

# THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

MARCH 2014



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# THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

March 2014  
Volume 91, No. 3

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COMPILED BY SUSAN B. MAITRA

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CONSTANCE RAY HARVEY

#### 1950s—The McCarthy Witch Hunt: Who “Lost” China?

JOHN S. SERVICE

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On the cover: “Ben Cool,” the iconic emblem of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, is the model for our main cover image, designed by Jeff Lau. Benjamin Franklin, the “First American” and America’s original diplomat, remains a source of inspiration for today’s practitioners.

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# Are Social Media Overrated?

BY ROBERT J. SILVERMAN

In the spirit of creative dissent, which animates all of us in AFSA, let's take a look at the utility of social media as a diplomatic tool.

Yes, this is serious heresy. Twitter and Facebook are important, we are reminded daily, sometimes along with the minor deities of YouTube and Instagram. I enjoy them for their entertainment value, and appreciate their utility in disseminating linked longer pieces and signaling informal messages; but I still have concerns.

I commend the State Department for using social media to expand our overseas audiences. But overemphasizing this tool may come at a cost to hours spent in face-to-face interchanges, preferably in local languages. That's where we develop the type of trusting and committed relationships needed to advance U.S. interests.

The utility of social media is the kind of issue that deserves more space for discussion than Twitter's 140 characters, or even this column's 600 words, and I welcome your feedback.

So, let's take a moment to admit how much fun it is to stay in touch with friends from former posts over Facebook and to follow our ambassadors and principals over Twitter. At their best, tweets offer a haiku-like artistry of messaging.

Following news on Facebook and Twitter can save us time, by providing a daily take curated by others we trust, instead of visiting dozens of websites.



Social media can enliven our policy messaging with new forms and ensure we reach online audiences.

All true.

My main concern is that we just don't know how effective these social media really are for diplomacy. They may offer no more than marginal or superficial ways of influencing foreign audiences. (Note: I am not addressing here their value for intelligence purposes.)

For instance, an Egyptian organizer of the 2011 Tahrir Square protests told me she dismissed Facebook for mobilization in her country. A distinct minority of Egyptians are online, she noted; and Facebook was not a key factor in getting the million-plus people to the Square and keeping them there, or in sparking protests elsewhere in Egypt.

Perhaps the main harm with spending daily time drafting Facebook posts and tweets is the lost opportunity to get out and meet contacts and engage foreign

audiences, as well as exchange ideas with one's colleagues and staff. Those are well-established ways of making an impact and influencing others.

Here is another concern. My wife doesn't use Facebook because it reminds her of

American-style celebrity culture. The puffed-up holiday letters from friends is the beloved, old-fashioned counterpart; but those come only once a year.

In the realm of public diplomacy, by attempting to exploit public curiosity about diplomats, Facebook and Twitter may unintentionally reinforce an unattractive self-regard ("Look, here's what I did today!") that doesn't necessarily advance any U.S. policy message or value.

Finally, there is social media's demand for constant input—otherwise your short-attention-span followers and friends could go elsewhere. If one is faced with a need to send three or four tweets a day to keep one's audience, doesn't that lend itself to trivial messaging?

In short, social media are fun and relatively new tools whose full utility is as yet unclear. I hope that in our fascination with the new we don't lessen our focus on the proven, effective work of direct outreach to key contacts and audiences. Doing that well is more satisfying and fun.

Be well, stay safe and keep in touch.

*Bob*

*Silverman@afsa.org*

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*Robert J. Silverman is the president of the American Foreign Service Association.*

# Coming Home

BY SHAWN DORMAN

I am honored and humbled by the opportunity to serve as the editor of *The Foreign Service Journal*.

When I was a first-tour officer in newly independent Kyrgyzstan in the early 1990s—before reliable Internet access, blogs and regular e-mail, when a phone call cost \$3 per minute—I saw *The Foreign Service Journal* as a lifeline (even if it did take three months to arrive by pouch to neighboring Kazakhstan, only to sit awaiting a Bishkek vehicle to make the trek over the mountains to fetch it).

I appreciated the *Journal* then, as I do today, as a connection to home, to Washington, to colleagues far and wide and to the Foreign Service issues of the day. I also felt the connection to AFSA in the background, there just in case. I didn't know much about what AFSA did for us members other than send the *Journal*, but for me that was enough.

That sentiment held in spite of an unfortunate miscommunication with the magazine in 1993, when I shared a copy of a letter home with the *FSJ* editor to ask if she might be interested in "this type" of story.

I didn't get a response, but about five months later an issue of the *Journal* showed up featuring an excerpt from my letter. It was a somewhat wide-eyed account of Embassy Bishkek's early days, including my third week on the job, serving as airport control officer for a 24-hour visit from then-Vice President Al Gore. Prevented by fog from landing in Almaty, Air Force Two had headed to Bishkek,

landing safely onto a sheet of ice—a day early with one hour's notice.

The problem (other than not being consulted about the article) was the *FSJ* typo. My sentence—"Most people appear to like President Akayev"—had been changed to "Most people do not appear to like President Akayev." The ambassador was contacted by the foreign minister. Thankfully, no real harm was done; but it struck me at the time, as it does now, that a small but well-placed magazine *can* get noticed and spark discussion!

As a former Foreign Service political officer and AFSA veteran with a dozen years' experience as an *FSJ* editor and FS Books editor and publisher, I feel ready for this job. I can promise to build on Steve Honley's track record, with commitment and dedication to the magazine, our readers and authors, and our elected AFSA leaders.

As you know, diplomacy is one of the most interesting and least understood professions. Doing outreach related to AFSA's *Inside a U.S. Embassy* books, I've given talks about the Foreign Service at universities and high schools, and at the U.S. European Command. I have seen firsthand the utility of sharing Foreign Service experience and views.

Under the upgraded and expanded AFSA Communications umbrella, our small team will do its utmost to maintain high standards and take the magazine to the next level. Specifically, we want to establish a more robust online presence for *Journal* content and discussion,



building greater synergy with other AFSA publications and media, and continue to take on the tough issues.

As editor of this 90-year-old publication, my primary aim is to make sure that AFSA's tag line—"The Voice of the Foreign Service"—actually plays out in the pages of the *Journal*. The magazine is both for you and about you.

The *Journal* occupies a unique space. It is an in-house publication for the profession and union, with our AFSA News department regularly covering association business. At the same time, it is an outward-facing platform for discussion of the profession and the role of the Foreign Service in diplomacy and development.

The military has dozens of publications and institutions for their own to share perspectives on their role in world events and foreign affairs. The Foreign Service, not so much. As AFSA's flagship publication—nonprofit and nongovernmental—the *Journal* is in an ideal position to air perspectives from inside and outside the foreign affairs agencies.

Together, we can use *The Foreign Service Journal* to share ideas, help raise awareness and, potentially, even move the conversation forward. I invite you to write for these pages; after all, they are *your* pages. Please be in touch with your ideas and your submissions. You can always reach me at [dorman@afsa.org](mailto:dorman@afsa.org).

I look forward to working with you. And I promise to let you know before we put your article into print! ■

---

*Shawn Dorman is the editor of The Foreign Service Journal.*

## A Rich Legacy

Steve Honley fully deserves all the praise he has received for the 12½ years he dedicated to refining and enriching the content of *The Foreign Service Journal*—longer than any previous editor-in-chief except Shirley Newhall three decades earlier.

During my 10 years as an FSJ Editorial Board member, six of them as chairman, I became a great admirer of Steve—not only for his editorial skills, but for his patience and adaptability in dealing with the often-competing demands of readers, the Editorial Board (some members of which were fond of proposing arcane topics, then leaving it to Steve and Senior Editor Susan Maitra to find contributors) and the AFSA Governing Board.

Today's magazine has been transformed from what it was at the beginning of Steve's tenure, due in large part to his attention to ambitious focus sections addressing specific themes, and challenging Speaking Out columns offering the opinions and insights of outliers.

Steve was also an innovator, establishing the Talking Points (formerly Cyber-notes) department, featuring wide-ranging reporting on items of interest to the Foreign Service community, as well as periodic FS Heritage and FS Know-How columns. He also conducted 15 exclusive interviews with the winners of AFSA's annual Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy Award, and regularly previewed projected content to stimulate contributions from AFSA members.

In addition, Steve presided over the magazine's recent redesign, which by all accounts has been a great success; its ongoing efforts to adapt to the digital



First  
redesigned  
*Journal*,  
October 2012.

age; and a more subtle, but still important, change in character from a relatively autonomous publication (though obviously closely affiliated with AFSA) through which Foreign Service personnel can express themselves in print, into a policy instrument with closer supervision by, and increasingly specific guidelines from, the AFSA Governing Board.

Taking over from Steve will be a big challenge for Associate Editor Shawn Dorman, but her own proven track record with the *Journal* and FS Books, and the "dream team" she has inherited from Steve, are good omens for success.

*Ted Wilkinson III  
FSO, retired  
Washington, D.C.*

## Happy Trails!

I was pleased to learn in the recent *Journal* of Editor Steve Honley's departure. I say that only because he is moving on to other pastures.

Steve and his colleagues have done an excellent job in bringing a new and active, exciting feel to the *Journal*. There is not only more content to read, but more of interest. And the balance is good.

So thank you, Steve, for the many years you have given the *Journal* and AFSA. I wish you good fortune in your new adventures.

*Douglas Watson  
FSO, retired  
Arlington, Va.*

## So Much for Merit

I was one of the naive souls mentioned by George B. Lambrakis in his December 2013 Speaking Out column, "A Plea for Greater Teamwork in the Foreign Service." In it, he observed that "Failure to manage one's career in a way that maximizes the chances of rapid promotion, and simply trusting the system on its own to reward one's performance, can now lead to premature retirement."

Failure to cross the Senior Foreign Service threshold led to my own premature and involuntary early retirement in 1993 at the age of 51, a personnel decision that was profoundly wasteful for the Service and the country.

The case achieved some notoriety at the time; I publicized it widely. In brief, as an FS-1 political cone officer, I followed my career counselor's advice to accept an assignment in the Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs to achieve eligibility to compete for promotion to Officer-Counselor rank in the multifunctional cone.

However, before the 1992 promotion panels met, the State Department arbitrarily changed its multifunctional criteria in abstruse ways and denied me eligibility to compete in that cone. Thereby disadvantaged, and despite superb efficiency ratings, I was not promoted in the political cone and was involuntarily retired for time-in-class.

To be sure, at the time there were other budgetary and legal pressures on the department bearing on total promotion numbers and, within those numbers, opportunities for women and minorities. A sizable cohort of colleagues was caught up in this situation.

I grieved the decision, but the Foreign Service Grievance Board (Case No. 93-23, State), eschewing consideration

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of merit principles, simply asserted that the department had legal authority to do what it did in denying me multifunctional eligibility.

Now Mr. Lambrakis calls into question the wisdom of the department's up-or-out system itself. He writes of the pernicious effects of a system that obliges officers "to compete actively, if not ferociously, against their colleagues for promotion."

I had not thought of my experience as the fault of the up-or-out system but rather as a woeful skewing of merit principles within that system. But Mr. Lambrakis' comments come as a breath of fresh air.

As such, his Speaking Out column is essential reading for anyone seriously concerned about the integrity and future of the Foreign Service.

*D. Thomas Longo Jr.  
FSO, retired  
Lawrenceburg, Ind.*

### Thinking about George Kennan

I enjoyed reading Robert J. Silverman's President's Views column in the January–February *Journal*, and was inspired to order a copy of John Gaddis' biography of George Kennan as Silverman suggested.

Kennan is certainly a mixed bag. While he was prescient about the geopolitics of the Cold War and the Soviet Union, and is rightly celebrated for that, as Silverman notes, "he seems to have shared many of the prejudices of his day."

Yet is that really all we have to say

about that? I would point out that not everybody shared those views; indeed, many people were free of the conventional prejudices of Kennan's day. This problem occurs over and over throughout history: someone has accomplished great things for which civilized humanity is grateful, yet that same individual also has committed shameful acts or has serious character flaws.

I also don't know (yet) whether Gaddis discusses Kennan's outstretched hand to Stalin's daughter Svetlana Alliluyeva, who stayed with the Kennans for some time after her arrival in the United States. I was a consular officer at our embassy in New Delhi when she defected (though I wasn't involved in the procedures during the hours she spent at the embassy, and I wasn't the one who issued her visa). But I believe that the embassy handled the matter extraordinarily well.

My hat is off to Bob Silverman for writing on something less stuffy than the customary President's Views column—and for writing well, in the finest tradition of the Foreign Service.

*Larry Lesser  
FSO, retired  
Washington, D.C.*



### Minding Couriers

Thanks for publishing James B. Angell's "The Island Hopper" (December), a fascinating account of a diplomatic courier run. It made me realize that during my 27-year career in the Foreign Service, I never met a courier.

But what most astounded me was this passage, pertaining to his arrival in Guam: "The diplomatic courier is not allowed to descend planeside at Won Pat International Airport to retrieve our



classified material [i.e., unlike at every other airport on the long itinerary], so a second courier is sent from Bangkok ahead of time to act as a cleared escort. ... The escort has to be joined by a U.S. Transportation Security Administration employee planeside."

Is a commissioned U.S. government courier who is cleared to handle top-secret documents really not trusted to stand next to the plane and retrieve the classified pouches

he has brought to Guam? Think of the expense required to have a second courier sent from Bangkok to carry out that task. And even this second courier needs a minder from the Transportation Security Administration?

I find that difficult to fathom, especially since it is a regular occurrence with the same limited group of couriers—all of whom must already be known to TSA personnel in Guam. Has the State Department even *tried* to rectify this nonsense with the Department of Homeland Security?

*Harvey Leifert  
FSO, retired  
Bethesda, Md.*

## A True Story

I enjoyed James B. Angell's article, "The Island Hopper," in the December *Journal*. However, his characterization of *Unbroken* as a novel (p. 26) is an error.

Surely Mr. Angell knows that this gripping account of Louis Zamperini's life from the 1930s and 1940s is all too true. That is what gives it its power.

*Samuel V. Smith  
FSO, retired  
Arlington, Va.*



## Barriers to Equity on USAID FS Evaluations

AFSA USAID VP Sharon Wayne deserves praise for her December AFSA

News column, "USAID Needs a Transparent Promotions Process," which advocates for clear agency communication on the promotion process.

Like many other Foreign Service officers at the U.S. Agency for International Development, I have often wondered about the number of promotions given, how the cutoff was

determined and how many FSOs were considered. Transparency and communication about the process would give employees a sense of equity, but barriers are not limited to the promotion board process.

As stated in USAID Human Resources Automated Directive System Series 300, appraisal committees—involved in every aspect of the Employee Evaluation Program—are responsible for ensuring evaluations are equitable and objective, while principal officers form and select the members of those bodies.

Overlooked or ignored in this is the supervisor who evaluates an employee of the same rank and backstop, creating a culture of competition (instead of mentorship) for finite promotion opportunities. The promotion board may not be aware of the supervisor's rank (the annual evaluation form only includes the employee's rank), even though appraisal committees and principal officers have access to that information.

As a recently retired contracting officer, I can still remember my supervisor—who was the same rank as I—telling me, "Chris, you need a mentor, but



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# Moving?

it just can't be me. That would be a conflict of interest." My colleagues and I were shocked and disheartened by that comment. No matter how committed and effective we were, we had to accept this inequity, a lukewarm evaluation and a promotion culture of "wait your turn." We wondered with every work assignment whether we were being set up for success or failure. Suspicion and mistrust quickly became the USAID mission's culture.

This inequity is not limited to a specific FS rank, and it may be growing. Many of the more than 500 New Entry Professionals hired since 1998 at the FS-4 level are now FS-3s, who are supervising and evaluating other FS-3 officers. The nearly 900 Development Leadership Initiative FSOs hired and quickly promoted may face the same situation before long.

Concerned about the culture of competition at USAID, I wrote to Administrator Rajiv Shah when I retired, but got no response. Moreover, even though senior agency leaders have the authority to make a quick and meaningful fix, they have not yet taken the necessary steps.

Addressing the inequity would reduce the plethora of supervisory and deputy director positions (54 percent), and a flatter agency would provide staff greater access to, engagement with and mentorship by senior, experienced leaders.

Evidence of employee dissatisfaction with the promotion and evaluation process surfaced in the Federal Employee Viewpoint Survey conducted between April 30 and June 14, 2013. That dissatisfaction may be reflected in survey results showing that 34 percent of employees are considering leaving USAID in the next year.

USAID Administrator Shah and the U.S. Congress have worked diligently over several years to bring talented

and committed FSOs into the agency. For that, they should be commended. However, such progress could easily be squandered if FSOs discouraged by the inequity of the promotion and evaluation system make the difficult decision to leave USAID.

*Chris O'Donnell*

*USAID FSO, retired*

*Founder, Development Essentials*

*Alexandria, Va.*

## Hiring Domestic Workers

As a Foreign Service labor officer who worked to combat trafficking in persons and child labor and employed domestics overseas, I found Laura Fabrycky's "Rethinking the Role of Madam" (December) thoughtful and moving.

Over the years I have seen and heard many cases of abused domestics and workers—male and female, and some still children—and understand her concerns about the practice. However, I must disagree with her conclusion that we should not hire adult domestic workers overseas because doing so perpetuates an abusive system.

As an economic officer focused on development, I would argue that Americans serving overseas make a valuable contribution to the local economy when they hire local domestics and household workers. Our family has hired such employees in Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, Poland, South Korea and Kenya, and brought them with us to the United States.

When we first hired live-in help, we felt the same concerns as Fabrycky about privacy and whether our children would grow up spoiled and unable to keep a neat house. However, the ability to hand the baby over to someone at 10 p.m. and get a good night's sleep, to come home to a cooked meal after work and to have



someone home to let in repair people or watch a sick child was irresistible. (As a bonus, our boys learned to vacuum, dust, do dishes and cook.)

We have always made a point of complying with local labor laws and paying high salaries overseas, because doing so makes an important contribution to the local economy, represents good labor practices and is just common sense. After all, these are the people with full access to our house and children every day!

Besides treating our staff with respect and friendliness, we also provided training to enhance their skills and employability for when we departed. For example, in Nairobi I had our driver/gardener and cook/housekeeper cross-train one another so that each could fill in for the other, which enabled both of them to take paid vacations and sick leave. I have no doubt that our staff communicated what good employers Americans were to their families and neighbors, building up local good will.

As a labor officer, I established several initiatives to protect Kenyans who went to the Middle East for work. I obtained a copy of Saudi labor regulations and protections for migrants for distribution in Kenya, collected the laws and protection programs in European and other countries, and trained Kenyan diplomats on how to protect compatriots facing abusive employers.

I also worked with nongovernmental organizations and the United Nations to build awareness of the abuse of child domestics in Kenya. The State Department's annual human rights and trafficking reports highlight such conditions and encourage reforms around the world.

The countries where these employees originate can also do a lot to protect their migrant workers. The Philippines' model

is the best I have encountered. In Seoul, when we hired a Filipina housekeeper who had been let go by another U.S. embassy family, we had to submit a copy of our contract with her to the Philippine embassy for approval of the terms and conditions; only then would the Korean Immigration Department extend her visa.

Each year, she had to go to her embassy for an interview so officials could check on her treatment and confirm we were abiding by the contract. Our housekeeper's paycheck enabled her to support an extended family back home, expanding their house and sending children to school.

So on balance, while I appreciate Ms. Fabrycky's concerns about perpetuating the kafala system she experienced in the Middle East, I believe that our best course is to hire domestics so they can support their extended families, whether in the host country or a third country.

Offering fair compensation and safe working conditions is a great way to inject money into low-income households, constitutes a good model for other employers and employees, and builds good will for the United States.

For all those reasons, we should not shrink from hiring foreign domestics and miss these opportunities.

*Randy Fleitman*

*FSO*

*Washington, D.C.*

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## Plenty of Blame to Go Around

**O**n Jan. 15 the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence issued a bipartisan report on the tragic events of Sept. 11, 2012, when four U.S. officials—J. Christopher Stevens, Sean Smith, Tyrone Woods and Glen Doherty—were killed at the special mission in Benghazi, Libya.

Writing in the Jan. 16 *Washington Post*, Adam Goldman and Anne Gearan note that the committee faults the State Department for failing to increase security at its mission despite warnings, and blames the intelligence committee for not sharing information about the existence of the Central Intelligence Agency outpost in Benghazi with the U.S. military command responsible for Africa. In addition, the Pentagon did not have the resources in place to defend the State Department compound in an emergency.

Due to the document's importance, we are devoting this edition of Talking Points to its findings and recommendations, as excerpted from the report.

### FINDING #1:

In the months before the attacks on Sept. 11, 2012, the intelligence community [the IC] provided ample strategic warning that the security situation in eastern Libya was deteriorating and that U.S. facilities and personnel were at risk in Benghazi.

### FINDING #2:

The State Department should have increased its security posture more significantly in Benghazi based on the deteriorating security situation on the ground and IC threat reporting on the prior attacks against Westerners in Benghazi—including two incidents at the Temporary Mission Facility on April 6 and June 6, 2012.

**RECOMMENDATION:** The State

Department must ensure that security threats are quickly assessed and security upgrades are put into place with minimal bureaucratic delay. The State Department has made changes since Sept. 11, 2012, including the creation of a new position of Deputy Assistant Secretary for High-Threat Posts. Although this new position will help the State Department focus on high-threat posts, the State Department must make the institutional changes necessary to quickly and efficiently respond to emerging security threats—especially those threats that have been identified numerous times by the U.S. IC.

The committee urges the State Department to consider the recommendation of its Independent Panel on Best Practices to, “as a matter of urgency, establish an Under Secretary for Diplomatic Security” to “bring security governance into the 21st century and align security management with the realities of a post-9/11 threat environment.” As noted by the chairman of the Independent Panel on Best Practices in his written testimony to a House committee, this structural recommendation is not new and was suggested in a report written 14 years ago, following the 1998 East Africa embassy bombings.

**RECOMMENDATION:** Only in rare instances—and only after a formal risk management plan has been put into place—should State Department facilities that fall short of current security standards be allowed to operate. Facilities that do not meet these standards should be prioritized for additional security measures. In these cases, temporary facilities should have the physical security, personnel, weapons, ammunition and fire safety equipment needed to adequately address the threat. The committee understands the need for State to have the flexibility to operate, on

a temporary basis, out of facilities that fall short of these standards; however, these operations are extremely vulnerable, as seen in Benghazi.

**RECOMMENDATION:** As appropriate, the Deputy Assistant Secretary for High-Threat Posts should also find consistent ways to coordinate with the CIA to exchange best practices for high-threat posts and to discuss common security concerns.

**RECOMMENDATION:** The IC and State Department should ensure all surveillance cameras at high-risk, high-threat facilities have sufficient resolution, nighttime visibility, remote monitoring capabilities and redundancy to provide warning and situational awareness in the event of an attack. The committee notes that the Independent Panel on Best Practices has recommended that the State Department establish a new office “for field-expedient deployment of hardware, cutting-edge protective technology and procedures.”

### FINDING #3:

There was no singular “tactical warning” in the intelligence reporting leading up to the events on Sept. 11, 2012, predicting an attack on U.S. facilities in Benghazi on the 9/11 anniversary, although State and the CIA both sent general warning notices to facilities worldwide noting the potential security concerns associated with the anniversary. Such a specific warning should not have been expected, however, given the limited intelligence collection of the Benghazi area at the time.

**RECOMMENDATION:** The IC must place a greater emphasis on collecting intelligence and open-source information, including extremist-affiliated social media, to improve its ability to provide tactical warnings, especially in North Africa, the Middle East and other areas

where the U.S. has facilities under high threat. Given the current resource-constrained budget environment, the committee is working with the IC to identify resource gaps and realign assets to focus on those gaps, especially in North Africa.

#### **FINDING #4:**

Although the IC relied heavily on open source press reports in the immediate aftermath of the attacks, the IC conducted little analysis of open source, extremist-affiliated social media prior to and immediately after the attacks.

**RECOMMENDATION:** The IC should expand its capabilities to conduct analysis of open source information, including extremist-affiliated social media, particularly in areas where it is hard to develop human intelligence or there has been

recent political upheaval. Analysis of extremist-affiliated social media should be more clearly integrated into analytic products, when appropriate.

#### **FINDING #5:**

There were “tripwires” designed to prompt a reduction in personnel or the suspension of operations at the mission facility in Benghazi and although there is evidence that some of them had been crossed, operations continued with minimal change. Some nations closed their diplomatic facilities in Benghazi as the security conditions deteriorated during the summer of 2012, but other nations stayed along with the United States, contrary to some public reports and statements that the U.S. was the last country represented in Benghazi.

**RECOMMENDATION:** Where adequate security is not available, the Department of State should be prepared to evacuate or close diplomatic facilities under the highest threat, as it has in recent years in Sanaa, Yemen and Damascus, Syria.

**RECOMMENDATION:** The committee supports the recommendations of the Accountability Review Board to bring greater collaboration and connectivity between the State Department’s Bureau of Diplomatic Security and the IC. The Department of State must pay special attention to the “on the ground” assessments of IC and State personnel in the field and IC analytic products about assessed risks to specific U.S. facilities overseas.

#### **FINDING #6:**

The State Department personnel at the Temporary Mission Facility in Benghazi relied on the security officers at the CIA Annex as a last resort for security in the event of an attack.

**RECOMMENDATION:** There should be more specific information exchanged between DOD and the IC, through the appropriate channels, to make regional combatant commanders aware of the general presence of IC personnel in their areas of responsibility for the purposes of emergency evacuations and rescue. This information could have been helpful to the commander of AFRICOM and should have been more easily available to him.

#### **FINDING #7:**

There were no U.S. military resources in position to intervene in short order in Benghazi to help defend the Temporary Mission Facility and its annex on Sept. 11 and 12, 2012.

**RECOMMENDATION:** It is imperative that the State Department, DOD and the

### **SITE OF THE MONTH: *American Diplomacy***

**W**hile the Internet is home to countless websites dealing with various aspects of diplomacy, *American Diplomacy* stands out for the sheer scope of its coverage. The online professional journal publishes commentaries, analytical pieces, feature stories, Foreign Service memoirs, scholarly research and reviews of books and Internet articles, as well as comments from readers and announcements of upcoming events of interest to Foreign Service members.

Established in 1996 by a group of retired FSOs in North Carolina, American Diplomacy Publishers operates the site with the active cooperation of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill's College of Arts and Sciences and its Curriculum in Peace, War and Defense, as well as the Triangle Institute for Security Studies, which is a consortium of Duke University, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and North Carolina State University.

All members of the Foreign Service community are invited to contribute material to *American Diplomacy*, which also draws on submissions from distinguished academicians. (All submissions are peer-reviewed.) The site's content is regularly refreshed. As of late January, it features artwork by “Diplomats Who Are Painters,” as well as commentaries on Afghanistan, human rights and former Secretary of Defense Robert Gates' new memoir.

Traffic to the site has grown steadily over the years, reaching almost 300,000 visits in 2013.

IC work together to identify and prioritize the largest gaps in coverage for the protection of U.S. diplomatic, military and intelligence personnel in the North Africa region and other high-threat posts around the world. The small number of U.S. military resources devoted to the vast and often ungoverned North African landscape makes it unlikely that DOD can respond in short periods to all potential crises across North Africa. If DOD cannot always provide help in an emergency, U.S. personnel on the ground must make alternative plans to evacuate in the event of an attack or if intelligence indicates that an attack is imminent.

#### FINDING #8:

Unarmed U.S. military surveillance assets were not delayed when responding to the attack, and they provided important situational awareness for those under siege during the attacks against the Temporary Mission Facility and the annex on Sept. 11 and 12, 2012.

#### FINDING #9:

In finished reports after Sept. 11, 2012, intelligence analysts inaccurately referred to the presence of a protest at the mission facility before the attack based on open source information and limited intelligence, but without sufficient intelligence or eyewitness statements to corroborate that assertion. The IC took too long to correct these erroneous reports, which caused confusion and influenced the public statements of policymakers.

**RECOMMENDATION:** Intelligence analysts should more aggressively request and integrate eyewitness reporting—especially from U.S. government personnel—in the aftermath of a crisis. The IC should establish a process or

**“** *Interlocutor:* I wonder how many people outraged over the loss of lives in Benghazi ever gave a second of thought to the safety of Foreign Service officers and others working overseas (often in installations with limited security), and even now would tell Congress it should appropriate more money to this. How many will forget about the issue should it fade as a political issue?

Many more Americans died in the bombing of the U.S. embassy in Beirut in the 1980s, but there was far less outrage and, much more importantly, no bipartisan push to spend enough money to make our facilities secure. I was in the Foreign Service, so am acutely aware of how little most Americans think about security at embassies, consulates, etc. I know people who have been attacked, and even killed, overseas, [and it] seldom makes the news.

*Robinson:* You are absolutely right. It is obscene that critics will try to use the chant “Benghazi, Benghazi, Benghazi” as a political weapon against President Obama and Hillary Clinton, but won’t propose or even support any increase in funding for State Department security. Note to conspiracy theorists: If you really cared, you would be looking for ways to keep such a tragedy from happening again.

—From a Jan. 21 livechat with Washington Post writer Eugene Robinson.

re-evaluate its current procedures to improve the speed and process with which operational reporting (for example, eyewitness reporting) and raw collection make it into disseminated intelligence products.

**RECOMMENDATION:** The IC must act quickly to correct the written record and address misperceptions in its finished analytical products. The IC should avoid repeating erroneous information in its intelligence products as analysts continued to do when they wrote there were “protests” at the Temporary Mission Facility, which then made its way into reports disseminated to U.S. policymakers and Congress.

#### FINDING #10:

The State Department Bureau of Intelligence and Research did not disseminate any independent analysis in the year following the Benghazi attacks.

**RECOMMENDATION:** The committee urges the Director of National Intelligence and the State Department to conduct a review of the types of intelligence products that INR prepares and to look for ways to make INR’s products more timely and responsive to world events, especially those that directly affect State Department personnel. The committee notes that the Independent Panel on Best Practices has also recommended that the State Department audit and assess “how quickly and effectively INR shares intelligence with DS and all other [State] Department components.”

#### FINDING #11:

The DNI’s Office of Analytic Integrity and Standards failed to provide complete and accurate information to Congress during its review of the Benghazi attacks. The committee found AIS’s methodology in assembling documents to be flawed.



## MARKETPLACE

Despite repeated requests from the committee, AIS also refused to provide complete, accurate and thoroughly cited information to Congress.

**RECOMMENDATION:** In responding to future requests for unclassified talking points from Congress, the IC should simply tell Congress which facts are unclassified and let members of Congress provide additional context for the public.

### FINDING #12:

The co-location of IC and diplomatic personnel in Benghazi could have enhanced

security; but co-location often presents tradeoffs that should be carefully evaluated in high-threat environments.

**RECOMMENDATION:** The committee agrees that IC and diplomatic personnel should generally be co-located overseas, except where the IC determines that, for operational reasons, co-location is not helpful in meeting mission objectives or that it poses a security risk. In those limited instances, the IC should work with the State Department in light of chief-of-mission authorities. However, the committee does not believe that co-

### 50 Years Ago

**M**ore than 60 ambassadors, both active and retired, met at Pennsylvania State University in November 1963 to discuss the role of the American ambassador in this period of rapid change. The conference was based on the idea that the ambassadorship is a responsible office for which definite preparation and proper qualifications are essential.

Everyone agrees that the office should be filled with the most qualified persons with the best preparation and background. But what is "best"? Problems at the post, instructions, facility in the language of the country of assignment, relations with the officials and nationals of that country, dealings with and control of U.S. personnel and visits of Washington dignitaries, not excluding congressmen, are a few of the many subjects about which any ambassador, active or retired, has significant views. ....

Against this challenge a number of conclusions were reached. Chief among them, an ambassador must be familiar with a wide range of subject matter, and able to delegate responsibility, adapt himself to the specialized personnel under his charge, qualify as a public speaker, and play a public role in the host country, in addition to his ancient duties of negotiator and reporter. ....

On the thorny and much-debated question of whether ambassadors should be drawn from the career Foreign Service or from non-career sources, the consensus was that ambassadors should be drawn from both sources. Non-career appointments, it was recognized, brought "new, informed approaches and new vitality in our representation abroad." The existing ratio of two-thirds career as against one-third non-career seemed acceptable, but the establishment of any fixed ratio was not favored.

—Excerpted from "The American Ambassador in a Time of Change," by Thorsten V. Kalijarvi, FSJ, March 1964. A professor of international relations, Mr. Kalijarvi was appointed by the Eisenhower administration as U.S. ambassador to El Salvador (1957-1960).

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location decisions should be subjected to a broader interagency approval process.

#### FINDING #13:

The primary source of security for the Temporary Mission Facility, local Libyan militia members, failed to provide any significant defense of the compound from the attack.

**RECOMMENDATION:** The U.S. government cannot rely on local security in areas where the U.S. has facilities under high threat or where the host nation is not capable of providing adequate security. The committee supports the State Department's initiative, working with DOD, to request additional Marines and to expand the Marine Security Guard Program to increase protection at high-

risk facilities beyond solely the protection of classified information.

**RECOMMENDATION:** Based on the fact that Ambassador Stevens and Sean Smith perished due to the smoke from fires lit by attackers, State and the IC should review the fire safety and high-threat training and equipment for all employees sent abroad to ensure that proper fire safety equipment is available at all facilities, and personnel have proper protective equipment in the event of smoke and fire emergencies.

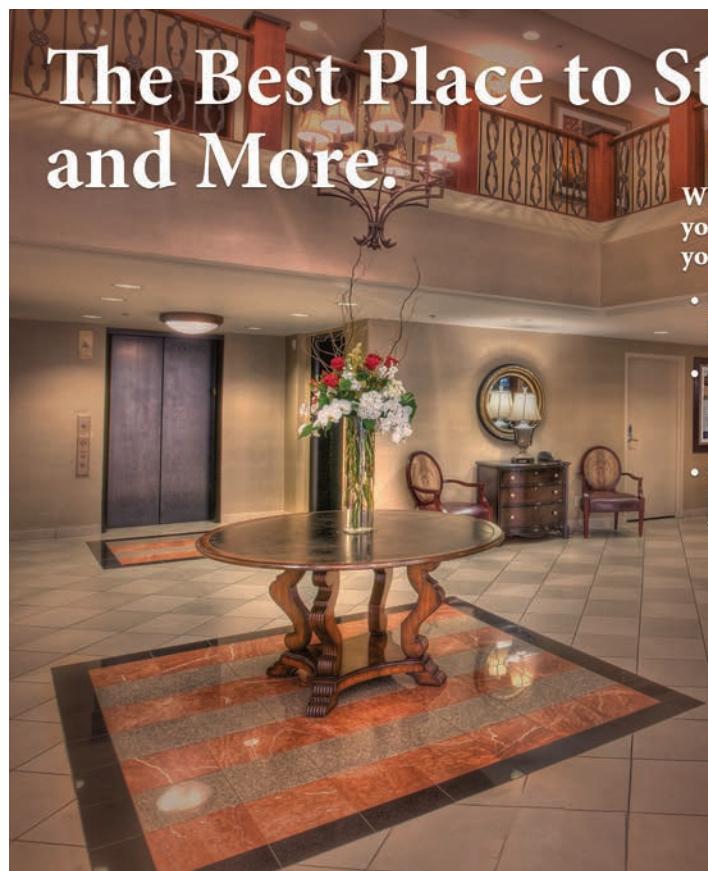
#### FINDING #14:

More than a year after the Benghazi attacks, the terrorists who perpetrated the attacks have still not been brought to justice. The IC has identified several indi-

viduals responsible for the attacks. Some of the individuals have been identified with a strong level of confidence. However, insight into the current whereabouts and links between these individuals in some cases is limited, due in part to the nascent intelligence capabilities in the region.

**RECOMMENDATION:** The U.S. government must swiftly bring the attackers to justice, in spite of the unwillingness or lack of capacity of the Libyan government to assist in this effort.

*—This month's edition of Talking Points was compiled by the Journal's contributing editor and former editor in chief, Steven Alan Honley. ■*



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# Hispanic Representation at USAID: Why So Low for So Long?

BY JOSÉ GARZÓN

**P**eriodically, I am asked to speak to Hispanic and minority students aspiring to enter the Foreign Service or the U.S. Agency for International Development. I can hardly resist the chance to tell my own life story and describe the places where USAID has sent me. The Foreign Service is a great career, I tell them, and I encourage them to consider taking the plunge.

One reason I'm tapped to give these speeches is that I'm a 25-year veteran of the Foreign Service, and also a member of an endangered species: mid-level Hispanic FSOs. My agency is sincerely trying to recruit a more diverse workforce, but has consistently failed in terms of Hispanic representation since the late 1970s, when data on ethnicity began to be collected.

Recently I asked several members of USAID's senior leadership and Office of Civil Rights and Diversity for their thoughts on why the agency's record is so poor. Here are some of the responses I got:

- This is a governmentwide problem, and USAID does as well as or better than other U.S. agencies.

- Things are getting better.

## HISPANICS IN SELECTED U.S. GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Department	Percentage of Hispanics in Workforce in 2011 (State data is from 2013)
Homeland Security	20.9
Social Security Administration	14.3
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission	13.4
Justice	8.7
Housing & Urban Development	7.0
Veterans Affairs	6.8
NASA	6.2
State (combined FSO, FSS, Civil Service)	5.9
State FS Specialist	8.0
State FS Generalist	5.0
State Senior FS	4.6
Health & Human Services	3.2
USAID (including FS & CS)	2.6
USAID FS	2.5
USAID SFS	2.2

Sources: OPM: Eleventh Annual Report to the President on Hispanic Employment in the Federal Government, July 2012; USAID/OCRD Diversity Profiles, June 2012; Department of State, Diversity Statistics as of 9/30/13.

- You need a graduate degree to obtain most positions in USAID, and the pool of Hispanics with graduate degrees is limited.

A social scientist by training, I decided to peek behind the curtain and examine the evidence. It turns out that all these responses are wrong.

## Re-Examining the Conventional Wisdom

First, let's take the assertion that USAID is "doing no worse than everyone else." Oh yes, it is. As the table to the left, based on the most recent data from the Office of Personnel Management and USAID, shows, USAID is at the bottom among federal agencies in Hispanic representation. The percent of Hispanics at the State Department is about twice as high as at USAID, and in the case of State Foreign Service specialists (at 8 percent), almost three times as high.

Well, at least it's "getting better," consistent with demographic trends, right? No, it's actually getting worse.

True, Hispanic representation in the U.S. government is improving, rising from 6.5 percent in 2000 to 8.1 percent in 2011, according to OPM's Eleventh Annual Report. But at USAID, the trend is slipping backward. Twenty years ago official USAID/EEO staffing reports showed a Hispanic workforce of 3.1 percent out of 3,346 employees, according to the 1992



José Garzón, a 25-year veteran of the USAID Foreign Service, is currently deputy director of the agency's Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation in Washington, D.C. He has served in Bolivia, Guatemala, Afghanistan, Kosovo and Washington, D.C., and is the author of "Democracy and Development Reconsidered," published in USAID Frontiers in Development (2012). In 2013, he was the first to utilize the newly created USAID Direct Channel, writing on the subject of the small number of Hispanics in the USAID Foreign Service.

# USAID is at the bottom among federal agencies in Hispanic representation.

Report to the Transition Team by the Hispanic Council. In 2005, Hispanics comprised 4.1 percent of the USAID work force.

But by 2008 the percentage had begun slipping, and in 2012 it stood at just 2.6 percent. This is despite a significant surge in overall hiring at USAID, a surge that has stopped and will likely usher in years of limited hiring—meaning that a golden opportunity to improve these dismal numbers may have been lost for some time.

## Learning from Our Past

Here's where the story gets really interesting. Back in the 1960s, USAID's top foreign policy priority (other than the Vietnam War) was combating com-

munism in Latin America. In reaction to a perceived communist threat to Latin America, USAID quickly ramped up Hispanic hiring, with no pretense of promoting affirmative action or diversity. Old-timers I met when I first began working with USAID in the 1980s told me that recruiters went to Puerto Rico and scooped up graduates, some of whom stayed on with the agency until about the 1990s.

Perusing the 1970 staffing pattern, which one can find in the recesses of the USAID Library, one finds Hispanic surnames galore: Cabrera, Hernandez, Hinojosa, Romero, Vasquez, etc. The Office of Public Safety lists 11 such surnames out of 106, or about 10 percent of the staff. The 1970 USAID mission

roster in Bolivia shows an even higher number—six out of 45, including the deputy director, or 13.3 percent—while the Dominican Republic staffing pattern features five Hispanic names out of 46, 10.9 percent.

Admittedly, this is an imperfect measure. But it does indicate that when hiring large numbers of Hispanics was linked to a national priority, the agency made it happen.

That brings us to the third explanation for the current shortfall in Hispanic hiring: "Back in the 1960s and 1970s, USAID would hire people straight out of college. Now you need a graduate degree. And it's hard to find Hispanics with that qualification."

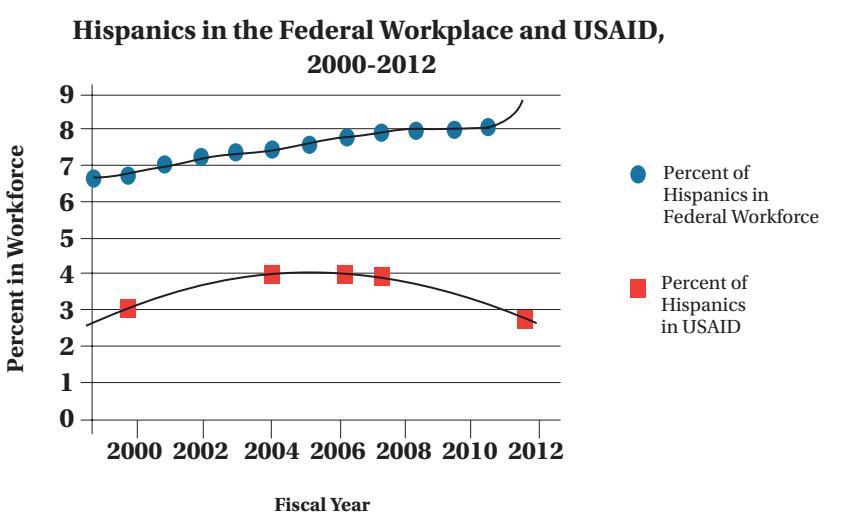
Un momento. Yes, graduate degrees are required for most positions (although that practice should be re-examined). But what the assertion ignores is that the number of Hispanics with master's degrees has more than doubled over the past decade, and the numbers earning law and doctoral degrees have shot up by 60 percent over the same period.

Is better recruitment the answer? USAID's Human Resources division and Office of Civil Rights and Diversity have launched some sincere efforts in this regard, and more resources should be devoted to recruitment. But I suspect these efforts may be falling short because of the disconnect between recruitment and the technical panels, which actually select candidates and are less focused on diversity goals.

I should know. I've served on these panels.

## And Then There Were Four

Recruitment is to the lower ranks of the agency, with the hope that a greater pool of junior officers will eventually push its way up the ranks. Little thought



Sources: OPM Eleventh Annual Report, July 2012; USAID/M/HR, Annual Federal Equal Opportunity Recruitment Program, FY 2001; ICF Consulting, Incorporating Affirmative Employment Goals into USAID's Work-force Strategies, Oct. 15, 2005; Office of Equal Opportunity Programs, Diversity Profile FY 2007-FY 2008, Nov. 14, 2008; OCRA Diversity Profiles, June 2012.

When hiring large numbers of Hispanics was linked to a national priority, as in the 1960s, USAID made it happen.

has gone into the pull factor: the process by which senior officials and officers recruit, mentor and promote junior officers, giving them good opportunities and encouraging them to stay at USAID.

During the 1990s, USAID began to promote more women into the Senior Foreign Service, which in turn changed the agency's culture and gradually increased the numbers of women in the Foreign Service. But the number of Hispanics in the Senior Foreign Service between 2009 and 2012 can literally be counted on one hand: four out of 176. OCRD identifies just two Hispanics out of 33 in the Senior Executive Service. And that is actually an improvement over 2009 and 2010.

This illustrates a more serious disconnect, between stated diversity goals and the goals of the people who make the actual selections—those at the top of the agency. I really believe USAID's leadership is conceptually committed to diversity. But it has many other priorities, which crowd out diversity as a goal.

During the Cold War, fighting communism in Latin America was the agency's priority, and that led to a major upsurge in Hispanic recruitment. Today, priorities such as USAID Forward, Feed the Future and Resilience draw executive attention

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## ADVANCED DEGREES EARNED BY HISPANICS, 1999-2000 AND 2009-2010

Degree	Share of total degrees, 1999-2000 (%)	Share of total degrees, 2009-2010 (%)	Numbers of degrees awarded, 1999-2000	Numbers of degrees awarded, 2009-2010
Master's	4.8	7.1	19,384	43,535
M.D., J.D. and comparable	4.7	5.8	5,039	8,085

Source: Department of Education, NCES: Graduate Enrollment and Degrees, 2000-2010 (2011).



José Garzón speaking at the inauguration of a school project in Kosovo in 2011.

elsewhere. In addition, despite genuine attempts to create more transparency, and with due respect to those who advise on career management, promotion into a Senior Management Group position depends heavily on sponsorship from above. That is clear from the varied levels of experience in new SMG picks.

The result is a vicious circle: limited promotion means limited mid-level promotions and limited hiring. And that, I believe, is the reason why USAID is sliding backward when it comes to Hispanic representation.

### A Better Way Forward

A great deal of energy has gone into better recruitment, and those efforts should continue and be expanded. For example, USAID might create and fund a recruitment unit that operates the way college sport teams do: direct contact. It could tap into the networks of contrac-

“Managing down” needs to become part of “managing up,” not just a good deed.

tors, grantees and fellows to encourage them to apply for open positions, while monitoring the work of technical panels to ensure strong candidates receive due consideration.

But that needs to be accompanied by a broader effort—not only on behalf of Hispanics, but to benefit everyone at USAID—to cultivate a diverse Senior Management Group cadre. Of course, managers will continue to recruit the people they want, and they cannot be blamed for that. But someone has to be an advocate for those groups who are consistently left out, and it has to be someone with clout who can overrule a selection. If a qualified Hispanic (or other minority) has applied for an SMG position, there must be a compelling reason not to select that candidate. “I like this person more” is just not acceptable.

Secondly, while I am pleased that mission directors and others are being held accountable for diversity, we need to reward those who demonstrate that they can mentor and nurture other staff, especially those from underrepresented groups. “Managing down” needs to

become part of “managing up,” not just a good deed that has its own rewards.

There are plenty of rewards for writing policies and strategies or getting involved with “what’s hot” at the moment. That’s fine. But if I were the USAID Administrator, I would ask my senior managers: “Tell me what you have done to help someone on your staff overcome obstacles to promotion.” If they can’t answer that question in five seconds, I would send them back to come up with a diversity strategy, on one page, in 24 hours. I would also make sure they pose the same question to their own subordinates. And I’d pose the same question to the technical panels that make the actual personnel selections.

As I like to tell potential recruits, in my career I have seen dramatic changes in USAID, as well as a return to old ways of doing business. Then there are those things which never seem to change. I hope that one of these recruits, 25 years from now, can say that USAID is an agency that is fully representative of the American public. But it shouldn’t take that long to happen. ■

# TELLING OUR STORIES

## THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS ORAL HISTORY COLLECTION

**Excerpts from the oral histories of six diplomats give a flavor of the challenges, as well as the lighter moments, of a Foreign Service career.**



In this 90th-anniversary year of the U.S. Foreign Service, it is fitting to remind ourselves and the American public of the vital role the Service plays in ensuring our country's prosperity and security. And what better way to understand the work of diplomacy than to have diplomats themselves talk about their experiences?

Here we present excerpts (with light editing for clarity) from the oral histories of six Foreign Service officers recorded by the Foreign Affairs Oral History program of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training. The selections, one from each decade between 1940 and 2000, give a window into the challenges, as well as the lighter moments, of a diplomatic career.

ADST's Oral History program conducts interviews for the largest collection of diplomatic oral histories in the world—there are now more than 1,800 transcripts, and the archive continues to grow under the direction of its founder, retired FSO and interviewer extraordinaire Charles Stuart Kennedy.

ADST was founded in 1986 as a nonprofit organization to advance knowledge of U.S. diplomacy and support training at the Foreign Service Institute. To achieve those goals, it pursues programs in oral history, publishing, educational websites, social media and exhibits, and serves as a foundation to obtain

funds, provide services and develop materials for FSI.

Since ADST was last profiled in the *Journal* in August 2003, it has significantly increased its activities and outreach. Addition to the website of oral history excerpts that recall special "Moments in Diplomatic History" and the careers of "Fascinating Figures" has attracted a much larger audience. You can also follow ADST postings on Facebook and Twitter.

Perhaps most significant, the oral histories are now available online both at the ADST website and in the American Memory Collection at the Library of Congress website.

Expanding its production of books under the guidance of publishing expert Margery Thompson, ADST has issued 53 volumes in the ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy Series, 26 in Memoirs and Occasional Papers, and 16 in its Oral History Series.

The association has also continued its biennial Tribute to Excellence dinners, at which it recognizes accomplishments in the fields of diplomacy, communications and international business. Award recipients have included George Shultz, Colin Powell, Chuck Hagel, John Whitehead, Tom Pickering, Lee Hamilton, Don McHenry, Ted Turner, Frank Carlucci, Carla Hills, James Billington, Ted Koppel and Robin Wright.

James A. Baker is scheduled to receive the Ralph J. Bunche Award for Diplomatic Excellence at the next dinner, on May 6.

Further information about ADST's programs and how to become a member can be found at [www.adst.org](http://www.adst.org).

Special thanks to ADST President Ken Brown and ADST Executive Director Chris Sibilla for their invaluable assistance in preparing this compilation. And a note of thanks to the DACOR Library for providing a critical photo.

—Susan Brady Maitra, Managing Editor

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### 1940s: Diplomat and World War II Heroine

The life of Constance Ray Harvey (1904-1997) sounds at times like something from the movie "Casablanca." During World War II, after tours in Milan and Bern, she was stationed in Lyon, where she worked with the Belgian and French Resistance movements. She smuggled documents to the U.S. military attaché in Switzerland, General Barnwell R. Legge, who helped arrange the escape of many interned U.S. fliers. In November 1942, Harvey was interned along with other American diplomats when the Nazis took control of Vichy France. After the war she received the Medal of Freedom for her courageous efforts.

Constance Harvey was interviewed by Dr. Milton Colvin and Ann Miller Morin in 1988.

**We had a lovely time getting out prominent people, practically all of the Belgian government in exile.**  
—Constance Ray Harvey

I was vice consul in Lyon under the Vichy government. I went there on New Year's Day of 1941. I still had an apartment in Bern, but I rented it to the British military attaché. I went back to Bern rather frequently. I had a car and I sometimes drove back and forth. ...

[General Barnwell R. Legge] was in Switzerland all during the war. Years later, when I was back in Washington after the war was over, I learned, not from him, but from somebody quite different, that he sent the best information our government got during the whole of the war about what was going on on the eastern front. Legge had people all over Europe, a network of people, and I became one of his people.

We had a very good arrangement. The pouch went through Geneva and Vichy, and then back through Lyon to Bern, and then on the way across Spain to Portugal and on to Washington. When the pouch came back from Vichy to Switzerland, I was the last person in Lyon to buckle up this big bag. I put into it whatever I thought was suitable. Not even my chief knew all that went into that bag. But I knew it went straight to Legge and was one of the quickest and surest ways of communicating with our government in Washington.

I knew a lot about the Belgian situation. One of my clerks had been for many years the economic adviser to the American embassy in Brussels, and when Belgium was occupied, he was transferred to Lyon.

We had a lovely time getting out prominent people, practically all of the Belgian government in exile. When we got out the man who was the former Belgian military attaché in Vichy, with a nice passport under a false name to go across Spain, we thought we'd done quite a good job.

These were all, of course, Belgian passports which had been fixed up, usually arranged by Jacques Lagrange and his wife. Jacques was the Belgian clerk who created these works of art at home with the proper photographs and descriptions, which were quite imaginative. It looked right and official. And all of these people went out with nice Belgian passports issued by the kindly protecting power, and signed by C.R. Harvey.



From Her Excellency by Ann Miller Morin (Twayne, 1995).

Constance Ray Harvey, after receiving the Medal of Freedom in 1947 for meritorious service with the French Underground during World War II. At left is General Barnwell R. Legge, the U.S. military attaché in Switzerland with whom she worked.

After the war, one of these people came into our embassy in Brussels and said, "Here's the passport that was given to me by Miss Harvey. I've always remembered her."

The Belgians had a very good underground network. As a matter of fact, our office sometimes looked like a recruiting office, because when the Belgian radio, which broadcast from London to Belgium, began to urge young people who wanted to go out to join either the Belgian Army in the Congo or to come to London, they'd say, "Make for the American consulate in Lyon." They would come in. Sometimes these people certainly looked rather "suspicious," and were the ones that we could not get out with passports. They had to be taken out "black"—i.e., by special guides.

People were divided about the Vichy government. We couldn't help but see both kinds in a way, but people made little waves. They didn't dare talk too openly, you see, because they never knew when the Gestapo would arrive and scoop you up. We had Gestapo coming into the office constantly. We were very careful not to find out too closely who came into that office. We didn't ask too many questions. We found it better not to know

always. Some of them, we knew pretty well, were members of the Gestapo, which was quartered right across the street from my hotel, in the hotel where my consul general was lodged.

One had to be very careful with whom one spoke, because they might be on one side or the other and go and tell what you said. So before you got into politics of any kind, you had to know the person really well with whom you were speaking. The French are apt to chatter a bit too much. I was traveling on a train from Vichy back to Lyon once, and happened to sit next to one of the rather famous French generals, General de la Laurencie, and he started to talk to me, you see, because he was very anti-Pétain. I was terrified with what he was talking about ...

I want to back up a bit and tell you a little bit more about the work I'd been doing regularly for our attaché in Bern, Gen. Legge. I went personally to Switzerland every once in a while, carrying documents to him and reports which we had from the occupied zone and from other places and, of course, from Belgium and so forth.

Once, for instance, I arrived and we met in a field outside of

Geneva. I presented him with some documents that had been brought down to me by one of the agents that we had working in the north, who brought information to us. They were the maps of all the emplacements of the antiaircraft equipment of Germans all in and around Paris. He turned sort of white and said, "Oh, for goodness' sake, you just brought this in by hand?"

I said, "Oh, yes, no problem." I had a Ford car, and when you crossed the frontier, there was always a member of the Gestapo right at the frontier with a French officer, watching as you went back and forth. That Ford car had a glove compartment for which there was a separate key, not the key to the rest of the car, the ignition. So when I went in, I just locked up papers inside the glove compartment and turned the key down inside my bosom.

When I went into the place to check out with the French officer and the Gestapo to go into Switzerland, I left my car open, with the keys just hanging from the ignition. Sometimes people had hidden things in the machinery under the hood, and they sometimes looked under the hood. I thought that was something to avoid.

I remember the general said, "I shall remember that, Constance." So later, when he gave me the Medal of Freedom, I guess he remembered. ■

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### 1950s: The McCarthy Witch Hunt—Who "Lost" China?

In February 1950, months after Mao Zedong's establishment of the People's Republic of China, Senator Joseph McCarthy, R-Wis., gave his infamous speech accusing the State Department of harboring communist agents and sympathizers. FSO John S. Service, one of the State Department's top experts on China, one of the so-called China Hands, was among those caught up in the spurious charges. With deep knowledge, and experience on the ground in China, Service had been reporting since the early 1940s that Mao's forces should not be underestimated, and that the United States could not assume that the Chinese Nationalists would succeed against them. The U.S. would need to deal with the communists.

For this, Service was fired in December 1951. Six years later, the Supreme Court ordered his reinstatement, but the damage to the Foreign Service, and U.S. Asia policy, was done. As Senator J. William Fulbright, D-Ark., would later say, during a hearing in 1971: For doing their job, reporting about conditions in China, "[the China Hands] were so persecuted because [they] were honest. This is a strange thing to occur in what is called a civilized country."

Here are excerpts from John Service's account of the McCarthy witch hunt as he experienced it.

**Originally, there had to be a reasonable basis to consider you disloyal. That was changed to reasonable doubts as to loyalty.**

—John S. Service

We were going by freighter from Seattle to Yokohama on our way to India [and his new assignment]. One night at supper [the radio operator] said, "Say, is your name John Stewart Service?" I said, "Yes." He said, "There's been a lot of stuff about you on the radio news, talking a lot about you in Washington." This was the first intimation we had.

A day or two later I got a telegram from the department saying I should return because of charges by Senator McCarthy. The family could either remain in Japan or go on to India.

We decided they should go on to India. We expected that there would be a hearing. We knew from the radio broadcast that a Senate committee had been set up.

[I was] certainly annoyed, uncertain of course, about what was going on, but not particularly concerned. After all, I'd been through the *Amerasia* case [Service was arrested by the FBI on suspicion of passing classified government documents to a Far Eastern affairs journal in 1945] and gotten a unanimous clean bill.

The department went all out. The department's policy was obviously to meet McCarthy head-on. A big welcome was planned for me.

Senator Joseph Tydings' committee hearings had been going on for three months and had produced a great deal of furor, but no clear refutation in the mind of the public of [McCarthy's] wild charges. We had three days of hearings. The third day they insisted on being closed because they'd had this so-called secret recording of a conversation between [Amerasia editor Philip] Jaffe and myself. It wasn't a recording at all. It was a transcription, an alleged transcription, of some sort of a wiretap or a listening device put in a room in Jaffe's hotel. It was incomplete and very garbled.

We got, finally, a statement out of the Department of Justice; and they said that it was excerpts, portions, of a transcript and that the original had been destroyed. It's got me—as we say in the testimony—saying things that I couldn't possibly have said.

It's been argued that we should have made more of an issue—

perhaps by refusing to be interrogated on the basis of such clearly illegal evidence. We took the point of view that when the loyalty of a public officer is involved, we were not going to make an issue of whether or not the evidence was obtained in a proper way. In a court of law, of course, it would not have been admissible.

They had a terrific hassle in the Senate as to whether or not they would accept [the final report], and split on strict party lines. Tydings went after McCarthy hammer and tongs. The conclusion of the report was very favorable to me.



In the November 1950 elections, Tydings was defeated and a nonentity was put in. This really added greatly to McCarthy's political threat. After the election [the State Department] became very much more cautious.

The State Department [Loyalty Security] Board [which had conducted its own investigation] had told me in June, when they finished the case, that they were satisfied. But new information kept being produced. New accusations would come in. Every time this happened, the case had to be reopened. It was very difficult to ever bring anything to a close.

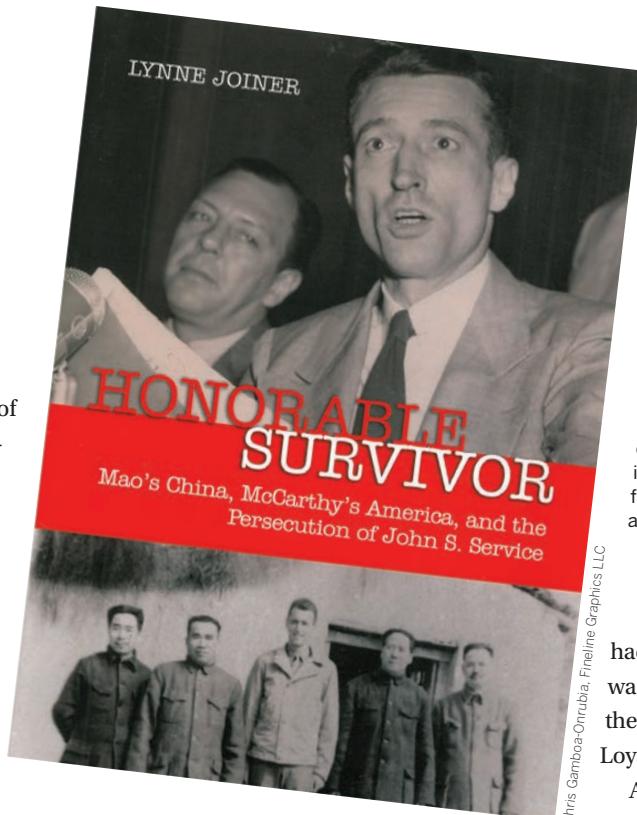
Then the standards were changed. Originally, there had to be a reasonable basis to consider you *disloyal*. That was changed to reasonable doubts as to loyalty. All cases had to be reconsidered under the new rules.

[The department] decided that I would have to be kept in Washington. [It] publicly announced in December 1950 that I had been cleared. But this was only provisional.

[As Service explained in his interview, there were two levels of boards under the Loyalty Security program set up by President Truman in 1947. Each department had its own board, called the *Loyalty Security Board*. Then up above, nominally under the Civil Service Commission, was the *Loyalty Review Board*. All cases were decided by the department boards and then went up to the LRB for this review process, usually called "post audit."]



On Oct. 11, 1951, we got a letter rather surprisingly from the Loyalty Review Board saying that they were going to hold their own hearings on Nov. 8. [On July 31 the State Department



Chris Gamboa-Onrubia, FineLine Graphics LLC

John Service answers a question at his loyalty hearing in 1950 on the cover of Lynne Joiner's book (Naval Institute Press, 2009) about his experience as a Foreign Service China Hand and a target of the McCarthy witch hunt. In the lower image, Service (center) meets in 1944 with, from left, Zhou Enlai, Chu Teh, Mao Zedong and Ye Jianying in Yenan.

had reaffirmed its findings that Service was neither disloyal nor a security risk; then on Sept. 4 it referred the case to the Loyalty Review Board for "post-audit."

A staff member of the Loyalty Review Board asked some silly questions. He was a real know-nothing type. The only one of

his questions I recall was to the effect that I had referred to "C-C" many times in reports, to the "C-C Clique," and did this mean Chinese Communists? Well, of course, the C-C Clique is well known to anybody involved in Chinese affairs. It meant the Chen brothers, Chen Kuo-fu and Chen Li-fu—the right-wing clique of the Kuomintang.

This was the expertise of the staff of the Loyalty Review Board.

We said later on that we would like to submit a memorandum, and they said we could. We got a delay until we could get the transcript. As soon as I read the transcript it was clear to me that they had in their minds quite different charges. The original charge [at the Department Loyalty Security Board] was that I was a communist or associated with communists in such a way as to betray the security interests of the United States. The charge that they had in mind was about "willful disclosure of confidential information."

What to do about the mixup in the charges? [The board] said, "Well, we can have hearings all over again if you want." But they didn't think it would make any difference.



About this time, my friend [FSO and China expert Raymond P.] Ludden had received an interrogatory. Many people were beginning to receive interrogatories. Ludden was very concerned about how to handle it. There was some question of the procedural details. I said to him, "Well, let's go down to the Loyalty Security Board's office."

So we walked in, and [the fellow at the desk]'s face froze. "How did you know so soon?" he said.

"Know what?" I said.

"The Loyalty Review Board has ruled against you." They told us about it. The secretary had red eyes. She obviously was upset.

Everyone was upset. There wasn't much to do.

I called [my attorney] Ed, and he immediately asked for a delay.

Ed felt very strongly that we had a case, that the Loyalty Review Board did not have this authority to overrule cases that had been decided in favor of the employee. They could be an appeal board, but since the State Department had not appealed, they couldn't arbitrarily assume control of a case, as they were doing, and then decide against the employee.

[But State] refused to consider any delay or hold it up: "Too late. Press has already got these releases." The State Department had a lengthy press release, the full text of the Loyalty Review Board's decision, and the full text of their own board's decision, saying that I would be fired as of the close of business the next day.



We don't know for sure, but as far as we could find out, the State Department immediately got in touch with the White House and said, "What do we do?"

The White House said, "You've got to fire him. Too much heat. The president has appointed the Loyalty Review Board, he can't overrule them, and you've just got to go ahead and fire him."

The whole attitude of the State Department people under Dean Acheson was to save the Secretary as much as possible because he'd been burned so badly on the [Alger] Hiss case, you see. After Hiss was convicted, he made a statement, "I will not turn my back." The repercussions and backlash on this had been venomous and terrible.

One of McCarthy's favorite ways of referring to me, for instance, in public speeches was, "John Service, whom Acheson will not turn his back on." You know, this sort of thing. I'm not sure whether Acheson was involved. I suppose he must have okayed it.

A group of Foreign Service officers tried to talk to him about the case. I think he intimated to them that he just couldn't do anything about it, his hands were tied. So I think it all points to the fact that the real decision was made in the White House.

I don't think I was used as the [State] Department scapegoat. There's just no basis for that. The department, as I say, was pretty much on my side. The State Department at the top level tried to cut its losses at the last minute. They weren't going to make any fight about it. But up to that point they had stuck by me through a lot of thick and thin.

I was a scapegoat in a sense, a whipping boy... [but] that isn't the right word. I turned out to be an easy, vulnerable target for McCarthy and for the China Lobby. ■

## 1960s: More Talk than Peace

Widely hailed as one of the outstanding professional diplomats of his generation, **Philip C. Habib** (1920-1992) served as deputy assistant secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific affairs from 1967 to 1969. He later served as ambassador to South Korea (1971-1974), assistant secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific affairs (1974-1976), and under secretary of State for political affairs (1976-1978). After retiring from the Foreign Service, Ambassador Habib was twice recalled to duty, first as a special adviser and then, in 1981, as a special envoy to mediate the Lebanese civil war.

In this section of his ADST oral history, Amb. Habib recalls his role on the U.S. delegation to the Paris Peace Talks, which began in 1968 and finally concluded in 1973 with the agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam.



Philip C. Habib was one of six distinguished American diplomats honored by the U.S. Postal Service with a commemorative stamp in 2006.

From our standpoint, we were willing to go for a total bombing halt, but we wanted to get a proper negotiation going including the South Vietnamese. We had South Vietnamese liaison guys there in Paris. But the actual negotiations were between us and the North Vietnamese.

We had two levels of negotiations. For the formal talks every Thursday, we would convene at the Majestic Hotel at Avenue Kléber. The delegation would file into this magnificent conference hall, and we'd sit there and read statements to each other, and go out and talk to the TV cameras, and go back to the office and meet again the next Thursday.

Well, that went on for a while, and obviously we weren't going to do anything under that spotlight, so we had a couple of private meetings, and then we set up the formal secret negotiations. They had a safe house, and we had a safe house. Nobody knew, nobody had a clue where they were. They knew that something was wrong, but couldn't figure out what.

I remember one CBS reporter said, "Now we've figured it out, you're meeting on a houseboat on the Seine." Yes, that's right, on a houseboat, you get a rowboat and follow us out. They never discovered it, and why? We ran it, we were professionals. Nothing ever leaked from them, or from us. We had a whole series of good meetings.

Cy Vance and I had carried on most of the secret negotiations. We would bring Averell Harriman in for the key ones. Cy and I had meeting after meeting, and a couple of times I had meetings alone, at the last stages when we were drafting terms in getting the agree-



Pierre Boulat/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images

W. Averell Harriman, right, head of the U.S. delegation, and Cyrus R. Vance, left, leaving the Paris Vietnam peace talks on Oct. 24, 1968.

ment on the shape of the table. All that was done in that period under the secret negotiation.

From May, June, July, August, [the North Vietnamese] wouldn't give a thing. We had been pressing them: What would we get if we gave a total bombing halt? For the total bombing halt we wanted, specific things had to happen.

Finally, all of a sudden one day, the head of their delegation, a member of the Politburo, said to Harriman and Vance, "If we do so and so and so, will you stop the bombing?"

At that point, you knew you had it. It was just that stubbornness and reading reams of propaganda bullshit, even in the secret talks. They finally agreed to what we needed, and what we wanted, and the deal was cooked in October 1968.

And then something happened. ... before the election. Somebody got to [South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van] Thieu on behalf of Richard Nixon and said, "Don't agree, come to Paris."

It was done right here in Washington. A Republican went to

## Clark Clifford was fit to be tied, and Averell Harriman was about to climb the wall.

*-Philip Habib*

a famous woman called Anna Chennault. Anna Chennault went to the Vietnamese and told them: "We'll get a better deal under Nixon." So Thieu refused to accept the agreement and sent a delegation to Paris.

Clark Clifford was fit to be tied. Harriman was about to climb the wall. Well finally, of course, the election was held and Humphrey lost. I'm convinced that if Hubert Humphrey had won the election, the war would have been over much sooner.

Instead, a new group came along. You couldn't get the thing cranked up until after the inauguration, which meant you marked time until January 1969.

Meanwhile the [South] Vietnamese agreed to come, so they formed their delegation, and the Viet Cong came with their delegation. People said it took us three months to decide on the shape of the table, but that was a bunch of shit. We knew what shape the table was going to be from the beginning; it was going to be a round table. It was the only way you were going to solve the problem.

We knew that, but we had to go through this whole routine of satisfying the South Vietnamese, and beating down the arguments of the North Vietnamese who wanted the Viet Cong as an equal delegation. They talked about a four-party negotiation, and we talked about an "our side, your side" negotiation. We finally resolved the problem by a round table. We knew we were going to do that. But you couldn't solve anything when you didn't have delegations.

The new administration appointed Cabot Lodge as head of the delegation and, of course, he had a so-called number two called Walsh, a lawyer from New York who didn't know anything about the problem. He was a Republican lawyer from New York who was in the early Nixon administration.

Cabot came and we began sort of floundering around. At that point Henry Kissinger entered the negotiations by deciding that he's going to run the secret negotiating. He had Dick Walters, who was then the military attaché, set up the negotiation, and said nothing to us. Henry lacked confidence in the secrecy of the Foreign Service.

[Kissinger] had with him Winston Lord, Tony Lake, and this character, Walters. None of them knew anything about anything at that point compared to us. ... ■



Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum

President Richard Nixon and Premier Zhou Enlai toast the opening of U.S.-China relations in February 1972 in Beijing.

### 1970s: Nixon Goes to China

*After more than two decades of icy Sino-American relations, President Richard Nixon embarked on an historic trip to China in February 1972. Not only did the visit strengthen Chinese-American relations, but it also served to encourage closer ties to the Soviet Union.*

*Being a member of the official delegation was, of course, a great honor, and everyone did what the White House directed him or her to do. Everyone, that is, except FSO Chas Freeman, who was the senior interpreter, for reasons he explains in this excerpt from his oral history. (You can also read Winston Lord's account of the diplomacy underlying the trip at the ADST website.)*

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**A** little after 8 o'clock on the evening of Feb. 21, 1972, the banquet having been moved down to about 9:30, I was called over to the president's villa. [White House aide] Dwight Chapin came out and said, "The president would like you to interpret the banquet toast tonight."

And I said, "Fine. Could I have the text, please, so that I can work it over?"

He said, "Well, I don't know. There may not be a text."

I said, "Well, I know there's a text; there's got to be. Chinese is not French or Spanish. One has to consider carefully how this is done if it's to be done well. I'm sure there's a text, and I'd appreciate your getting it for me."

He went into the president's office, and came out and again said, "There is no text, and the president would like you to interpret."

I said, "Well, I happen to know that there is a text. And really must insist on having that text. I have something approaching a photographic memory; I just need to read it once."

Dwight Chapin was the gatekeeper, the appointments secretary, I believe, for the president, later convicted of perjury. At any rate, he went back in a third time, and he came out and said again, "There is no text, and the president orders you to interpret."

And I said, "Well, it might interest you to know that I did the first draft of the toast tonight, and while I don't know what was done to it in detail at the National Security Council and by the speechwriters, I do know that some of Chairman Mao's poetry was inserted into it. And if you think I'm going to get up in front of the entire Chinese politburo and ad-lib Chairman Mao's poetry back into Chinese, you're nuts. ..."

He said, "All right."

**I could see the president glaring at me across the table, with his jowls down and a grim expression on his face.**  
—Chas Freeman

And he took the text out of his pocket and gave it to the Chinese. And so they had it.

Later Ji Chaozhu, who did the interpreting, consulted with me on a number of points before he did it. Indeed, it did contain some of Chairman Mao's poetry, and it would have been catastrophic for me to do it.

So my first act as interpreter of Chinese (this was my debut as interpreter; I had never interpreted except in a classroom) was to refuse to interpret. ....

As we sat through the banquet, I was at the head table with Nixon and Zhou Enlai and Henry Kissinger and Ji Dengfei and Li Xiannian, later president of China, and, I think, Qiao Guanhua, who was, in fact, the brains in the Foreign Ministry, and [Secretary of State] Bill Rogers, of course, and Mrs. Nixon—interpreting for them. I could see the president glaring at me across the table, with his jowls down and a grim expression on his face, obviously mighty annoyed that I had pulled this stunt.

I have thought a lot about why he might have wished to conceal the fact that there was a text. The fact is that he had a habit of memorizing speeches, and he liked to appear to be ad-libbing them, giving them extemporaneously, which is what Dwight Chapin had told me he planned to do. And I think he was afraid I would stand up there with the text, which I wouldn't have done, of course.

In any event, he also had a predilection for using the other side's interpreters, because they wouldn't leak to the U.S. press and Congress. So all these things came together.

Two days later, after some other things had happened, Nixon apologized to me. He called me over and said, "I'm sorry. I made a mistake. That was wrong. I shouldn't have done that." And there were tears in his eyes. Then he did some other things that were by way of making amends. It was odd.

I did not smoke at that time. I had given it up nine years previously, when I was in law school. I remember Li Xiannian, then the sort of economic planner of China, later the president, offering me a cigarette. I took it, and I have smoked ever since. I was terribly nervous. ■

## 1980s: Stranded in Siberia

The Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty marked a turning point in relations between the U.S. and the USSR. Signed in December 1987 by President Ronald Reagan and Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev, the treaty came into force on June 1, 1988. It was the first treaty ever to destroy nuclear missiles, rather than just cap the number each side could possess.

Eileen Malloy was posted to Moscow right after the treaty was signed and worked directly with the Soviet government to facilitate the visits of U.S. inspection teams. In this part of her oral history, she describes an unexpectedly prolonged stay in Siberia in the dead of winter.



**W**hen I arrived in Moscow in January 1988 to take on this huge challenge, the Soviets were not very good about dealing with women—and I was a pregnant female. They just did not know what to do with me at all.

I was there for two years, working with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Soviet Nuclear Military Center to make sure that the American teams who would land at the portal entries to conduct surprise inspections were able to reach their sites. .... The teams had to be able to land either in Moscow or the portal that was in Siberia, Ulan Ude; announce where they wanted to go anywhere in the Soviet Union; and reach that location within a certain number of hours. So it was very complex.

We were the ones who translated, met them at the airport, made sure that the U.S. military plane was serviced, just got the whole thing going, and then, whenever there was a dispute, we would conduct negotiations with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. But it was all virgin terrain. Nobody had ever done this before so we were making it up as we were going along. ....

Once, when I had to go to Ulan Ude [in 1990] to meet an unannounced inspection, Captain Sandy Schmidt went with me. The two of us were responsible for all the diplomatic escort duties, which involved getting up an hour before we had to go to the airport to thaw out the Jeep, which was frozen solid because it was minus 30 degrees in the garage. And then Sandy had to do all these complex things to get this Soviet Jeep running. I never learned to drive a stick shift, but fortunately she had.

We got ourselves out to the airport and planned to get the team off to their inspection site, hand them over to their Soviet handlers, and be done with work for two days until the team returned to Ulan Ude. Or so we thought.

The Air Force plane came trembling in over the horizon, this enormous C-130, the big transport plane. It was so cold and the



Photo courtesy of Eileen Malloy.

**We spent two days standing outside, unprotected on the tarmac in Siberia, trying to help the air crew negotiate with the airport authorities.**

*-Eileen Malloy*

runway was in such bad condition that when it landed it broke a strut. So we got the inspection team sent off, and we started to figure out what to do with the plane. And as fast as we can try and get it repaired, the plane starts to freeze. There were no hangars. It was totally out in the open, in Siberia, in the winter.

Every system on the plane that had any type of fluid started to freeze and break. So the air crew realized the only thing they could do is open every system, just drain everything before it could freeze and rupture. We had to order another plane out of Yokota, and it took two days to get it there with a repair crew.

Sandy and I both speak Russian, but my Foreign Service language instruction did not include aeronautic engineering terms. We spent two days standing outside, unprotected on the tarmac in Siberia, trying to help the air crew negotiate with the airport authorities. I ended up with frostbite across my cheeks. There are some great pictures of us desperately trying to keep warm in all this. We actually got to be pretty good buddies with the airport people through all of this.

The thing that I was most pleased with was the U.S. crew of the plane. They were trapped in Siberia unexpectedly for two days without as much as a change of clothes. We made arrangements for them to get hotel rooms, to be fed, but after that they were bored and wanted to go for a walk. They had not planned even to get off the plane. So they did not have winter gear or parkas to walk around. ....

There was a winter ice festival going on with what seemed like the whole town out building ice

castles and sliding down these enormous runs of ice on rugs and stuff. The flight crew got into it and they started playing with the local people. They had a great time. I think that little interaction did more for Soviet-American relations than anything else because they actually got to talk to people. People could see that the U.S. military men were not monsters. It was a really hard two days, but it was interesting.

~

The treaty called for each side to pay for services. For instance when our plane came in, we had a payment that we would make to Moscow for the airport services that we were provided. But that would not actually get to the people running the airport at Ulan Ude. They told me they never saw any of that money. So they had to provide the support, but they did not have enough funding to sustain the services.

I suggested to them that rather than paying a cash amount, why not have the U.S. government send them a used de-icing truck from some airport in the United States? They thought that would be absolutely wonderful. When I got back and recounted this conversation, the Washington policy group slapped me on the hand. I had no authorization to make any such offer, to have any such discussion with the Soviets. We were not here to help them. To me it was the most logical thing. It would have made our operation safer. It was the only way we would know that the money we were paying them for services was actually getting to them. But there was still this reflexive, "We're not helping the bad guys" kind of thing.

I think in hindsight people realize now that had we started on a more cooperative relationship back then, it might have been easier to mount some of the national security programs that we did after the breakup of the Soviet Union. ■

## 1990s: Prelude to a Disaster

*In one of the most horrific events in U.S. diplomatic history, on the morning of Aug. 7, 1998, suicide bombers parked trucks loaded with explosives outside the embassies in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi and almost simultaneously detonated them. In Nairobi, at least 212 people were killed, and an estimated 4,000 wounded; in Dar es Salaam, the attack killed at least 11 and wounded 85.*

**Prudence Bushnell**, a career FSO, was ambassador to Kenya at the time. She had repeatedly warned the State Department about gaps in the embassy's security, but to no avail—as she recounts in this section of her oral history. (To see a video interview with Amb. Bushnell, go to usdiplomacy.org; you can also listen to a podcast there. For another perspective, see the Accountability Review Board on U.S. Embassy Nairobi bombing, also available on the ADST website.)



In the 1990s, President Bill Clinton felt compelled to give the American people their peace dividend, while Congress thought that now that the Cold War was over, there was no need for any significant funding of intelligence, foreign affairs or diplomacy. There were discussions about whether we needed embassies at all now that we had 24-hour newscasts, e-mail, etc. [House Speaker] Newt Gingrich and Congress closed the federal government a couple of times. Agencies were starved of funding across the board.

Needless to say, there was no money for security. Funding provided in the aftermath of the bombing of our embassy in Beirut in the 1980s that created new building standards for embassies and brought in greater numbers of diplomatic security officers dried up.

As an answer to the lack of funding, the State Department stopped talking about need. For example, when we had inadequate staff to fill positions, State eliminated the positions. If there's no money for security, then let's not talk about security needs. The fact of increasing concern at the embassy about crime and violence was irrelevant in Washington. So was the condition of our building.

The first day I walked into the chancery, I knew something



The Memorial Park Embassy bombing site in Nairobi was opened in 2001 to honor those who were injured and killed in the Aug. 7, 1998, terrorist bombing of the U.S. embassy there.

Zwiefel/Creative Commons

had to be done. Here was an ugly, brown, square box of concrete located on one of the busiest street corners in Nairobi. We were situated across the street from the train station. Street preachers, homeless children, muggers, hacks and thousands of pedestrians came by our threshold every day. The security offset prescribed by the Inman Report in the aftermath of the truck bombing of our embassy in Beirut was non-existent. Three steps from the sidewalk and you were in the embassy.

In the back we shared a small parking lot with the Cooperative Bank, which was a 21-story building. We may have had about 20 feet of offset from the rear parking lot, but no more. We had an underground parking lot, which was inadequate, and we were squatting on some space in the front, but that was it.

I had learned before I got to Nairobi that the Office of Foreign Buildings Operations, now Overseas Building Operations, was planning [to spend between four and seven million dollars on] renovation of this building that was unsafe and much too small for us. Having spent three years in [the Bureau of] African Affairs dealing with an assortment of disasters, I thought it was dumb to invest more capital in a building that would never be considered safe. There just was no way to protect the building. I suggested that FBO sell it and pool the proceeds with the money proposed for the renovations to buy a new site. Washington's response was somewhere between "Are you nuts!?" and "Get out of the way, the renovation train has already left the station."

In 1997, I was told that we were under what was deemed to be

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**When they ended with the pro-forma "Is there anything we can do for you?" I angrily declared they could answer the goddamn mail!**  
—Prudence Bushnell

a credible threat from a Somali quasi-humanitarian group called al-Haramain. I was also told that the intel side of the Washington interagency community wanted to let things unfold to see where the leads would go. I reported this back to State, along with measures we were taking, but got no response.

When I learned that the arms the group was waiting for were allegedly on their way, I asked the Kenyan government to break up the organization. [Kenyan President Daniel Arap] Moi personally assured me they would comply. Some of the members of al-Haramain were deported and life went on.

Then I got word of a threat from the Lord's Resistance Army, a rebel group in northern Uganda. Again, we advised Washington and, again, we got nothing back. Meanwhile we continued to do everything we considered reasonable and cautious.

I remember that in early 1998 a delegation of counterterrorist types visited. I met with them in the secure conference room, and when they ended with the pro-forma "Is there anything we can do for you?" I angrily declared they could answer the goddamn mail! The cursing was intentional because I wanted them to see how frustrated and annoyed I was.

When I returned to Washington on consultations in December 1997, I was told point-blank by the AF Executive Office to stop sending cables because people were getting very irritated with me. That really pushed up my blood pressure. Later, in the spring of 1998, for the first time in my career I was not asked for input into the "Needs Improvement" section of my performance evaluation. That's always a sign! When I read the criticism that "she tends to overload the bureaucratic circuits," I knew exactly what it referred to. Yes, the cables had been read. They just weren't appreciated.

In the years since the bombing, I've learned just how much I did not know about U.S. national security and law enforcement efforts against al-Qaida. The information was highly compartmentalized, on a "need to know" basis, and clearly Washington did not think the U.S. ambassador needed to know. ■

# SOME DREAMERS OF THE IMPOSSIBLE DREAM

**Is it possible that the various ethnic groups in the Balkans might finally be in the process of overcoming the region's fractious history?**

BY JAMES THOMAS SNYDER

The late-model Audi, its left rear-view mirror smashed, surged past a puttering Zastava on a dark, lonely road outside Struga, Macedonia. The driver, a boisterous Serb named Aleksandr, talked loudly and blasted pop music by Ceca, the wife of the Serb war criminal universally known as Arkan (Željko Ražnatović). It was small comfort to be up front, rather than squashed by the three passengers already in the back seat.

Aleksandr boasted that he was taking us to “the best club” in neighboring Ohrid. Fearful it would be a strip bar populated by

trafficked girls from the region, I had no idea what I had gotten myself into after Aleksandr cornered me halfway to dinner at the hotel and insisted that I join him and his friends.

I was relieved to learn that the club was a sedate restaurant with the local equivalent of a mariachi band. Four men (two guitarists, a fiddler and an accordionist) played old Balkan folk songs for hire. An elated Aleksandr quickly ordered a round of potent rakia brandy, and joined the players in the performance.

I was happy to see acquaintances from the conference I was attending in Struga: a Bulgarian doctoral student, the Macedonian foreign ministry’s chef de cabinet, a Croatian official, an Albanian member of parliament and a Greek brigadier general. I had a couple of brandies with them, relaxed and began to enjoy myself.

Most of the patrons knew each other because they had piled onto a bus together on their way to the NATO summit in Istanbul in 2004—an experience they remember fondly if they remember it at all; by most accounts it was well-liquored. In Istanbul they

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*James Snyder is a former member of the NATO international staff. This article is adapted from his book, *The United States and the Challenge of Public Diplomacy* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). Names have been changed to protect the identities of those who spoke with the author.*



James Thomas Snyder

Lake Ohrid, in Macedonia, is one of the oldest and deepest bodies of water in Europe.

had advocated for NATO membership for their countries, and they were continuing their activities at the conference.

### The Republic Formerly Known as Macedonia

Macedonia is one of the former Yugoslav republics. I note this ostensibly obvious fact because, like many things in the Balkans, it is in contention. Maps of the tiny country of two million often label it “the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia,” and all NATO publications attach an asterisk that notes “Turkey recognizes the Republic of Macedonia by its constitutional name.”

Greece does not recognize it, primarily because the Greeks have an old historical claim to the region. Alexander the Great, King of Macedon, spread Hellenic culture from here to the Hindu Kush during the fourth century before Christ. More darkly, Athens worries that since its northernmost region is named Macedonia, the locals might attempt to claim a Greater Macedonia.

This is perhaps not as absurd as it sounds, given more recent attempts to create a Greater Serbia and a Greater Albania. Moreover, it is an article of faith among many Greeks that an essential heartland of ancient Greece has been somehow excised from the body politic.

As the rest of us have been preoccupied by other challenges, the splintering of Yugoslavia is almost complete. Montenegro achieved a peaceful secession from Serbia, while Macedonia,

Croatia and Slovenia are all independent. Bosnia-Herzegovina is also independent, but still shattered and governed under a virtual European Union protectorate.

Serbia is alone and embittered over the loss of Kosovo, which holds the final answer to the ultimate question of the Balkans. That is where Albanians and Serbs still kill one other, while Belgrade inches cautiously toward wider autonomy for its former province. NATO peacekeepers will likely remain there long after U.S. forces leave Afghanistan.

My NATO colleagues say, without irony, that young people are the future in the Balkans. They are more likely to be educated, Western-oriented, liberal and optimistic. Their generation also provides the energy necessary to overcome decades of political inertia. They seem less attached to history, despite the fact the recent conflicts mirror their grandparents' memories of the Balkan Wars that led to World War I.

That energy was certainly on display as Aleksandr sang. He knew every song. They were native to Macedonia, but everyone at the table seemed to know them. Ana, the Macedonian Foreign Ministry official, sat on my left, picking at her food when not dragging on a cigarette. She expressed feminist contempt for these old folk tunes. “This is an ode to the beauty of the Macedonian woman,” she explained for my benefit, stabbing out a butt. “This one now is about Maria, who broke my heart,” she said about another, making a face.

That did not deter Aleksandr in the slightest. A big, effusive

## The mix of Balkan grammar mashed into English made me feel as if I were listening through a lead pipe.

character, he crooned, and the Greek brigadier whistled, and the Albanian parliamentarian joined in on a drum passed around by the band. The music was usually in a low register and the language was delicate. Language is the portal to any culture, and I simply could not feel it the way everyone else did. But the quiet Bulgarian doctoral student told me from across the table that even for her, the music and words raised the hair on her head.

Before I knew it, Aleksandr had his arms around the Croat and they were belting out another song together. The Greek brigadier, sitting on the other side of me from Ana, jabbed me in the ribs and said, “Look at them! Ten years ago, they were ready to kill each other!”

### West Meets Eastern Europe

This was very much the unspoken theme of my visit. It was 2006, and I was in Macedonia for a conference to talk about regional cooperation, the yin of the Balkan yang—the centripetal force of political order and integration pressing against the centrifugal force of ethnic strife and disintegration. More than six decades ago, the statesman Robert Schuman wrote about how European institutions could repair what centuries of war had rent across the continent. But it was up to these people around this table to make that happen in a new region emerging from conflict and institutional collapse.

The conference was stupefying at times; the mix of Balkan grammar mashed into English made me feel as if I were listening through a lead pipe. But it was also fantastically idealistic and optimistic, a counterhistorical experiment operating entirely against the conventional wisdom contained in Robert Kaplan’s pessimistic *Balkan Ghosts*.

I carried my own travelogue of the former Yugoslavia, the tome *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* by Rebecca West. Seventy-odd years after its publication, it vividly described what I was seeing, and her experiences as she traveled with her husband and Yugoslav friends across the region during the 1930s mirrored mine. The coincidences were so striking that I started

bringing the book with me on social outings; and, without prompting, my companions would hold up the volume as they discussed the history and prospects of the region—just as West and her companions had done with volumes of Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky.

Earlier in the day we walked through Ohrid, exploring St. Sofia, a Byzantine church that the Ottomans had converted to a mosque before Christians knocked over its minaret and reconsecrated it. We passed the country’s best archaeology museum on the way to the Church of Plaosnik on a high overlook, a site that dates to the Roman era. West describes the Orthodox church as a place where the priests understand magic, and it was easy to see why.

We walked from there down to the small, 1,000-year-old Byzantine Church of St. John, which is perched on a promontory with a dramatic view of Lake Ohrid, one of the oldest and deepest bodies of water in Europe. To the brigadier’s delight, he found a Greek family performing a baptism in the tiny shrine. He insisted I witness this event and shoved me inside.

The family was packed into the narrow sanctuary, and the infant was passed around with a perplexed look on his face. Naked but for a light cloth, the baby was held by the priest who dripped water from his hand onto the child’s head. The family giggled at the baby’s reaction. Then he was handed to the godfather for a blessing. The room was dark but seemed to glow and, despite the close quarters, the crowd was perfectly quiet.

Leaving in the sunlight, the family pressed sweets on the buoyant brigadier to share with us in celebration. This serendipitous encounter seemed a latter-day incarnation of West’s experience on the same spot, when she stumbled across a wedding, the fields covered by well-wishers and people paddling boats around the promontory, “singing ecstatically.”

### Greek to Me

History, like life, cannot be expunged from the landscape. Visiting a traditional print shop in Ohrid, the Greek brigadier seized on a few lines by Grigor Parlichev, a 19th-century poet, as proof of the influence of Greece in Macedonia. This is a delicate thing to assert, and the brigadier was anything but delicate.

“He was Greek!” he insisted.

“But he was born in Ohrid,” asserted Biljana, a tiny but willful Macedonian college student who sparred with the brigadier all afternoon. “He is Macedonian.”

“But he wrote in Greek!” the general roared. “He was Greek!”

To appreciate the general’s ardor, it helps to know that Ohrid



James Thomas Snyder

The city of Ohrid, on the eastern shore of Lake Ohrid, is a cultural-historical center and summer tourist destination.

claims to be the cradle of the Macedonian language. Statues of St. Clement, the local monk and patron saint who developed and propagated the Cyrillic alphabet among the Slavs, stand overlooking Lake Ohrid. Cyrillic is based on the Greek alphabet, inserting new characters for complicated diphthongs and other sounds in Old Slavonic that are not present in Greek.

It may not matter that Parlichev was born in Ohrid under the Ottoman Empire and considered himself Bulgarian. Macedonia alone has enough history, language and culture to fuel a dozen arguments about the claim to an old poet. Hellenic influence is manifest, and the Turks dominated the Balkans for centuries. The French fought through here during World War I, and German Navy tugs are still sunk at the bottom of Lake Ohrid. The Bulgarians predominated for a time and share the Cyrillic alphabet.

Macedonia's large Albanian minority speaks a language that has nothing in common with any other language in Europe. Turks live here too, as do the Roma Gypsies, and both have their own languages that influence the others.

None of that deterred Biljana and the brigadier, who argued all afternoon. But by the end of the day, the general was trying to fix Biljana up with his son, a recently commissioned air force officer, on her next trip to Greece.

If politics is like playing three-dimensional chess, then Balkan politics is like playing three concurrent games of three-dimensional chess where all the pieces are interchangeable. It

is easy to be overwhelmed by the complexity of the region, to take the differences as inherent and unchanging, and conflict as an inevitable outcome of those dissimilarities. But all human conflict is political, and all politics is choice; and with choice, we have control.

### Playing Three-Dimensional Chess

This is captured in a scene in Skopje 70 years ago that West describes in *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*. She watches as Albanians, Macedonians, Turks and Gypsies all go about their afternoon rituals—walks, dances, prayer, festivals—together but separate in their own customs. Her reverie is interrupted by Gerda, the shrewish wife of her guide Constantine, and the sentiments expressed are the difference between the hedgehog and the fox, between the cosmopolitan and the pure, between fascism and democracy, between the past and the future:

“I do not understand you [Gerda said]; you go on saying what a beautiful country this is, and you must know perfectly well that there is no order here, no culture, but only a mishmash of different peoples who are all quite primitive and low. Why do you do that?”

“[West] said wearily, ‘But it’s precisely because there are so many different peoples that Yugoslavia is so interesting. So many of these peoples have remarkable qualities, and it is fascinating to see whether they can be organized into an orderly state.’

## The people I met in Macedonia seemed to recognize that they have to live with one another. And so must we all.

"How can you make an orderly state out of so many peoples?" [Gerda] asked. "They should all be driven out."

Then as now, it was extraordinarily compelling to see these people making the effort to organize themselves into an orderly state. As in a marriage, they were choosing to work together, to get along, to see past their differences and find their common humanity because they recognized a better future was only possible in that choice. Their work was an individual act of political will, multiplied many times, to take themselves and their countries toward a world that they are imagining and creating for themselves.

### The Art of the Impossible

Since that bus trip to Istanbul almost a decade ago, many of the Balkan states have been stunningly, even miraculously successful. Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia and Albania have all joined NATO, and the first three joined the European Union, as well. Macedonia qualified for NATO membership, too, but was kept out of the alliance by Greece.

Serbia joined the NATO Partnership for Peace, an extraordinary achievement. And with the arrests and extraditions of the war criminals Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić, Serbia is two steps closer to entering the European Union itself. For these dreamers, politics is—in Václav Havel's words—truly the art of the impossible.

None of that kept Aleksandri, pink and perspiring after rounds of rakia and song, from debating the Albanian parliamentarian about whether a particular Kosovar Albanian was a terrorist and trying to dragoon me into his argument. But he was arguing, not fighting.

Watching these friends—Serbs, Croats, Bulgarians, Albanians, Greeks, Macedonians—I thought they might just be in the process of loosening the bonds of history and tightening the bonds of fellowship at the same time. Is that possible?

They seemed to recognize, perhaps as West did all those years ago, that there was simply no other way out. They were stuck. They'd have to live with one another. And so must we all. ■

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# A “TRAILING” SPOUSE?

**A millennial commentator shares her reaction to joining the ranks of the Foreign Service community.**

BY JESSIE BRYSON

am a trailing spouse.

This isn't a diagnosis for my own mid-life crisis or some existential metaphor for my relationship status. No, this is what I'm called, thanks to my dear husband's Foreign Service position.

To be more specific and, I suppose, far less incriminating, it's a term assigned to me by way of my husband's job, if I really had to blame somebody. (But who's blaming anybody in this career?) Thus, as I haul my worldly belongings from one continent to another, updating my Facebook location status as often as some do their relationships, I find myself thrown into the unexpected role of "trailing spouse."

This lifestyle certainly does have its perks. The government goes to great lengths to ensure the stability of our family (and our future family's) life. Housing is provided, cost-of-living adjustments are accounted for, and luxuries like dishwashers and lawn mowers are supplied to provide some semblance

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*Jessie Bryson has accompanied her husband, Barrett Bryson, who joined the Foreign Service in 2010, to Dar es Salaam by way of Guangzhou and Washington, D.C. As a writer and photographer, she is active both online and in her local community. She keeps a diary of her observations about overseas life at [www.jessboop.com](http://www.jessboop.com).*

of American normalcy. Living on a single-income salary in East Africa is far more manageable than it is in any American metropolis.

I envy friends' kids who already have more life experience under their tweeny belts than I have accrued during my 30 years of existence. These kids have grown up in places like Italy, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Kenya, Switzerland and Costa Rica. But it's okay, because I take my immature self off to exotic locations on "holiday" to cope—places like Bali, Phuket, Taipei, Mumbai, Mexico City and Bozeman, Mont. (After living abroad for two years in Asia, Bozeman was as exotic as Penang.)

Plus, it's straight-up impressive that my husband is qualified enough, and has been selected, for his position abroad. I'm one of those "brains are attractive" kinds of girls, you know?

I do occasionally whine about mosquitoes, lament that I only find myself residing in hot and humid locales, and dread the fact that many of my clothes will forever have a slightly dusty, storage-like smell because they sat in a shipping container for eight months last year. But eventually, mosquito bites heal, and I'll live in a city located at 45° North. And if I weren't so cheap, I would take my entire wardrobe in for dry cleaning.

I really only have one major issue with this lifestyle I've stumbled into, and that's that I'm often labeled a "trailing spouse" (whether vocalized or not) on first introduction. It's a label that I'm finding difficult to accept, simply due to its eponymous implication of attaching oneself to another.

### **It's Not the Good Old Days**

Decades ago, the outward appearance of a trailing spouse directly affected her husband's work. The performance review of a member of the military or Foreign Service, especially those at high ranks, used to include an assessment of his spouse's ability to entertain. I can't imagine making a pot roast, let alone being judged for one.

In those good old days, as they're misleadingly known, a Foreign Service was almost always a man whose wife followed him overseas. His spouse was expected to host dinners and cocktail gatherings while maintaining the home and her appearance with finesse. The spouse featured in the role of supporting character was a big deal, and "trailing spouse" was (and I do say this with a bit of hesitation) something of an esteemed title.

Luckily we've moved on, away from an obsession with pot roast and misogynistic tendencies. Both men and women play the role of trailing spouse now, though it's still more common among the latter; and many of these spouses pursue profes-

Most young adults today, myself included, are not comfortable playing a supporting role.

sional opportunities abroad. But like the term "stay-at-home mom," "trailing spouse" still has a negative connotation.

This has a lot to do with the feminist movement, but it also reflects a strong desire among millennials for innovation and individualism. Members of the "Me, Me, Me" Generation emblazoned on the cover of *Time* magazine months ago have not been taught how to put themselves behind others. As a result, most young adults today, myself included, are not comfortable playing a supporting role.

### **Our Generation**

Back at home, many of my friends are DINKs, which is an unfortunate acronym for what I see as a fortunate situation: Dual Income, No Kids. As products of the Me Generation, we grew up with walls adorned with soccer and softball trophies, and adults cooing that we jump the highest and sing the loudest and smile the prettiest. We post these facts all over our walls—on Facebook, that is, not in suburban homes. We've all gone on to earn college degrees, many of them postgraduate; and some of us have helped start a business or two.

As we reach adulthood, we millennials have specific ideals for life. Work hard and play hard. Learn another language. Book exotic and adventurous travel excursions. Know how to address a proper cover letter. Put off having a family in favor of career stability. Learn to write a witty Match.com profile. Do what inspires, but also think about whether these actions look good to others.

Many of my friends are able to balance successful relationships with their successful careers, and in their free time have successful social lives. When they casually ask me what I am up to these days, I scramble to find an answer that will impress.



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Already, I feel I am failing my generation. “Oh, what am I doing, you ask? Ummm, I followed my husband to Africa.” In my mind, I might as well have made a pot roast.

### What We Do

Living overseas, I attend gatherings where fellow trailing spouses introduce one another as “Wife of X” or “Husband of Y,” and then immediately talk about what we did in a past life. Former lawyers, media planners, environmentalists, teachers, Peace Corps Volunteers and scientists (though, for what it’s worth, I notice that very few are former doctors). Armed with impressive CVs, we begin new lives abroad as housewives, parents, volunteers, hobbyists.

More often than not, there are great barriers to overcome in seeking employment overseas, if spouses and partners are even allowed to work in a particular country. Often the job market is not what we expected, whether because of regulations in the country, heightened expectations and inflated U.S. pay scales, the lack of jobs in the local economy, or more obvious barriers such as language, visas, time commitments and the like.

Last August, as I read the heavily circulated *New York Times* article, “The Opt-Out Generation Wants Back In,” I could not help making constant connections between my struggles in the fairly recent role as trailing spouse and those of modern-day stay-at-home mothers. In either situation, when a woman (or man) chooses family over career, feelings of responsibility, guilt, envy, resentment and regret surface, no matter how confident the choice. Whether one is a trailing spouse or a stay-at-home mother, the issue of defining one’s personal identity is under microscopic scrutiny.

But the challenges for the “trailing spouse” have an added

twist. Even if we find ways to pack days to the brim, and score an amazing role of a lifetime at our new home, we live with the constant, nagging awareness that when our spouse's job is done, we will be required to pick up and pack out and move on and start all over again.

## Leading, Not Trailing

But recently, I've been inspired. I have met many a trailing spouse with enormous credentials who is doing magnificent things alongside their partner. No matter where they live, they find meaningful work, are graceful parents and become the backbone of their families' lives. Plenty of spouses like me are assuming the role of freelancer, consultant or telecommuter, because the same online presence that feeds the Me Generation's self-absorption also facilitates working from home, and much more.

Most of these Foreign Service spouses are in their element, on both a personal and professional level, and are the precise opposite of "trailing." In the end, it's not the process of finding work overseas that's hard—because frankly, that's hard everywhere. It's also more than finding a good OB-GYN, driving to four neighborhoods to find the right (safe) dog food or avoiding a pesky gluten allergy that would be a breeze to work around back in the States.

If anything, as I suspect most trailing spouses will profess, we thrive under pressure. We may shed a few tears every now and then, but handling overseas life is easy, compared with answering what seems like a simple question, "What do you do?" Coming to terms with that has replaced cooking a perfect pot roast as the million-dollar dilemma.

I wrote earlier that I'm a trailing spouse, thanks to my husband. But, of course, my husband isn't tying me to the seat of every plane he boards. And I wouldn't trade in my marriage, our travels or my job, however undefined, as a writer, for anything. My husband and I make some decisions independent of one another, but most are made together, including spending his career overseas.

At the end of each assignment, when our worldly goods are being carried out the door in a crate that will spend eight months in storage, I can always bow out of this difficult role. But I ask myself: Would living in a shoebox apartment in a fifth-floor walkup in New York really be more glamorous? More fulfilling?

I don't think so.

Trailing spouse? To me it looks more like *prevailing* spouse! ■



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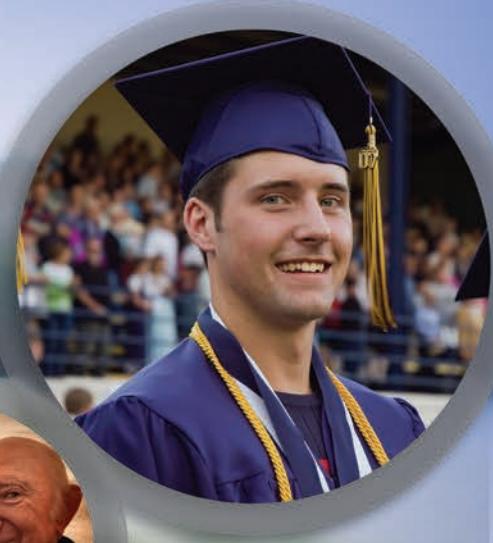
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## F. Allen "Tex" Harris Receives Human Rights Award

On Dec. 12, F. Allen "Tex" Harris, a former AFSA president (1993-1997), was honored by the United Nations Association of the National Capital Area with their Award for the Use of Diplomacy to Advance Human Rights.

Nominated by AFSA President Bob Silverman, the award recognizes Harris' extraordinary achievements in saving lives during the Argentine military dictatorship. The ceremony took place in the Caucus Room of the Cannon House Office Building on Capitol Hill.

### Point of Hope

In 1977, Harris, a mid-level diplomat in Buenos Aires, became a point of hope for thousands of families whose loved ones had been kidnapped, tortured and clandestinely executed by the military junta. Through his work, he helped raise consciousness worldwide about the human rights abuses.

His initiative to collect first-hand reports from family members of the more than 14,000 cases of the "disappeared" was unprecedented. He analyzed the files (this was before the computer age) and reported the facts to the U.S. government and the world press on the junta's dirty war. This data gave critical veracity to reports of the excesses of the Argentine military junta's secret program to eliminate subversion.



F. Allen "Tex" Harris addresses members of the United Nations Association of the National Capital Area after receiving an award recognizing his human rights work during the Argentine military dictatorship.

### Center for Human Rights

Owing to Harris' efforts, the U.S. embassy became a human rights center, collecting and reporting information first-hand. These efforts helped to organize an information-sharing program with other key embassies and with the few human rights groups in Buenos Aires. Foreign journalists used Harris as a source for their reporting. His work had a major impact on public perceptions and governmental policies around the world.

Mr. Harris' human rights advocacy did not end in Argentina. He also worked for nine years on the diplomatic effort to bring democracy to South Africa. As consul

general in Durban, Harris focused on connecting the racially isolated communities through building grassroots institutions. He assisted in bringing the first black players into South Africa's professional rugby teams and warned about the HIV/AIDS pandemic threatening the region.

### AFSA Leader

During his tenure as president, Mr. Harris led efforts to improve working conditions and to end ethnic, gender and racial discrimination within the State Department.

Mr. Harris currently serves as a retiree representative on the AFSA Governing Board. ■

### CALENDAR

3/5/2014  
12:00 - 2:00 PM  
AFSA Governing Board Meeting

3/6/2014  
Deadline: AFSA Student Financial Aid Applications

3/4/2014  
2:00 - 3:30 PM  
"America's First Globals: Public Diplomats for the 21st Century," with John Zogby

3/15/2014  
Deadline: AFSA High School Essay Contest

3/24/2014  
12:00 - 1:00 PM  
Job Search Program Brown Bag @ FSI

3/25/2014  
2:30 - 4:00 PM  
"Diplomacy in Difficult Places" with Amb. Gerald Feierstein

4/2/2014  
12:00 - 2:00 PM  
AFSA Governing Board Meeting



See 90th Kick-Off Coverage On Page 52



## Working to Make Travel Easier

AFSA's strategic plan outlines how we are working to make the department a better, safer and more rewarding place to serve. This month, our efforts to improve benefits and the quality of work/life as it relates to employee travel.

For several years now, AFSA has advocated for employee enrollment in various Trusted Traveler programs. Given the frequency of employee travel, it is in the government's financial interest to enroll employees in two specific programs that can save time and increase productivity: Global Entry and TSA Pre-Check.

### Global Entry

The U.S. Customs and Border Protection's Global Entry program was designed to facilitate customs and immigration clearance for frequent, low-risk international travelers. To enroll, applicants must be fingerprinted and interviewed by an immigration officer, and meet strict eligibility criteria. On return to the U.S., enrollees may verify their identity and complete the immigration process at an electronic kiosk without speaking with an officer.

While traditional lines can have waits of more than 20 minutes before U.S. citizens have the opportunity to speak with an immigration officer, the expedited immigration process at the

kiosk takes approximately one minute, and the kiosks are usually available without a wait. The benefits of Global Entry continue to grow as the program partners with foreign trusted traveler programs—now in the Netherlands and South Korea.

### TSA Pre-check

The Transportation Security Administration's program, TSA Pre-Check, facilitates passenger security screening at airports. Passengers enrolled in TSA Pre-Check may leave their belts, shoes and lightweight jackets on and do not have to remove laptops from their bags.

These enhanced protocols result in quicker and more comfortable screening of passengers who have already been determined to have a low-risk profile, thus enabling TSA employees to focus on less regular, non-vetted passengers.

### Enrollment Costs

Global Entry membership costs \$100 for five years, and TSA Pre-Check is \$85 for the same period. Global Entry membership currently includes membership in TSA Pre-Check, making it a far better value for the frequent international traveler. Several premium credit cards reimburse Global Entry enrollment fees, and some airlines complimentarily enroll frequent fliers in TSA Pre-Check. The productiv-

ity savings realized through participation in these two programs quickly cover the cost of the programs themselves. For instance, after just two trips, an FS-03 employee's productivity savings exceeds the annualized cost of membership.

An even better value than Global Entry is enrollment in the U.S.-Canadian trusted traveler programs, NEXUS. As members, individuals living on or close to the border are given expedited land border crossing. The \$50 fee includes what is essentially a "passport" card, in addition to membership in Global Entry and TSA-Pre-Check. (For me, as a Michigander, the NEXUS card was the only way to go—half the price of Global Entry, and a free "passport" card!)

### AFSA Actions

AFSA has encouraged the department to enroll employees in TSA Pre-Check and Global Entry. In late 2013, TSA announced automatic enrollment and expansion of TSA Pre-Check to active-duty members of the military (in or out of uniform). We understand the department is working to extend this benefit to our Foreign Service colleagues holding security clearances.

A larger challenge is advocating for automatic Foreign Service enrollment in Global Entry. We are pursuing a strategy directed at the

individual and institutional levels.

The General Services Administration's current travel circular prohibits agency reimbursement of an employee's Global Entry fees. This circular was issued before Global Entry was even a program, and cites a privately administered security clearance program instead of a government-run, trusted traveler, customs/immigration program. We have written and spoken to GSA requesting a review of this travel regulation.

At the same time, we have written to and met with the CBP to discuss auto-enrollment of Foreign Service employees with security clearances in Global Entry. CBP explained that Global Entry has more stringent eligibility criteria than TSA Pre-Check. These criteria are not addressed by the department's employee security clearance investigation program. We continue to engage CBP and the department to see if there is a way to harmonize these requirements and facilitate auto-enrollment.

We are also exploring a third-party partnership to bring the benefit of Global Entry to members through an AFSA-branded credit card.

Please think what you can do to support AFSA in these efforts. ■

Next month: AFSA Partners



Views and opinions expressed in this column are solely those of the AFSA USAID VP.  
Contact: swayne@usaid.gov or (202) 712-1631

## ePerformance Is On the Horizon

In support of the administrator's USAID Forward Talent Management initiative, the Office of Human Resources plans to pilot an ePerformance system. This new tool is designed to facilitate Internet access to the annual evaluation form from anywhere, provide automated workflow between employees and their managers, allow for electronic signatures, and bring increased transparency and accountability to the evaluation process.

Transitioning to electronic document handling holds much promise; however, startups are rarely, if ever, without glitches. Many may remember the tedious procedures we faced instituting the New Management System. We learned a lot about what it takes to launch agencywide software in an agency that happens to be spread out over 80 countries. Yet, even some of the more recent

electronic initiatives such as WebTA and the Global Acquisition and Assistance System, have shown that it is nearly impossible to escape early glitches, no matter how much preparation is done.

### Transitioning to electronic document handling holds much promise; however, initial start-ups are rarely, if ever, without glitches.

The Foreign Service evaluation is essential for promotion, tenure and career planning. Therefore, a smooth rollout of ePerformance—and the assurance that any glitches that surface do not disadvantage any FSO—is imperative. To ensure that the agency understands just how personally any potential

glitches would affect FSOs during this rollout, and to begin close monitoring of remedy procedures, I met recently with the office of the Chief Information Officer, Labor Relations and OHR personnel.

OHR is looking to pilot the ePerformance system at several missions (pending at this writing) to ensure that the system supports the current performance management processes for the Foreign Service and Senior Foreign Service. The pilot is planned for the 2014-2015 performance cycle, beginning April 2014. The rollout for the entire FS/SFS will be determined based on the results of the pilots.

I relayed my initial concerns during this meeting: that the introduction to FS members should include a longer test period in Washington; that those participating in the overseas pilot must

in no way be penalized by the performance boards due to any glitches in the system; that alternate (or proxy) users be allowed in the system; that multiple deadline reminders be sent out; and that adequate and continued training be provided.

General Schedule pilots were initiated for the Senior Executive Service in October 2013 (their rating cycle begins Oct. 1) and for OHR in January 2014 (their rating cycle begins January 1)—too recent for any feedback to be available. OHR will be providing more information once pilot missions are identified and a rollout plan is finalized.

I will continue my close involvement in this transition and see that the initiative provides the intended benefits. To make sure we are fully heard, I am anxious to know your concerns. Please do not hesitate to contact me at swayne@usaid.gov. ■

### NEWS BRIEF

#### AFSA Annual Report 2013 Is Out

The report has been published and is available online at [www.afsa.org/annualreport](http://www.afsa.org/annualreport). A hard copy was sent to all retired members. Copies are also available on request. E-mail [member@afsa.org](mailto:member@afsa.org).

The report details AFSA's 2013 activities, ranging from strategic planning to events. AFSA President Bob Silverman pens the introductory passage, followed by contributions from all constituency vice presidents, as well as AFSA's professional staff.

For the first time, the report is published as a stand-alone document. It is focused on member services and our 90th anniversary. We hope you will take the opportunity to peruse the report.

### NEWS BRIEF

#### Women Ambassadors Through History

Just in time for women's history month, AFSA has debuted a new section of its ambassador tracking website. The page details the number of female ambassadors who have served in each country since the U.S. began diplomatic relations with that nation. There are some surprising statistics, ranging from shocking omissions (no female chiefs of mission in Canada or China) to good news (women are well represented in newer states). We hope that our members will find this information interesting and useful. You may access the chart at [www.afsa.org/femaleambms](http://www.afsa.org/femaleambms).

# AFSA President Meets FS Retirees From Eight States

BY TOM SWITZER, SPEAKERS BUREAU DIRECTOR

In recent months, AFSA President Bob Silverman addressed Foreign Service retiree associations in Virginia, Maryland and New England on the challenges and opportunities facing U.S. diplomacy and the Foreign Service.

## Northern Virginia

On Sept. 25, Silverman gave a luncheon presentation to 45 members of Foreign Affairs Retirees of Northern Virginia. He noted that AFSA's considerable growth in membership (now standing at more than 16,000) is a result of the rapid growth of the Foreign Service itself. He discussed the more limited policy role FSOs now play, due in part to the expansion of the number of political appointees in the department. At the close of the meeting, the audience posed a number of questions regarding AFSA's positions on issues affecting retirees.

## Maryland

On Dec. 19, the Foreign Affairs Retirees of Maryland hosted the AFSA president at a luncheon in Bethesda attended by more than 50 retirees. Silverman highlighted the 90th anniversaries of AFSA and the Foreign Service—which began with

the passage of the Rogers Act of 1924—and the many events taking place throughout 2014.

Discussion centered on the risk of reductions to retiree pensions should Congress impose a "chained" Consumer Price Index provision on federal pensions. Silverman stressed that AFSA opposes such an action and is working hard to see that it doesn't happen through advocacy in all relevant congressional committees.

## New England

Silverman traveled to Boston on Jan. 10 to speak to more than 50 retirees at a luncheon hosted by the Foreign Affairs Retirees of New England.

Comparing the current generation of FSOs with retirees, Silverman observed there has been substantial growth in the numbers of Foreign Service specialists, especially in the area of security. He also noted that virtually all members of the Foreign Service will serve in a war zone.

The AFSA president shared his belief that the Foreign Service is distinguished by three features: flexibility, especially worldwide availability; discipline, as reflected in the "up- or-out" system; and experience, especially



PHOTO BY LIZ BARNETT/FARNE

Amb. Tom Hull, president of Foreign Affairs Retirees of New England, and FARNE officer Toni Stearns, greet AFSA President Bob Silverman before his luncheon presentation in Boston on Jan. 10.

the ability to understand foreign cultures. In his view, maintaining these features as the core of the Foreign Service is important.

Based on his experience in the Middle East and South Asia, Silverman told the group he believes that Secretary of State John Kerry's initiative in the Middle East Peace Process deserves support. He applauded the secretary's decision to make an Israeli-Palestinian accord a priority at the beginning of his tenure because as Silverman said, he believes that an agreement is possible.

Subsequent questions and discussion included skepticism that Kerry will fare any better in the Middle East than his predecessors.

Silverman concluded by noting some issues AFSA is working on and made a pitch for more retirees to join AFSA. To protect their retirement benefits, he stressed, retirees need to weigh in with their congressional representatives on the "chained" CPI. Participants also discussed the When Actually Employed process and overseas locality pay issues for generalists.

AFSA has given priority to reaching out to retired members' associations around the country to better understand and respond to retiree concerns. ■

# AFSA Memorial Plaque: The Forgotten, Found

BY JASON VORDERSTRASSE,  
CHIEF, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS SECTION, U.S. CONSULATE GENERAL TIJUANA

Nearly five years ago, I wrote in *The Foreign Service Journal* about my discovery of three U.S. diplomats who died in the line of duty under "tragic or heroic circumstances," but their names did not appear on the AFSA Memorial Plaques in the C Street lobby of the Harry S Truman Building ("Russ and I," June 2009).

Since that time, I have found an additional 32 names. Almost all of them predate the establishment of the Foreign Service in 1924. Because the department did not maintain a list of those who died in the line of duty, I turned to the ProQuest Historical Newspapers database and Google Books to find almost everyone listed below.

All of the people I have found died either through violence, accidents or due to diseases. Perhaps not surprisingly, diseases caused the deaths of by far the greatest number. Yellow fever claimed many of them, including John Howden, consul to Bermuda, who died of yellow fever in 1853 after merely 19 days in office. Yellow fever also caused the deaths of William Little, consul to Panama City, on Jan. 29, 1867; Louis Prevost, consul to Guayaquil, on May 23, 1867; Elphus Rogers, consul to Veracruz, on Aug. 1, 1881; William Stapp, consul to Pernambuco, on April 13,

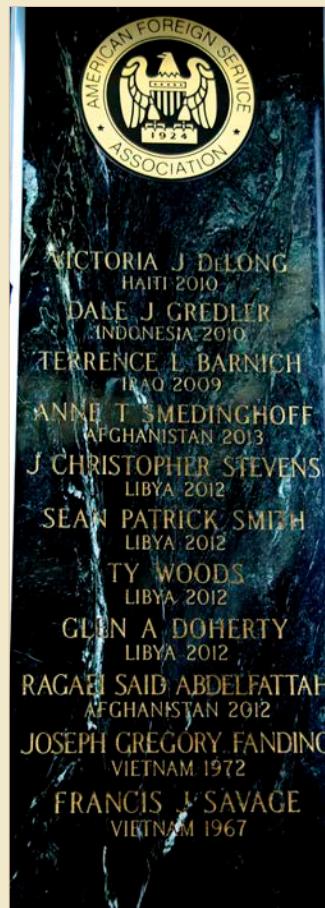


PHOTO BY DONNA AVERST

1860; and James Torbut, consul at St. Thomas, on Dec. 26, 1858.

Various other fevers caused the deaths of numerous appointees, including Samuel Shaw, first consul to Canton, who died at sea on May 30, 1794. Fever also claimed the lives of Alexander Clark, consul in Monrovia, on May 31, 1891; Samuel Collings, consul at Tangier, on June 15, 1855; William McCracken, consul to La

Union, San Salvador, on July 7, 1857; Seth Phelps, minister to Peru, on June 24, 1885; and William Tudor, chargé d'affaires in Rio de Janeiro, on March 9, 1830.

Typhoid claimed the life of Daniel Brent, consul to Paris, who died on Jan. 31, 1841; cholera felled Joseph Cosageny, vice consul in Barcelona, who died in November 1865, and William Irvin, consul to Amoy (Xiamen), who died from the disease on Sept. 9, 1865. Dysentery took the lives of Edward Ely, consul to Bombay (Mumbai), who died on Jan. 17, 1858; Hiram Lott, consul to Managua, who died on June 6, 1895; Alexander McKee, consul to Panama City, who died Sept. 3, 1865; and James Thornton, chargé d'affaires to Peru and Bolivia, who died on Jan. 25, 1838.

Accidents involving automobiles or trains caused the deaths of Constantine Corafa, vice consul in Athens, died in March 1929; Henry H. Ford, consul general in Frankfurt, died on March 9, 1965; Allen Francis, consul to St. Thomas and Port Stanley, Canada, died on Aug. 4, 1887; and James Parsons, Jr., consul general in Mexico City, died on Dec. 5, 1905.

Boating accidents and shipwrecks were responsible for the loss of William Ashby, consul at Colon, who died on Jan. 17, 1898; and Robert Sterry, consul to La Rochelle,

who died in a shipwreck off the coast of Long Island while returning from France on Jan. 17, 1820.

George Atcheson Jr., an FSO assigned to Gen. MacArthur's staff in occupied Japan, died in a plane crash between Kwajalein and Hawaii on Aug. 17, 1947. Similar accidents claimed the lives of George Henderson, consul in Dhahran, who died on April 15, 1948, and Carlin Treat, vice consul to Casablanca, who died on Oct. 10, 1946.

Several appointees died by violent means. These include William Baker, consul in Guaymas, Mexico, who was killed by "Apaches" in Mazatlan on Dec. 20, 1862; Henricus C. J. Heusken, secretary at the U.S. legation in Edo (Tokyo), who was assassinated by anti-foreign samurai on Jan. 16, 1861; Henry Sawyer, consul in Paramaribo, who was murdered by a sailor in his custody on May 7, 1877; and William Stuart, vice consul in Batum, who was shot on May 20, 1906. ■

**Note from AFSA:** These names may be added to AFSA's Memorial Plaque in the future. The AFSA awards committee is discussing the possibility of establishing a virtual memorial plaque in the new Museum of American Diplomacy.

## AFSA BOOK NOTES

# A Thought Experiment on the Foreign Service

BY JULIAN STEINER, AFSA STAFF



PHOTO BY AGER SIGFUSSON

On Jan. 30, at AFSA headquarters, Dr. Daniel Serwer presents his book, *Righting the Balance: How You Can Help Protect America*, to an interested audience.

as U.S. special envoy and coordinator for the Bosnian Federation; and from 1990-1993, as deputy chief of mission and chargé d'affaires at the U.S. embassy in Rome. His experience in foreign affairs has led him to an alternative view on our civilian institutions.

A professor of conflict management and senior fellow at the Center for Transatlantic Relations at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies and a scholar at the Middle East Institute, Serwer believes that America faces an imbalance between civilian institutions and the military in protecting national security and building peace and democracy abroad. In *Righting the Balance*, he offers a thought experiment on what should be done, suggesting that the Department of State, the U.S. Agency for International Development and the Foreign Service as we know them be abolished.

In explaining the imbalance, Serwer points to the origin of our institutional setting. The leading role the military plays today, he says, has its roots in the French-Indian War of 1754 to 1763. Since then, the military has been the major player in U.S. foreign policy. The Department of State is much more limited in its capacities, which, according to Serwer, has become apparent in recent conflicts, such as the Arab uprising and especially the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

"These conflicts left our diplomats puzzled on what to do. The enemies of today are not often states," Serwer argues. "We won those wars, but we lost the peace after the wars."

On Jan. 30, AFSA's Book Notes program welcomed Dr. Daniel Serwer for a presentation on his book, *Righting the Balance: How You Can Help Protect America*, (Potomac Books, 2013).

Daniel Serwer spent 40 years in public service, 21 of these in the Foreign Service. During his career, he served as minister-counselor at the Department of State; from 1994-1996,

Serwer sees national security as a joint operation of the military and the State Department, which requires state-building capabilities that "are currently lacking in State and USAID." As he sees it, part of the problem is the difficulty in training for democracy building. The U.S. military is training foreign soldiers, but "we are not training civilians who have oversight over the military."

Here, Serwer points to the importance of strengthening citizen and cultural diplomacy efforts to counter violent extremism and to enhance understanding of the United States abroad. The problem he sees is that all of these efforts are "on the margin of traditional diplomacy," and cannot be accomplished by the current institutions.

"If we were to design our institutions today, would we design something like USAID and State?" No, Serwer answers. He describes the Department of State as a "static foreign ministry with a 19th-century architecture" and embassies abroad as "overblown." Here he draws from his experience at the embassy in Rome, which had 800 employees during his tours in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, and still has 800 employees today. Institutional architecture does not necessarily change with the change in foreign policy needs over time.

Although there have been attempts to improve, such as the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review, Serwer argues that these attempts do not go far enough: "We need to rebuild from the ground up, or at least attempt the thought experiment of rebuilding from the ground up."

While the book does not offer a detailed design of what a new foreign office might look like, it does suggest folding USAID into State to create a more unified organization. It also stresses the importance of nongovernmental and civilian efforts. According to Serwer, "public diplomacy is best done at an arms-length of the government, not under its thumb." and proposes a readily assignable corps, trained to react to a variety of scenarios around the globe.

Serwer ended his presentation by saying, "We need to build a new Foreign Service for a world in which almost everyone will soon be connected and ordinary citizens are going to be counting more than ever before in world history."

A lively discussion followed.

To view the event online, please see [www.afsa.org/video](http://www.afsa.org/video). ■

# AFSA Welcomes Spring Semester Interns

AFSA is pleased to welcome our new crop of interns, who will be with us through the spring semester. This incoming group is our largest ever, and we look forward to working with them over the next few months. We also thank departing interns Tom van der Stelt, Valerie Sanders and Lauren Stabler for their contributions and wish them the best.

## Advertising

Yuting 'Cibil' Lu attends the Washington Semester at American University, studying journalism and foreign policy. Her home school is Xiamen University in Xiamen, China, where she is a graduate student in communications.

## Awards and Outreach

Floyd Jones is a junior at The George Washington University, double-majoring in international affairs and music. Floyd is proficient in Spanish and fluent in Krio. He mentors inner-city youth on weekends and leads a gospel choir in Maryland.

## Communications

Julian Steiner continues as the communications intern. From Vienna, Austria, he is a graduate student at The George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs.

## Editorial

Bret Matera will be working with *The Foreign Service Journal* staff. He is a junior at American University, double majoring in economics and international relations. Bret spent a semester as a program assistant for the Atlantic Treaty Association in Brussels. His home town is Chapel Hill, N.C.

## Executive Office

Connor Doyle is a senior majoring in international affairs at The George Washington University.

Patrick Niceforo is a senior at the University of Maryland, majoring in government and politics, with a focus on international relations and duel minors in Korean and terrorism studies.

## Legislative Affairs

Doreen El-Roeiy recently graduated from the London School of Economics with

a Master's degree in global politics. She has experience in the State Department and the United Nations.

Connie Zhang is pursuing an undergraduate degree from The George Washington University. As a sophomore, she has not chosen a major, but is interested in international business, public policy, economics and communication.

## Virtual

Angela Mswabuki is our virtual intern. She is currently a freshman at the University of Delaware, majoring in International Relations and minoring in Japanese, Chinese and Arabic.

## Scholarship Program

Kerrin Murphy is the scholarship program intern. She is a senior at the State University of New York at Fredonia, majoring in Spanish and minoring in international studies. She has studied in Mexico and Puerto Rico. ■■■



Yuting Cibil Lu



Connor Doyle



Floyd Jones



Kerrin Murphy



Doreen El-Roeiy



Julian Steiner



Patrick Niceforo



Connie Zhang



Bret Matera

## AFSA Tax Guide 2013 Correction: New York

The AFSA Tax Guide 2013 contains an error concerning the tax status of Foreign Service officers assigned to USUN New York. The 2001 opinion from the New York tax authorities cited in the AFSA Tax Guide was superseded in 2009. The Office of Tax Policy Analysis, Taxpayer Guidance Division, issued Tax Memo TSB-M-09(2)I on Jan. 16, 2009, amending the definition of permanent place of abode in the personal income tax regulations. The new rules determine that Foreign Service members assigned to USUN have a permanent place of abode in the state of New York, and are therefore subject to New York and New York City income taxes. The 2009 memo can be found at [www.tax.ny.gov/pdf/memos/income/m09\\_2i.pdf](http://www.tax.ny.gov/pdf/memos/income/m09_2i.pdf). A subsequent 2011 tax bulletin can be found at: [www.tax.ny.gov/pubs\\_and\\_bulls/tg\\_bulletins/pit/permanent\\_place\\_of\\_abode.htm](http://www.tax.ny.gov/pubs_and_bulls/tg_bulletins/pit/permanent_place_of_abode.htm). We thank USUN staff for drawing our attention to this important change and apologize for any inconvenience caused.

## AFSA Kicks Off the 90th Anniversary with a Packed House



PHOTO BY ASGER SIGFUSSEN

On Jan. 16, AFSA hosted a kick-off happy hour ushering in the 90th anniversary year of the association and the Foreign Service. More than 150 AFSA members enjoyed wine, beer and snacks at the event. AFSA will be commemorating the anniversary with a series of special programs and events throughout 2014. We hope all AFSA members will make an effort to join us in celebration of the occasion. Please visit [www.afsa.org/90](http://www.afsa.org/90) for an up-to-date listing of events.

### NEWS BRIEF

#### New AFSA Member Benefit: Vonage

AFSA is pleased to announce a new member benefit. AFSA members are now able to enroll in Vonage World® at an exclusive discounted rate.

Vonage offers phone service via a high-speed Internet connection at a lower rate than traditional land line/cell phone calls. Subscribers are given a regular U.S. phone number, wherever they may be located in the world. The service works where there is access to a high-speed Internet connection. Vonage World offers unlimited calling to landlines in more than 60 countries and unlimited calling to mobile phones in more than 10 countries (see below). Vonage World is currently offered at \$9.99/month for the first three months, then \$26.99 a month (plus taxes and fees), with a 12-month agreement and a 30-day money-back guarantee.

AFSA members who subscribe to Vonage through AFSA will receive a \$99 credit, provided in equal installments, as bill credits to their monthly service fee in months four through 12, following their initial subscription.

As 60 percent of our members are overseas at any time, we hope this will be a useful benefit for them, their families and friends in the U.S.

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#### LIFE IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE



## Upcoming Events at AFSA

AFSA is pleased to highlight these three excellent events.

- MARCH 4:** In association with the Public Diplomacy Alumni Association, we present noted pollster and commentator John Zogby, discussing "America's First Globals: Public Diplomacy for the 21st Century."

Zogby has teamed up with leading Millennial Management Consultant Joan Snyder Kuhl to co-author a new book that provides a detailed analysis of why Americans born between 1979 and 1994 are truly more globally aware and sensitive, how they want to make their workplace and planet a better place, and how we can begin to understand them and position them better to play out their destiny. It's a revisionist examination of who First Globals really are, what they have to offer, and how they are the best equipped of all to thrive and solve the problems of our shared world today and tomorrow. The book is a call to action, a handbook for those who lead and want to lead, and a more holistic depiction this next generation of public diplomats—whether they realize it or not. The program takes place at AFSA headquarters, 2101 E Street NW, at 2 p.m., March 4.

- MARCH 25:** We welcome Ambassador Gerald Feierstein to present the latest

installment in our ongoing series on diplomacy in the Middle East. Feierstein served from 2010 to 2013 as the U.S. ambassador to Yemen, where he faced personal threats in a hostile environment. He will address the challenges of being the face of U.S. foreign policy in a country that may not be receptive to its message and goals. **Please note that this event is open to AFSA members only.** It will take place at AFSA headquarters at 2:30 p.m., March 25.

- APRIL 29:** AFSA Book Notes presents Ambassador Laurence Pope in a discussion of his new book, *The Demilitarization of American Diplomacy: Two Cheers for Striped Pants*. Both an insider and a historian, Laurence Pope describes the contemporary dysfunction of the State Department and its Foreign Service. While the Defense Department and the American military services have reinvented themselves in a decade of failed nation-building wars, the State Department is promising to do a better job of nation-building next time. Its policy functions have migrated to the White House. Secretaries of State largely ignore the State Department bureaucracy, circumventing it with a personal staff. Pope contends that in the information age diplomacy is more important than ever, and that, as Presi-

dent Obama has stressed, without a 'change of thinking' the U.S. may be drawn into more wars it does not need to fight. Laurence Pope is a retired FSO who lives in Portland, Maine. He is the author of *François de Callieres: A Political Life* (Republic of

Letters, 2010), a biography of the first proponent of professional diplomacy. His presentation will take place at AFSA headquarters, 2101 E St NW, at 2:00 p.m. on April 29. RSVPs for all events should be sent to events@afsa.org. ■

### AFSA Welcomes New Retiree Coordinator



#### NEWS BRIEF

AFSA welcomes Todd Thurwachter as our new retiree coordinator, replacing Bonnie Brown, who retired last November after 10 years with AFSA. Todd, a native of Wisconsin, is a retired Foreign Commercial Service officer who was posted to Japan, China and

Germany. He brings a strong client-service orientation, gained from counseling and assisting thousands of U.S. exporters over the years. A Foreign Service retiree himself, Todd has personal understanding of the challenges faced by retirees.

As part of AFSA's membership team, and in cooperation with his associate, Matt Sumrak, Todd is committed to continuing the superb counseling and advocacy for which AFSA is known. He is also keen on developing new areas where we can add value to membership for retirees. Todd welcomes your ideas and input at [thrwachter@afsa.org](mailto:thurwachter@afsa.org).

### The Family Liaison Office Releases Family Member Employment Report

#### NEWS BRIEF

FLO collects Foreign Service family member employment statistics from more than 200 posts, showing the number of adult family members employed inside an embassy or consulate, or working on the local economy. Statistics also indicate the number of adult family members at post. View the report at [www.state.gov/m/dghr/flo/c7900.htm](http://www.state.gov/m/dghr/flo/c7900.htm). Email FAMER questions to [FLOAskEmployment@state.gov](mailto:FLOAskEmployment@state.gov).

## AFSA Supports Volunteerism

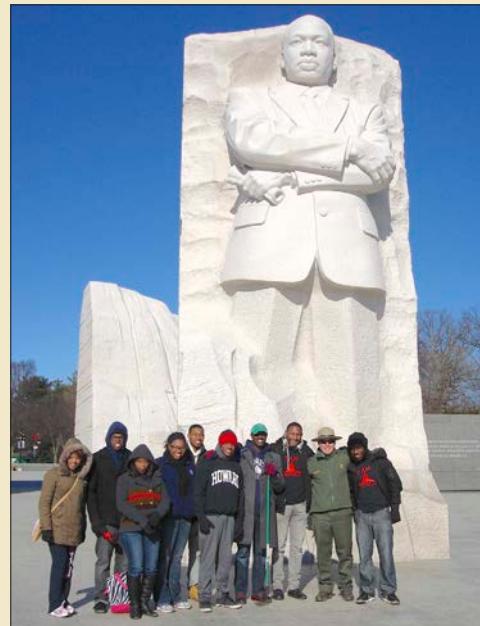
AFSA actively encourages its professional staff to take time out during the year to volunteer for a service project. The association firmly believes that time spent focused on helping others is time well-spent.

To back up this belief, AFSA gives each staff member up to one week of leave specifically for this purpose.

Last month, to celebrate Martin Luther King Jr. Service Day, Senior Legislative Assistant David Murimi joined the Congressional Black Associ-

ates and IMPACT for a day of service. With direction from the National Park Service, the group spent the better part of a day cleaning around the monument and picking-up trash.

In January, AFSA News Editor Donna Ayerst spent a day with a group from the Semester at Sea alumni reunion voyage digging post-holes, painting signs, clearing brush from trails and picking-up trash in an environmentally significant estuary near Ensenada, Mexico. ■



AFSA staff member David Murimi (in the green cap) and others from the Congressional Black Associates and IMPACT volunteer to clean around the Martin Luther King Jr. memorial, while a National Park Service ranger offers assistance.

## Celebrating Amy Ostermeier

BY JOSEPH CASSIDY

On Oct. 17 and 18, 2013, in lovely St. Paul, Minn., family, friends and former colleagues gathered at Macalester College to commemorate and celebrate the life of Amy Ostermeier.

An alumna of Macalester, Amy joined the State Department in 2005 through the Presidential Management Fellowship program. She was a beloved colleague in the International Organizations Bureau's Office of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, when she tragically lost a battle with cancer in September 2011, at the age of 34.

Amy was a superstar: a gifted leader and mentor; a creative and tenacious multilateral negotiator; and a



calm, principled and warm-hearted colleague. Her career at State was marked by the rapid assumption of greater responsibilities and deep respect from colleagues and supervisors.

Amy's husband Jim Rosenberg and daughter Kira, now three years old, were at the center of her universe, as were her parents Sally and David and brother Eric. They are responsible for ensuring that Amy's lasting

influence on others would be celebrated through the launch of the Amy Ostermeier Human Rights Education Fund.

A small liberal arts college that challenges its students to be citizens of the world (one alum, Kofi Annan, took that especially to heart), Macalester cultivated Amy's commitment to making the world a better place. The Oct. 17 event began with a performance by Macalester's African Music Ensemble, one of Amy's passions when she was on campus. Following welcoming remarks by acting Macalester President Kathleen Murray, a tribute to Amy was given by the current Kaiser chair in international law at the University of Okla-

homa's College of Law (and former State Department assistant legal advisor for human rights and refugees) Evelyn Aswad.

Evelyn's moving speech focused on Amy's groundbreaking diplomatic work preserving freedom of expression and freedom of religion at the UN Human Rights Council. It was also a reminder of the things we loved about Amy: her fearlessness in setting ambitious goals, her unflagging energy and determination, her infectious optimism and her loyalty to her friends. Macalester's Human Rights and Humanitarianism Program Director Wendy Weber then introduced Suzanne Nossel,

*Continued on page 56.*

## ACTIVE AFTER ACTIVE DUTY

# A Desire to Serve

After serving for five years as a Foreign Service officer with the Department of State in Nigeria, Mexico and Washington D.C., Jon Tollefson returned home to his family and community in Minnetonka, Minn.

He landed a job at the Minnesota High Tech Association, where he came in contact with engaging policy leaders at the state and national level. The association's goal is to make Minnesota one of the top

five technology states in the country. The more he became aware of the science and technology issues we face as a nation, the more he became involved.

Tollefson soon realized that the best way to have an impact in this arena—and possibly help Minnesota succeed—would be to run for state representative.

In the meantime, he immersed himself in the fight to defeat a proposed marriage amendment before

the citizens of Minnesota, one that defined marriage as between a man and a woman. If the amendment should pass, Tollefson and others felt it would, "enshrine discrimination in our constitution."

For more than two years, he and his family, friends and the LGBT community worked to defeat the amendment. In the end, with the support of their fellow Minnesotans, the amendment was defeated.

In December, former FSO Jon Tollefson announced his

candidacy for the Minnesota State House of Representatives from his hometown of Minnetonka. Citing his good fortune at having received a world-class public education and the opportunities he has been given in life, he hopes that by running, "Perhaps I can help to make sure others enjoy some of the same benefits I have had."

For more information, please see [www.tollefsonforhouse.com](http://www.tollefsonforhouse.com). ■

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*Amy, continued from page 50.* who delivered the first Amy Ostermeier lecture. Nossal, currently executive director of PEN American Center, served previously as head of Amnesty International USA, chief operating officer of Human Rights Watch, and as deputy assistant secretary in the International Organizations Bureau from 2009-2012. In that latter capacity, she worked closely with Amy on America's reengagement at the UN Human Rights Council and utilized multilateral organizations to assist human rights defenders and

pressure abusive states. Nossal explained how Amy was at the center of an ongoing diplomatic struggle over the extent to which freedom of religion and speech can be limited by governments.

Amy's father David, a professor at the University of Tennessee, has been a driving force behind the Amy Ostermeier Fund, and the discussion provided him with a wide range of ideas to commemorate Amy's impact at Macalester, at State and in the NGO world by facilitating greater interaction between them on the human rights

issues she cared so deeply about.

The two-day event at Macalester was a great success. It was a comfort to Amy's family, friends, and colleagues; an opportunity for professional exchange between Macalester faculty and human rights professionals from the NGO community, academia and the U.S. Government; and a source of inspiration to Macalester students, who could see in Amy a role model for how to wield influence in public policy, while remaining true to the core values that prompted

her to pursue a life of public service. As we take advantage of the contacts made at Macalester to expand activities under the Amy Ostermeier Human Rights Education Fund, you can follow our efforts at the website created by Amy's brother Eric—[www.amyostermeierhumanrights-fund.org](http://www.amyostermeierhumanrights-fund.org)—and learn how you can help us continue to celebrate Amy's life. ■

**Joseph Cassidy** is the director of the Office of Policy and Regional and Functional Organizations in the Bureau of International Organizations.



## It's Contest Season!

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#### Essay Contest

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#### KidVid Contest

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For more information on all of these contests,  
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## Hope Meets Reality

### Talking to Strangers: The Struggle to Rebuild Iraq's Foreign Ministry

*Ghassan Muhsin Hussein and David Dunford, Southwestern College Academic Press, 2013, \$18.95, paperback, 212 pages.*

REVIEWED BY JACK R. BINNS

It is difficult to think of an event in the past 20 years that has been as thoroughly examined, probed and critiqued as the George W. Bush administration's ill-conceived and poorly executed Iraq intervention, which took place 11 years ago this month. Yet there remain untold fields that yield new perspectives and useful insights, and this book is one.

As its title, *Talking to Strangers: The Struggle to Rebuild Iraq's Foreign Ministry*, indicates, the book's subject matter has considerable intrinsic value. But because it combines the viewpoints of two experienced diplomats, an Iraqi and an American, it offers a unique, ground-level perspective on diplomacy.

The task on which Iraqi Ambassador Ghassan Muhsin Hussein (no relation to Saddam Hussein) and U.S. Ambassador David Dunford collaborated after the U.S. invasion was daunting but relatively straightforward, at least on paper: rebuilding the Iraqi Foreign Ministry. Working under the aegis of the U.S. Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance, Hussein and Dunford were largely successful, at least initially.

The reconstituted ministry quickly gained control of the country's 31 embassies and overseas assets, purged Saddam Hussein's remaining loyalists, re-established key bilateral relationships and regained international recognition. And it did all this despite dysfunctional bureaucracy (think an amalgam of Franz Kafka and Joseph Heller), cultural ignorance and

an escalating security threat.

In his account, Amb. Hussein focuses on the internal challenges the Iraqis faced, not all of which were caused by the war. He helpfully explains how the ministry had operated before the U.S. invasion, laying out the central roles of the security apparatus and Ba'ath Party oversight.

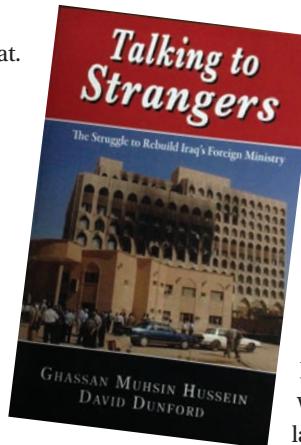
Amb. Dunford's portions of the book recount his own daily bureaucratic, logistical and security struggles. An experienced Middle East hand, he was sensitive to the cross-cultural factors that colored

**Hussein and Dunford's fruitful collaboration gives the reader a unique, ground-level perspective on diplomacy.**

dealings with Iraqis, but found the U.S. military/civilian cultural conflicts nearly impossible to overcome. In particular, he describes the first leader of the Office of Reconstruction and Iraqi Humanitarian Assistance, retired General Jay Garner, as well-meaning but lacking useful guidance.

Apparently out of his depth, Garner lacked the authority to ensure adequate support and security for his mostly civilian staff. For that reason, most of the ORHA civilian component greeted Garner's replacement in May 2003 by Ambassador L. Paul Bremer with great relief.

Within weeks, however, those hopes were dashed. Bremer abolished ORHA, merging it with the new multilateral Coalition Provisional Authority, and issued a draconian order expelling all senior members of the Ba'ath Party from positions



within the Iraqi government.

Although exceptions could be made, they were very rare, so the effect of this dictum was to strip the Iraqi government of most of its experienced civil servants. Amb. Hussein, who had spurned enticements to join the party, retained his post, but many of his colleagues were removed even though they lacked any meaningful attachment to Saddam's regime.

Both authors agree that the de-Ba'athification order was a critical error. Coupled with general ignorance of the deep cultural differences between Iraqi and American societies, it instantly made the process of normalizing governmental functions far more difficult. Citing their early success at the foreign ministry, Hussein and Dunford make a persuasive case that the overall outcome in Iraq could have been far more positive and productive had the removal of government officials been more thoughtful and nuanced.

I should note that the book is not an easy read, especially for those unfamiliar with U.S. governmental acronyms. The authors' compilation of such terms is, unfortunately, incomplete, leaving the reader in a quandary more than once. Similarly, the cast of characters (often only identified by first names) is huge and, at times, overwhelming. Again, the table of dramatis personae is incomplete even though it runs to 150 people.

On the whole, however, anyone interested in the continuing evolution of Iraq will find *Talking to Strangers* full of insights. The book is also a most valuable addition to the literature about working-level diplomacy and governance.

*Jack R. Binns, a retired Senior Foreign Service officer, spent his 25-year diplomatic career*

*dealing with Latin American and Western European affairs. He is the author of The United States in Honduras, 1980-1981: An Ambassador's Memoir (McFarland & Company, 2000).*

## A Flourishing Relationship

### Mongolia and the United States: A Diplomatic History

*Jonathan S. Addleton, Hong Kong University Press, 2013, Kindle Edition/ \$20.99, 186 pages.*

REVIEWED BY RUTH M. HALL

Jonathan S. Addleton, a career USAID FSO, was the agency's mission director in Ulaanbaatar from 2001 to 2004, and served as U.S. ambassador there from 2009 to 2012. He devotes the bulk of this fascinating book to recounting the roughly 150 years of interaction between the two countries preceding the establishment of formal diplomatic ties in 1987.

Perhaps the most prominent American visitor to Mongolia in the early 20th century was Herbert Hoover, who frequently ventured into the country to prospect for mineral wealth while working as an engineer in China. But many other Americans also made the arduous trek, such as William Woodville Rockhill, who served as U.S. ambassador to Russia, China and the Ottoman Empire, among other assignments.

Rockhill spoke Mongolian (among many other languages) and spent a good deal of time in the country. He eventually acquired more than 6,000 books about Mongolia, which he donated to the Library of Congress.

That extensive collection included books by Owen Lattimore (one of the many China experts later smeared by Senator Joe McCarthy, R-Wis., as a Soviet spy) and Roy Chapman Andrews, who

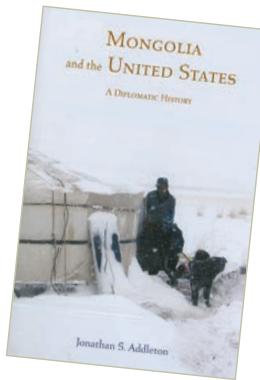
used the fossils he collected in the Gobi Desert during the 1920s to prove that dinosaurs hatched from eggs. At the same time, American universities were becoming more and more interested in Mongolia, sponsoring research and language studies.

Despite this network of connections, as Ambassador Addleton explains, the establishment of formal bilateral relations was a slow process. After Mongolia gained its independence from China in 1911, U.S. commercial attaché Julean Arnold recognized the potential for trade with the new nation, but Washington still took a decade to open a consulate in Kalgan. Sadly, growing Soviet influence led to its closure in 1927.

In the early 1970s the State Department sent two young FSOs, Curtis Kamman and J. Stapleton Roy, to study Mongolian at the University of Seattle, but plans to establish diplomatic ties went nowhere. Finally, in the mid-1980s, Vernon Walters, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, worked with his Mongolian counterpart, Nyamdo, to make those plans a reality.

Nyamdo (who, like many Mongolians, had just one name) would become his country's first ambassador in Washington, and the U.S. embassy in Ulaanbaatar opened on April 17, 1988. (Addleton comments that the first residence for U.S. diplomats there was quickly dubbed "Faulty Towers.")

The past 26 years have seen a surge of official, business and civil society activities binding the two nations ever closer together, ranging from Fulbright exchanges, sports and other cultural diplomacy and sister-city partnerships to



Addleton's well-chosen anecdotes enrich our understanding of Mongolia's distinctive culture and heritage—and its importance as a new democracy.

military cooperation and corporate investment. Amb. Addleton makes good use of his own front-row seat in the country for most of the past decade to describe this process and highlight its many successes.

For instance, since 2001 the U.S. Ambassadors Fund for Cultural Preservation has helped to maintain many Mongolian cultural sites, including Buddhist monasteries and their troves of books, manuscripts, religious objects and traditional dance costumes and masks. It has also supported the Mongolian Monasteries Documentation Project (begun in 2006), which collects information about the many sites destroyed during the 1930s.

Hundreds of Peace Corps Volunteers have served in Mongolia since 1990, assisting in health education, English-language training, community projects, libraries and computer labs. The American Center for Mongolian Studies, hosted by the University of Wisconsin, opened in 2004 in Ulaanbaatar. And private donors funded the Genghis Khan exhibit that toured the United States in 2012.

Throughout the book, Addleton's well-chosen anecdotes enrich our understanding of Mongolia's distinctive culture and heritage—and its importance as a new democracy. Even if you have never served in Asia, *Mongolia and the United States* will more than hold your interest.

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Ruth M. Hall, a member of the Foreign Service Journal Editorial Board, joined the Foreign Service as an economic officer in 1992. She has served in Baghdad, Jakarta, Frankfurt

*and Washington, D.C., and currently works in the State Department's Office of Civil Rights.*

## Food for Thought

### Food Politics:

#### **What Everyone Needs to Know**

*Robert Paarlberg, Oxford University Press, 2013, Kindle Edition/\$8.44, 260 pages.*

### Feeding Frenzy:

#### **The New Politics of Food**

*Paul McMahon, Profile Books, 2013, Kindle Edition/\$9.99, 314 pages.*

REVIEWED BY JAMES PATTERSON

A working knowledge of agricultural policy is more critical than ever for all members of the Foreign Service—not just

those serving with the Foreign Agricultural Service—as U.S. trade negotiators debate these contentious and complex issues with our global trading partners. Fortunately, two new books offer helpful background and advice, while steering clear of overly technical economic and scientific language.

Paul McMahon, an adviser to the Prince of Wales' International Sustainability Unit, offers a somewhat Eurocentric view of food issues in *Feeding Frenzy: The New Politics of Food*, while Robert Paarlberg's measured tone makes *Food Politics: What Everyone Needs to Know* highly accessible in content and structure.

Refreshingly, neither author adheres to a rigid philosophical orthodoxy. For example, both support production and trade of

foods derived from genetically modified organisms, but acknowledge strong objections to GMOs from many quarters.

Likewise, in analyzing the dramatic series of global food price spikes between 2007 and 2012, which they identify as factors in the Arab Spring uprisings, they concur on the main considerations involved. However, Paarlberg is more succinct in his explanation, while McMahon cites classical economics.

The authors also clash over large-scale farming. Some nongovernmental organizations and activists doubt the world's capacity to feed a population projected to reach nine billion by 2050 with what they believe is non-sustainable large-scale production. But Paarlberg dismisses such concerns, citing U.S. technological prowess

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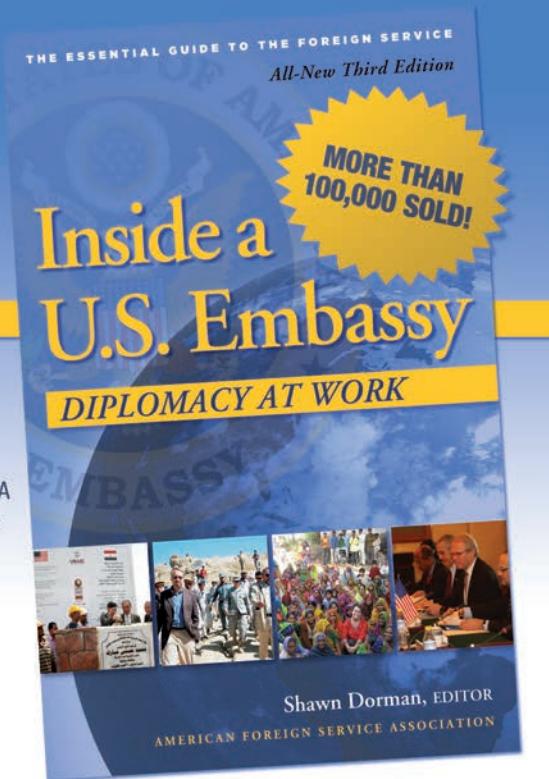
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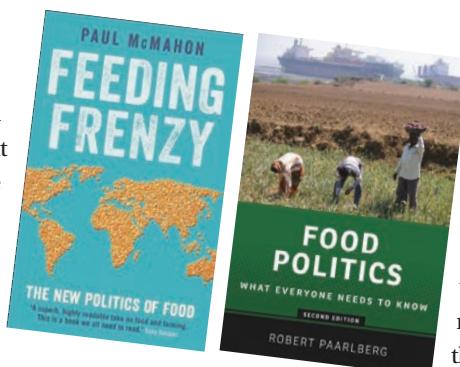
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ess, while McMahon lacks confidence that science will advance sufficiently to meet global demand. He instead argues for increased small-scale global production.

Both authors are critical of so-called "land grabs," through which countries and even some global commodity trading houses enter into food production agreements by acquiring land (nearly 50 million hectares worldwide, McMahon estimates).

The United Arab Emirates has acquired 1.5 million hectares in Sudan and other parts of Africa, and it is just one of several



Persian Gulf states actively seeking such territory. Curiously, neither author is willing to concede that the countries involved might have found these deals mutually beneficial.

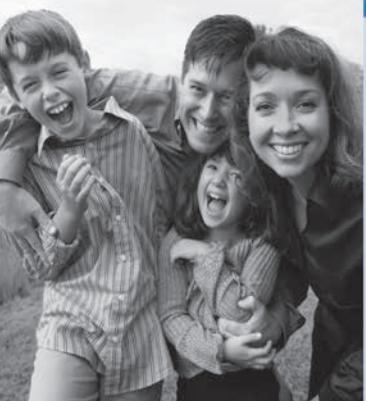
Both McMahon and Paarlberg's books are worth reading, but this reviewer found the latter superior in most respects. As Paarlberg sagely says about the future of agriculture: "Increasingly, it will be non-farmers without a livelihood stake in crop or livestock production who set the terms of the debate."

Members of the Foreign Service must

continually educate themselves on the changing global debate over food politics. There is no better way for them to do so than to equip themselves with Paarlberg's thorough and highly readable book. ■

*Former FSO James Patterson's reviews, essays and reporting have appeared in The Foreign Service Journal, Agricultural History, the Journal of Food Distribution Research, the Christian Science Monitor, In These Times and Choices, among many other publications. He taught agricultural economics, marketing and policy at the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Graduate School for 10 years, and has been an adjunct professor of economics at Northern Virginia Community College.*

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**■ William B. Edmondson**, 86, a retired Foreign Service officer and former U.S. ambassador to South Africa, died on Dec. 5 in Prescott, Ariz.

Mr. Edmondson was born in St. Joseph, Mo., in 1927, but spent his formative years in Nebraska. He joined the army on graduating from high school in 1944, and served for three years, reaching the rank of first lieutenant.

After leaving the army he attended the University of Nebraska, where he graduated with high distinction and was a member of Phi Beta Kappa. In 1951, he earned a master's degree in international affairs at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in Boston, and later that same year married the former Donna Kiechel, whom he had met at the University of Nebraska.

Mr. Edmondson joined the Foreign Service in 1952, and in 1953 left for his first overseas assignment as vice consul in Tanganyika (now Tanzania). In 1955 he was assigned to Bern for two years, after which he returned to the United States and took up African area studies at Northwestern University. He subsequently served in Ghana, Zambia and South Africa, as well as in various offices at the Department of State in Washington, D.C.

In 1978 President Jimmy Carter appointed Mr. Edmondson as ambassador to the Republic of South Africa. The assignment came at a time of major political and social upheaval in that country. Given the U.S. government's condemnation of South Africa's apartheid laws and its support for civil rights and democratic reform, tensions between the host government and the Carter administration were high.

Despite these challenging circumstances, Mr. Edmondson actively and effectively represented American inter-

ests, and established strong relationships with South Africans of all races and political persuasions.

After returning from South Africa in 1981, Mr. Edmondson was assigned to the Office of the Inspector General in the State Department, eventually serving as deputy inspector general. On retirement in 1986, he received the Wilbur J. Carr Award (the Secretary of State's career service award), which read in part as follows:

"... You have provided a model of dedication to duty, of careful, sure judgment, of ready acceptance of responsibility, and of personal and ethical involvement in public decisions. You have influenced American policy toward southern Africa, and you have earned the respect and admiration of your colleagues in the Foreign Service of the United States."

In retirement, Mr. Edmondson was president of Diplomatic & Consular Officers, Retired and served as a volunteer at the Library of Congress in Washington for 10 years. In 2008, he and his wife moved from their home in Arlington, Va., to Prescott, Ariz.

Mr. Edmondson is survived by his wife of 62 years, Donna Edmondson, of Prescott; his daughter, Barbara Schneider (and her husband, Richard) of Prescott; his son, Paul Edmondson (and his wife, Susan) of Washington, D.C.; and four grandchildren: Aaron Schneider, Katie Schneider, and Michael and Masha Edmondson.

**■ Thomas L. Forbes**, 78, a retired Foreign Service specialist, died on Dec. 8 at his home in Burke, Va., of natural causes.

Mr. Forbes was born in Nevada, Iowa. He faithfully served his country for 31 years, first with the U.S. Navy from 1953 to 1957 and then with the State Department.

He joined the Foreign Service in 1957 and retired in 1985, serving as a communications officer in Asuncion, Copenhagen, Algiers, Saigon, Cairo, Reykjavik, Tokyo, Belgrade, Rome and Washington, D.C. After retiring from federal service, he worked as an office manager from 1985 to 1995.

Mr. Forbes' family remembers him as a devoted father and grandfather.

He was preceded in death by his brother, Daniel Forbes of Iowa. He is survived by his daughter, Rosette (and her husband, Paul) Farello of Chantilly, Va., and her mother, Thu Barnes of Pinellas Park, Fla.; two brothers, Timothy (and his wife, Alberta) of Texas, and Joel (and his wife, Kathy) of Iowa; his sister-in-law, Annette Forbes of Iowa; and three grandchildren: Natalie, Benjamin and Allison.

In lieu of flowers, memorial donations may be made to VITAS Innovative Hospice Care ([www.vitas.com](http://www.vitas.com)).

**■ Nancy Keeney Forster**, 85, an educator and wife of the late FSO Clifton Forster, died on Nov. 13 in Belvedere, Calif.

Mrs. Forster was born in Grand Rapids, Mich., to Catherine Baldwin Keeney and Roger B. Keeney. She attended the Baldwin School in Bryn Mawr, Pa., and then headed west to study history at Stanford University. Before starting college, she traveled around Europe, spending much of the time in Paris to improve her French.

While at Stanford, she met and married Clifton Forster, who was born and raised in the Philippines and was attending Stanford on the G.I. Bill. In 1949 the couple moved to the Philippines, where Mrs. Forster completed her bachelor's degree in Asian history from Stanford.

In 1953, she and her husband, who had entered the Foreign Service, moved

to Japan. For the next 34 years, she would live and work in Japan, Burma, Israel, Palestine and Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Forster enjoyed exploring the cuisines of the countries where she lived, preparing dinners for diplomats and many other guests. She wrote about this in her memoir, *A Culinary Journey: Recipes and Reminiscences of an American Diplomat's Wife* (Wind Shadow Press, 2013). The book received an honorable mention in the 2013 Eric Hoffer Awards for books.

Everywhere she lived, Mrs. Forster joined local organizations. In Washington, D.C., she was a docent at the National Cathedral. In Tokyo, she organized print shows.

Mrs. Forster taught world history in international schools in Tokyo, Israel, Honolulu and Washington, D.C. Many of her former students stayed in touch with her to the end of her life.

Midway through her teaching years, Mrs. Forster became involved with the fledgling International Baccalaureate program that promotes bilingual fluency and an advanced curriculum. She was invited to start a new IB school in Hawaii in 1986 and persuaded her husband to retire early to allow her to take up the challenge.

Following their move to Tiburon in 1994, Mrs. Forster became the founding director of the California Association of IB World Schools. She remained a sought-after reviewer of IB programs from Thailand to Dubai well into her 80s and co-edited *Journeys in Learning Across Frontiers* (IB Publishing, 2012), an anthology of testimonials by students and faculty members.

She self-published *Encounters: A Lifetime Spent Crossing Cultural Frontiers* (Wind Shadow Press, 2009), an account of her husband's wartime imprisonment

by the Japanese and the couple's life of shared encounters with the cultures of the East and West.

Mrs. Forster was also among the founders of Marin Village, a volunteer service that helps seniors stay in their homes. The organization established a volunteer award in her name and named her its first recipient in 2013. She was also very involved in the activities of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church in Belvedere.

Her husband, Clifton, died in 2006.

Mrs. Forster is survived by three children: Thomas Forster of Brooklyn, N.Y., Cindy Forster of Los Angeles, Calif., and Douglas Forster of Naples, Fla.; her brother, Roddy Keeney of New York City; five grandchildren: Nathan, Taylor Ann, Makala, Wyn and Callum; a nephew, Charles Howard of Sacramento, Calif.; and a niece, Karen Hawkins of New York City.

Donations in her memory may be sent to Marin Village, 930 Tamalpais Ave., San Rafael CA 94901, or to Academia Semillas del Pueblo School, 4970 Huntington Drive South, Los Angeles CA 90032.

■ **Philip W. Hemily**, 91, a retired Foreign Service officer, died peacefully on Jan. 7 in Sarasota, Fla., of natural causes.

Born in 1922 in Newaygo, Mich., Mr. Hemily received a bachelor's of science degree in mechanical engineering from the University of Michigan in 1947 after serving three years (1943-1946) as an ordnance officer in the U.S. Army during World War II. He was a research associate in physics and taught undergraduate mathematics at Auburn University in Alabama from 1947 to 1949.

Mr. Hemily loved France, where he spent many years. He received a doctorate from the Université de Paris in 1953 and was director of research at

the French National Center for Scientific Research from 1953 to 1956.

Beginning in 1957, he held a series of senior staff positions at the National Science Foundation. He was instrumental in creating the international office of the foundation, and participated in establishing programs to strengthen science and mathematics education.

In 1965, Mr. Hemily was posted to Brussels as science counselor to the U.S. Mission to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, a position he held until 1974. From 1976 to 1982, he served as deputy assistant secretary general for scientific affairs at the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

He helped establish the NATO "Science for Stability" program, strengthened national science and technology policy structures in OECD nations through the organization's Committee on Science and Technology Policy, and developed regional agreements on measures for the protection of the environment.

Mr. Hemily retired from the Senior Foreign Service of the Department of State in 1983.

During the next decade, from 1984 through 1995, Mr. Hemily was a trustee for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, a consultant, a senior program officer, and director of the Committee on International Organizations and Programs, the Office of International Affairs, the National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences, the National Academy of Engineering and the Institute of Medicine.

Toward the end of this period, he gave priority attention to U.S. scientific and engineering relations with UNESCO, the International Council of Scientific Unions, the establishment of international engineering organizations and

follow-up to the 1992 U.N. Conference on Environment and Development.

During this same period he was also a consultant to the Carnegie Commission on Science, Technology and Government; the State Department's Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs; the Stanford Research Institute; and NATO.

Mr. Hemily's marriage to Marion McLatchy ended in divorce; she died in 2005. His partner of 37 years, Kathryn Arnsw, predeceased him by one year.

He is survived by his son, Philip Brendon Hemily of Toronto, Canada; daughters Valerie Hemily of Hilton Head Island, S.C., and Laurenne Hemily-Figus of Rome, Italy; and six grandchildren: Daphne, Julie, Oliviero, Orlando, Amadeo and Rocco.

**Carolyn B. Jacobs**, 93, wife of the late retired Foreign Service officer George R. Jacobs, died peacefully on Dec. 26, in Washington, D.C., following a stroke.

Mrs. Jacobs was born on March 15, 1920, in Detroit, Mich., to Natalie Daboll Berry and Charles Harold Berry and grew up in Belmont, Mass., with her two sisters, Roberta and Ruth Allyn. She attended Bryn Mawr College and graduated from Radcliffe College cum laude with a degree in anthropology.

She joined the Office of Strategic Services in 1943 and was posted in London from 1944 until the end of World War II. She then returned to live in the Washington area.

After a brief marriage to Richard Ruggles, in 1945 she wed George R. Jacobs, who joined the State Department that year and received his commission as a Foreign Service officer in 1956. Mrs. Jacobs moved with her husband and family to posts in Thailand, England and

the Philippines. She enjoyed traveling and living abroad and had a large circle of friends from around the world.

After returning to Washington, D.C., from the last overseas assignment, Mrs. Jacobs worked for the National Abortion Rights Action League from 1975 to 1979, for Catholics for a Free Choice from 1982 to 1983 and for the law firm of Winn Newman from 1983 to 1987. In all of these positions, she was a self-taught office manager, supervisor and legal secretary. She was proud to contribute to the cause of reproductive rights and to the legal battle for comparable pay for women and minorities.

In addition to her paid work, she volunteered for many years as a Foreign Service wife and was active in community organizations. She also served as a member and president of the board of the Woodward Condominium, where she lived for 40 years. She was able to live independently up to her death because of her many friends in the building and the support of Avis Johnson, Otto Cruz, Lourdes DiGiulian and Elma Hidalgo.

Mrs. Jacobs' husband, George, predeceased her in 2011, as did her sister Ruth Allyn Berry Hilton in 2004. She is survived by her sister, Roberta Berry Humez; her sister-in-law, Nancy Jacobs; her children, Michael B. Jacobs and Deborah Jacobs (and her husband, Robert J. Evert); three granddaughters: Carol J. Smith (and her husband, Joshua), Susan Jablow (and her husband, Jonathan) and Zoe Evert-Jacobs; and four great-grandchildren, as well as nieces and nephews Martha Sidahmed, Ellen Humez, Phyllis Humez, Jon L. Hilton, Jim Jacobs, Rich Jacobs and Barbara Gaffen, and their spouses and children.

In lieu of flowers, please contribute to Planned Parenthood, The Barker Foundation, the Peabody Museum of

Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University, the D.C. Public Library or a charity of your choice.

**Dolores Duke Ortiz**, 88, the wife of retired FSO and former ambassador Frank V. Ortiz, died on Dec. 27 at her home in Santa Fe, N.M.

Mrs. Ortiz was born on Aug. 8, 1925, at Fort Riley, Kan., the daughter of General James T. Duke and Guadalupe O'Neill Duke. She referred to herself as an "Army brat" because her father was posted in Europe after World War II, so she lived and studied in France and Germany.

On May 2, 1953, she married Frank V. Ortiz in the Post Chapel at Fort Myer, Va., and the couple celebrated 52 years of marriage before his death in 2005.

Mr. Ortiz joined the Foreign Service in 1953. Mrs. Ortiz accompanied her husband on postings in Ethiopia, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, Barbados, Guatemala, Panama, Argentina and Washington, D.C.

In 1990, the couple retired to Santa Fe, where Mrs. Ortiz was a member of the congregation of the Cathedral Basilica of St. Francis of Assisi and was active in many organizations, including the National Dance Institute and Friends of the Palace of the Governors.

Mrs. Ortiz is survived by her brother, Leonard Duke (and his wife, Rosetta) of Louisville, Ky., and her four children: Tina of Santa Fe; Frank Jr. (and his wife, Susan, and their children Corinna and Andrew) of Potomac, Md.; Stephen (and his wife, Mary, and their children Victoria Marie and Alexander) of Taos, N.M.; and James (and his wife, Nicola, and their children Cassian and Lucas) of Tampa, Fla.

In lieu of flowers, the family would appreciate contributions to the Ambas-

sador and Mrs. Frank V. Ortiz Palace of the Governors Endowment Fund, c/o Museum of New Mexico Foundation, P.O. Box 2065, Santa Fe NM 87505 ([www.museumfoundation.org](http://www.museumfoundation.org)).

**■ Wesley Niels Munkholm Pedersen**, 91, a retired Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Information Agency, died on Dec. 4 at the Carriage Hill Bethesda nursing home in Bethesda, Md., as the result of a heart ailment.

Mr. Pedersen was born in South Sioux City, Neb., on July 10, 1922. In the 1940s, he worked as a reporter at the *Sioux City Journal* in Iowa and served in the Army Air Forces during World War II.

Mr. Pedersen joined the State Department in 1950 and the U.S. Information Agency in 1953. As Richard Leiby writes in an obituary for the *Washington Post*, Mr. Pedersen covered the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China, penning pseudonymous columns planted in newspapers around the world, as part of propaganda operations during the Cold War.

Mr. Pedersen's stories—under such phony bylines as "Benjamin West" and "Paul Ford"—had wide reach, Leiby wrote. Some Central Intelligence Agency competitors in the propaganda game reportedly grew envious.

As Mr. Pedersen recounted it in a letter in the *Washington Post* in 2008: "In the mid-1950s, the CIA in Paris approached Lowell Bennett, the U.S. embassy's press attaché, requesting that he prevail on USIA to stop distributing Ford. Why? Because French editors weren't publishing the CIA's similar column, but it might have a chance with Ford's out of the way. Bennett, of course, said no."

At heart he was a writer—a witty wordsmith who never lacked robust opinions, concludes Leiby. Mr. Pedersen

peppered the *Washington Post*'s letters pages with missives on political history, martinis and the misuse of words (never write "from whence," he instructed; just "whence").

Mr. Pedersen was posted to Hong Kong in 1960, but returned to Washington, D.C., in 1963 to become head of a USIA international publications program. He wrote and edited *Legacy of a President*, which was published a year after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. That compilation of speeches and photos became an international bestseller.

He also oversaw the production of photo-heavy biographies of Presidents Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard M. Nixon, which required yielding to the subjects' peculiar vanities. Johnson "favored his left profile and wouldn't tolerate photos taken of him from the right," Mr. Pedersen said.

The Nixon White House was easier to work with, he said, objecting to just one photo for a particular project. "It showed then-Congressman Nixon, his wife and two young daughters on bicycles at the reflecting pool in Washington," Mr. Pedersen said. "Herb Klein, Nixon's press secretary, asked only that Nixon's face be airbrushed to eliminate an early five-o'clock shadow."

After 30 years in government, Mr. Pedersen became communications director at the Public Affairs Council, an organization of corporate and trade association public affairs executives, where he worked for 26 years.

A Chevy Chase resident, Mr. Pedersen was inducted into the Hall of Fame of the National Capital Chapter of the Public Relations Society of America in 2005.

Survivors include his wife of 65 years, Angela Vavra Pedersen of Chevy Chase; a son, Eric Pedersen of Glen Burnie, Md.; and two granddaughters.

**■ Gerald (Jerry) Everett Snyder**, 78, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Dec. 20 in Tallahassee, Fla., after a decade-long struggle with cancer.

Mr. Snyder was born on June 14, 1935, in Akron, Ohio. He graduated from Green Township High School in Greenburg, Ohio, in 1953, served in the U.S. Marines and went on to earn a bachelor's degree from the University of Akron in 1962.

After college, he joined the State Department Foreign Service. During a 25-year diplomatic career, Mr. Snyder served overseas in La Paz, Cochabamba, Porto Alegre, Bogotá, Moscow and Brussels, along with assignments in Miami and New York City.

Mr. Snyder was particularly proud of serving as chairman of the Administrative Operations and Management courses for the Foreign Service Institute from 1972 to 1975. In 1983, he was sent to Beirut as part of the restoration team after the bombing of the Marine Corps barracks.

Colleagues remember Mr. Snyder as someone who never boasted about his experiences or the dangers he faced in service to his country, but was always willing to share his skills and wisdom. After leaving the federal government, he served as vice president and general manager of Halifax Security Services in Honduras, and as budget and financial administrator at the Tallahassee State Department of Administration.

Mr. Snyder spent his retirement years as a full-time caregiver for both of his parents and enjoyed giving the occasional lecture and courses on international affairs. He loved crossword puzzles and was a ferocious advocate for racial freedom and justice, international peace, immigration reform, education and universal access to safe drinking water,

hygiene and sanitation. Fluent in Spanish and Portuguese, his hero and inspiration was Cervantes' Don Quixote.

Mr. Snyder's first marriage ended in divorce. He is survived by his first wife, Martha M. Snyder, and their children, Gerald R. Snyder and A. Cecilia Snyder; his second wife, Carolyn Marie Cain, and his stepchildren Marilou, Becky, Frederick and Katrina; a daughter-in-law, Lisa K. Snyder; and grandchildren Jerry and Amanda. He is also mourned by lifelong friends Frank and Helen Geig.

In lieu of flowers, remembrances can be made to The United Church in Tallahassee, The Alliance Education Fund (empowering women and girls through education in Kenya), or The Westminster Oaks Benevolent Assistance Fund.

**Jane Whitney**, 72, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Nov. 12 at her home in Lakewood, Wash., after a series of strokes. She was attended by a devoted team of caregivers, who worked around the clock under Franciscan Hospice supervision.

Ms. Whitney was born on July 15, 1941, in Champagne, Ill. After graduating from Beloit College in Beloit, Wis., she joined the State Department, serving for 26 years on four continents. She served as vice consul in Saigon, as consul in Stuttgart, Ankara and Buenos Aires, and as consul general in Perth. She retired to Lakewood to be near her parents and to be a companion to her beloved mother, Mussette Cary Whitney, who predeceased her in 2004.

In retirement she was a member of the Tacoma Country Club and the Rotary Club. A supporter of animal welfare, she was politically active.

Ms. Whitney is remembered as an extraordinary observer of the pageantry of life around her. She was a writer at

heart and a critic by instinct. Her rapier mind inspired insights that illuminated her conversation, writing and poetry. She was a loyal and devoted daughter, friend, godmother and dog owner.

Ms. Whitney is survived by her father, Robert Whitney; her sister, Karen Whitney; and a niece, Whitney Smull, all of Lakewood; a nephew, Neale Smull, and god-daughters Sarah Baker and Kathryn Gibson; and by her faithful dog, Bailey.

In lieu of flowers, donations may be made to the Franciscan Hospice, (253)428-8411, in Tacoma, Wash., or an animal rescue agency of your choice.

**Ilene Harriet Wolcott**, 72, the wife of retired FSO Peter Wolcott, died on Oct. 15 at University of Michigan Hospital in Ann Arbor, Mich., as a result of leukemia.

Mrs. Wolcott was born in Newark, N.J. She graduated from Kean College in 1963 and taught elementary school before receiving a master's degree in counseling from American University in 1973.

She married Peter Wolcott in Leland, Mich., in 1972, and spent her first year of marriage studying Finnish at the Foreign Service Institute in Washington in preparation for her husband's Foreign Service assignment to Helsinki.

There Mrs. Wolcott taught sixth graders at the British School. On her return to Washington, she started a new career as the first manager of The Women and Health Roundtable. As a national advocate, she researched, wrote, gave speeches and testified before Congress about the need for increased attention and resources for health issues affecting women.

In 1979, the couple moved to Melbourne, where Mr. Wolcott was posted as public affairs officer in the American consulate. Determined to have her own work and identity rather than be a traditional

Foreign Service wife, Mrs. Wolcott was quickly employed as editor of the *Social-Biology Resource Centre Journal*.

In 1980 she was hired as one of the first researchers at the Australian Institute of Family Studies. She researched and wrote 27 publications on family issues, which were widely cited by scholars around the world. She was also a judge for the Australian and New Zealand Work and Family Corporate Awards, and a keynote speaker at Australian bicentennial events on family and work-family issues.

Mrs. Wolcott loved to travel throughout Australia, fearlessly riding on planes ranging from Air Force transports to single-engine desert hoppers.

A passionate supporter of family planning, Mrs. Wolcott was a Planned Parenthood volunteer at D.C. General Hospital and a host for teenage "rap" sessions. In Australia she served as president of the state of Victoria's Family Planning Association and vice president of the Australian Family Planning Association.

She represented the Institute of Family Studies at the annual meetings of the Marriage Guidance Council of Australia, where she not only gave annual lectures, but also mediated between feminists and religious conservatives.

She also qualified and volunteered as a marriage and pre-marital counselor.

After her husband retired from the Foreign Service in 1999, Mrs. Wolcott spent several years working at Swinburne University in Melbourne as a qualitative researcher, specializing in finishing projects for academic procrastinators. At that time, the couple began spending the Australian winter months in Leelanau County in Michigan and the North American winter months in Melbourne.

In 2012, they built a home on Lake Michigan north of Northport. Mrs. Wolcott was on the Board of the Leelanau Historical Society and the Northport Area Historical Association. She wrote on local history for the *Leelanau Enterprise*, and was an active hiker, painter, writer and quilter. Her final wish was to become a blue spruce; she will do so in Leelanau.

Mrs. Wolcott is survived by her husband of 41 years, Peter; four children: Lauren Asher, Joel Wolcott, Jennifer Wolcott-Michelson and Victoria Wolcott; and eight grandchildren: Adela, Nora, Maya, Reggie, Joelyz, Rex, Alexander and Elliot.

Memorials may be directed to Leelanau Conservancy, P.O. Box 1007, Leland MI 49654, or National Planned Parenthood ([www.plannedparenthood.org](http://www.plannedparenthood.org)).

**Charles "Chuck" Greenwood Wootton**, 89, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Jan. 11 in San Diego, Calif.

Mr. Wootton was born on a farm near Karber's Ridge, Ill., which was homesteaded by his grandfather. He lost his father when he was 9 years old, and the family moved to Central City, Ky., to live with Mr. Wootton's maternal grandfather, John Riley Greenwood, a local grocer. There Mr. Wootton attended public schools. He was co-valedictorian of his high school class, earning the scholarship prize, and received the highest grade on a competitive examination on European history among Kentucky high schools.

Mr. Wootton attended the University of Kentucky, majoring in chemistry, but soon volunteered for the U.S. Army, where he trained as an infantryman. The army sent him back to college in the Army Specialized Training Program, where he studied engineering, pre-medicine and medicine at the University

of Connecticut, Yale University and the New York Medical College.

When mustered out of the U.S. Army, he decided to study for a career in the U.S. Foreign Service, which had been his dream since high school. He graduated with a bachelor's degree from Columbia University.

While at Yale, Mr. Wootton married his University of Connecticut sweetheart, Elizabeth Grechko. Joining him in Manhattan, where she earned a bachelor's degree at New York University, she was his strong support and partner throughout his various careers. After both had graduated from college in 1947, they moved to Mrs. Wootton's hometown of Hartford, Conn., where Mr. Wootton worked as a life insurance risk appraiser in the Connecticut General Life Insurance Company.

Mr. Wootton was commissioned as a Foreign Service officer in 1949 and served for 31 years, primarily abroad, in Stuttgart, Manila, Bordeaux, Brussels, Ottawa, Bonn and Paris, as well as at the Canadian National Defence College in Kingston, Ontario.

During an assignment in the United States, he earned a master's degree in economics from Stanford University. He served as minister-counselor for economic and commercial affairs in Bonn and, from 1974 to 1980, as senior deputy secretary general of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in Paris, where he was accorded the assimilated rank of chief of diplomatic mission by the Government of France.

While in Brussels, he received the State Department's Superior Honor Award for his work in resolving the U.S.-European Common Market "Chicken War" of the late 1960s.

Throughout his Foreign Service

career, the couple volunteered in their local churches, usually of the Presbyterian denomination. Mr. Wootton was ordained as an elder of the Scottish Presbyterian Church in Brussels in May 1960. In Ottawa he was active as a Rotarian, working with disabled children, and he volunteered with Meals on Wheels in Bonn.

On retiring from the Foreign Service in 1980, Mr. Wootton joined the Gulf Oil Corporation, and later the Chevron Corporation, as coordinator for international public affairs. He retired again in 1992, and he and his wife moved to San Diego.

There Mr. Wootton began his service to the elderly and children of the community. He served as ombudsman for long-term health care and president of the San Diego chapter of the Chevron Retirees Association.

Later he worked for the Point Loma and La Jolla Parent Teacher Associations and fought for resources for the Gifted and Talented Education program, earning the 1997 Parent of the Year Award of the GATE Parents and Teachers Associations of San Diego County. He also joined Mrs. Wootton as a volunteer working with infants and toddlers at the Polinsky Center for Abused and Neglected Children.

Mr. Wootton was a tutor in the after-school UPLIFT program organized by a number of San Diego churches and the Kids at Heart program of his own church, the Point Loma Community Presbyterian Church. For the past 11 years he tutored in the Oasis Reading program at the inner-city Washington Elementary school and in the Loma Portal Elementary school, where he also earned \$1,500 in classroom matching support from the Chevron Corporation.

He was honored as "Volunteer of the Year" in 2011 by the city of San Diego.

He enjoyed traveling with his family, reading, writing, running, walking and playing squash.

Mr. Woottton is survived by his wife of 69 years, Bette, of San Diego; daughters Cheryl Brierton, Cynthia Woottton, Emily Zack Bates and Ginny Gallagher LaRowe of San Diego, and Laurel Freeman of Huntington Beach, Calif.; a son, Charles (Chad) Woottton of Los Angeles, Calif.; eight grandsons and three granddaughters; one great-grandson and four great-granddaughters; and four sons-in-law: Chuck Freeman, Alan Clark, Randy Bates and Kirk LaRowe; and one daughter-in-law, Amy Woottton.

In lieu of flowers, the family requests donations be made to the Kids at Heart program of Point Loma Community Presbyterian Church.

**■ William Marshall Wright**, 87, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Dec. 31 in Falls Church, Va., of complications from a fall.

Born on July 14, 1926, in El Dorado, Ark., Mr. Wright was the son of the late John Harvey Wright and Helen Vaughan Williams. He graduated from Western Military Academy in Alton, Ill., and later from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. He also attended the University of Arkansas, did graduate work at Cornell University and L'Université D'Aix Marseilles, and was a senior fellow at the National War College.

During World War II, Mr. Wright served in the U.S. Marine Corps as a scout and sniper.

He joined the Foreign Service in 1953 and served for more than two decades in Egypt, Canada, Burma, Thailand and Washington, D.C. From 1963 to 1964, he was the spokesman for the Department of State.

During the Johnson and Nixon admin-

istrations, he was a senior staff officer at the National Security Council, serving at various times as director of long-range planning and as director for Asian, African and United Nations affairs. His final Foreign Service assignment was as assistant secretary of State for congressional relations under Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

In 1966, Mr. Wright received the State Department's Meritorious Service Award and in 1972, the Distinguished Honor Award. He is the author of "Responsible Restraint—An American Foreign Policy Imperative," which was published in the *Journal of the National War College* in 1968.

Following retirement from the Foreign Service, Mr. Wright joined Eaton Corporation in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1974 as vice president for corporate affairs. He served there until 1991, when he retired. He moved to Hilton Head Island, S.C., in 2005 and, later, to Falls Church, Va.

While with Eaton, Mr. Wright served as chairman of the Public Affairs Council for the Manufacturers' Alliance for Productivity and Innovation; as chairman of the Executive Committee of The Conference Board; as chairman of the Cleveland Committee on Foreign Relations; and as a member of the Board of Trustees of the Citizens League Research Institute.

He also served as a member of the Musical Arts Association of The Cleveland Orchestra, chairman of the American Red Cross of Greater Cleveland, a member of the board of the Town Hall of Cleveland, and a member of the Board of Trustees of the Cleveland Institute of Music. He was a member of Church of the Cross Episcopal in Bluffton, S.C.

Mr. Wright was predeceased by his first wife, Mabel Olean (Mickey) Johnson. He is survived by his wife, Linda Groseclose Wright; two sons, William

Marshall Wright Jr. (and his wife, Karen Webster) of Arlington, Va., and Jefferson Vaughan Wright (and his wife, Denise) of Baltimore, Md.; two stepdaughters, Mary Hawthorne Vaughan of Hilton Head, S.C., and Dr. Sara Vaughan Salmon of Charlottesville, Va.; two grandsons, Tristan Webster Wright and Peter Webster Wright; two granddaughters, Alexandra Johnson Wright and Katherine Vaughan Wright; a great-grandson, Crosby Fitzgerald Wright; and a step-sister, Mrs. Herman Vincent of Lake Charles, La.

Memorial contributions may be made to a favorite charity or to Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest, P.O. Box 419, Forest VA 24551. ■



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1. FSI's Transition Center
2. U.S. Department of State Overseas Briefing Center (OBC)
3. Security Overseas Seminars:  
PSOS, ASOS, SAA, SOS, SOS
4. Transition Center Training home page for eligible family members and members of household (MOH)
5. International Jobs - Working Overseas
6. Country Information (Bidding Resources)
7. Transition Center Courses
8. Preparing to Go Overseas
9. Pets and International Travel
10. Foreign Service Assignment Notebook:  
What Do I Do Now?
11. U.S. Department of State Career Transition Center (CTC)
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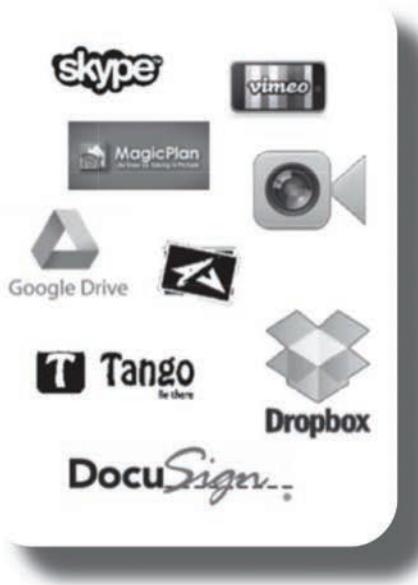
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# A Quote for My Marquee

BY DONALD M. BISHOP

**B**ack in 1989, I was the information officer and spokesman at our non-embassy in Taipei, the American Institute in Taiwan. The front office had received an invitation to attend the opening ceremony for the new Chinese-language edition of a popular American magazine. Neither the AIT director nor the deputy principal officer could attend, and neither could the public affairs officer. The invitation duly landed on my desk.

The magazine? *Cosmopolitan*. The guest of honor? Its publisher, Helen Gurley Brown.

I was hoping for a quick handshake with the famous “HGB,” a few conversations with contacts in publishing, some clapping when the ribbon was cut and a quick exit. But almost as soon as I entered the reception room at the ritzy hotel, I was taken to the head of the line to meet Ms. Brown and her husband. I remember being surprised at how ruthlessly thin she was.

Then I was pressed to stay for the banquet. In unexpected situations like this, I have always taken the advice of scripture (Luke 14: 8-11) to stand by modestly.

To my surprise, I was not only summoned to the head table but placed at the right of Ms. Brown, with her husband on her left, as the banquet began with Peanuts in Old Vinegar and Spicy Cucumbers.

The members of the Chinese edition’s

publishing team were not very talkative, so for two hours Ms. Brown and I chatted. Truth to tell, I was rather intimidated by meeting the real-life figure Natalie Wood had played in the movie version of her famous book, *Sex and the Single Girl*. While I’d seen the film, I’d never read the book. For that matter, while I had seen copies at the supermarket, I had never read *Cosmo*, either. What was I supposed to talk about as we enjoyed the Four Treasures in Bird’s Nest?

Fortunately, my wife was a subscriber to *Working Woman* magazine, and I had looked through a few copies. So I asked what magazines were *Cosmo*’s main competitors, and was *Working Woman* among them? I quickly learned a great deal about the overlapping demographics and marketing of the two publications, all of it fascinating. But as the Abalone was being served, Ms. Brown turned the tables by asking, “So what do you think of *Working Woman*?”

Thinking fast, I said that the magazine illustrated basic principles of management, human relations and office culture in everyday ways, but with a twist. Its take on these basic topics was that old-boy networks hid this knowledge from women, and now *Cosmo* was sharing the secrets with ambitious women. This was apparently different from anything HGB had heard from others, and again I was given some valuable high-level insight



into publishing and branding.

Now, however, I could feel another panic attack coming on. As the Steak with Five Spices arrived at our table, I realized I’d played my only conversational card on the subject of women’s magazines, and my ignorance would soon become evident. Undaunted, I turned the conversation to intellectual property and the extent of book and movie piracy in Taiwan. She was quite interested, and at the mention of pirated videotapes of American blockbusters, her husband David, director of “Jaws,” joined in. That discussion lasted through the Fish Fragrance Eggplant.

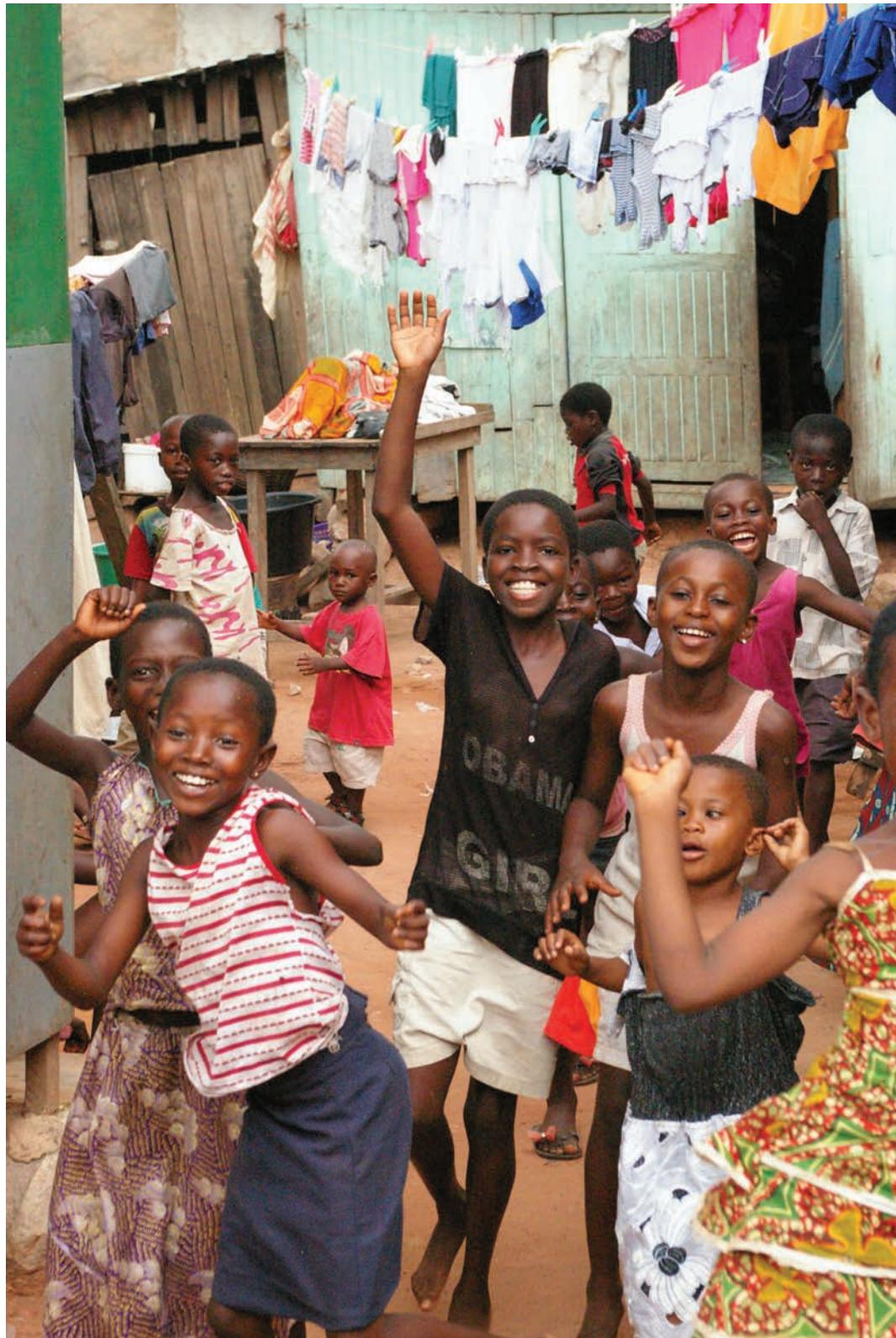
The dinner continued, and I tap-danced and pirouetted about the economy, political change in Taiwan, Chinese regional cuisines, the end of the Cold War and more. As I remember it, each of my topics informed and entertained without revealing my lack of depth.

After the Sweet Sesame Balls, the meal concluded with Melon Slices. When the dinner ended, HGB said to me, “Donald, you’re one of the best conversationalists I’ve ever met.” Heady stuff for a colorless diplomat!

If only FSOs had marquees rather than resumés, perhaps that quote, in lights, would have been just the ticket I needed to reach the Foreign Service stratosphere. I’ve always thought “Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary” has a nice ring to it. But alas, there’s no Bureau of Conversation. ■

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Donald M. Bishop, a retired Foreign Service public diplomacy officer, was public affairs officer in Dhaka, Lagos and Beijing, and twice a political adviser at the Pentagon. His last assignment was Kabul.



During my assignment on an observation mission for the 2012 Ghanaian presidential race, children saw my camera and would run toward me—singing out for me to take their picture. This particular shot was taken in the city of Takoradi, in an outlying rural community that was both jubilant and peaceful during the elections. I found the T-shirt of the young girl—the “Obama Girl”—to be very poignant on that Election Day. ■

*Janie James-High, a native of California but longtime resident of Arizona, has been with the State Department since May 2010 as an Office Management Specialist. Now posted in Accra, she served previously in Brussels at the U.S. mission to the European Union. She holds a B.A. in commercial photography, and previously worked in higher education and the business world. She took this photo in December 2012 with a Pentax K100 digital SLR camera.*

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