base, Germany, in 1969 and accumulated more than 1,600 flying hours over the next 40 years. An instrument-rated certified flight instructor for both single and multiengine aircraft, he taught flying at various Washington flying clubs; was a chief flight instructor for the Suriname National Aero Club; gained jungle and desert flying experience in Suriname and Nigeria; and assisted as co-pilot for an air ambulance operation in Romania.

Other interests included volunteer service as a Red Cross First Aid Instructor, leader of the Washington Ski Patrol (mountain rescue group), and scoutmaster in Warsaw, for the only Boy

Scout troop in Eastern Europe affiliated with the Boy Scouts of America (at that time).

Mr. Pazdral spoke German, Polish, Romanian, Croatian, Danish, French and Dutch.

Survivors include his wife Ronna Pazdral of Annandale, Va.; two children from his first marriage, to Lura Swig — Howard Pazdral of Deadwood, Ore., and Lura Elsen of Portland, Ore.; a brother, and five grandchildren.

Memorial donations may be directed to the Senior Living Foundation of the American Foreign Service.



**James Lewis Tull**, 80, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on March

12 at his home in Alexandria, Va.

Born and raised in Iowa, Mr. Tull received his bachelor's degree and master's degree from the University of Colorado at Boulder. He served in the U.S. Navy from 1951 to 1955.

Mr. Tull entered the Foreign Service with the class of 1958 and was assigned to the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs. In 1960 he received his first overseas posting as a vice consul to the three-officer consulate in Cali (1960 to 1963). In December 1961, Mr. Tull was detailed to Embassy Bogotá for President John F. Kennedy's visit.

His next assignment was in London as a staff assistant to Ambassador David Bruce. Those three years in England saw such events as the Sky-

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## IN MEMORY



bolt Crisis, the Profumo affair, the Kennedy assassination, the election of Harold Wilson and the death of Winston Churchill.

Returning to the United States in 1965, Mr. Tull worked in the Bureau of International Organization Affairs' Office of United Nations Political Affairs. In 1967 he became special assistant to the assistant secretary of State for inter-American affairs, Covey T. Oliver.

Mr. Tull went overseas again in 1969 as the political officer in Montevideo, a position he held until 1973. During this difficult assignment, the embassy had to deal with kidnappings and murder by the Tupamaros rebel group and the collapse of democratic government in Uruguay.

Upon his return to Washington, D.C., Mr. Tull was assigned to the Office of Personnel (Latin America) from 1974 to 1976 and to the Bureau of European Affairs from 1976 to 1978. He was also selected to attend the National War College for the 1973-1974 academic year.

In 1978 Mr. Tull began almost a decade of service abroad as the deputy chief of mission at four embassies: Santo Domingo (1978-1981), Nicosia (1981-1984), Bogotá (1984-1985) and San José (1985-1987).

After his final overseas assignment, Mr. Tull returned to Washington to serve as deputy director of the Office of Career Development and Assignments before retiring from the Foreign Service in June 1990.

James L. Tull is survived by his wife of more than 57 years, Nilva of Alexandria, Va.; two sons, Stephen of Crofton, Md., and Christopher of Virginia Beach, Va.; a daughter, Elizabeth Arbon of Centennial, Colo.; and two grandsons. ■

# PROMOTING YOUR CHILD'S EMOTIONAL HEALTH

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IS THE FS LIFESTYLE GOOD OR BAD FOR CHILDREN?

THERE'S NO RIGHT ANSWER TO THAT QUESTION, BUT THERE ARE WAYS TO PROTECT  
AND PROMOTE YOUR THIRD CULTURE KID'S EMOTIONAL WELL-BEING.

---

BY REBECCA GRAPPO

**D**espite the spread of globalization and the sharp increase in the size of the American expatriate population around the world, a clear understanding of the emotional and psychological demands and implications of an internationally mobile lifestyle — for children, in particular — is still at a premium.

This was brought home to me in a rather dramatic way at a conference several years ago. A former headmaster stood before an audience of seasoned expats in the crowded ballroom to talk about his experiences working in the world of international schools. Transitioning to a new school is easy, he stated. If a parent just drops the child off in the morning and waits until lunch, they will see that the child has already adjusted. Those in the room let out an audible gasp, and when he finished his remarks the audience swarmed the stage like angry bees in a hive. He had committed a major sin in the eyes of the parents in that audience: he had assumed that transitioning to a new international school was easy.

---

*Rebecca Grappo, a certified educational planner and the founder of RNG International Educational Consultants, works with Third Culture Kids around the world and is a frequent presenter on the topic of global mobility and its impact on children. Ms. Grappo also does placements for boarding school, boarding school for learning disabilities and therapeutic school and programs, and works with students on college applications. Married to a career Foreign Service officer, she has raised their three children internationally. You can visit her Web site at [www.rebeccagrappo.com](http://www.rebeccagrappo.com), or e-mail her at [Rebecca@rebeccagrappo.com](mailto:Rebecca@rebeccagrappo.com).*

In fact, making the leap to expat life is always a major life decision. But when there are children or adolescents involved, the calculus becomes much more complicated. To be sure, there has been much written and said about the benefits of raising a global nomad, or Third Culture Kid. By living around the world, children and teens are exposed to cultural and travel experiences that few others have. But as every parent knows, the international moves every few years that accompany the Foreign Service lifestyle can be a real challenge for kids. Some seem to thrive on the change and look forward to the next move with excitement, but most parents are well familiar with the lament about leaving friends behind and starting all over again.

And, at one time or another, most Foreign Service parents ask themselves the same questions: What am I doing to my kid? Is this globally nomadic lifestyle a good thing or a bad thing? There are no right or wrong answers to these questions; but there are ways to protect and promote the emotional well-being and resilience of internationally mobile children.

## What Makes TCKs Tick?

Let's begin by quickly examining some of the major characteristics of a TCK. As first laid out in the book *Third Culture Kids: Growing Up Among Worlds* by David C. Pollock and Ruth Van Reken, most TCKs grow up to be resilient, flexible, adaptable and open to other cultures and ways of thinking as a result of their experiences. They usually love travel, adventure and diversity. Living abroad usually leads to intellectual curiosity about how the world is interconnected. Many of these kids also grow up to be multilingual, and have a lifelong interest in all things international.

However, TCKs can also be rootless and restless, know-

ing that home can be everywhere but may not be anywhere in particular. They often deal with problems in their lives by moving on instead of resolving them; and they often wonder where they are really from and where they fit in, leading to questions about identity. Frequent moves mean that kids must also deal with what Van Reken calls “the chronic cycle of separation” from the people and things they love — in other words, repeated loss and a sense of grief are inevitable.

In my own work with TCKs as an educational consultant, I see all kinds of students. Some thrive in this lifestyle. Of course they also have ups and downs, but overall they take advantage of and maximize every opportunity that comes their way. But I also see others who struggle.

Parents rightly want to know what they can do to help their children become as emotionally healthy and

***Most Foreign Service  
parents ask themselves  
the same questions at  
one time or another:***

***What am I doing  
to my kid?***

resilient as possible. Based on my own experience with kids and the conversations I have had with other experts on global mobility and child and adolescent psychology, the emotional well-being and resilience of TCKs are based on relationships —

positive, nurturing relationships with families and peers and at school.

Humans are social beings; when those relationships are strong, the children or teens will thrive. When they are broken or in disharmony, the kids will struggle. So it’s no wonder that when children move, leaving behind their friends, caretakers, teachers and sometimes a parent, those relationships are often lost or weakened, and the child can be emotionally vulnerable.

**Family Is Critical**

“All research shows that the family is critical,” says Ruth Van Reken. “The family needs to be a haven of belonging and unconditional love.” When she was growing up abroad and had feelings of rebelliousness, Van Reken knew that “there was always a way back when I was ready.” She recalls that in her own TCK upbringing—

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The school hosts Central America's only boarding program in a US-accredited school, enrolling approximately 150 students in Preschool through Grade 12. There are approximately 80 students in the high school, coming from North America, Europe, Latin American, and Asia. School facilities are entirely purpose-built with high speed wireless internet available throughout campus.

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ing, focused family time was reliable, predictable and scheduled. In this way, family members were able to create and keep traditions that would always contribute to their identity.

Van Reken elaborates that children need to know *who* they are no matter *where* they are by identifying core values and beliefs, making at least one part of their life unchanging. She says that while we want to teach our children tolerance, that is not the same as not embracing any beliefs. Without core values and beliefs, “TCKs turn to rubber inside,” trying to be everything at once and leading to confusion about their core identity.

This is vitally important for parents because they can play the major role in setting aside time for the family, and *only* for the family. Moreover, it is parents who most often play the crucial role in guiding their children to establish core values and beliefs.

---

***TCKs often deal with problems in their lives by moving on instead of resolving them.***

---

### **Learning to Articulate Emotions**

Families are also where children first learn to identify emotions and the physical feelings associated with them. Julia Simens, an international school counselor and author of *Emotional Resilience and the Expat Child: Practical Tips and Storytelling Techniques that Will Strengthen the Global Family*, strongly believes that

it is critical to give kids of all ages the “vocabulary of emotions.” As she points out: “We assume kids understand the language of emotions because it’s so basic, but parents don’t always model or let their children practice articulating their emotions.”

They may say they are angry or sad, but they can’t identify or pinpoint what they specifically mean by that without some form of instruction. “In addition,” says Simens, “they need help to really understand their body when it feels a certain way. For example, when is a tummy ache really a tummy ache? What does it really mean when kids say their head hurts?” They can’t explain how they feel physically and relate that to their emotions.

In her role as the school counselor, Simens sees kids go to the nurse or the bathroom just to “get out” or escape a stressful situation. Even very young

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HPA is composed of two campuses—the Village Campus, home of our Lower and Middle Schools (grades K-8), and the Upper Campus (grades 9-12 and postgraduates). The total day and boarding student population is 570; boarding is available for grades 6-12 and postgraduates. Our students come from other Hawaiian islands, many states in the continental U.S., and more than 20 nations in North and South America, Europe, the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific Islands.

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**MARINE SCIENCE AND SEA TURTLE RESEARCH:** Since 1987, HPA has had a close working relationship with the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS), Pacific Islands Fisheries Center, Marine Turtle Research Program, in conducting turtle research and conservation activities. Middle and Upper School students assist experts with the safe capture, measuring, health assessment, and tagging of many hundreds of sea turtles at various sites throughout Hawai'i.

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children can show signs of emotional stress that affect their health.

Rebecca Oden, herself an adult TCK, the mother of TCKs and an international teacher, spent hundreds of hours of her own research on resilience in such children. She found that kids can become casualties of multiple career moves and, therefore, struggle because their coping tools have been “depleted.” Overwhelmed with constant change, they may become less attached and more cautious in forming relationships with each successive move, thus undercutting the basis for a healthy life.

Bigger kids can have bigger problems, too; and adolescence can be an especially challenging time. Some deal with the stress of adjustment by becoming oppositional, or won't get out of bed in the morning because of depression. Some turn to drugs and alcohol for comfort, while others iso-

*The emotional well-being of TCKs is based on positive, nurturing relationships with their families, their peers and at school.*

late themselves. They may act out or shut down. Depression, anxiety and other mental health conditions are more common than one might think.

Children who have learning differences that cannot be addressed ade-

quately in the school setting seem to be particularly at risk. Maybe these kids would have struggled regardless, but international moves can certainly exacerbate issues.

Parental instruction about emotions and getting kids to open up about them may become more difficult as the child moves through adolescence. When parents notice mood changes in their children, and feel unable to communicate, it is often helpful to get another adult involved. This could be a family friend, teacher, counselor or mental health professional.

The health unit at post can help parents find qualified mental health professionals who may be available locally. But it is critical to find help, whatever the source. The two mistakes I see parents make over and over are being too hopeful that things will turn around on their own, and waiting too long to take action.



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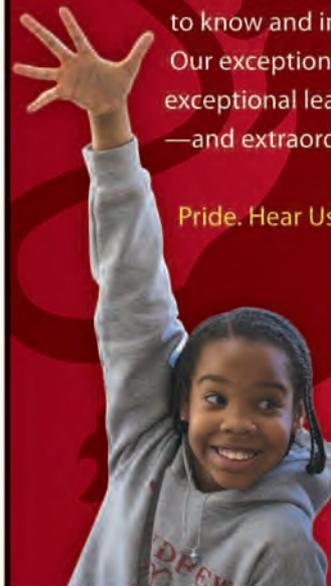
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## The Elements of Choice and Control

Part of the anatomy of any transition is also the element of choice. The more say a child has in the move, the more he or she will feel a sense of control. Even having small choices (e.g., what color would you like to paint your new room?) enables the child to avoid feeling like a victim. As Ruth Van Reken says, “The screamers are those whose choices have been taken away.”

But not everyone screams — instead of screaming, some kids withdraw and keep all of their emotions inside. The screamer might get the attention, but the young person who holds it all in is also at great risk.

This is a delicate topic, as many elements of the Foreign Service lifestyle are not really negotiable. But whenever possible, it is important for children to feel their voice is heard.

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***Depression, anxiety  
and other mental health  
conditions are more  
common than one  
might think.***

---

In those areas where choice is possible, it is also important to empower children and teens to have age-appropriate input.

Knowing that they have been heard, and their input has been taken into consideration, helps young people to feel they have some sense of control over their lives.

## Emotional Connection is the Key

So who are the kids who are able to transition well? Children and teens who can connect well with others, whether it be with their own parents and siblings, or with teachers, friends and classmates, seem to be the ones who transition best. But if having a sense of connection is so important to emotional well-being, what should parents do after their child or teen has just lost all those relationships in their latest move?

Parents need to empathize with their child's feelings, especially as they cope with the loss of much that was familiar to them when moving internationally. With one airplane ride, the life they knew is gone, and there are no rituals to mark a loss than can be quite profound. As Van Reken explains: “If a child talks about grief, then it's because they have lost some-



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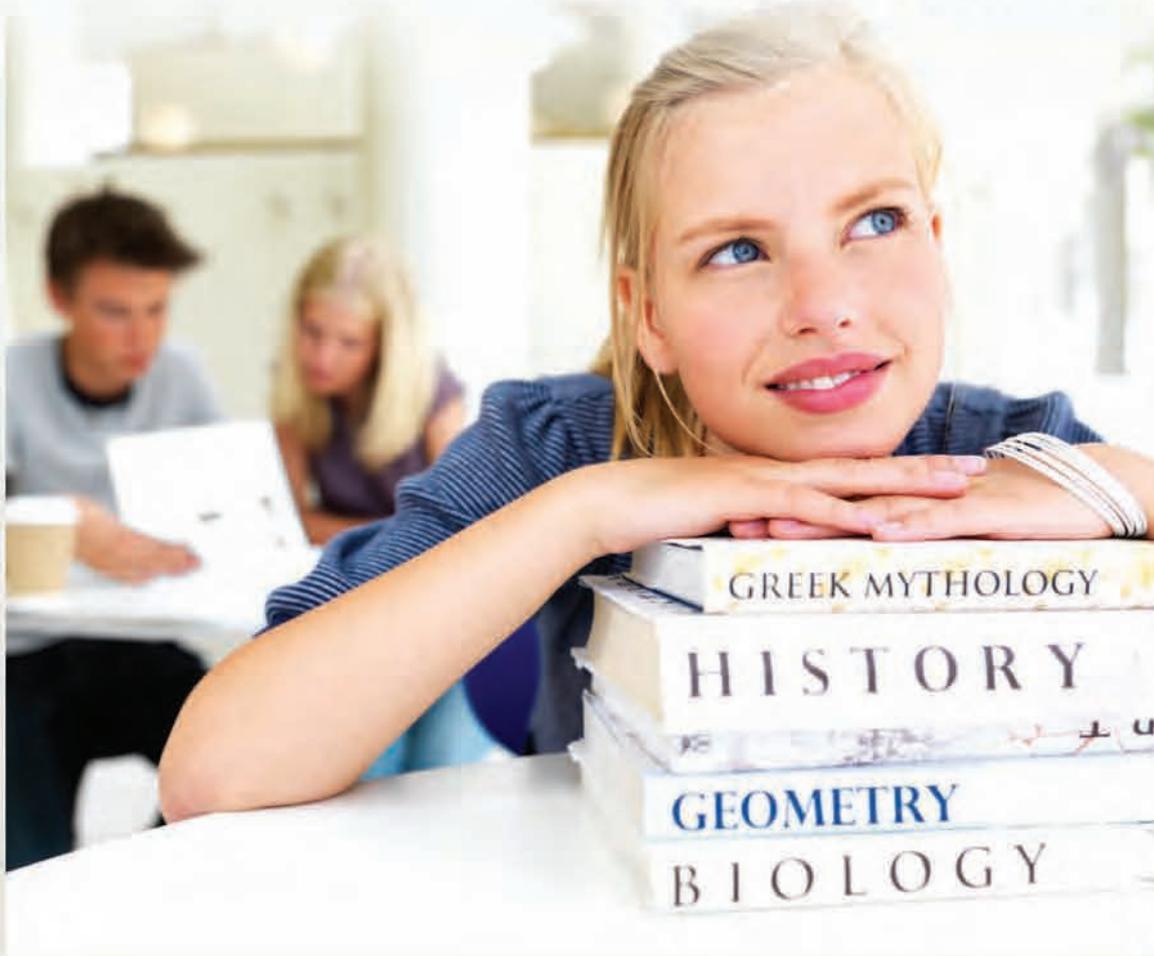
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*Instead of screaming,  
some kids withdraw  
and keep all of their  
emotions inside.*

---

thing they loved. As they process this, they realize the gifts they received in a place were enormous.” Thus, grief is not necessarily a negative thing, unless it is ignored.

It is also important to give comfort before encouragement to a grieving child. Parents may encourage kids to “get over it” because they mean well, but they also need to give kids permission to mourn their loss so that they can eventually move on. If parents don’t do this, the child may wonder, “What is wrong with me?”

But by acknowledging their child’s feelings of loss of a familiar home, surroundings, friends and way of life, and providing comfort, the parent is strengthening the relationship with their child and, at the same time, allowing her or him to move on.

The child who is feeling sad after a transition, or the loss of yet another best friend who moves away, is grieving not only at home but also at school. Kids go to school to learn, but they also go to find friends and social acceptance. Therefore, it is imperative that parents support their children as much as possible as they seek positive new connections and relationships at school.

#### **“Islands of Competence”**

Dr. Robert Brooks, a well-known psychologist and co-author with Dr. Samuel Goldstein of *Raising Resilient Children*, writes that a critical factor in building emotional resilience is for young people to develop “islands of competence” — i.e., one or two things

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in which the child can succeed and develop some measure of self-confidence. Having such portable skills and interests is even more important when children search for a new group of friends or connect with a new school or community.

Kids who lose interest in school, or see their grades decline, may be expressing how they are processing their emotions and their lack of connection. Students with learning disabilities or whose learning needs are not being met may experience even greater frustration and discouragement.

Dr. Brooks also points to the role of the charismatic adult in the life of a child, particularly if he or she is at risk or emotionally vulnerable. The term "charismatic adult," first coined by the psychologist Julius Siegel, refers to any adult who is "a person with whom children can identify and from whom they gather strength." He or she could be a teacher, coach, scout leader, religious figure or other

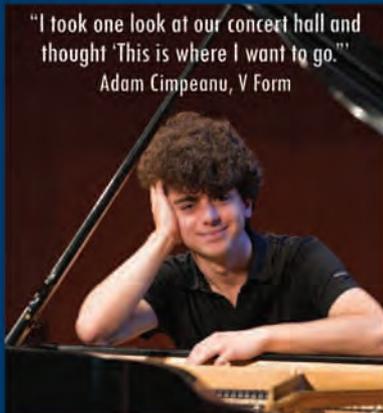
### Stages of Emotional Transition

One well-known transition model defines five phases: involvement, leaving, chaos/crisis, entering and reinvolverment.

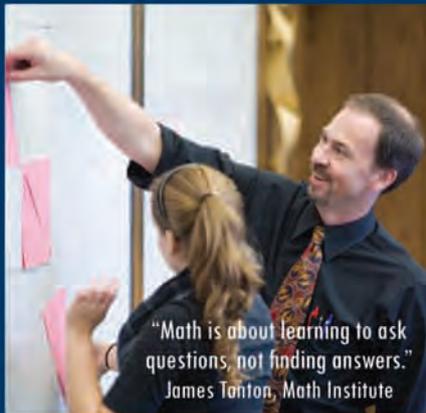
Involvement is the stage when life is humming along, before a move. Reinvolverment happens when, after a move, the family is once again back on track — feeling happy and in control of life. It's what happens in the middle of this cycle — the leaving, chaos/crisis and entering part — that is the great challenge!

Awareness of these stages helps parents and schools respond appropriately. The goal is to guide our families through the transition in a way that enhances each member's resiliency.

— Rebecca Grappo,  
from "Building Resiliency in Global  
Nomads," FSJ Schools Supplement,  
December 2008



"I took one look at our concert hall and thought 'This is where I want to go.'"  
Adam Cimpeanu, V Form



"Math is about learning to ask questions, not finding answers."  
James Tonfon, Math Institute



"Athletics at St. Mark's taught me how to be a better player and a better person."  
John Katuska, VI Form



These aren't just my teachers; they're my coaches, my advisers and yes, my friends."  
Gloria Darko, VI Form

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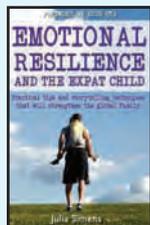
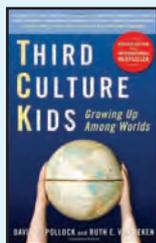
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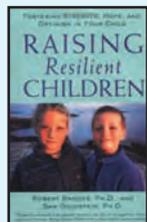
**Resources**

*Third Culture Kids: Growing Up Among Worlds* (revised edition 2009), by David C. Pollock and Ruth Van Reken



*Emotional Resilience and the Expat Child: Practical Tips and Storytelling Techniques That Will Strengthen the Global Family*, by Julia Simens

*Raising Resilient Children: Fostering Strength, Hope, and Optimism in Your Child*, by Dr. Robert Brooks and Dr. Samuel Goldstein



*It is also important to give comfort before encouragement to a grieving child.*

adult in a mentoring role. Having such an individual in the life of a young person in transition is invaluable in helping him or her adjust to new situations.

**A Tall Order That Can Be Met**

Lest the reader conclude that it might just be better to stay home and never move abroad, the children and

teens I work with repeat over and over that they are mostly thankful for the experiences they have had living abroad. They fly with ease through airports around the world, and can easily interact with people who are different from themselves.

Most are appreciative of the perspective and understanding they have of the world and for the huge array of multicultural friends they have. But they also say that the moves and transitions have not always been easy — they did not “make friends by lunchtime,” as the headmaster told his audience.

What they hunger for is a chance to be heard and understood, to have a family that will always love and support them, and to forge connections and relationships in their new home and school. It’s a tall order, but one that can be met with the support of parents. ■



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# ONLY CONNECT! MEETING THE CHALLENGES OF SPECIAL NEEDS STUDENTS

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CONNECTION IS WHAT ALL PEOPLE LONG FOR — BUT CONNECTIONS  
ARE UNIQUELY SIGNIFICANT FOR PERSONS WITH SPECIAL NEEDS.

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*By TAMMIE GANDY*

**L**ast September, three Third Culture Kids converged on a campus in the northeastern United States to start the 2010-2011 school year. Matt had flown in with his dad from New Delhi; Audrey and her father came in from Frankfurt; and my son, Brandon, and I had traveled for two days from Belize. Even before they arrived, Brandon, Matt and Audrey had started connecting. The text messages and phone calls increased the excitement of the day as they chatted about dorms, classes, schedules and friends. It didn't take long for them to find each other when we reached the school, and share their enthusiasm and anticipation at the start of a new adventure.

As it turned out, they were all assigned to different dorms. Matt and Audrey are in facilities off campus, while Brandon is in one on campus. But their daily schedules find them traveling to the local community college together and attending classes. There are a lot of events, activities and sports to keep them busy. And they have the comfort and support that kinship provides, especially in a new environment. For us parents, it was a day of craziness in which we shared cups of oyster stew and pride in our children.

Why is this noteworthy? Why belabor the obvious to

---

*Tammie Gandy is a Foreign Service spouse. In 2003, a year after she retired from the United States Army, her husband, Allen, joined the State Department as an information management specialist in the Bureau of Information Management. The couple has served in Frankfurt, Santo Domingo and Belize City. The Gandys have two sons, Brandon and Kevin.*

an audience of families with children, teenagers and young adults who have this experience every year? Because Brandon, Matt and Audrey are not only TCKs; they are also special needs students.

Connection is what all people long for — but in many ways, connections are uniquely significant for persons with special needs. All of us in the Foreign Service know that our kids have different experiences than many of their peers, especially in the U.S., and often have difficulty relating to others their own age. Life as a TCK can be challenging for a cognitively normal student. Add learning disabilities and/or physical handicaps to the mix, and the difficulties are compounded.

During our assignments, it has often been difficult for Brandon to connect with the other FS kids. They do not understand his disability, or they just don't have the time to give him while trying to establish their own lives at a new post. Whether their disability is physical, cognitive or psychological, a special needs person often feels isolated. He or she hunkers down in the back of a classroom or sits quietly alone observing the first day of school.

But now all that has changed for Brandon, Matt and Audrey, residential students at The Riverview School in Cape Cod, Mass. With the permission of their parents, I would like to introduce you to these three fantastic young adults and tell you their stories.

✂

Our son, Brandon Gandy, now 20 years old, is in his second year at Riverview. Before he was a Foreign Service brat, Brandon was an Army brat. Moving from place to

*Continued on page 94*

## ARCHIVE OF *Articles on Education*

Make this collection of authoritative *Foreign Service Journal* articles the starting point for planning your children's education.

**Go to [www.afsa.org/PublicationsResources/SchoolsSupplement/EducationArticles.aspx](http://www.afsa.org/PublicationsResources/SchoolsSupplement/EducationArticles.aspx) for a PDF of these articles.**

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# SCHOOLS AT A GLANCE

Go to our webpage at [www.afsa.org/fsj](http://www.afsa.org/fsj) and search on "Schools"



## ELEMENTARY/JUNIOR HIGH/SENIOR HIGH

Barrie School	86	400	50/50	NA	0	PK-12	NA	Limited	31	NA	NA	NA	11,750-24,080
Fay School	86	450	50/50	25	17	PK-9	Y	N	25	Y	Y	N	46,800-47,550
Hampshire Country School	97	25	All boys	100	0	3-10	N	Y	65	NA	N	N	48,000
St. Andrew's Episcopal School	78	527	56/44	NA	3	PS-12	N	Limited	25	Y	NA	NA	Varies

## JUNIOR/SENIOR HIGH

Hawaii Preparatory Academy	77	350	50/50	50	20	6-12, PG	Y	Limited	35	Y	Y	***	37,900
New York Military Academy	87	125	75/25	88	10	7-12	Y	N	10	Y	Y	N	35,210
North Country School	99	90	49/43	88	23	4-9	Y	Y	125	N	Y	N	52,500
Southwestern Academy	98	160	70/30	60	50	6-12, PG	Y	Limited	29	Y	Y	Y	30,700
St. Margaret's School	91	123	All girls	80	27	8-12	Y	N	50	Y	Y	Call	43,200
Stoneleigh-Burnham School	98	140	All girls	70	40	7-12, PG	Y	Limited	68	Y	Y	N	48,443

## SENIOR HIGH

Hebron Academy	96	223	63/37	73	25	9-12, PG	Y	Y	45	Y	Y	Y	47,900
Interlochen Arts Academy	97	475	40/60	89	18	9-12, PG	N	N	16	Y	Y	N	44,750
Leelanau School, The	97	42	81/9	98	4	9-12	Y	Y	25	Y	Y	N	51,847
St. Mark's School	85	357	51/49	77	20	9-12	Y	N	30	Y	Y	N	46,900
Storm King School, The	99	135	55/45	75	45	8-12	Y	Y	60	Y	Y	N	40,100

## MILITARY

Camden Military Academy	83	285	All boys	100	10	7-12, PG	N	Y	80	Y	Y	Y	19,905
Marine Military Academy	74	300	All boys	100	18	8-12, PG	N	Limited	1	Y	Y	N	33,000
St. John's Military School	84	231	All boys	100	6	5-12	Y	Limited	90	Y	Y	Y	29,500-31,250

## SPECIAL NEEDS

Benedictine School, The	96	90	70/20	85	5	Ages 5-21	NA	Y	60	Y	Y	N	Call
Gow School, The	76	136	All boys	100	27	7-12, PG	N	Y	20	Y	Y	N	52,075
Heartspring	89	55	80/20	77	Accepting	Ages 14-21	N	Y	20	Y	Y	Y	Call
Landmark School	87	450	60/40	36	1	2-12	N	Y	25	N	Y	N	46,575-62,000
Riverview School	100	200	50/50	91	5	7-12, PG	N	Limited	75	Y	Y	N	69,750

## OTHER

Family Liaison Office Dept. of State	95	Information and resources for Foreign Service families. <a href="http://www.state.gov/m/dghr/flo/c1958.htm">www.state.gov/m/dghr/flo/c1958.htm</a>											
Foreign Service Youth Foundation	99	A support network for U.S. for Foreign Service Youth worldwide. Go to <a href="http://www.fsyf.org">www.fsyf.org</a>											

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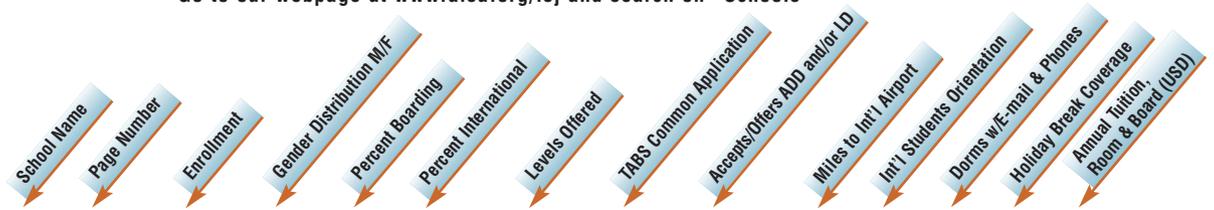
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# SCHOOLS AT A GLANCE

Go to our webpage at [www.afsa.org/fsj](http://www.afsa.org/fsj) and search on "Schools"



CONTINUED FROM PAGE 90

## OVERSEAS

Berlin Brandenburg International School	80	230	50/50	10	65	9-12	N	Y	25	Y	Y	N	42,000*
Country Day School, Guanacaste	75	150	50/50	15	80	PK-12	N	N	40	Y	Y	N	32,500
Escuela Campo Alegre	87	560	50/50	NA	80	N-12	NA	Limited	20	Y	NA	N	21,107
Jakarta International School	79	2,400	50/50	NA	85	K-12	NA	Limited	30	Y	N	***	12,960-20,900
John F. Kennedy International School	99	75	50/50	30	70	K-8	N	Limited	90	Y	Y	N	32,000-54,000
John F. Kennedy School Berlin	85	1,702	50/50	NA	60	K-12	N	Limited	15	Y	NA	N	None
St. Stephen's School	78	255	43/57	15	64	9-12, PG	N	N	12	NA	Y	N	45,503*
TASIS The American School in England	95	730	50/50	25	41	PK-12	Y	Limited	8	Y	Y	N	52,000*

## POST-SECONDARY

Albany College of Pharmacy and Health Science	94	1,600	40/60	80	10	B.S., M.S.	Y	Call	10	Y	Y	Y	35,950
New England College	101	2,450	52/48	61	9	B.A., B.S., M.S., MFA, M.A., M.Ed., CAGS	Y	Y	86	Y	Y	Y	43,634
Northern Virginia Community College	102	78,000	44/55	0	30	A.A., A.S., AAS, AAA	NA	Y	17	Y	NA	N	20,000
Rutgers University	101	56,868	48/52	28	6.5	B.A., M.A., Ph.D.	NA	Y	10-25**	Y	Y	Y	35,222
Savannah College of Art and Design (SCAD)	93	10,000	40/60	30	12	B.A., BFA, M.A., MFA, M. Arch., MAT, MUD	N	Y	20	Y	Y	Y	29,070-40,821
St. Mary's University	103	3,893	40/60	55	3.1	B.A., M.A., Ph.D.	NA	Y	13	Y	Y	N	30,120
University of South Florida	101	40,429	42/58	14	4	B.A., B.S., M.A., M.S., Ph.D.	NA	NA	19	Y	Y	Y	26,510

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Liberty University Online Academy	81	2,000	49/51	NA	3	3-12	Dual enroll/college & high school						2,475-3,150
University of Missouri	103	Online: Accredited high school diploma. High school and university courses. Bachelor's completion. Visit <a href="http://cdis.missouri.edu/globalmu">cdis.missouri.edu/globalmu</a>											

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ATLANTA HONG KONG LACOSTE SAVANNAH eLEARNING

Continued from page 88



At one of the bridges to Cape Cod, Mass., in October 2010, from left to right: Matt Horner, Audrey Hall, Tammie Gandy and Brandon Gandy.

Audrey, Brandon and Matt on the first day of school, last Sept. 11. It was the first time they'd gotten together since May, when Audrey visited for her interview.



***Rather than the typical high school diploma, theirs say “Certificate of Completion.”***

place and from school to school, his disability was not clearly defined and he was definitely not educated to his potential.

Our first Foreign Service assignment was Frankfurt, where we homeschooled Brandon. We concentrated on learning how he learned and how far to push him aca-

demically. A subsequent tour was in Santo Domingo, where we first tried a local special needs school, and then sent Brandon to a special needs boarding school.

Our next assignment took us to Belize, where we worked closely with the school at post, the Belize Christian Academy, to develop a special education program for Brandon (a first for the school) that included a vocational training element as a veterinary assistant.

It was during this time that Brandon's future goals became more defined both vocationally and socially. He discovered that he really was not that much different from the other teenagers who did not have special needs. And he decided that he was ready to go back to a residential program to become more independent.

Brandon's friend, Matt Horner, 19, is in his third year at Riverview. His



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Leah Wallace, Education and Youth Officer  
Elizabeth Robertson, Education and Youth Specialist

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*Audrey had to learn English, as well as a whole new culture and lifestyle; and she had learning disabilities that would complicate the process.*

---

academic journey included schools at posts in Africa and the Middle East, where he received special needs supplemental support, before opting for a residential school in 2008. We met Matt's parents electronically and have communicated over the years about educational opportunities for our children.

It was Matt who led the way for our FS kids at Riverview, his family sharing his successes at the school with us online. Brandon enrolled the next year and the two enjoyed the 2009-2010 school year together there, graduating in June 2010 from the equivalent of 12th grade. Rather than the typical high school diploma, theirs say "Certificate of Completion" — for accomplishing a desired level of academic success before moving on to pursue educational goals that include vocational studies and adult life skills.

Audrey Hall, 18 years old, and the daughter of FS direct hires David and Loretta Hall, is new to Riverview this year. Born in Russia, where the Hall family adopted her when she was 6 years old, Audrey had to learn English, as well as a whole new culture and lifestyle; and the Halls soon discovered that she had learning disabilities that would complicate the process.

We met the family when we were both posted in Germany. Loretta, not

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For more information regarding our Academic Year or our Summer Programs please contact:

Kate Auger-Campbell, Director of Admission

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then in the Foreign Service, was homeschooling her children, too. Audrey and Brandon connected and became fast friends. When we moved on to Santo Domingo, the Halls found themselves in South Africa and then back in Germany.

Audrey attended the school at post in Pretoria before moving to the Benedictine School for four years. During her last year there, the Halls found that she was now ready for a more challenging curriculum, as well as vocational training and more advanced life skills practice, which led them to the Riverview School.

All three are now enrolled in the Riverview GROW program, which stands for "Getting Ready for the Outside World." GROW works closely with the Cape Cod Community College, whose Project Forward program provides a vocational training element in which all three are learn-

---

***In 2005, the FS Special Needs Yahoo Group was formed. It was a very significant step.***

---

ing marketable skills. In addition to finding vocations that suit them, Matt, Brandon and Audrey will continue to receive academic training at the pace and ability allowed by their unique special needs.

Their classes at Riverview in reading, writing and math are designed to prepare them to lead as independent a life as possible when they leave school. Besides academics, they are

taught how to cook, do laundry, maintain a budget, balance a check book and plan their social time, among many other skills.

They are also learning how their disability affects their future and how to market themselves despite the challenges they face. The staff, campus, academic challenges and social opportunities are all just what our special needs young adults require. The connection they have with each other as FS kids and with the other special needs students makes this an academic year full of opportunities and excitement.

§§

How did we get to this point? When I think back over the past seven years in the Foreign Service, I realize that when it comes to our son, we really have done just about everything there is to do. It all start-

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ed with the FS Yahoo Livelines group, which my husband was invited to join when he was hired. There he met David Hall, Audrey's dad, and their similar occupations and family dynamics led to a friendship.

We soon discovered we each had a special needs child requiring individualized educational considerations, and we began learning from each other. Brandon and Audrey became friends during our two-year tour in Germany. As time and tours evolved, Brandon and Audrey also found themselves in the same special needs residential program in Eastern Maryland.

In 2005, the FS Special Needs Yahoo Group was formed. It was a very significant step, offering a worldwide forum for families with special needs children to communicate directly. I quickly became an active member, posting messages and answering ques-

---

***For families with  
special needs children,  
flexibility is a must.  
We are always seeking  
better educational  
programs for our  
children.***

---

tions. It was through this forum that we met Matt Horner's dad.

Over the years we stayed loosely in touch, sharing information. When the Horners made the tough decision to

enroll Matt in a residential school, they contacted us about the programs we had surveyed and why we had chosen the one we did. Matt and his folks visited the school at which Brandon and Audrey were then enrolled, but ultimately decided to continue looking. Their journey took them to the Riverview School.

For families with special needs children, flexibility is a must. We are always seeking better and more progressive and aggressive educational programs for our children.

Brandon has been through it all, or so it seems to us. We homeschooled him for two years, employing a few tutors along the way for some of the classes and seeking out speech therapists to work one-on-one with him. He attended a special needs school at post in the Dominican Republic for a year, until we decided he was not getting what he needed as a 15-year-old.



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After long hours of research, private deliberation and family discussion, we made the difficult decision to send him to a special needs boarding school in the United States at that time, where he matured and learned. Within two years we discovered that he had exhausted that particular school's curriculum capabilities and needed to move on.

He came back to our new post, where we worked closely with the school to create a special education program just for him, including a vocational training element that we as a family had to discuss, research, purchase and find the tutor for. And finally, when the limits of that curriculum had been reached, we had to move him, again, to a residential program.

Audrey, Matt and their parents have had similar experiences. Over the years all three have received edu-

---

*It is my hope  
and prayer that  
other FS families  
find similar experiences  
for their special  
needs children.*

---

cational opportunities unique to their posts, to their situations and to their own particular disabilities.

Thanks to the State Department Special Needs Educational Allowance, provided annually, FS families with special needs children have the

opportunity and flexibility to provide the right education at the right time — whether it is through home schooling, special programs offered by host nation schools or residential programs.

✂

I have often wondered if the decisions we have made along the way were the right ones for Brandon. But when I see all that he has accomplished, the friends he has made and the goals he has today, I have to acknowledge that my son is more resilient than I sometimes give him credit for. He has taught me that being disabled is not a sentence to a mediocre life, but only an obstacle that must be dealt with from time to time.

In addition to formal education, our kids also have had learning opportunities beyond the classroom. Their

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life experiences traveling the globe, meeting many different people and living in diverse cultures provide them the best foundation for as independent a future as they can have. They have a degree of confidence and maturity surpassing that of many "normal" kids. And that is something you cannot put a price on.

Today, I find myself in Belize with both of my sons tucked away in boarding schools. Our younger son is doing very well as a senior at the Hargrave Military Academy, and Brandon is enjoying the busy life of a student at Riverview. It is during such quiet times that I realize that the life and experiences they have had will make them strong, confident and successful men.

It is my hope and prayer that other Foreign Service families find similar experiences for their special needs children. ■

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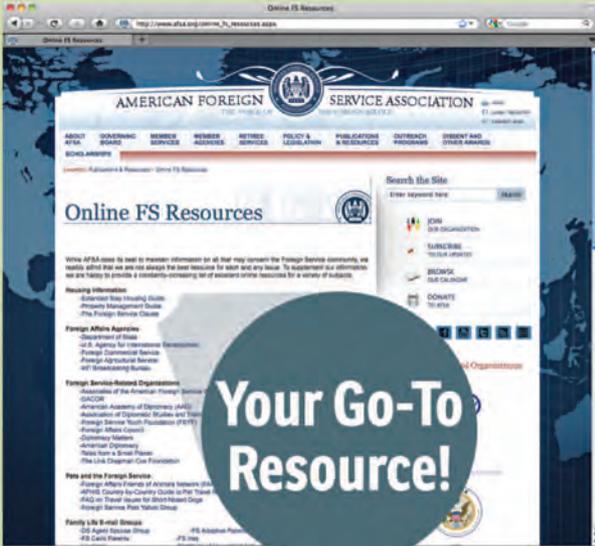
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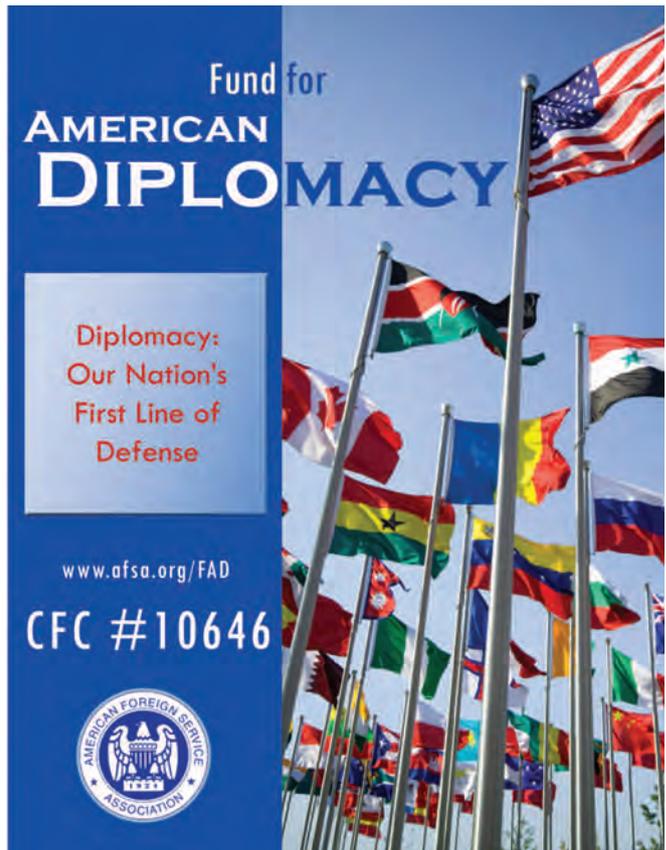
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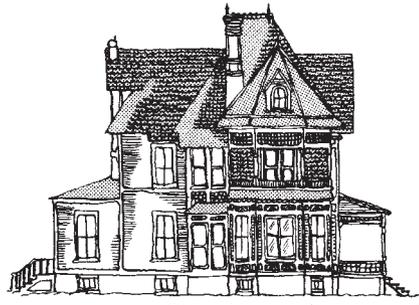
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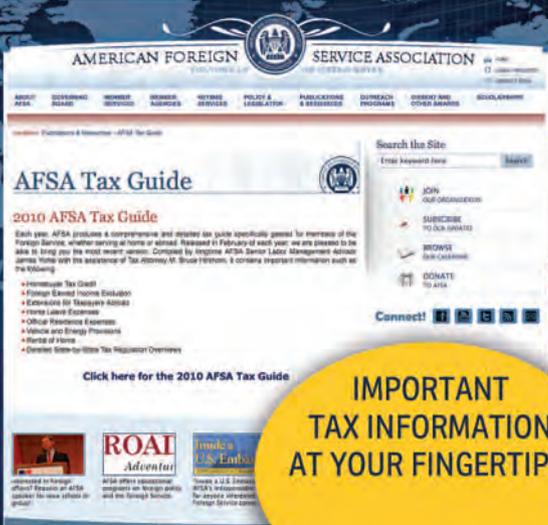
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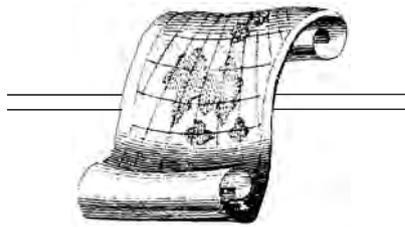


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# REFLECTIONS

## *Room Service*

BY LYN H. WATERS

After two years in Iran and three years in India, my husband, four daughters and I arrived in Turkey late on an August evening in 1960. We were driven from the airport to the Park Hotel at Taksim Square in the center of Istanbul, where we were ushered into a comfortable suite with bedrooms and a sitting room.

We had taken a long and tiring flight from Washington, D.C., so we were too tired to appreciate the beauty of our new surroundings until later. My husband departed to investigate the hotel's famous bar, leaving me to feed the children and put them to bed.

I first fed the baby and urged the other children to tell me what they would like to eat. Overtired from the trip, they whined, "We're not huuun-gry!" But I insisted they have something to eat before they went to bed.

I phoned reception and asked for room service. After about 20 minutes, a waiter in a wrinkled white jacket arrived at the door with a notebook in his hand and a smile on his face, but no menu. I then discovered that he also spoke no English.

When I fished the small Turkish dictionary that I had bought at the air-

*I found the word  
"ahududu" in my  
small Turkish-  
English dictionary:  
raspberries.  
That was our  
favorite fruit!*

port out of my purse, I discovered to my dismay that it was only "Turkish to English" — not the "English to Turkish" dictionary that I had wanted.

Out of desperation, I opened it to the first page and ran my eyes down over the As. What luck! I found the word "ahududu" — raspberries. That was our favorite fruit! So I held up four fingers to the waiter and said in a loud, clear

voice, "Ahududu and Krem" (a word I knew from other travels).

The waiter seemed to understand this, for he beamed and left.

About 45 minutes passed.

The baby was now sound asleep on one bed, while two of her sisters were sprawled on a sofa and an armchair, respectively, also fast asleep. And the oldest had summoned enough energy to take a bath.

Suddenly there was a knock on the door. When I opened it, there was the smiling waiter holding a beautiful tray. On it was a pitcher of cream and four long-stemmed glasses containing — raspberry liqueur.

I sat down and drank three of the four glasses, then fell into bed. ■

*Lyn H. Waters accompanied her husband, a Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Information Agency, and their four daughters to postings in Iran, India,*

*Turkey and Libya during the 1950s and 1960s before joining USIA herself. She served as assistant cultural officer in Istanbul for three years before leaving government service to teach at the Istanbul International Community School. She still resides in Turkey.*



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