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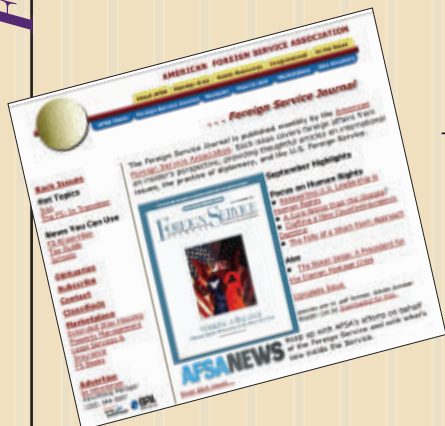
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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

The State-USAID Relationship: Measure Twice, Cut Once

BY SUSAN R. JOHNSON

Two welcome recent developments have spotlighted the relationship between the Department of State and the U.S. Agency for International Development. One is the long-awaited nomination of Rajiv Shah as USAID Administrator.



The other is the progress of the Kerry-Lugar bill on foreign assistance reform, though consensus remains elusive.

Before we initiate any major overhaul of development assistance programs and structures, we need a better understanding of the new global situation that we face. To put it bluntly, we do not have a firm enough grasp of it to undertake intelligent reform. Getting on top of these trends should be our priority. Only then can we formulate an effective foreign policy that makes the best possible use of the respective roles that diplomacy and development play in the global arena.

Once that conceptual work has been done, we can focus on repairing the fractious organizational relationship between State and USAID. Toward that end, the Obama administration needs to pursue a consultative process that is more inclusive of differing perspectives. This means tapping the views of development practitioners as well as diplomats — past and present, and from all

ranks, not just the top policy-makers — and taking constructive advantage of AFSA, which is representative of, and able to collect, member perspectives. The Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review now under way offers a timely process to do just this.

We hear a lot about the profound changes marking the end of the 20th century and beginning of the 21st. Yet only rarely do we see attempts to explore their impact on diplomacy and development. In particular, the challenges of climate change, energy and food security, and HIV/AIDS and other health issues are global in scope, and are not susceptible to unilateral American action. This reality impels us to use our resources and leadership to forge regional and global multilateral coalitions to address these problems.

Moreover, the pace of societal change and the exponential process of globalization have both become so rapid that our very ability to anticipate problems and opportunities has decreased correspondingly. In response to this phenomenon, we need to place a premium on flexibility, communications capacity and knowledge — not just the gathering of information.

Equally important is the question of how effective our assistance programs have been. The Marshall Plan still represents one of the few examples of a

U.S. development assistance program that has made a real, lasting difference on the ground — and that was six decades ago. Despite the dedication and expertise of countless Foreign Service professionals, many U.S. assistance programs — particularly the ambitious reconstruction/nationbuilding efforts conducted in Afghanistan and Iraq during recent years — have failed to meet their targets. There are undoubtedly many possible explanations for these shortcomings, many of them involving local factors, but we cannot address them until we acknowledge them.

We need more thoughtful and more inclusive discourse on these questions, gathered via a process that actively seeks out as many perspectives from as many stakeholders as possible. Once we have a consensus on how these changes affect and reshape the respective missions of State and USAID, we can then define requirements in terms of structures, processes and training.

Toward that end, if you have views to share, particularly on how these two agencies can work together most effectively to promote and protect our long-term national interests, or how AFSA might more efficiently collect and share views and recommendations from professionals and diplomats in the field, please send them to me (Johnson@afsa.org) and USAID VP Francisco Zamora (FZamora@usaid.gov). We look forward to hearing from you. ■

Susan R. Johnson is the president of the American Foreign Service Association.

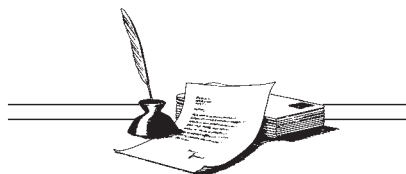


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LETTERS

Progress Within “T”

In a June 2008 *Foreign Service Journal* article (“Rewarding Functional Policy Expertise”), I outlined steps that the Office of the Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security had implemented to encourage and reward functional expertise in the Foreign Service and to make assignments to the T Bureaus a career-enhancing option. (These measures were based on input from the “T Family Foreign Service Officer Working Group” and consultations with FSOs serving elsewhere in the State Department and the senior leadership of the T Bureaus.)

At the same time, I noted that these steps alone were not sufficient to ensure that America has a Foreign Service capable of playing a meaningful role in solving the national security and foreign policy challenges of the 21st century. I therefore outlined structural changes and other actions needed to achieve this end.

While the T Bureaus continue to implement the ongoing activities described in my article, I’m pleased to report that during the last year, due to the leadership of Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security Ellen Tauscher, the department has taken a number of important steps to expand, encourage and reward functional expertise and ensure that the

Foreign Service has the expertise it requires:

1) It has elevated the Under Secretary’s Award for Excellence in International Security Affairs to a department-level award. This is the first-ever award to recognize the significant contributions of department personnel to the achievement of the nation’s political-military, arms control, nonproliferation, and verification and compliance agendas.

2) It has designated the under secretary for arms control and international security as a permanent member of the Deputy Chief of Mission Committee. T will now have a voice in the selection of individuals to serve in some of the most senior and important positions in the Foreign Service.

3) It has introduced the Consultative Staffing Process for selection of personnel for certain overseas positions that have direct relevance to the accomplishment of the department’s functional missions.

This process, which was implemented for the 2010 Open Assignment Cycle, gives T (and other functional bureaus) an active voice in the assignment process for designated overseas positions where functional policy expertise is essential for effective performance. In the long run, effective implementation of this initiative, which is consistent with the recommenda-

tions in my article, can go a long way toward equipping the Foreign Service to address the problems our nation faces.

These changes have the potential to be transformative. At a minimum, they constitute an important down payment on what still remains to be done to ensure that the Foreign Service has the right mix of skills and talents to help solve the national security and foreign policy challenges of the 21st century.

Sally K. Horn

Senior Executive Service,

retired

McLean, Va.

Changing the Culture

After reading Susan Johnson’s November President’s Views column on how to rebrand the Foreign Service, I was left with a feeling that we need to change how Americans perceive “diplomacy.” Speaking as an average citizen who is very interested in world events, I could not agree more that the Foreign Service does not get the recognition, respect or funding it deserves.

Because we are a nation that likes to carry a hammer, every problem looks like a nail. When there is a crisis somewhere in the world, the first thing the president usually asks is “Where is the nearest aircraft carrier?” instead of “Where are my best diplomats?” Yes,



the problem is political; but it is also cultural. Americans are impatient. We want to see results quickly. Going to war satisfies some sort of need in us. Our media glorify violence, and mock intellect.

We must put the hammer back in our toolbox, and start wielding diplomacy instead. When that paradigm shift happens, then the State Department will get the recognition, respect and funding it deserves. And perhaps the world will be a safer place.

So how do we get there? We need to change the American culture, particularly how it perceives diplomacy. Negotiations need to be seen as “cool,” instead of scoffed at. We must collectively agree that the true definition of

winning a conflict is to “win the hearts and minds” of our enemies, not merely to vanquish them on the battlefield.

Toward that end, the diplomatic profession must do a better job of promoting itself. Have you ever heard kids say they want to be diplomats when they grow up? When was the last time you saw a Hollywood blockbuster about a helpful U.S. diplomat in a far-off country, or a sitcom or drama set in an embassy?

If diplomacy is to hold a place of respect in the pantheon of American ideals, it must start promoting itself. Good or bad, that’s how America works.

The Defense Department already does this. Count up all the movies, TV shows, video games, books, magazines, etc., celebrating the armed forces. There are a lot of them, and this is no accident. The military has been very deliberate about promoting itself in the American consciousness.

In conclusion, I agree with Pres. Johnson’s two suggestions, but feel that a more comprehensive approach is required. Thank you for your work.

Vince Santilli
Orlando, Fla.

A Monument to Diplomacy

The suggestion in the November President’s Views column (“Rebranding the Foreign Service”) to construct an outside memorial to diplomacy is wonderful and timely. This site, which I suggest calling the Diplomacy for Peace Memorial, should be located in the vicinity of the Lincoln Memorial or Vietnam Memorial, where thousands of visitors will find it each year. I stand ready to contribute the first \$100 toward its completion.

I suggest constructing a marble gazebo whose inside ribs would be engraved with the names of Foreign

Service members who have given their lives in the line of duty. Its benches could be engraved with State Department and other appropriate symbols, and an eternal flame should shine in the center of the room. Outside, two statues of Marines at guard would pay tribute to their commitment to protect us and to risk their life for us all over the world.

Hopefully, President Barack Obama and Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton will agree that the time has come for such a memorial and will set the wheels in motion to create this honor for those who have given their lives in service to their country. Similarly, its dedication would be a perfect venue for our political leadership to acknowledge the sacrifices our diplomatic and civilian personnel deployed abroad make.

One of the greatest honors I had as a Foreign Service secretary for 21 years was to work on Secretary of State visits to post. My second tour was in Malaysia, where I served in the Regional Security Office.

On the day of my arrival in Kuala Lumpur in 1977, several Japanese Red Army gunmen overran the consular section. After seizing the U.S. consul, the Swedish chargé d’affaires and 50 other hostages, they demanded the release of seven members of their group being held in Japanese jails.

During this crisis, I worked closely with the RSO and embassy Marine security guards. A memory I still treasure is when, on July 1, 1977, the Marines surprised me with a certificate signed by the entire regiment at post proclaiming me an honorary Marine.

Catherine I. Postupack
Foreign Service specialist,
retired
Tamaqua, Pa. ■

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CYBERNOTES

Follow the Money: The Shape of the World in 2050

Though its September summit in Pittsburgh proved a relatively low-key event, the Group of 20 is steadily emerging as the world's official forum on global economic matters, replacing the Group of Eight (France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Britain, the U.S., Canada and Russia).

By most accounts, this is as it should be. A recent study in the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace's *International Economics Bulletin* predicts that by 2032 China will become the world's largest economy, growing 20 percent larger than the United States by 2050. Over the next 40 years, nearly 60 percent of the world's growth will come from Brazil, China, India, Russia and Mexico alone.

Though as a group these emerging markets will increasingly define economic dynamics, they will not be the world's richest in per capita terms: their average per capita income in 2050 will still be some 40 percent below that of the G-8 (minus Russia) today. As the IEB notes, the emergence of the G-20 signals the beginning of a more integrated and complex economic era.

The Group of 20 Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors was founded in 1999 as a response both to the financial crises of the late 1990s and

a growing recognition that key emerging-market countries were not adequately represented in the global economic discussion and governance. The group includes the G-8 plus Argentina, Australia, Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, South Korea, Turkey and the European Union.

Over the past decade, the G-20 has worked through five groups to develop consensus on a range of issues, including setting policies for growth, reducing abuse of the financial system, dealing with financial crises and combating terrorist financing. The group also plays a significant role in matters concerned with reform of the international financial architecture.

The ongoing world economic crisis is testing the group's effectiveness. At summits in April and September, the G-20 committed themselves to steps to restore economic growth, fix the broken regulatory system and introduce reforms to prevent future destabilization. The Pittsburgh summit saw adoption of a framework for strong, sustainable and balanced growth, and a follow-up communiqué from London in early November reported continued progress toward implementation of the plans.

The next G-20 meeting, in June, will take place in Canada.

Taking On Cyberwarfare

At a Nov. 17 hearing, the Senate Judiciary Committee's Terrorism and Homeland Security Subcommittee heard testimony from public and private experts on the state of U.S. cybersecurity, "one of the most important subjects — and frankly one of the most complicated subjects — that Congress and the Obama administration must address in the coming months," as Subcommittee Chairman Benjamin L. Cardin, D-Md., put it in his opening statement.

The administration's "comprehensive, clean-slate review" of the topic in May came to the alarming conclusion that "the federal government is not organized to address this growing problem effectively now or in the future." Responsibilities for cybersecurity are distributed across a wide array of federal departments and agencies, many with overlapping jurisdiction, and none have sufficient authority to direct actions that deal with these complex issues in a consistent way. A successful cyberattack could cripple sectors of our government, economy and essential services.

Over the past several years, incidents involving Beijing, in particular, have acted to push cyberwarfare up on the national security agenda. At the hearing, prominent government and



People are questioning why he has not already solved the world's problems. But the whole point of [President Barack] Obama's campaign was that the power and responsibility to change the world is distributed.

— British Foreign Secretary David Miliband, addressing the Fabian Society in London, Nov. 7, www.fabians.org.uk/

private-sector experts, including the vice-chairman of the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, addressed the state of efforts to defend against cyberattacks; explored the appropriate balance between improving cybersecurity and protecting the privacy rights and civil rights of citizens; and discussed the proper role of government in setting standards for the private sector and taking control of the Internet or computer systems in an emergency.

Meanwhile, the Arms Control Association suggests that it may be time to consider an international convention on cyberwarfare. In the November issue of *Arms Control Today*, Stanford University security expert David Elliott reviews the background to this idea, suggests how an agreement might restrict cyberattacks by one state-party against the critical national infrastructure of another, and examines the pros and cons of such restrictions from a U.S. perspective.

Shining a Light in Dark Corners

“Over \$1 trillion in bribes are paid annually, with \$1.5 trillion in public purchasing tainted by bribery, fraud, collusion and other forms of corrup-

tion. Every year, billions of dollars in illicit assets — equivalent to almost half of all development assistance funds — flows out of countries desperately in need,” states the U.S. chapter of Transparency International. Calling for “a consistent and coherent attack on corruption” by U.S. foreign policy and its development assistance programs, the organization urges Washington to intensify its partnership with foreign governments to enhance oversight institutions.

TI's 2009 Corruption Perceptions Index shows that the practice is as rampant as ever around the world. “Overall results in the 2009 index are of great concern because corruption continues to lurk where opacity rules, where institutions still need strengthening and where governments have not implemented anticorruption frameworks,” said TI in a statement.

Somalia is at the bottom of the list, ranked most corrupt, with Afghanistan, Myanmar, Sudan and Iraq not far behind. Conversely, New Zealand, Denmark, Sweden and Singapore — countries with political stability, long-established conflict of interest regulations and functioning public institutions — are at the top of the list of the least corrupt. The U.S. ranked 19th.

But TI cautions the advanced, least corrupt countries against complacency, pointing out that the practice of bribery and the facilitation of corruption often involve businesses based in their countries. “Financial secrecy jurisdictions, linked to many countries that top the CPI, severely undermine efforts to tackle corruption and recover stolen assets,” the survey notes.

That's why TI complements the index with research and advocacy on the “supply side” of global corruption, including a Bribe Payers Index, Na-

tional Integrity System studies and a new annual report tracking transparency in measures to combat corruption at some 500 leading companies. The group's latest publication is a report on the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's anti-bribery convention that finds its enforcement extremely uneven.

Democracy in Decline?

“Although the number of formal democracies remains constant worldwide, in many cases their quality is showing a significant decline.” This is the conclusion reached by the fourth survey of the Transformation Index, a study released Dec. 3 by the Bertelsmann Stiftung, Germany's largest private nonprofit foundation.

Among the countries with the most successful governance over the past few years, the survey cites Uruguay, Chile, Estonia, South Korea and Brazil. Those identified as having the worst political leadership are North Korea, Zimbabwe, Myanmar, Somalia and Uzbekistan.

Though nearly four billion people live in democracies today, compared with only 2.5 billion in autocracies and dictatorships, a cautionary note lies in the fact that among the democracies social integration and opportunities for real participation in the political decision-making process are, in many cases, increasingly limited.

Of the 76 democracies studied, as many as 53 are classified as “defective democracies” because, despite relatively free and fair elections, they fail to adequately protect political and civil liberties and lack an effective separation of powers. Significantly, the share of moderately defective democracies has dropped from 62 percent to about 49 percent over the past four years,



50 Years Ago...

Jet transport has many implications for the Foreign Service. ... So-called “personal diplomacy” may become increasingly attractive. High-ranking diplomats may prefer to “go there themselves” when no point on the globe is over 20 or 30 smooth hours away by direct flight. Large, expensive posts abroad may give way to smaller listening posts backed up by flying squads of highly-trained diplomats and experts. Furthermore, why waste time and money on encoding, transmitting and decoding telegraphic messages when 600-mile-an-hour jets can speed written texts?

— From “The Foreign Service and the Jet Age” by Albert W. Stoffel, January 1960 *FSJ*.



while highly defective democracies now account for more than 20 percent — twice the level four years earlier.

When it comes to holding free and fair elections, defective democracies now perform substantially worse than they did four years ago; this is particularly true of Kenya and Nicaragua. Similarly, there has been a decline in respect for freedom of assembly and the right to organize in Kenya, Madagascar, Niger, South Africa and Uganda. Even such advanced democracies as Ghana, Croatia, Serbia and South Korea offer cause for concern, according to the survey.

According to its authors, the survey offers some pointers to policymakers. Supporters of development and democratic transformation are advised to zero in on countries with a high level of democratic legitimacy and relatively good governance but that lag in socioeconomic progress. Targeted economic assistance to such countries can shore up their weak democratic regimes before worsening poverty and an inequitable income distribution undermine their legitimacy altogether.

The Transformation Index analyzes and evaluates the quality of democracy, the market economy and political management in 128 developing and transi-

tion countries. The Bertelsmann Foundation and the Center for Applied Political Research at Munich University collaborate in its production.

Election 2010 in Sudan: A Testing Time

The April 10 general election in Sudan, the country’s first multiparty vote in more than two decades, is a critical benchmark for that country and the region. As of early December, as many as 12 million voters had registered, though the opposition claims irregularities and those displaced from Darfur are refusing to register until peace is restored there.

Authorities in Khartoum have extended the registration deadline and balloting to facilitate more participation. But many observers remain concerned about the unevenness of representation across constituencies.

A rally in Khartoum on Dec. 7, organized by the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement to demand electoral reform to prevent fraud, was met with tear gas, police batons and the arrest of three senior party figures. Indications of renewed fighting in southern Sudan are also causing serious concern.

Meanwhile, in the Darfur region,

five Rwandan soldiers who were members of the joint African Union-U.N. Mission in Darfur were killed in two separate incidents by unknown gunmen on Dec. 4 and 5. At the same time, United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-moon appointed his special envoy to Myanmar, Ibrahim Gambari, to take over UNAMID, the U.N.’s largest peacekeeping effort, on Dec. 4. Days later, he placed a call to Sudan President Omar al-Bashir urging his “direct engagement” in securing the release of two members of UNAMID who were taken hostage in August.

The April elections, as well as a referendum scheduled for January 2011 on whether the semi-autonomous and oil-rich south should secede, are a crucial test for the Obama administration’s new, comprehensive strategy for Sudan launched in October. The House Committee on Foreign Affairs’ hearings on Dec. 3 provided an interim progress report on that strategy, which is focused on three goals: definitively ending conflict, gross human rights abuses and genocide in Darfur; implementing the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement between North and South; and ensuring that Sudan does not become a safe haven for international terrorists.

By all accounts, Washington is proceeding on many levels with intensity and tight coordination of an interagency effort. The central conclusion of the exhaustive review process preceding the administration’s new policy was that success could not be achieved by focusing exclusively on Darfur or the CPA implementation. Both goals must be addressed seriously and simultaneously as part of efforts to resolve and prevent conflict throughout Sudan.

U.S. diplomacy must be sustained and broad, the review concluded, en-



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If you're living abroad or contemplating an international trip, don't leave home without the URL for the Center for Disease Control's Travelers' Health Web site at wwwnc.cdc.gov/travel/. This straightforward and comprehensive resource covers the health issues travelers may encounter, from A to Z.

There you can find reports on disease outbreaks and health-related developments around the world, specific health information on more than 200 destinations and tips on preparing for a stay abroad. You will also find the 2010 edition of "CDC Health Information for International Travel," an authoritative guide known as the "Yellow Book."

Under the heading "Information for Specific Groups and Settings," the site offers advice for traveling with children, traveling with pets, travelers who have special needs, disaster relief workers and individuals studying abroad. Under "Vaccinations," you will find everything you need to know on that topic, including lists of routine and recommended vaccinations and a checklist to ensure you are covered. And, under "Illness and Injury Abroad," is information on the steps to take in case of a medical emergency abroad, including links to specific, relevant sections of the Yellow Book.

compassing not just the ruling National Congress Party, the opposition SPLM and major Darfuri rebel groups, but also critical regional and international actors. Moreover, progress is to be measured by verifiable changes in conditions on the ground.

"As part of the U.S. Strategy on Sudan, senior officials from the interagency will meet in early 2010 for the first in a series of quarterly interagency reviews designed to assess whether progress or backsliding has occurred and agree on whether incentives or pressures are warranted," Maj. Gen. Scott Gration, the U.S. special envoy to Sudan, explained in his detailed testimony to the Subcommittee on Africa and Global Health.

"With regard to Darfur and to relations between North and South, we will not waste a minute in achieving our objectives for a peaceful and stable Sudan. We do not have the luxury of time. What we *do* have is the determination of the United States and its partners to

help bring peace to Sudan. Our country must fully utilize all of our instruments of statecraft in this endeavor," he emphasized.

Testimony was also provided by Randy Newcomb of Humanity United; the former head of the U.N. Panel of Experts on the Sudan, Enrico Carish; and John Prendergast of the Enough Project. In addition, Lt. Gen. Nhial Deng Nhial representing an official delegation from Sudan briefed the panel.

For ongoing coverage of developments in Sudan, see <http://allafrica.com/sudan/>. To track military developments, go to www.strategypage.com/qnd/sudan/default.aspx. And for news and background on U.S. policy in Sudan, go to www.state.gov/s/sudan/index.htm. ■

This edition of Cybernotes was compiled by Senior Editor Susan Brady Maitra, with assistance from Editorial Intern Amanda Anderson.



SPEAKING OUT

The Population Bomb Is Still Ticking

BY MICHAEL FRITZ

Paul Ehrlich's 1968 book, *The Population Bomb*, hit America's college campuses with the intellectual force of a futurist's improvised explosive device. It challenged Americans to consider — many for the first time — the potential for chaos and upheaval hidden within unfolding global demographic trends.

A student at the time, I still vividly recall the power of Ehrlich's message: the explosive growth of the human race affects all issues on the global agenda, from regional conflict and habitat loss to depletion of energy, food and water resources.

That premise is truer today than ever before. In fact, it obligates us to take action. Unless population size is factored into policy decisions, we will never achieve valid, sustainable solutions to problems like global warming and energy independence. So if we care about the future of our children, then we need to be concerned about the effects of population growth on each and every one of those issues.

The Scope of the Problem

There are all sorts of population growth scenarios, but a frequently cited one comes from the United Nations Population Division. It forecasts that by 2050, the number of humans on the planet will have grown by a third, from 6.7 billion to 9.2 billion, before leveling off. That increase — 2.5

I call on my fellow professionals in development and diplomacy not just to monitor and report on the population debate, but to lead the discussion.



billion human beings — is equal to the entire global population in 1950.

Paradoxically, it will be the poorest, least developed nations that see the greatest growth in population, as their population rises from 5.4 billion to 7.9 billion. Staggering as such numbers are, they are actually quite conservative, for they assume a rise in contraceptive use, coupled with a decline in fertility. (The calculations also factor in deaths from HIV/AIDS, as well as projected migration patterns.)

Specifically, the figure assumes that fertility will continue to decline in developing countries, from 2.75 children per woman to 2.05 children per woman by 2050. (The degree of fertility reduction projected for the 50 least developed countries is even sharper: from 4.63 children per woman in 2005-2010 to 2.50 children per woman in 2045-2050.)

Given the fact that even the tiniest

variation in fertility rates can have huge implications for the size of the eventual world population, and taking into account the lack of family planning access in much of the world, 9.2 billion may well be a “best case” scenario.

Back to the Future

Historically, the U.S. conducted a strong population assistance program that enjoyed consistent bipartisan support through numerous administrations. Its longstanding policy objectives have been to enhance the freedom of individuals to choose the number and spacing of their children, and to encourage population growth consistent with the growth of economic resources and productivity.

There is also a strong rationale for population assistance in terms of improving maternal and child health. Various justifications for this have held sway at different times, but all are important. Many factors lead to people having fewer children: female education, improved child survival, access to contraception, and economic growth that offers opportunities to women outside the home, changing the calculus for how they most productively spend their time.

Of all of these, access to contraception is one of the easiest to implement, has the most direct effect, and has had measurable success. Average family size has fallen by half in the develop-



ing world since the 1960s, and contraceptive use has increased from under 10 percent to over 50 percent.

Yet while all these programs affect population growth, none has population reduction as an explicit goal. In fact, over the past decade serious discussion of these issues has been conspicuously lacking in the United States, in both the foreign and domestic policy debates.

Al Gore's 2006 movie, "An Inconvenient Truth," gave much of the world a wake-up call on global warming. In my opinion, however, he missed an opportunity to link these problems to population growth.

Take a simple example. Even if half the world switched to hybrid cars, that would help only marginally with global warming, urban growth and congestion, habitat loss, and other key problems. This is because rapidly growing populations in the developing world are demanding more and more automobiles. (China and India are already mass-producing large numbers of vehicles for their own needs.)

Yes, perhaps the economic crisis has slowed that process down. But let's not believe that the trend won't resume once economic conditions are more favorable — unless we promote a different perspective. In fact, the global economic slowdown presents us with a

***Our status as the largest
bilateral donor in the
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issue is framed.***

unique opportunity, a golden moment in which we must rethink the meaning of community and the means to achieve this new vision.

Fortunately, Washington's status as the largest bilateral donor in the field of population assistance gives us a platform to exert global leadership in framing the issue. The Obama administration's Fiscal Year 2010 request for State and USAID's family planning and reproductive health programs totals \$593 million.

America As a Role Model

As Erlich wrote four decades ago, addressing population growth is the key to the big-picture issues in the developing and developed world. We need to ask ourselves what kind of communities we want to live in — and then ask the same question of the citizens of other countries.

In an era of dwindling oil supplies and rising energy costs, the need for low-energy lifestyles has never been greater. In fact, energy efficiency is one of the top priorities for many of

our host-country government counterparts. New Urbanism design principles and practices bring together the ideas and plans to create enjoyable places in which to live and work, while greatly reducing energy use.

Designing away the need for cars is the most important step in creating sustainable communities. This has the triple effect of lowering our energy use (especially imported energy), reducing global warming and raising our quality of life in cities by increasing mobility and convenience.

Yet for most on the cutting edge of New Urbanism, population, which should be an obvious factor, is not even mentioned. The world simply cannot afford for everyone to consume as we have in recent years, even though that is largely what the rest of the world aspires to do.

We in the West are bad role models. We must change our own behavior at the same time that we are asking others to change theirs. In a March *New York Times* column, Thomas Friedman suggested that we are all part of a gigantic Ponzi scheme where we are living beyond our financial and economic means. Perhaps, Friedman opined, in our journey down the road of continuous growth we have hit the proverbial wall.

Population growth underscores the danger of a worldview that considers continuous growth a worthy goal in and of itself, without regard to its consequences.

**Light at the
End of the Tunnel?**

There are signs that the population bomb is beginning to attract serious attention again. In 2008, *Time* magazine published a commentary in which General Michael Hayden, a former di-

**State and USAID Funding
for Family Planning and
Reproductive Health**

FY 2006	\$430 million
FY 2007	\$451 million
FY 2008	\$471 million
FY 2009	\$572 million
FY 2010 request	\$593 million

Source: Director of U.S. Foreign Assistance and
Administrator of USAID, Department of State



rector of the Central Intelligence Agency, warned that the sheer size of the projected increase in population could fuel instability and extremism, exacerbate climate change and make food and fuel even scarcer.

Similarly, the December 2009 edition of *Scientific American* includes a commentary by Jeffrey D. Sachs titled “Can We Feed *and* Save the Planet?”, in which he contends that the challenges of population control and food production need to be tackled in tandem.

And *Live Science* recently posted a story titled: “Save the Planet: Have Fewer Kids.” Op-eds have also appeared in various publications arguing for more funding for family planning.

Given that population growth is the

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essential multiplier for any number of human ills, I call on my fellow professionals in development and diplomacy

not just to monitor and report on the debate, but to lead the discussion.

A 1969 quote from Richard Nixon reminds us that we’ve remained too silent for far too long: “One of the most serious challenges to human destiny in the last third of this century will be the growth of population. Whether man’s response to that challenge will be a cause for pride or for despair in the year 2000 will depend very much on what we do today.” ■

Michael Fritz, a Senior Foreign Service officer, joined USAID in 1988. He has served in Cote d’Ivoire, Burundi, Ukraine, Bosnia, Kazakhstan, Bulgaria and Washington, D.C., and is currently mission director in Macedonia.

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USAID: SIGNS OF GROWTH



Jeff Kogel

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ADMINISTRATOR-DESIGNATE RAJIV SHAH IS WELL-REGARDED, BUT HIS NOMINATION DOES NOT RESOLVE LINGERING DOUBTS ABOUT THE AGENCY'S FUTURE.

BY SHAWN ZELLER

When Secretary of State Hillary Clinton visited the headquarters of the U.S. Agency for International Development on her second day in office, she told the nearly 1,000 agency employees who turned out for her speech that the new administration was committed to boosting resources for development.

"I wanted to come here today with a very simple message: I believe in development, and I believe with all my heart that it truly is an equal partner, along with defense and diplomacy, in the furtherance of America's national security," she

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said last January.

In keeping with that commitment, President Barack Obama's Fiscal Year 2010 budget called for a doubling of foreign assistance funding by 2015, along with a doubling of USAID's Foreign Service work force. Congress duly approved enough funds for USAID to hire 300 Foreign Service officers in FY 09, and the agency plans to add another 350 this year. USAID obligated more than \$16 billion in program funds in FY 09, compared with \$13 billion in 2007.

Meanwhile, for the first time in years, Congress has launched an effort to rewrite the law that governs U.S. development aid overseas, the 1961 Foreign Assistance Act. Doing so, USAID's supporters hope, will provide the agency with the clear direction it needs to succeed and free it from the multitude of mission goals that Congress has heaped on it since the last Foreign Assistance Act reauthorization in 1985.

Advocates of a strong USAID also detected hopeful signs in some of Pres. Obama's early appointments. Two key members of his National Security Council staff, Gayle Smith and Michael McFaul, have advocated making USAID a Cabinet agency, which would be a far-reaching way to restore its influence. (Smith was previously a senior staffer at the Center for American Progress, while McFaul was director of the Center on Democracy, Development and Rule of Law at Stanford University.)

Now, a year into President Obama's first term, with a new administrator finally nominated — Rajiv Shah, a 36-year-old medical doctor who was previously an executive with the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, was named in mid-November — many observers cling to the hope that the president is still attentive to the need to revitalize USAID. That commitment is essential, most believe, if the United States is ever to have an effective development program: one that successfully assists the poor and at the same time burnishes our image in a world deeply skeptical of U.S. intentions.

Hopes Tempered

Skeptics, however, cite the extraordinarily long delay in appointing an administrator as evidence that a streamlining of foreign assistance and resolution of the agency's existential dilemma will not be quick or easy. Many blame

the leadership drift on an ongoing dispute within the administration over the agency's relationship with the State Department. "What's happened is there is a fight going on over control of USAID," says Andrew Natsios, the agency's administrator from 2001 through 2005. "You have the National Security Council and the White House on one side and Secretary Clinton on the other. Clinton is arguing for more absorption into the State Department."

To be sure, she has denied any such intentions, blaming the protracted delay in naming Shah on the arduous vetting process for top-level appointees. Clinton cited that problem when one potential nominee, the renowned physician and humanitarian Paul Farmer, withdrew his name from consideration this past summer. However, numerous USAID staffers have said the delay was mainly due to uncertainty about the agency's future, a limbo that has made the top job unappealing.

"I know if someone offered me the job, I wouldn't take it under the current circumstances," says J. Brian Atwood, USAID administrator during the Clinton administration, now dean of the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Minnesota. "Increasingly, USAID is expected to show results for its work, and the administrator is held accountable for those results. But I wouldn't know what authority I would have, or whether I would have the independence and budget authority and autonomy to reach those results."

Shah receives good reviews, both for his work during his short tenure at the Agriculture Department — he served as the department's under secretary for research, education and economics and its chief scientist last year — and for his previous work at the Gates Foundation. There he oversaw agricultural development grants, was the foundation's director of financial services to the poor and led a strategic initiative aimed at recommending new areas for grantmaking.

Samuel A. Worthington, president and chief executive of InterAction, a coalition of 150 nongovernmental organizations that provide humanitarian and development assistance, expressed approval of Shah's enthusiasm and management skills, but said he had a tough task ahead. "It is our hope that he will bring that same energy and management expertise to an agency that desperately needs strong and vigorous leadership, especially considering the complexity of issues he'll find in his in-box," Worthington said. Among those, Worthington noted, are the budget process, development work in Afghanistan and Pakistan,

Shawn Zeller, a regular contributor to the Journal, is a freelance writer in Washington, D.C.

and two ongoing studies of USAID's mission and agenda.

The timing of those studies, both launched last year, reinforced suspicions that the delay in the appointment of an administrator was a deliberate power play by State to win greater control of USAID. The State Department, at Clinton's direction, launched a quadrennial review to set the department's diplomatic and development goals moving forward. And in August, Pres. Obama signed a Presidential Study Directive authorizing a governmentwide review of U.S. global development policy. As Atwood points out, USAID's administrator was supposed to co-chair the State Department review. "I think that no matter how it comes out, there may be questions raised because USAID wasn't represented at the political level" during the months before Shah's confirmation, he said.

Still, the fact that Obama is taking a close look at the development mission is a good thing, says Gordon Adams, a professor of foreign policy at American University in Washington and a senior national security official in the Clinton administration. "I understand the frustration at not having an administrator. That said, the body English is right, the desire to make development a more substantial part of U.S. development seems like more than just lip service, and it's clear the issue is being addressed seriously."

The Gordian Knot

But despite the increases in funding and staff pledged by Obama, morale at USAID remains at a low ebb. Its staff is just over half the size it was 35 years ago, due to a steady "brain drain" that has left the agency scrambling for technical experts and people to oversee them. To make do, agency officials have been forced to raid the development budget to hire contractors to manage the contractors in the field. As former USAID Administrators Atwood, Natsios and M. Peter McPherson pointed out in an article in *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2008), the agency at the end of George W. Bush's presidency employed just six engineers and 16 agricultural experts.

In late 2008, the American Academy of Diplomacy and the Henry L. Stimson Center recommended an increase of 1,250 new USAID officers by 2013. Without the increase, the AAD/Stimson Center report said, USAID would not be able to function effectively, much less keep

Despite the increases in funding and staff pledged by Obama, morale at USAID remains at a low ebb.

up with the growing demand for development assistance.

Former American Foreign Service Association President J. Anthony Holmes has gone even further. Given the 75-percent decline in USAID staffing since the 1970s, the agency is "simply not able to do its job" and has "no surge capacity at all," he wrote in *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2009). Holmes believes that to pursue the type of nationbuilding activities now expected of it, USAID requires a 150-percent increase in its Foreign Service staffing.

When Pres. Obama stressed his belief in the virtues of soft power during his inaugural address, retired State Department Foreign Service officer Ron Capps was one of many who applauded. Capps had seen the implications of USAID's staffing crisis in the field. He had begun his 25-year government career in the Army, and his time working with State in Africa, Kosovo and Iraq only reinforced his respect for the military. Yet Capps — like many of his fellow FSOs — is skeptical of the growing role the military is playing in development programs overseas, at the expense of civilian agencies.

When he retired from the Foreign Service in 2008, Capps joined the humanitarian relief group Refugees International as its peacekeeping manager. On a trip to investigate the extent of the shift in development dollars toward the Department of Defense, he stopped in Nema, a Saharan desert town more than 1,000 kilometers inland from Mauritania's coastal capital, Nouakchott. DOD had funded the construction of a medical clinic there, so Capps was surprised to find that it was not being used. It turned out that Mauritania's government was uninterested in providing the materials and manpower to operate it.

The problem, as Capps later detailed in a report for his new employer, was that the U.S. soldiers coordinating the project had turned to their counterparts in the Mauritanian military to secure a site on land controlled by the Ministry of Defense. But they hadn't brought the Ministry of Health into the loop, which might have been able to tell them that the site, in a military zone, would be very difficult for average civilians to reach.

Things might have gone better, Capps believes, if the Pentagon's new Africa Command, which is overseeing such development efforts, had conferred with the USAID mission in Nouakchott before undertaking the project.

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But then he discovered that there *is* no USAID office in Mauritania. It closed in 1995.

Such situations constitute further evidence of the pressing need to begin rebuilding the leading civilian development agency in the U.S. government. Starved of staff to manage an increasing project budget, it has turned to contractors, not only to carry out its development work but also to oversee it. That process has not always been smooth or cost-effective for the taxpayer. Making matters worse, USAID has been asked to change from an infrastructure-building agency to one that builds democratic institutions.

"They can't do either with the number of people they have," says Capps. "That's the Gordian knot around USAID."

Pentagon Encroachment

Meanwhile, as Capps found, other government agencies, most prominently the Department of Defense, have begun managing an increasing number of development projects. In recent years, the Pentagon has managed more

than a quarter of all foreign assistance funding.

The war in Iraq provided a perfect opening for the Pentagon to encroach on USAID and State's turf. In the aftermath of the fall of Saddam Hussein, the Coalition Provisional Authority (controlled by the United States) granted broad discretion to military leaders to make use of Iraqi Ba'ath Party funds seized during the war. Two years later, in 2005, the Pentagon issued Directive 3000.05, which explicitly named development work as part of the military mission. The mandate was broad, directing commanders to "rebuild indigenous institutions including various types of security forces, correctional facilities and judicial systems" and to "revive or build the private sector, including encouraging citizen-driven, bottom-up economic activity and constructing necessary infrastructure" as well as "representative governmental institutions."

In 2006, Congress included language in its annual defense authorization bill providing explicit funding for such work, though it has declined to make the authority permanent.



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The Bush administration's lack of faith in USAID also manifested itself in the decision to push for creation of the Millennium Challenge Corporation, which Congress authorized in 2004 to provide development assistance to poor democracies. The administration swayed a skeptical Congress in part by disparaging USAID.

As the argument went, the MCC would fund only worthy development efforts in countries that respect the rule of law. By comparison, USAID's work was dismissed as overly politicized and ineffective. At the same time, during the Bush years, much of the development focus shifted to the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, which was widely praised but notably placed outside the control of the USAID Administrator.

And as USAID weakened, other agencies have also stepped into the void. Last fall, for instance, the ranking

Rather than seeking to fold the Millennium Challenge Corporation into USAID, Pres. Obama wants to expand it.

Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Richard Lugar of Indiana, wrote to Sec. Clinton and Agriculture Secretary Tom Vilsack to ask why the Foreign Agricultural Service, and not USAID, was leading agricultural development efforts in Afghanistan. Both secretaries responded that FAS's work there was part of Obama's "one government approach" to dealing with the situation in Afghanistan.

Yet the result of FAS's expansion into a development role, along with two dozen other agencies across the government, is a situation where "little or no coordination" exists among foreign development programs, Lugar said. Indeed, he added, "We do not have adequate knowledge of whether programs are complementary or working at cross-purposes."

Obama has not moved to reverse this trend. In fact,

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rather than seeking to fold the Millennium Challenge Corporation into USAID, as many development experts have urged, the president has sought to *expand* the MCC, pushing for a 63-percent increase in its funding in FY 2010.

Development at War

As development has become recognized as a core element of foreign policy, some dispersion of resources was probably inevitable, says Worthington of InterAction. But that makes it all the more important, he says, for USAID to have an administrator with authority over development efforts writ large: "It's important to recognize that the United States needs multiple development tools that may not fit neatly within one agency." Giving the USAID Administrator authority to coordinate those efforts would be "an important step to align the operational side of development work with strategic policy planning."

Still, as the concept of development has shifted from infrastructure projects to nationbuilding activities, USAID's efforts to regain its pre-eminent role in oversee-

ing development have only encountered steeper resistance, particularly as it competes with the Department of Defense. On the one hand, USAID's proponents argue that the agency should be the place for experts in creating and fostering democratic institutions. Those experts will have a credibility their military counterparts lack, these USAID backers say, because the agency is made up of civilians who pursue their aims with good will, not by military might.

On the other hand, USAID officers in the war zones of Iraq and Afghanistan have found it difficult to carry out their jobs precisely because those countries are not yet free of violence. To conduct development work in such places, USAID officers are often accompanied by soldiers, raising questions in the minds of those they are trying to serve about just whom they represent.

A December 2008 Congressional Research Service report concluded that when military personnel are directly involved in providing humanitarian assistance and other humanitarian acts, such aid can be viewed as jeopardizing

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the lives and work of aid workers by “stigmatizing them as participants in a military effort.” Francisco Zamora, AFSA’s USAID vice president, says the militarization of development work should not be taken lightly. “The question is, can we actually have long-term development when the country we’re working in has not been normalized?”

An anecdote shared by Phil Christensen, a former assistant USAID administrator, before the House Foreign Affairs Committee last March, makes the point plain. He described the challenge faced by a USAID employee in Kabul who, when he went to visit an Afghan contact a few miles from town, was accompanied by guards in an armored vehicle. They were followed by another car filled with armed guards.

When they got to the man’s house, Christensen said, the USAID employee was told to stay in the car while the soldiers secured the scene. The guards even pointed their guns at the man’s family and dog, Christensen said. Only then was the USAID employee allowed to do his job. “This is no way to win hearts and minds,” Christensen said. “We would have been better off staying at home.”

The Struggle for Relevance

But to leave USAID out of such efforts risks further erosion of the agency’s relevancy, says Natsios. “If you are going to run a counterinsurgency campaign, like General [Stanley] McChrystal is in Afghanistan, part of that has to be stabilization. You need USAID officers to do that.” And speaking last year before the House Appropriations Committee, acting USAID Deputy Administrator James Kunder said that the experience of the provincial reconstruction teams in Afghanistan — joint development teams made up of representatives from the State Department, USAID and Defense — made it clear that development experts were needed.

Still, he acknowledged, in other ways USAID personnel were ill-prepared for the mission and needed to be equipped for their jobs as soldiers are. “We ought to look at these folks as special forces troops that need to be maximally equipped with the best technology America has to offer,” he said.

To say that there was ever a golden age for USAID,

Many members of Congress feel they can’t justify a big foreign aid budget to their constituents, who see little direct benefit from it.

when it had the full support of Congress and the White House, would be a stretch. After all, foreign aid has always been a tough sell to a skeptical public.

But if such a period ever existed, it came in the first years after USAID’s creation in 1961, when the Kennedy administration put a premium on assistance to developing nations. In sharp contrast to the cur-

rent, balkanized state of U.S. development efforts, Pres. Kennedy championed USAID as a uniter of then-disparate government efforts. Its early programs focused on spurring development in Latin America and on combating communism in Asia, particularly in Vietnam. In 1975, at the end of the Vietnam War, the agency employed 4,300 permanent U.S. staffers and engaged in hands-on infrastructure work, digging wells and building bridges.

But even by the early 1970s, Congress was losing interest in foreign aid, failing repeatedly to pass authorizing legislation to direct USAID’s mission. Opposition to the Vietnam War and concerns that development work was too tied up in military initiatives were to blame. And like today, many members of Congress simply felt they could not justify a big foreign aid budget to their constituents, who saw little direct benefit from it.

The need to maintain Cold War allies kept the agency going until the early 1990s, when — absent the strategic threat posed by the Soviet Union — its funding collapsed. That was also when efforts to incorporate USAID into the State Department gained momentum. In 1994, Republicans in Congress (backed by Vice President Al Gore) proposed merging USAID, the U.S. Information Agency, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency into State.

Four years later, the Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act of 1998 abolished USIA and ACDA, bringing most of their functions into the State Department. USAID remained independent but was placed under the authority and guidance of the Secretary of State.

The revival of foreign aid after the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks boosted USAID’s program budget to \$13 billion by 2007, up more than 60 percent from a decade earlier. But the failure of staffing to keep pace left USAID overburdened. The agency, for instance, would like each of its contracting officers to manage between \$10 million and \$14 million in projects per year; but in 2008, the av-

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erage was \$57 million per manager.

Nor did the new project funding end the debate over USAID's role vis-a-vis State. "There is a continuum of views, with some on one end saying it should be a Cabinet-level agency, and the other side saying we should be folded entirely into State," says AFSA's Zamora. "The foreign aid community and, I believe, Congress would prefer we were more autonomous."

State vs. USAID

That has not been the trend, however. In 2006, in an effort to unify foreign assistance programs at the State Department and USAID, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice consolidated policy, planning and budget authority for development programs at State. An April 2009 Government Accountability Office report found that while the consolidation had given State a better understanding of USAID's work, it hadn't always worked out well for the agency's staff. USAID officials in Washington and the field told the GAO investigators that State dragged its feet on

developing country assistance strategies, leaving some country plans out of date and creating a great deal of paperwork for the agency's already overworked staff.

A USAID official in Jordan said that State had "repeatedly changed its guidance over a short period of time" and that "at times the updated guidance contradicted, instead of built on, previous guidance." In Ethiopia, USAID staff complained that relying on State to issue a long-term country strategy had undermined longstanding protocols by which USAID and Ethiopian officials had previously undertaken projects.

And in Ukraine, USAID officials described how their efforts to respond to parliamentary elections had been undermined by State's bureaucracy. After requesting some advance funds to set up programs to support the elections, USAID staff were told that approval would require 10 signatures. The six-week delay that followed crippled the mission's ability to implement its pre-election programs.

Natsios, who departed USAID in advance of the 2006 changes, contends that, in some ways, the restructuring

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COVER STORY

enhanced USAID's authority. The USAID Administrator became a top deputy in Foggy Bottom, with a say in all development work at both State and USAID. But the Obama administration's decision to place USAID under the authority of Jacob J. Lew, the Deputy Secretary of State for management and resources, Natios says, means that "the independent voice of USAID is simply being systematically abolished."

Speaking last fall at a conference in Washington, Lew said he viewed the boundary between State and USAID as an artificial one. "We're seeing a lot of the development-vs.-diplomacy line starting to disappear," he said. "I think that's ultimately going to be the path to success."


For his part, Adams of American University says there's a distinction between bringing USAID and State closer on the strategic end and doing so on the operational side. The

There has never been a golden age for USAID, when it had the full support of Congress and the White House.

former, he argues, makes good sense; the latter, less so. "The trend is toward strategic integration, and the question then becomes: What does it mean on the operational side?"

Congress to the Rescue?


USAID has not often been able to turn to Congress for shelter. Lacking a domestic constituency, the agency has never garnered much sympathy on Capitol Hill. What remains of the 1961 Foreign Assistance Act, according to Sheila Herrling, director of the Rethinking U.S. Foreign Assistance Program at the Center for Global Development, a Washington nonprofit that supports increased foreign aid, is "outdated, messy, cumbersome and increasingly irrelevant." That's because during more than 40 years of congressional micromanagement, "hundreds of amendments have added multiple objectives and priorities that in



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some cases conflict with one another.”

Speaking to the House Appropriations Committee last February, acting USAID Administrator James Kunder was unusually blunt in criticizing congressional leadership. “I’m not here to insult the committee,” he said. But “at the end of the day, the very bright officers we send off to carry out our nation’s foreign policy are torn in 100 different directions” because of congressional micromanagement.

But this year, some in Congress are hoping to change that impression. Both John Kerry, the Massachusetts Democrat who chairs the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and California Democrat Howard Berman, his counterpart atop the House Foreign Affairs Committee, have pledged to do what none of their counterparts have since 1985: reauthorize the 1961 Foreign Assistance Act.

Kerry has made it clear he would prefer USAID to be more independent of State Department control. Toward that end, his bill, which was approved by his committee in November, would return to USAID the policy and plan-

ning functions that migrated to State in 2006. It would also designate the USAID mission director in each country as responsible for coordinating all development and humanitarian assistance. Furthermore, the agency would manage an independent research arm with responsibility for evaluating the quality of its projects.

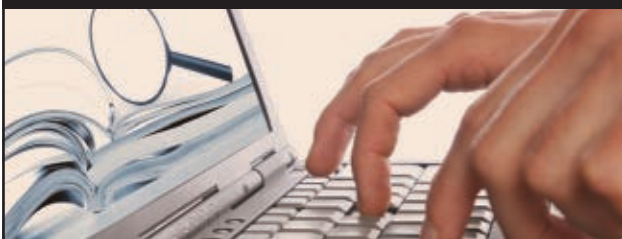
Berman’s bill would give the administration more discretion to develop a broader, governmentwide foreign assistance strategy than Kerry’s approach. It is also less specific about whether the administration should integrate State and USAID, and how it might do so. But, like Kerry, Berman is deeply skeptical of the military takeover of foreign assistance and eager to restore USAID’s relevancy.

“DOD’s role erases the distinction between military personnel and civilians carrying out similar development activities; ignores best practices, such as sustainability and effectiveness; and puts a military face on inherently civilian programs,” Berman says. “Shouldn’t our peacetime engagement efforts be carried out by USAID, our nation’s premier development agency?” ■

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HONORING PATT DERIAN

NEARLY THREE DECADES AFTER LEAVING OFFICE, THE FIRST ASSISTANT SECRETARY
FOR HUMAN RIGHTS RECEIVES A RARE TRIBUTE.

By DIANA PAGE

The invitation from Argentina's ambassador to the United States, Hector Timerman, simply requested "the pleasure of your company at a gathering of friends to honor Patt Derian" on the evening of June 22, 2009.

There was no title before the guest of honor's name — nothing to indicate she was a former assistant secretary for human rights, let alone the very first person to hold that office. The invitation assumed the guests already knew Ms. Derian, who left the U.S. government in 1981. But if a reminder were needed about why the Argentine ambassador might be hosting this event, it was found in the following words:

"We will also be screening a short documentary, 'Abuelas 30 Años' (Grandmothers, 30 Years)." This documentary (which was not shown commercially in the United States) had won a journalism award from Argentina's government news agency, Telam. The 15-minute film mixes news footage and interviews with elderly women who have been

Diana Page is a media relations officer at the State Department Foreign Press Center. Prior to joining the Foreign Service in 1990, she worked as a journalist covering Latin America. She was a United Press International correspondent in Argentina from 1972 to 1979.



Photos courtesy of the Argentine Embassy, Washington, D.C.

Argentine Ambassador to the U.S. Hector Timerman and former Assistant Secretary for Human Rights Patt Derian.

searching for more than three decades for their grandchildren, the children of the "desaparecidos" (disappeared).

The Grandmothers

During Argentina's military dictatorship from 1976 until 1983, as many as 30,000 people were seized and sent to secret detention centers, which few left. Sometimes children were abducted with their parents; sometimes pregnant women were taken who may have given birth to children in the prisons. The fate of the children was kept secret, but rumors persisted about adoptions by prospective parents who did not ask too many questions.

In contrast to the frightened silence prevailing in Argentina during that time, a few brave women in white headscarves marched in the streets, with photos pinned to their lapels, ask-

ing the military government where their disappeared loved ones were. What began as a risky crusade to find missing children became a civic movement that was vindicated by the return to democracy. The mothers of the disappeared, the grandmothers of lost children, never gave up their quest.

Now, with the help of DNA, dozens of adopted Argentines have found their grandparents and learned who their parents were. This was the subject of the documentary shown at the embassy.

The “Mothers and Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo” — named for the plaza in front of the Casa Rosada

*Assistant Secretary for
Human Rights Patricia
Derian was not what the
Argentine generals expected
when she arrived in Buenos
Aires in August 1977.*

presidential palace — have spent 30 years demanding justice. Despite threats, amnesty laws and legal maneuvering, nine military leaders were eventually brought to trial, though not all the convictions were upheld. The group’s courage was recognized internationally when they received the U.N. Human Rights Prize on Dec. 10, 2003.

The Ambassador

Human rights is not just a political concept to Ambassador Timerman. His father, Jacobo, the publisher of *La Opinion* newspaper, was kidnapped from his Buenos Aires apartment in April 1977 by men in civilian clothes. Two years later, after his release and exile from Argentina, Jacobo Timerman wrote a book: *Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number*. In it he described his torture and that of other “disappeared” victims.

Three decades after that, his son, the ambassador, wanted to acknowledge the U.S. government official who had demanded information from the military rulers about his father.

That U.S. official was Patricia M. Derian, a nurse by training, a veteran of the civil rights movement in Mississippi and President Jimmy Carter’s choice to head a new division in the State Department: the Bureau for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs. She became the State Department’s first assistant secretary for human rights in 1977.

She was not what the Argentine generals expected when she arrived in Buenos Aires in August of that year. She asked blunt questions about those arrested and disappeared, asking to see them. Patt Derian did not get many answers to her questions from the military government. But the Timerman family — and many other Argentines — credit her with saving lives and preventing worse abuses by her challenge to the junta.

The Guests

Many of the guests at the embassy last June had played a role in U.S. policy toward Latin America during the Carter administration, along with Ms. Derian. One was former Representative Benjamin Gilman, R-N.Y., who for 30 years was a



Patt Derian, in a white suit, is seated with her back to the camera. Her husband, Hodding Carter, sits next to her. Assistant Secretary for Human Rights Michael Posner is at the podium, with Amb. Timerman standing to his right.



Amb. Timerman holds up a poster that shows a news photo of Patt Derian during her August 1977 visit to Argentina.

key figure on the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Amb. Timerman credited him with teaching the lesson that “not only Democrats defend human rights.”

There were several former diplomats: Ambassador Robert White, Wayne Smith and F. Allen (“Tex”) Harris. As a young political officer in Buenos Aires, Harris became Derian’s man-on-the-street, bringing hope to families of the disappeared. In fact, one of the families he knew well was represented at the gathering: Isabel Mignone, whose sister was among the disappeared and whose father, Emilio Mignone, founded an organization to document the cases of disappearances.

Another courageous person at the event was Robert Cox, former editor of the *Buenos Aires Herald*. The newspaper printed the stories of disappearances when families were willing to publicly denounce those cases.



Former Rep. Benjamin Gilman, R-N.Y., with Patt Derian.

Jacobo Timerman wrote in his book that he and Cox alone battled for the freedom to publish such accounts, and he described the threats that forced

the Cox family to flee Buenos Aires.

While the human rights careers of many at the Argentine Embassy that night reflected the past, at least one



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guest was about to play a greater role in the future: Michael Posner. He attended the gathering as president of the organization Human Rights First. A few months later, he was sworn into the position first held by Patt Derian, becoming assistant secretary of State for democracy, human rights and labor on Sept. 23, 2009.

The Foreign Minister

Amb. Timerman spoke from his heart about the achievements of Patt Derian. But in so doing, he also represented others who could not be present. One of them was Argentine Foreign Minister Jorge Enrique Taiana.

The ambassador read a letter to Ms. Derian from the foreign minister: "We very much value your efforts as assistant secretary for human rights and humanitarian affairs during the Carter administration to foster respect of

The Mothers and Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo have spent 30 years demanding justice.

human rights in my country and all over Latin America, and for your stern criticism of the cruel policies of the Argentine dictatorship. On a personal note, I wish to express my gratitude for your kind support to my mother, your advocacy for my father and me while we were imprisoned..." (Dr. Jorge Alberto Taiana, a minister in the government of Juan Peron, and his son, Jorge

Enrique, both spent seven years in prison, until the end of the military government.)

The Argentine government recently decided to give special recognition to those abroad who had supported the human rights movement against the junta. Amb. Timerman noted that he had been a vigorous advocate for Patt Derian while other embassies in Europe were proposing their own candidates for recognition.

But one fact made Ms. Derian different from the others, he said. "She was the only one who represented a government willing to make the defense of human rights a priority," Amb. Timerman declared.

The guests then raised their glasses for toasts to Patt Derian, to former President Jimmy Carter and the United States of America. Both individuals endure in the memory of Argentines today, a generation later. ■

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THE ROLE OF THE DIPLOMAT IN THE MODERN ERA

THERE IS SIMPLY NO SUBSTITUTE FOR THE PERSONAL TOUCH
SKILLFUL DIPLOMATS BRING TO THEIR MISSION.

By YOAV J. TENEMBAUM

It is in vogue to say that in the 21st century, diplomats are a relic of a distant past that is no longer relevant to the way that international relations are conducted. After all, heads of government and other top officials can deliver messages without recourse to diplomatic messengers. And decision-makers can rely on summit meetings, direct telephone conversations and video conferences, and other communication technologies.

Those espousing this view contend that a short flight or an e-mail message constitutes the bridge linking states — a function once performed by diplomats accredited to foreign governments or working in their own foreign ministries.

Even those who defend the relevance of traditional diplomacy concede that its practice has to be modified. For instance, what was once a politically centered profession has steadily become more oriented to commerce and economics, as globalization and growing economic interdependence require deeper knowledge of such issues, both on the bilateral and multilateral levels.

Still, no matter how advanced the means of communication, or how often heads of government and foreign ministers talk to each other, the input of individual diplomats at a conceptual, intellectual level cannot be replaced.

Spending years in a certain country, or following developments there, confers invaluable knowledge of the intricacies of its political system, the various dimensions of its domestic base prompting the decisions of its leaders, and the richness of its social structures. No single decision-maker can devote all the

time and energy required for such a task.

Take, for example, the case of the late George Kennan and his “Long Telegram” of February 1946. Drawing on his many years spent representing the United States government in Moscow, Kennan cogently explained the nature of the communist system in the Soviet Union and assessed how it would evolve as it expanded beyond its frontiers. On that basis, he urged a policy of containment, which became the basis of U.S. policy towards the Soviet Union for decades to come.

The Value of the Long View

Admittedly, the timing of the document — generated less than a year after the end of World War II removed the principal basis for cooperation between Washington and Moscow — made the Truman administration receptive to its recommendations. However, the sheer intellectual force of Kennan’s analysis was rooted in years of hard-won insights into Soviet society and thorough study, conducted by a diplomat with a creatively analytical mind.

Further, a diplomat can enhance the image of his country in the state to which he or she is accredited and avert a crisis by his or her force of personality and engaging diplomacy. Think of U.S. Ambassador to Mexico Josephus Daniels, who was appointed by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1933 at a particularly sensitive moment in bilateral relations.

Perhaps his greatest test was the nationalization of the foreign-owned oil industry by the Mexican government in 1938. The prospect of a major diplomatic crisis between Mexico City and Washington loomed on the horizon. Amb. Daniels opposed a drastic response, contending that the Mexican move was not motivated by any radical social ideology, but by patriotic, nationalistic ideals. He counseled patience, predicting that in the long run, allowing a proud Mexico to improve its economic lot would benefit the United States.

Throughout his tenure, Amb. Daniels played an active role

Yoav J. Tenenbaum lectures in the Diplomacy Program at Tel Aviv University. He has published numerous articles on diplomatic, political, historical and philosophical topics in journals, newspapers and magazines around the world. A selection of his poems is due to be published in book form in the U.S. soon.

in stabilizing the fragile bilateral relationship, going so far as to influence the content and timing of official U.S. demarches that might otherwise have brought the bilateral relationship to the breaking point. The Mexican undersecretary for foreign affairs is reported as confirming that had it not been for Daniels' vital role in this regard, his government would have cut off diplomatic relations with the United States.

Certainly Daniels' friendship with FDR enhanced his clout with his counterparts. But had it not been for his adeptness at explaining the position of each country to the other, always bearing in mind the historically emotional background, U.S.-Mexican relations might well have evolved differently.

Only Connect

Finally, an ambassador's style may add an important layer of confidence to the bilateral relations with another country in times of unpredictable change. Samuel Lewis became U.S. ambassador to Israel in 1977, just as the Likud Party under Menachem Begin came to power, following 29 years of Labor Party rule. Ambassador Lewis's engaging personality, his understanding of the Israeli political system, and his unique sensitivity towards the Israeli public all made him a singularly admired figure in Israel. This standing, in turn, had positive repercussions for the entire bilateral relationship at a sensitive juncture.

Today, successful diplomats still cultivate personal relationships with various persons of influence in the country to which they are accredited. These connections can then be nurtured to the benefit of their government. In skillful hands, modern technology is a tool toward this end, allowing the diplomat to become a patient forger of valuable relationships, a meticulous observer of political and social phenomena, a shaper of images through the force of personality, and a definer of conceptual frameworks.

This dimension of a diplomat's work also applies to those working in a foreign ministry. The cumulative wisdom of the professional who handles a specific geographical area or functional issue on a daily basis for years represents a unique contribution to the decision-making process.

Another example comes from diplomats involved in policy planning. The new technological developments in communications have hardly affected the significance of this particular aspect of diplomatic work. If such work is, from time to time, belittled by policymakers, this has precious little to do with the way new technology has evolved.

By all means, the role of the diplomat has to be considered anew. However, this has to be done not with the goal of undercutting the irreplaceable function of the diplomat abroad and at home, or confining it principally to commercial activity, but with the aim of enhancing it intellectually and politically. ■



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FS HERITAGE

THE U.S. DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR SERVICES IN 1922

SEE HOW YOU WOULD HAVE FARED ON THE ENTRANCE EXAMS
FOR THE STATE DEPARTMENT NEARLY A CENTURY AGO.

By *LUCIANO MANGIAFICO*

It is a pleasurable adventure to imagine ourselves living in the past and to test the extent of our knowledge against that of our predecessors in the Foreign Service. For example, how would you fare on the Diplomatic Service or Consular Service examinations that candidates took in 1922? You can try your hand at some sample questions (see sidebars, p. 34), excerpted from the May 1, 1922, *Register of the Department of State*.

That book is a fascinating glimpse into a long-gone world. Warren G. Harding was president and the Secretary of State was Charles Evans Hughes. Later that year, Benito Mussolini would march on Rome and become prime minister and dictator. Howard Carter and Lord Carnarvon had just discovered the royal tomb of King Tutankhamen. Earlier that year, the Washington Conference on Disarmament had concluded, and former President William Howard Taft had inaugurated the Lincoln Memorial.

In 1922, pay ranged from \$17,500 for an ambassador at a

Luciano Mangiafico, a Foreign Service officer from 1970 to 1991, served in Milan, Palermo, Bucharest, Manila and Bridgetown, among many other assignments. Since his retirement from the Service, he has continued to work as an inspector for the State Department. The author of two books, Contemporary American Immigrants (Praeger, 1988) and Italy's Most Wanted (Potomac Books, 2007), he has written on foreign policy, business, and the arts for various publications.

Class I mission to about \$2,500 for a third secretary. In the parallel Consular Service, salaries ranged from \$12,000 for a consul general at a large prestigious post to \$2,500 for a career junior vice consul. (By way of comparison, the average salary of teachers was \$1,150 per annum.)

The Long Path to Reform

The U.S. Diplomatic Service had only recently been brought under merit rules comparable to those established in the Civil Service by the Pendleton Act of 1883. Up to that point, it had been staffed strictly on the basis of patronage, not merit. And while candidates for the Consular Service were required to pass an examination, the president selected those allowed to take the exam.

Moreover, under President William McKinley the examination had been watered down to the point that only one of 112 candidates invited to take it failed. Shortly after becoming Secretary of State in 1905, Elihu Root stated: "It has evidently come to be regarded as cruel and inhuman treatment *not to pass a man* [author's italics]. In view of the character of the examination, a rejection would practically be an imputation of idiocy."

In November 1905, President Theodore Roosevelt created a program of competitive entry exams, for both the diplomatic and the consular services, by executive order. The following year, Congress set up a grade system and pay scales for the Consular Service and established a consular inspection service composed of roving consuls general.

President William Howard Taft advanced these reforms

four years later by setting up semi-independent boards of examiners for both services, establishing the system of efficiency reports, and making career diplomats eligible to be ministers and ambassadors. In fact, he appointed 18 of them to such posts.

The Father of the Foreign Service

For many years, a major moving force behind these series of reforms was Wilbur J. Carr (1870-1942). His efforts would pave the way for passage in 1924 of the Rogers Act, uniting and professionalizing the Diplomatic Service and the Consular Service, creating the United States Foreign Service. For this reason, Carr has often been called “the father of the Foreign Service.”

A farm boy from Ohio who had attended a commercial college in Kentucky, Carr began his career in the State Department as a consular clerk in 1892, became director of the Consular Service in 1909, and was later assistant secretary for consular affairs, from 1924 to 1937. He would serve as minister to Prague before retiring from the Foreign Service in 1939.

When Carr went abroad for the first time to the U.S. embassy in London in 1916, he was surprised and shocked at how many officers in the Diplomatic Service had come down with “localitis,” aping their foreign colleagues and openly displaying airs of superiority to officers in the Consular Service. Mutual distrust and professional jealousy were rampant. The administrators at overseas posts and within the State Department generally came from the Consular Service, which had more experience in dealing with people, budgets and the practicalities of running operations — all skills held in low regard by the Diplomatic Service’s “policymakers.”

One diplomat scathingly put down his “nonsubstantive” colleagues, referring to “administrative types who inflate themselves with all sorts of rich and resonant titles like ‘Career Evaluators’ and ‘General Services Specialists’ and even ‘Ministers of Embassy for Administrative Affairs.’ These glorified janitors, supply clerks and pants-pressers yearn to get their fingers in the foreign affairs pie; and when they do, the diplomatic furniture often gets marked with gummy thumbprints.”

While the relatively small Diplomatic Service was mostly staffed by wealthy graduates from a limited number of elite schools, and was frequently likened to a “chummy club,” the Consular Service was plagued with political appointees. Although he was a superb diplomat and a lifelong advocate of a

professional Foreign Service open to all those qualified on the basis of merit, Ambassador Hugh Gibson (1863-1954) is reported to have said that the best picture of a sweating man was a consul at a diplomatic dinner.

It is also worth recalling that consular officers — not to mention those who did not happen to be from the right prep schools and universities, or were female or Jewish — did not qualify for admission into the diplomatic Olympus. But the Rogers Act would take care of the Diplomatic Service’s cavalier attitude, at least in theory, and Consul General Robert Piet Kisner became its first beneficiary when, in November 1926, he was appointed as Minister to Athens.

The Foreign Service Entry Exam

Entry into the career service, both for secretaries in the Diplomatic Service and officers in the Consular Service, was by rank on a roster based on grades obtained in written and

oral examinations. The exams were different for the two specialties, so there were two boards of examiners, each of which certified the names of those eligible for appointment to the respective ranks. The Secretary of State then submitted the list to the president for appointment as the needs of the Service required.

The examination for the Diplomatic Service was graded on a scale of 100; a minimum of 80 was required to pass and have one’s name placed on the eligible roster. (The written and oral exams each counted for 50 percent of the grade.) The names of those eligible for appointment remained on the roster for two years.

for two years.

Essays on the written exam covered the subjects of international law; diplomatic usage; modern languages; modern history (since 1850); American history, government and institutions; and natural, industrial and commercial resources and activities of the United States.

The Consular Service test covered the subjects of international, maritime and commercial law; political and commercial geography; arithmetic; modern languages; the resources and commerce of the United States; political economy; American history, government and institutions; and modern history (since 1850).

The Consular Service included in its ranks those who are now economic/commercial officers, and they had their own modified exam. Candidates for the “Corps of Consuls for Economic Investigational Work” — i.e., economic/commercial officers — took an exam covering economics, research and investigation methods for promotion of commerce and

*The 1924 Rogers Act
would take care of the
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cavalier attitude —
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The Diplomatic Service Entry Exam, 1922

Here are sample questions from each of the areas covered.

1. Upon the execution of Louis XVI, the British government refused to receive the French diplomatic agent and send him his passport. Was the action of the British government correct?
2. Give your understanding of the difference between a chargé d'affaires, a chargé d'affaires ad interim, and a chargé des affaires.
3. Translate an official document from one of the following languages (French, German or Spanish) into English, and from English into the chosen foreign language.
4. With which countries and events do you associate the following: Alexander I; Bismarck; Marquis Ito; Dom Pedro; Cecil Rhodes; Garibaldi; Maximilian?
5. Name the executive departments of the federal government, and state the principal functions of each.
6. Name five important groups of manufacturing industries in the United States, and two states leading in each.

modern languages. They also wrote a thesis on an economic/commercial subject.

Times Have Changed

The exams were definitely not easy! They are at least as difficult as the ones I took in 1968.

Here are some other observations about the pre-Rogers Act Foreign Service that one can safely deduce from the tests. For one, it appears that secretaries of embassy were engaged only in political reporting, negotiations and representation. Officers in the Consular Service performed the duties

Consular Service and Economic/Commercial Exams, 1922

Here are a few sample questions from the Consular Service exam.

1. Distinguish between citizen and domicile and name three ways in which citizenship can be terminated.
2. Name eight bodies of water through which a ship would pass on a direct voyage from Baltimore to Odessa.
3. A merchant bought goods for \$2,058. For how much money must they be marked to sell in order that he may give a discount of $12\frac{1}{2}$ percent, lose $16\frac{2}{3}$ percent by bad debts, and still make a gain of $14\frac{2}{7}$ percent of the cost?
4. Translate a commercial letter from English into a modern language and vice versa.
5. State the three main factors of production and briefly discuss their relation to each other.
6. What was the Ordinance of 1787? To what territory did it apply?
7. Discuss the Boxer War and its causes and results.

Sample questions appearing on the econ/commercial consuls' exams include:

1. Give reasons from an economic standpoint for or against government ownership of railroads.
2. Formulate a plan for securing statistics of wholesale prices for an industry, such as the steel or textile industries in the United States. State briefly the necessary methods to secure accuracy and definiteness.
3. Write a short thesis on the effect of the World War on the economic life and industries of Japan.

Wilbur J. Carr's efforts paved the way for passage in 1924 of the Rogers Act.

For this reason, Carr has often been called "the father of the Foreign Service."

now handled by consular, economic and commercial officers.

Neither the language of the executive orders bringing the diplomatic and consular services under the merit system, nor the staffing of various posts, ever acknowledges the existence of administrative officers. Presumably, such duties were also performed by consular officers and by other clerical staff.

Lastly, it appears that the diplomatic (i.e., political) officer corps was rather small in comparison with that of the Consular Service. This may have been because of the many duties assigned to consular officers, or because the State Department staffed many more consular posts than it does now. For example, in 1900 the department had 42 missions abroad with fewer than 100 diplomatic officers each, but staffed 291 consulates and consulates general and 395 consular agencies.

Consider Italy. In 1922, the U.S. had posts in Rome, Catania, Florence, Genoa, Leghorn, Messina, Milan, Naples, Palermo, Trieste, Turin and Venice. Today — in addition to the embassy in Rome — we operate consulates only in Milan, Florence and Naples.

Quite a change! ■



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Summer Fiction Contest

Winning stories will be posted on the *Journal's* Web site at www.fsjournal.org. The author of each winning story will receive an honorarium of \$250, payable upon publication.

- Stories must be 3,000 words or less & previously unpublished.
- Include your contact information.
- Limit one entry per author.
- Top story will be published in the July/August issue.
- Runners-up will be posted in subsequent issues.

Please send submissions in Word format by March 1, 2010 to journal@afsa.org.

Don't Let Your Future Crash Down on You.

What You Need to Know About AFSA Long Term Care Plans

If you are young (seventy or below), healthy and/or married, the Federal Program is not your best option.

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- » The **government is not** providing the insurance.
- » The **government is not** subsidizing the premiums.
- » The **government is not** guaranteeing the benefits.
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- » AFSA Plans offer an indemnity option, survivorship benefit, limited pay option, restoration of benefits, lower premiums and discount plans for family members. **FLTCIP does not.**

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AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • January 2010

AFSA 2009-2011 Governing Board Priorities

Mission: To promote excellence in diplomacy and development and to be an effective voice for the Foreign Service at the State Department, the U.S. Agency for International Development, the Foreign Commercial Service, the Foreign Agricultural Service and the International Broadcasting Bureau.

Securing Resources, Improving Operations, Protecting Benefits for the Foreign Service

- Lock in Overseas Comparability Pay (OCP) for all agencies
- Appropriate adequate funding for personnel and operations
- Protect pension and health benefits
- Suspend or eliminate WAE hour and salary caps
- Achieve parity with military on post-retirement employment with the federal government, including full annuity benefits while employed
- Promote family and quality-of-life issues

Increasing Cooperation with Management and Broadening Presence in Policy Development

- Get AFSA a “seat at the table” and increase the responsiveness of management at all member agencies on all issues

affecting the Foreign Service, from the influx of new entrants, chronic understaffing, mid-level staffing gaps, training and professional development, and the assignment/evaluation/promotion system to more fundamental issues such as the future of the Foreign Service, the State-USAID relationship, and the roles of diplomacy, development, defense, trade and public diplomacy in advancing the interests of the nation.

Improving Image and Expanding Outreach of the Foreign Service

- Redesign and upgrade the AFSA Web site
- Improve internal and external communications

Streamlining Internal AFSA Operations

- Reform election process
- Upgrade IT infrastructure and security; get e-business capacity
- Raise revenue through increased membership and other sources (advertising, donations, publications)
- Achieve better budget transparency
- Review staffing □

Does Dissent Harm Your Career?

BY FRANCESCA KELLY

The Obama administration blew into Washington a year ago, and some say a new atmosphere in the federal government came with it. Coincidentally or not, after several years of a decrease in nominations for constructive dissent awards, AFSA is seeing signs that dissenting voices are on the rise, and are being heard in a more effective way.

The Office of Policy Planning at the Department of State reports that a steady stream of messages has come in through the Open Forum and Dissent Channel on a wide variety of issues.



Yet many individuals may still be wary. One senior FSO recently recalled, “Some years ago, I wanted to protest a departmental restructuring that I felt was counterproductive to our long-term relationships with foreign nationals overseas. At that time, my supervisor advised me not to use the Dissent Channel, but to find other ways to dissent that would not, as he put it, ‘mark me as a troublemaker.’”

That brings up a key question: Does constructive dissent really put your career at risk?

Continued on page 48

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



Apply Now for AFSA College Scholarships for FS Youth

Eligible Foreign Service high school seniors and undergraduate college students are invited to apply for AFSA scholarships ranging from \$1,000 to \$3,500. Please go to www.afsa.org/scholar to read the scholarship application criteria and to download instructions/forms. **Deadline is Feb. 6.**



If you have questions, please contact Lori Dec at (202) 944-5504 or at dec@afsa.org.

Life in the Foreign Service

■ BY BRIAN AGGELER

The Three-Martini Country Team Meeting Winds Down...



Last Chance to Apply for FAWCO Scholarships

The Federation of American Women's Clubs Overseas Foundation offers education awards that may be of interest to some Foreign Service families. The awards, which range from \$3,000 to \$5,000, are open to the children of FAWCO members and are offered for arts, sciences, humanities, special challenges and dual culture. **Applications are due on Jan. 16.** More information is available at www.fawcofoundation.org/.

New Facebook Page for Tandem Couples

Foreign Service tandem couples, take heart: there's a new Facebook group just for you, started by FSO Elisa Greene. When Greene's husband became a security technical specialist last summer, the couple began dealing with, as Greene explains, "a myriad of issues such as having different personnel technicians and career development officers, dealing with separation, trying to get items out of storage, etc." Greene wanted to create "one location where tandem couples could go to get answers to their many questions."

The group, entitled "Foreign Service Tandem Couples," can be used as a forum to ask questions regarding bidding, benefits and other issues, and to connect with other tandem couples. The group welcomes same-sex and opposite-sex tandem couples, couples who were once tandems and future tandem couples.

"My hope is to use the group as a clearinghouse for tandem-related issues," says Greene. "At the moment, topics of discussion include relevant Foreign Affairs Manual references, available assistance for separated tandems from the Family Liaison Office, useful contacts at State on tandem issues and links to various helpful Web sites."

If you'd like to take part in this group, make a request to join directly from the Facebook group, "Foreign Service Tandem Couples."

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Clearance Adjudication: Arbitrary? Without a Doubt!

In January 2006, AFSA wrote to management expressing concern that department decisions in adverse-action security clearance cases lacked objectivity. The department responded with the briefest of notes, asserting that it followed governmentwide guidelines for adjudication. AFSA disagreed and wrote again in 2007, noting, among other things, that unlike the Office of Personnel Management and the Department of Defense, which collectively adjudicate more than 94 percent of U.S. government security clearance cases, the department applies no standard of evidence to the derogatory information used as a basis for clearance suspensions and revocations. The department responded in 2008 that Executive Order 12968 did not establish a specific standard of evidence and, in essence, that the laws were vague and subject to interpretation. In both responses, the department asserted that “all doubt” in a security clearance matter must be resolved in favor of national security.

It is rare that a dispute with management takes so long to resolve, but AFSA is again pursuing this issue. The executive order is indeed vague, but it is crystal-clear on three points: information used as the basis for a security clearance action must be reliable; the adjudicative process must involve a “whole person” review; and security clearance decisions must involve an investigation conducted for that purpose. AFSA feels that since the law is vague, and since the department’s share of adjudications is a tiny portion of the whole government’s, it is reasonable for the department to follow the interpretation used by the vast majority.

In the 94 percent of security clearance cases adjudicated by OPM and DOD, the “reliability” of derogatory information is subject to a standard of “substantial evidence.” That is not the highest evidentiary standard — in fact, it is a very low standard — but it is one that benefits the vast majority of cleared government employees. Yet it is denied to the 1 percent or so of employees whose cases are decided by the Bureau of Diplomatic Security.

That standard does not come from the executive order. It derives from decisions by the U.S. Supreme Court and those of the Defense Office of Hearings and Appeals, which provide most of the case-law precedents used by the security clearance community as a way of avoiding arbitrary and capricious determinations contrary to law.

The dictionary defines “arbitrary” as “based on or determined by individual preference or convenience rather than by the intrinsic nature of something.” In other words, an arbitrary decision is one made in the absence of an objective standard. Absent an evidentiary standard, the current adjudicative procedures used by the department are, by definition, arbitrary.

With reference to the concept that all doubt must be resolved in favor of national security, that is also very different for 94 percent of cleared government employees than it is for those employed by State. Here again, OPM and DOD apply a Supreme Court- and DOHA-supported definition, in which the word “doubt” is defined as “reliable, relevant, derogatory information that is not mitigated by other information either supplied by the subject or otherwise available.” By that definition, if one cannot determine the reliability of information, one cannot have the kind of legally-defined

doubt that should form the basis of a security clearance determination.

AFSA does not ask that State Department employees be treated more leniently than anyone else. However, Foreign Service members should not have *fewer* rights than the 94 percent of cleared government employees whose clearances are adjudicated by DOD and OPM. If their evidence-based procedures are good enough to protect military information in a time of war, they should be good enough to protect State Department information, as well.

Moreover, we feel that given a mandated governmentwide trend toward interagency standardization and reciprocity of clearances, State should not continue to forge its own interpretations of law, but should join other agencies of government by accepting the standards used in the vast majority of security clearance adjudications. This includes not only the standard of evidence mentioned above, but also written procedures documenting a whole-person review, and clear and rebuttable statements of reasons for denial of a clearance.

Let doubt be resolved in favor of national security, by all means. But let that doubt, and all decisions related to it, be based on the same evidentiary standard that protects 94 percent of cleared government employees from arbitrary decisions and abuse. □

Absent an evidentiary standard, the current adjudicative procedures used by the department are, by definition, arbitrary.

Priorities and Surveys

The AFSA Governing Board held a Saturday “offsite” on Nov. 7 to discuss priorities for the coming year. The retired board members caucused separately several days before the retreat and quickly came to the unanimous conclusion that the following three priorities had to head the retiree list:

1. Protect the earned retirement benefits and health insurance of our members.
2. Lift the WAE caps on hours worked and money earned.
3. Achieve parity with the military on post-retirement federal employment, including full annuity benefits.

The full Governing Board concurred in that list, noting that protecting retirement and health insurance benefits was a top priority for both active-duty and retired members.

We are able to prioritize our members’ concerns in this way because we hear from members like you on a regular basis. In fact, we are delighted by the tremendous response to the 2009 Retiree Survey. As of publication date, 1,674 retirees — or 43 percent of our retiree membership — had completed the sur-

We are delighted by the tremendous response to the 2009 Retiree Survey.

vey. (We are still accepting paper and electronic submissions – go to www.zoomerang.com/Survey/WEB229H983SUFX.) The response so far shows a remarkable level of retiree engagement with AFSA, something that we have happily come to expect. I will report the survey results to you in our retiree newsletter and in an upcoming column in *AFSA News*.

Although we are still analyzing the responses, there are two statistics that stand out already. One is that 98 percent of respondents read our retiree newsletter; and the other is that 33 percent use the retiree Web page. AFSA retirees are also technologically literate, with 90 percent of respondents reporting that they use e-mail and the Internet.

The next retiree newsletter will contain an analysis of survey responses and will provide a basis for improving our retiree services and communications. As AFSA upgrades its Web site and makes it more user-friendly, I look forward to more immediate communication with the membership. Thanks for your interest in AFSA. □



AFSA Statement on Political Ambassadorships

President Barack Obama and Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton, along with congressional leaders from both parties, have called for strengthening the Department of State, our premier foreign policy institution. They join those who have long argued that diplomacy is a major instrument of national security.

To play that role the Foreign Service must be able to attract, train, deploy and retain a professional cadre. This objective, however, is undermined when the majority of key senior diplomatic positions at home and abroad are reserved for political appointees.

The Foreign Service Act of 1980 states that ambassadorial nominees “should possess . . . useful knowledge of the language . . . and understanding of the history, the culture, the economic and political institutions, and the interests of that country.” Furthermore, it declares, “Contributions to political campaigns should not be a factor” in appointments.

Yet over the last three decades, 85 percent of ambassadorial appointments to major European countries and Japan, and nearly 60 percent of appointments to a wider group of emerging global powers such as Brazil, Russia, India and China, have been political.

AFSA believes that America is best served — as in the case of its uniformed military — by having experienced and knowl-

edgeable career officers fill all positions in our career diplomatic service. No other major democracy routinely appoints non-diplomats to serve as envoys to other countries.

America deserves the best ambassadors, men and women with a track record of achievement in diplomacy, to represent our nation around the world — just as we do for our military, development and intelligence professionals. Now is the time to end the spoils system. □

TRANSITION CENTER SCHEDULE OF COURSES for January-February 2010

Jan. 4-5	MQ911	Security Overseas Seminar
Jan. 8	MQ950	High-Stress Assignment Out-Brief
Jan. 9	MQ116	Protocol
Jan. 13	MQ853	Managing Rental Property from Overseas
Jan. 15	MQ803	Realities of Foreign Service Life
Jan. 25-26	MQ911	Security Overseas Seminar
Jan. 26-29	RV105	Mid-Career Retirement Planning Seminar
Jan. 27	MQ203	Singles in the Foreign Service
Feb. 1-2	MQ911	Security Overseas Seminar
Feb. 5	MQ950	High-Stress Assignment Out-Brief
Feb. 6	MQ914	Youth Security Overseas Seminar
Feb. 6	MQ802	Communicating Across Cultures
Feb. 8-9	MQ911	Security Overseas Seminar
Feb. 11	MQ703	Post Options for Employment and Training
Feb. 17	MQ117	Tax Seminar
Feb. 20	MQ116	Protocol
Feb. 22-25	RV101	Retirement Planning Seminar
Feb. 24	MQ220	Going Overseas Logistics for Adults
Feb. 25-26	MQ104	Regulations, Allowances and Finances

To register or for further information, e-mail the FSI Transition Center at FSITCTraining@state.gov.

HONORING FALLEN COLLEAGUES

Former AFSA President Organizes Plaque Ceremony in Basra

During two terms as AFSA president, John Naland presided at four annual ceremonies inscribing the names of fallen career Foreign Service members on the AFSA Memorial Plaques in the C Street Lobby of the Harry S Truman Building.



Left: PRT Leader John Naland speaks at Basra plaque dedication ceremony, October 2009. Basra Memorial Plaque, right.

Now serving as the Provincial Reconstruction Team leader in Basra, Iraq, Naland organized a ceremony this past October to honor seven U.S.-citizen contract employees who died in heroic or other inspirational circumstances while working for the Department of State in Basra.

Six of those named on the plaque were former members of the military or police who were working as contractors for either Triple Canopy or Dynecorp: Ronald Hyatt, Robert McCoy, Robert Pole, Ryan Brandt Young, Roland C. Barvels and Richard T. Hickman. These men were killed in two separate roadside bomb attacks in 2005 and 2006. The seventh name is that of an Information Management Officer, Julio Garcia, who was killed in a rocket attack in 2006.

The highlight of the ceremony was the unveiling of a privately-funded bronze memorial plaque to commemorate their service and sacrifice. The plaque bears an inscription quoting Abraham Lincoln: "I do the very best that I know how, the very best I can, and I mean to keep on doing so until the end." □

V.P. VOICE: FCS ■ BY KEITH CURTIS

Resources, Resources, Resources



On Sat., Nov. 7, your AFSA Governing Board put in a full day of pro bono work at a special strategy meeting. I was impressed by both the wide range of issues that the board deals with and the deep experience, knowledge and passion that board members brought to the discussion. In fact, passions ran so high that the best we could manage after a day of work was to narrow down our list of priorities to just short of a dozen — and even that included an internal management category with another five priorities. The good news is that the board cares about your issues and did not want to dismiss any that are important to the membership. The bad news is that, despite a real desire to identify concrete "deliverables" for each priority, we may have spread ourselves too thin.

The priorities that FCS identified were no surprise: 1) resources, 2) resources and 3) resources. Other important issues are full implementation of locality pay, senior pay, the seven-year rule and the creation of a WAE program at Commerce. But the sine qua non remains the fiscal health of the Foreign Commercial Service.

At the board retreat, we stressed the need for AFSA to focus its legislative and public affairs capabilities on strengthening FCS (as well as the Foreign Agricultural Service and the International Broadcasting Bureau). We had a very positive reception to his position. A number of our State colleagues voiced the importance of supporting us in this time of need. This was all very heartening, as it coincided with a strong effort that our District Export Council friends had put in earlier that same week on the Hill, when some 100 members in town for the DEC's annual conference pressed legislators for more FCS resources.

Everyone seems to be doing his or her part to help. How about you? Supporting these multiple priorities does not come without cost. At the last board meeting we voted down an attempt to raise the annual membership dues. Yet I sincerely believe that with the substantial value AFSA has returned to its membership, the time is right to ask more from you. The locality pay increase alone will put an additional \$999, on average, into the typical member's pocket annually.

Now is the time to consider giving more to AFSA. The CFC account for the Fund for American Diplomacy is 10646; to donate to that fund, please visit us on the Web at www.afsa.org/CFCFAD.cfm. Or you can make a donation to the Legislative Action Fund at www.afsa.org/lafform.cfm. When you do give a little extra, I would appreciate it if you would let me know with a follow-up e-mail to Keith. Curtis@mail.doc.gov, so that I can make a point of it as we continue to push for resources. Thanks for your support. □

Everyone seems to be
doing his or her part to help.
How about you?
Supporting these
multiple priorities does
not come without cost.

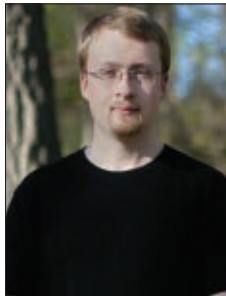
2009-2010 Financial Aid Scholars

AFSA is proud to award \$156,300 in undergraduate need-based scholarships for the 2009-2010 academic year to 74 children of Foreign Service employees. In addition to the AFSA Financial Aid Scholarships listed, AFSA administers the DACOR Bacon House Scholarships and also awards scholarships in cooperation with other organizations such as the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide and the Public Members Association of the Foreign Service. These organizations, along with past and present individual donors, provide valuable support to the scholarship program.

The winners of the AFSA Merit Awards, a separate award category, were recognized in the July-August issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*; AFSA provided \$35,700 in Academic and Art Merit Awards to these 25 students in May 2009. These one-time-only awards reward the academic and artistic accomplishments of Foreign Service high school seniors. In summary, AFSA has provided aid to 99 students totaling \$192,000 during the current academic year.

Financial aid winners are listed below in alphabetical order. Each listing includes the name of the university

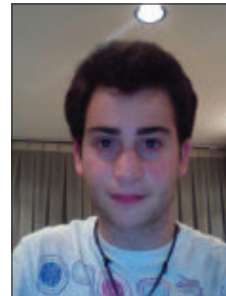
Financial Aid Scholarship Recipients



Paul Armstrong – attending the University of St. Thomas. Recipient of the DACOR Bacon House Foundation Heyward G. Hill Memorial Scholarship.



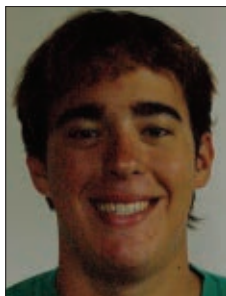
Lovinda Badinga – attending California State University-East Bay. Recipient of the AFSA Rose Marie Asch Memorial Scholarship, the AFSA Arthur B. Emmons Memorial Scholarship and the AFSA Harry A. Havens Memorial Scholarship.



Jourdan Ball – attending the College of Charleston. Recipient of the AFSA Robert Woods Bliss Memorial Scholarship, the AFSA Cameron C. Turner Memorial Scholarship and the AFSA Lawsuit over the Movie “Missing” Scholarship.



Jonathan Bates – attending Central Connecticut State University. Recipient of the AFSA John and Hope Bastek Memorial Scholarship, the AFSA Landreth M. Harrison Memorial Scholarship and the AFSA Ruth Frost Hoyt Memorial Scholarship.



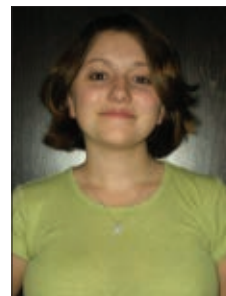
Zachary Charles – attending the University of Pennsylvania. Recipient of the DACOR Bacon House Foundation Virginia Thurgood Bingham Memorial Scholarship.



Catherine Christensen – attending Brigham Young University. Recipient of the AFSA Beirut Scholarship.



Jonathan Christensen – attending Brigham Young University. Recipient of the AFSA Norton W. Bell Scholarship.



Alexandra Christoff – attending Seton Hill University. Recipient of the AFSA David K.E. Bruce Memorial Scholarship and the AFSA Albert E. Carter Memorial Scholarship.



Christine Chung – attending the University of Wisconsin. Recipient of the AFSA Barbara Bell Black Memorial Scholarship and the AFSA Robert and Evelyn Curtis Memorial Scholarship.

the student attends and the name of the scholarship(s) the student is receiving. The remaining section lists the students who did not provide photos.

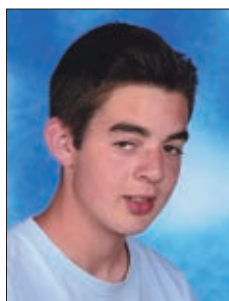
It's not too late to apply for a 2010-2011 AFSA Financial Aid Scholarship or a Merit Award. Applications for the coming academic year will be accepted until Feb. 6. Financial Aid Scholarships range from \$1,000 to \$3,500. To be eligible for an AFSA Financial Aid Scholarship, students must be tax dependents of Foreign Service employees, attend an accredited two- or four-year college/university in the U.S. or overseas, take at least 12 course

credits per semester, maintain at least a cumulative 2.0 grade point average and demonstrate financial need by completing the College Scholarship Service PROFILE. Unfortunately, grandchildren of Foreign Service employees are not eligible for the program.

Visit www.afsa.org/scholar/ for the complete program details and to download an application. If you have any questions or are interested in establishing a scholarship in your name, contact AFSA Scholarship Director Lori Dec at (202) 944-5504 or 1 (800) 704-2372, ext. 504, or at dec@afsa.org.



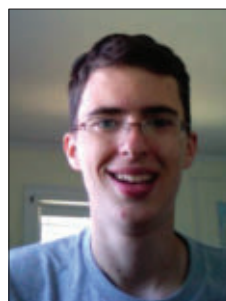
Luke Carpenter – attending Virginia Tech. Recipient of the AFSA Anthony G. Freeman Memorial Scholarship.



Michael Cassilly – attending the University of Kentucky. Recipient of the DACOR Bacon House Foundation Heyward G. Hill Memorial Scholarship.



Anthony Charles – attending the University of Virginia. Recipient of the AFSA Dalton V. Killion Memorial Scholarship and the AFSA Robert E. and Florence L. Macauley Memorial Scholarship.



Russell Charles – attending the College of the Atlantic. Recipient of the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide Scholarship.



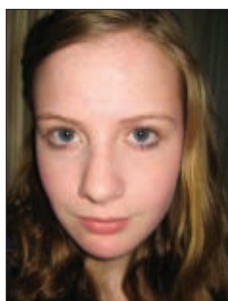
Shandani Charles – attending Saint Joseph's College of Maine. Recipient of the AFSA Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship.



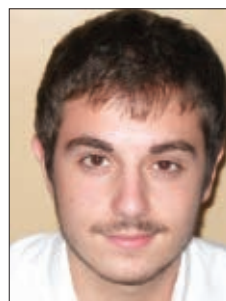
Elliot Consigny – attending the University of Wisconsin. Recipient of the Public Members Association of the Foreign Service Scholarship.



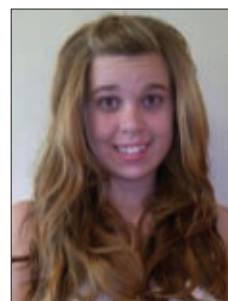
Andrew Curry – attending Indiana University. Recipient of the AFSA Dorothy Osborne and Theodore Xanthaky Memorial Scholarship.



Fiona Davidson – attending the National University of Ireland at Galway. Recipient of the AFSA Suzanne Marie Collins Memorial Scholarship.



Daniel Deulus – attending George Mason University. Recipient of the DACOR Bacon House Foundation Heyward G. Hill Memorial Scholarship.

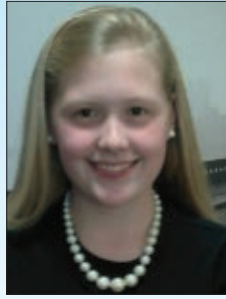


Alexandra Dubel – attending Florida State University. Recipient of the AFSA Susan Lowe Modi Memorial Scholarship.

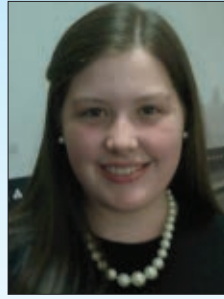
Financial Aid Scholarship Recipients



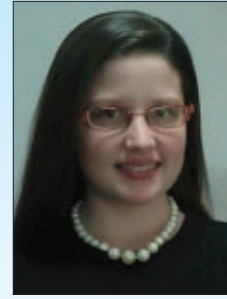
Zachary Dubel – attending Florida State University. Recipient of the DACOR Bacon House Foundation Heyward G. Hill Memorial Scholarship.



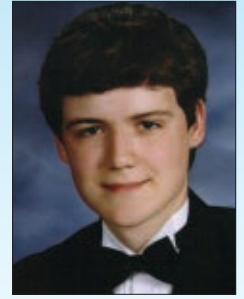
Alexandra Einhorn – attending Washington University in St. Louis. Recipient of the AFSA Oliver Bishop Harriman Memorial Scholarship.



Elizabeth Einhorn – attending the University of Notre Dame. Recipient of the AFSA Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship.



Erin Einhorn – attending Washington University in St. Louis. Recipient of the AFSA Harriet P. Culley Memorial Scholarship and the AFSA Colonel Richard R. Hallock Memorial Scholarship.



Daniel Friedheim – attending the University of Virginia. Recipient of the AFSA Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship.



Marilyn Herrera-Swenarski – attending Lewis and Clark College. Recipient of the AFSA Adolph Dubs Memorial Scholarship.



Katherine Holtrop – attending Calvin College. Recipient of the AFSA Dorothy Osborne and Theodore Xanthaky Memorial Scholarship.



Yun-A Johnson – attending American University. Recipient of the DACOR Bacon House Foundation Heyward G. Hill Memorial Scholarship.



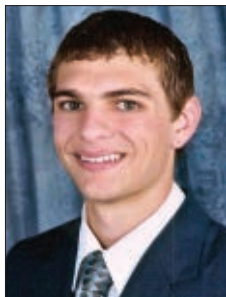
Anthony Jones Kerr – attending Ohio State University. Recipient of the DACOR Bacon House Foundation Heyward G. Hill Memorial Scholarship.



Jeremy Keaveny – attending Fordham University. Recipient of the DACOR Bacon House Foundation Harriet P. Thurgood Memorial Scholarship.



Alexandra Kula – attending American University. Recipient of the AFSA Charles W. Grover Memorial Scholarship, the AFSA Selden Chapin Memorial Scholarship and the AFSA Francesca Bufano Lapinski Memorial Scholarship.



Brandt Lanzet – attending Virginia Tech. Recipient of the AFSA William P. and Adele Langston Rogers Memorial Scholarship.



Garrett Lanzet – attending New York University. Recipient of the AFSA George Shultz Memorial Scholarship.



Camila Liotti – attending Pennsylvania State University. Recipient of the AAFSW Scholarship and the AFSA John M. and Anna B. Steeves Memorial Scholarship.



Aylee McCarthy – attending Prince George's Community College. Recipient of the AFSA Howard Fyfe Memorial Scholarship.



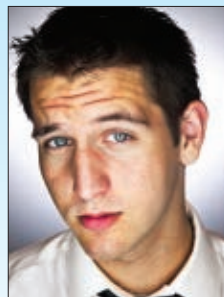
Daniel Fritz – attending Bucknell University. Recipient of the AFSA Marc Grossman and Mildred Patterson Scholarship.



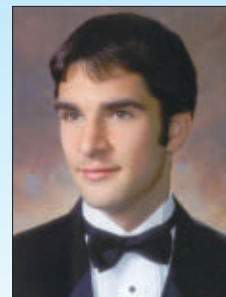
Evan Fritz – attending the University of Mary Washington. Recipient of the AFSA Naomi Pekmezian Memorial Scholarship.



Emma Garrison – attending Ithaca College. Recipient of the AAFSW Scholarship.



Jordan Gilbert – attending Northern Virginia Community College. Recipient of the AFSA Charles B. Hosmer Memorial Scholarship and the AFSA John Campbell White Memorial Scholarship.



Peter Harmon – attending James Madison University. Recipient of the AFSA Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship.



Patrick Keaveny – attending Creighton University. Recipient of the AFSA Elizabeth M. and William A. Cole Memorial Scholarship.



Nathan Keesling – attending Brigham Young University. Recipient of the AFSA Betty Carp Memorial Scholarship and the AFSA Brockman M. Moore Memorial Scholarship.



Nova Kennett – attending the University of New Mexico. Recipient of the AFSA Dorothy Osborne and Theodore Xanthaky Memorial Scholarship.



Natalie Kirkham – attending Simmons College. Recipient of the AFSA Louis C. Boochever Memorial Scholarship.



Rebecca Korschak – attending the University of South Florida-St. Petersburg. Recipient of the DACOR Bacon House Foundation Heyward G. Hill Memorial Scholarship.



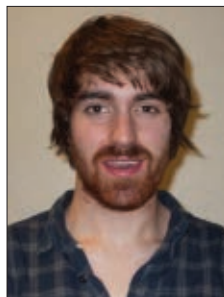
James McKnight – attending Rollins College. Recipient of the DACOR Bacon House Foundation Harriet P. Thurgood Memorial Scholarship.



Joshua McMackle – attending Texas Southern University. Recipient of the AAFSW Scholarship.



Natalie McNeill – attending the University of Delaware. Recipient of the AFSA Stephen Hubler Scholarship and the AFSA Jefferson Patterson Memorial Scholarship.



Jonathan Mines – attending Edinburgh University. Recipient of the AFSA Evelyn K. and Horace J. Nickles Memorial Scholarship.



Kara Murray – attending the University of Guelph. Recipient of the AFSA Ernest V. Siracusa Memorial Scholarship.

Financial Aid Scholarship Recipients



Daniela Naldoken – attending Northern Virginia Community College. Recipient of the AFSA George and Mattie Newman Memorial Scholarship and the AFSA Clarke Winship Slade Memorial Scholarship.



Caitlin O'Dowd – attending Hamilton College. Recipient of the AFSA Wilbur J. Carr Memorial Scholarship.



Fallon O'Dowd – attending Harvard College. Recipient of the DACOR Bacon House Foundation Harriet P. Thurgood Memorial Scholarship.



Irene Pedraza – attending Saint Mary's University of San Antonio. Recipient of the AFSA Arthur R. Dornheim Memorial Scholarship and the AFSA Harriet Winsar Isom Scholarship.



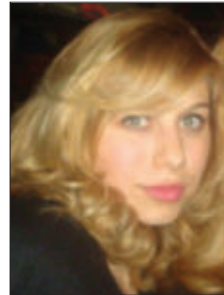
Dzifa Penty – attending Knox College. Recipient of the AFSA Everett K. and Clara C. Melby Memorial Scholarship.



Caroline Perkinson – attending Davidson College. Recipient of the AFSA David D. Newsom Memorial Scholarship and the AFSA Lowell C. Pinkerton Memorial Scholarship.



Philip Perkinson – attending the University of Virginia. Recipient of the DACOR Bacon House Foundation Heyward G. Hill Memorial Scholarship.



Victoria Ratermanis – attending Pace University. Recipient of the AFSA David K.E. Bruce Memorial Scholarship.



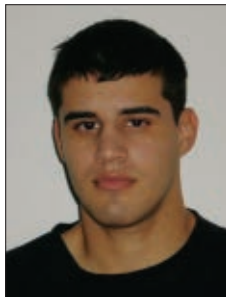
Simone Ruiz Smith – attending the University of Iowa. Recipient of the AFSA Vietnam Scholarship.



Stephanie Ruse – attending Washington University in St. Louis. Recipient of the AFSA Foreign Service Retirees Association of Florida Scholarship, the AFSA Paris Scholarship and the AFSA Jacq Bachman Syracuse Scholarship.



Nick Settje – attending Cornell University. Recipient of the AFSA William Benton Memorial Scholarship.



Sean Skinner – attending Virginia Tech. Recipient of the AFSA Philip C. Habib Memorial Scholarship, the AFSA Louise Holscher Memorial Scholarship and the AFSA Elizabeth N. Landeau Memorial Scholarship.



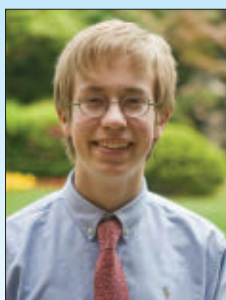
Brendan Temus – attending Yale University. Recipient of the AFSA Elbert G. and Naomi M. Mathews Memorial Scholarship and the AFSA Marcia Martin Moore Memorial Scholarship.



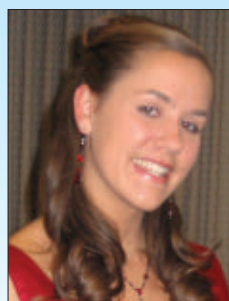
Christian Temus – attending the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Recipient of the AFSA Julius C. Holmes Memorial Scholarship and the AFSA James Bolard More Memorial Scholarship.



Marion Tilghman – attending American University. Recipient of the AFSA Prabhi G. Kavalier Memorial Scholarship.



Paul VanKoughnett – attending Harvard College. Recipient of the AFSA John Foster Dulles Memorial Scholarship and the AFSA Sheldon Whitehouse Memorial Scholarship.



Madeline Wilson – attending Sacramento City College. Recipient of the DACOR Bacon House Foundation Heyward G. Hill Memorial Scholarship.

Not Pictured: (Alphabetical by Last Name)

Ryan Abbadi – attending Villanova University. Recipient of the AFSA Martin G. Patterson Memorial Scholarship and the AFSA Edward T. Wailes Memorial Scholarship.

Alexandria Aguasvivas – attending Northeastern University. Recipient of the DACOR Bacon House Foundation Heyward G. Hill Memorial Scholarship.

Ashley Huyett – attending Schiller International University. Recipient of the DACOR Bacon House Foundation Virginia Thurgood Bingham Memorial Scholarship.

Ashley Kula – attending American University. Recipient of the DACOR Bacon House Foundation Heyward G. Hill Memorial Scholarship.

Andrew McNeill – attending Old Dominion University. Recipient of the AFSA Walter K. Schwinn Memorial Scholarship and the AFSA John C. Whitehead Scholarship.

Kristine Romero – attending George Mason University. Recipient of the DACOR Bacon House Foundation Harriet P. Thurgood Memorial Scholarship.

Jack Settje – attending East Carolina University. Recipient of the AFSA William Leonhart Memorial Scholarship.

Peter Tilghman – attending Dickinson College. Recipient of the AFSA Janet K. and Charles C. Stelle Memorial Scholarship and the AFSA Clare H. Timberlake Memorial Scholarship.

AAFSA 2010 Dues Update: No Increase in Membership Dues

Good news for AFSA members: The AFSA Governing Board has decided not to raise membership dues in 2010. Because the Consumer Price Index, determined by the Department of Labor, did not increase during the third quarter of 2009, board members wanted to pass these “savings,” so to speak, on to AFSA members. However, we encourage members to consider the many ways they can contribute to the organization. Donations become even more important during those years when we do not increase dues revenue. We hope you will consider contributing to one of the AFSA funds listed below. The numbers listed apply to the latest campaign for each fund.

Fund	# of donations	Average donation	Goal of the fund	Contact person
Fund for American Diplomacy	394	\$55.20	Conducting outreach, minority intern program, Exploritas, <i>Inside a U.S. Embassy</i> , memorial plaques, essay contest, AFSA awards, speakers bureau	Tom Switzer, switzer@afsa.org
Legal Defense Fund	249	\$55.40	Assisting AFSA members in cases involving issues of significant institutional importance to the Foreign Service	Sharon Papp, papps@state.gov
Legislative Action Fund	550	\$53.00	Enabling AFSA to advocate on behalf of the Foreign Service in Congress	Casey Frary, frary@afsa.org
Scholarship Fund	267	\$72.68	Providing scholarships for Foreign Service children	Lori Dec, dec@afsa.org
Political Action Committee	346	\$60.30	Making political donations to key lawmakers; donations are divided exactly 50/50 between Republicans and Democrats	Ian Houston, houston@afsa.org

MILESTONES: TEN YEARS AT AFSA

Ana Lopez

On Jan. 3, 2000, Ana Lopez came into AFSA headquarters for a two-month assignment as administrative assistant. Ana had been told about the temporary job — to fill in for another employee on leave — by Membership Director Janet Hedrick, for whom Ana’s mother used to babysit.

Ten years later, Ana is still here. The other employee never returned, and Ana found herself in a very different job setting than she was used to in her previous work for the Fairfax County school district.

Executive Director Ian Houston lauds Ana’s flexibility and “willingness to take on projects at the drop of a hat.”

“The first year wasn’t easy,” admits Ana now. “I was somewhat tentative about this new experience, but I also like a challenge.” Now Ana is a permanent fixture at AFSA, and hers is the first face staff and visitors see upon entering headquarters. And it’s a face that is almost always smiling.

“For 10 years Ana has provided AFSA visitors and phone callers with a friendly greeting and excellent service,” says Hedrick. “She also serves as office manager for the AFSA headquarters build-

ing and processes hundreds of payments each month without missing a step, a testament to her warm professionalism and steady dedication.”

In her decade at AFSA, Ana has seen quite a few AFSA Governing Boards and staff members come and go. She remembers AFSA President John Limbert with particular appreciation. “He would make a point of saying good morning to every one of us.”

Ana attributes her longevity at AFSA to “the atmosphere and the people.” And “the people” feel the same way about Ana. Executive Director Ian Houston lauds her flexibility and “willingness to take on projects at the drop of a hat.”

Ana lives in Manassas, Va., with her 12-year-old son, Gerson. Although she doesn’t play golf herself, Ana frequently spends her weekends taking Gerson golfing. Like her son, Ana is a prolific reader, and because she is bilingual, she often finds herself, as she explains, “reading a book in Spanish one day, and one in English the next.”

Houston points to Ana’s “quiet, behind-the-scenes role that was invaluable during the renovation of our building.” But her soft-spoken demeanor hides a very well-kept secret: she loves to dance. Whether it’s just around the house or out on the town, wherever she is, Ana loves to move to the music. All those who come into contact with Ana are warmed by her sunny disposition and agree with Houston when he calls her “a joy to work with.” □



A Fond Farewell to Barbara Berger

AFSA bids a very fond farewell to Special Awards and Outreach Coordinator Barbara Berger, who has been at AFSA for nine years. Barbara has been responsible for many of AFSA’s most important programs, including the annual awards, the memorial plaques and the board elections, among other tasks. An FS spouse for 25 years, Barbara has lived in Uganda, Ethiopia, Brazil, Israel and The Netherlands, and has served as the Community Liaison Officer in Tel Aviv and The Hague. She is looking forward to spending as much time as possible with her two young granddaughters until the summer, when her son, Jonathan Berger, who is an FSO, will be posted to Vilnius, Lithuania. We will miss Barbara, and we wish her all the best. □

Dissent • Continued from page 37

Why not ask Ambassador Jeffrey Feltman, currently Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, who won the Herter Award for Constructive Dissent by a Senior FSO in 2008? Ask Ambassador Thomas Boyatt, who won the Rivkin Award in 1970 and the Herter Award in 1979 and is now, in retirement, president of the Foreign Affairs Council. Or Ryan Crocker, recipient of the Rivkin Award in 1985, who went on to become ambassador to Lebanon, Syria, Pakistan and Iraq — and was recently awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

Take a look at the awards section of our Web site (www.afsa.org/awards) for more names of past AFSA award-winners. You will see names that you recognize — and some that may surprise you.

The nomination deadline of Feb. 26 is fast approaching. To nominate a colleague for the AFSA dissent (and performance) awards, or for more information, please visit our Web site at the URL above. □

FOREIGN SERVICE E-MAIL GROUPS

Finding Support and Community While Far from Home

BY FRANCESCA KELLY

In mid-November, a newly minted FSO logged onto Livelines, a Foreign-Service e-mail group that has more than 3,000 members, and asked for some advice about shipping her beloved old Mazda to her new assignment in Cairo. It wasn't long before Betty Snow, a veteran FS spouse, responded. She advised the new officer not to ship the car, but to consider ordering a new one from Europe or Japan, and to check with the Community Liaison Officer at post for current regulations. Soon after, someone else who had recently lived in Cairo chimed in, suggesting sending a new SUV, for which she could get a very good price when selling it upon departure. An added bonus, she said, is that the price of filling one's tank in Egypt is low. It didn't take long before the new officer began to rethink the wisdom of bringing an old car to post.

This now-common way of getting information didn't exist a generation ago. It wasn't until the late 1990s that e-mail groups, generally known as listservs, began to gain popularity. Now, members of the Foreign Service have an array of e-mail groups to choose from, where users can send a message out and get information or support within minutes. A simple query about how to entertain a child on long-haul flights will usually net many different answers and opinions.

Sometimes users just need someone to listen as they navigate a rocky transition period at a new post, or try to help a special-needs child get a complete education far from home. In fact, many smaller e-mail groups have become virtual communities, where members feel close to one another even though they have never met in person.

E-mail and the Internet have not only changed the way FS personnel and their family members receive support and information. They have also changed the nature of relationships and friendships over the course of an FS ca-

reer. Some would even argue that the pain of leaving posts and friendships every few years is mitigated through the ease of maintaining e-mail contact.

Livelines, sponsored by the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide, was one of the very first e-mail groups geared solely to Foreign Service members. Its utility and convenience helped it catch on quickly and become one of the most active listservs

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relationships and friendships
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in existence. It is considered by many to be an invaluable source of FS-related information, especially because quite a few department officials are also members, such as the Overseas Briefing Center's "pet shipping maven" Maureen Johnston and the State Department's award-winning travel expert, Mette Beecroft. These and other officials will often take the time to speak up and patiently answer queries about regulations.

Other e-mail groups have sprung up in recent years to support more specialized communities within the Foreign Service. Groups for officers posted to Iraq, for those who are homeschooling their children, and for people preparing for the Foreign Service exam are among the groups available.

Foreign Service spouse Mari O'Connor, currently posted in Ireland, has been the founder or moderator of at least two of these — FSSpecialneeds and FSPar-

enting. She started FSSpecialneeds because of her own difficulties in finding support and much-needed information and resources for her severely disabled son, Christopher. "E-mail groups can help smooth the way to a new post," says O'Connor, recalling an e-mail message from an online friend offering to help her get services for her son in Dublin after his medical clearance was rescinded. "My husband was able to get a job in Dublin at the last minute, so here we are, all thanks to this wonderful Irish friend I first met through an e-mail group."

FSO John Dinkelman, also a member of FSSpecialneeds, adds, "Just knowing that there were others out there desperately trying to cobble together a life that balances a Foreign Service career with a child's complicated special needs has given me great hope and resolve at times when it all seemed impossible."

Here is an annotated directory of some of the more popular e-mail groups available to FS community members. All of them have been set up under Yahoogroups, so you can also search for groups at www.yahoogroups.com.

Livelines (sponsored by the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide): Active-duty and retired FSOs and their family members may join. Join on the Web at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/livelines/> or by sending an e-mail to livelines-subscribe@yahoogroups.com. You may also e-mail Livelines@aafsw.org for more information.

A-100-2002 (and later years): For people who have passed both the written and oral FS assessments. Join on the Web at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/A-100-2002/> or by sending an e-mail to A-100-2002-subscribe@yahoogroups.com.

FSWE: For those preparing to take the FS written assessment. Join on the

Continued on page 50

FS E-mail Groups • Continued from page 49

Web at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/fswe/> or by sending an e-mail to fswe-subscribe@yahoogroups.com.

FSOA: For those who have passed the FS written exam and are preparing for the oral exam. Join on the Web at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/fsoa/> or send an e-mail to fsoa-subscribe@yahoogroups.com.

FSSCareers: For anyone interested in pursuing a career as an FS specialist. Join on the Web at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/FSSCareers/> or via e-mail to FSSCareers-subscribe@yahoogroups.com.

OMSHopefuls: For people interested in the process of becoming office management specialists. Join on the Web at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/omshopefuls/> or by sending an e-mail to omshopefuls-subscribe@yahoogroups.com.

FSIraq: A forum for members of the FS community to exchange information about service in Iraq. Join on the Web at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/FSIraq/> or via e-mail at FSIraq-subscribe@yahoogroups.com.

FSAfghanistan: A forum for members of the FS community to exchange information about service in Afghanistan. Join on the Web at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/FSAfghanistan/> or via e-mail to FSAfghanistan-subscribe@yahoogroups.com.

HomeFrontUS: A support group for family members of U.S. government employees serving overseas at unaccompanied posts. Join on the Web at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/HomeFrontUS/> or via e-mail to HomefrontUS-subscribe@yahoogroups.com.

Statetandems: For State Department tandem couples. Join on the Web at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/state-tandems/> or by e-mail to statetandems-subscribe@yahoogroups.com.

Abroadview: Sponsored by *Tales from a Small Planet* for all expatriates, not just FS members. Join on the Web at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/abroadview/> or via e-mail to abroadview-subscribe@yahoogroups.com.

Spousesview: A group for all ac-

companying spouses, not limited to the Foreign Service, sponsored by *Tales from a Small Planet*. Join on the Web at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/Spousesview/> or via e-mail to spousesview-subscribe@yahoogroups.com.

DSSspouse: For spouses of diplomatic security agents, sponsored by the

“Just knowing that there were others out there desperately trying to cobble together a life that balances a Foreign Service career with a child’s complicated special needs has given me great hope and resolve.”

— FSO John Dinkelman

Diplomatic Security Agents Spouse Association. Join on the Web at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/dsspouse/> or by e-mail to dsspouse-subscribe@yahoogroups.com.

MOH_Network: For members of household, as defined by the Foreign Affairs Manual. Join on the Web at http://groups.yahoo.com/group/MOH_Network/ or via e-mail to MOH_Network-subscribe@yahoogroups.com.

FSParent: Discussion and advice group for FS parents. Join on the Web at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/FSParent/> or by sending an e-mail message to FSParent-subscribe@yahoogroups.com.

FSSpecialneeds: For parents of special needs children in the Foreign Service. Join on the Web at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/FSspecialneeds/> or by e-mail to FSspecialneeds-subscribe@yahoogroups.com.

FSHomeschool: For those interested in or already homeschooling their FS children. Join on the Web at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/fshomeschool/> or via e-mail to FSHomeschool-subscribe@yahoogroups.com.

FSGifted: For FS parents of gifted children. Join on the Web at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/fsgifted/> or

send an e-mail to fsgifted-subscribe@yahoogroups.com.

FSAdoptiveParents: For FS community members who have adopted children. Join on the Web at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/FSAdoptiveParents/> or via e-mail to FSAdoptiveParents-subscribe@yahoogroups.com

FSPets: A group for FS pet owners, to discuss regulations, procedures and experiences. Join on the Web at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/FSPets/> or send an e-mail to FSPets-subscribe@yahoogroups.com.

(If you know of an FS-related e-mail group that has been left off this list, please send an e-mail to Kelly@afsa.org.)

The author wishes to thank Kelly Midura and Mari O’Connor for their help in researching these groups. □

AFSANEWSBRIEFS

Hospital Bills Overseas – Don’t Assume They’ve Been Paid

An important reminder from the Labor Management Office: Please remember that if you are hospitalized overseas, you will need to obtain the hospital bill to submit to your insurance company, and then turn over the reimbursement from the insurance company to the embassy cashier. The department will act as a secondary payer, but only when the insurance company is the primary payer.

In recent months we have heard from several members who have discovered they owe the department thousands of dollars in medical bills. This has generally occurred because the hospitalization took place either at an overseas medevac site, or just before the member left post — perhaps when being evacuated to the United States. In such cases, the bill often does not follow the member back to post or back to the U.S., so you have to take proactive steps to track it down.

As a reminder, what should happen is this: Once you are hospitalized, the post’s health unit gets a fund citation from M/MED. Generally the post pays the hospital with this, and will then send you the bill, which you then send to your insurance company. When you get the money back from the insurance company, you owe that money to the department. □

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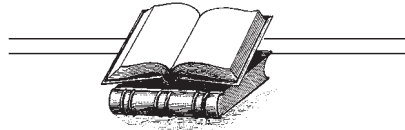
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BOOKS

The Business of Governing

**One Nation Under Contract:
The Outsourcing of American
Power and the Future
of Foreign Policy**

Allison Stanger, Yale University
Press, 2009, \$29, hardcover,
242 pages.

REVIEWED BY PETER F. SPALDING

Thomas Friedman recently suggested in his *New York Times* column that as Americans debate new troop levels in Afghanistan, they would be wise to consider the extent to which we already outsource jobs that the State Department and other agencies once did on their own. He went on to recommend this book.

Allison Stanger, director of the Rotham Center for International Affairs at Middlebury College, has given us a timely, thought-provoking examination of the transformative effect outsourcing has had on the conduct of American foreign policy. She writes, “Knock on the door of the federal government in 2009, and chances are that you will find nobody home. The U.S. government’s impulse to exploit the comparative advantage of the private sector, and the private sector’s responsiveness to the demand for its services, have combined to replace big government

*Stanger calls
for retrieving
“the conduct of
international affairs
from the grasp of
the private sector.”*

with a staggeringly large shadow government. In this new world, the private sector increasingly handles the everyday business of governing.”

The book devotes chapters to the impact of outsourcing on the so-called “three Ds” of government: diplomacy, defense and development. The titles aptly reflect the tenor of her arguments: The discussion of State is titled “The End of Statesmanship.” For the Pentagon, the headline is “The Privatization of Defense.” And the chapter about the U.S. Agency for International Development mourns “The Slow Death of USAID.” (Another chapter, “Laissez-Faire Homeland Security,” is a fierce indictment of DHS’s record to date.)

As Stanger documents, 83 percent of State’s budget in Fiscal Year 2008, and 82 percent of the Pentagon budget, were outsourced as contracts and grants. The hands that open the flood gates to contractors are often found in Congress, because so many private-

sector entities have their headquarters in various congressional districts. To take just one example: Lockheed Martin gets more federal money each year than the Department of Justice or Energy.

Some of her fixes for the pitfalls caused by the privatization of foreign policy are simplistic, such as a unified national security budget that would include defense, diplomacy and homeland security. Her overriding recommendation, however, is well worth pursuing: complete transparency in all government financial transactions, especially those involving the private sector. Toward that end, Stanger recommends the Web site USAspending.gov (the result of legislation sponsored by Senators Barack Obama, D-Ill., and Tom Coburn, R-Okla.), which tracks all government spending, including contracts, though it remains very much a work in progress.

Stanger sums up: “What we need is capitalism with a human face, [which] is about fairness and choice, not privilege and coercion. But we will never have capitalism with a human face while laissez-faire government outsourcing drives our foreign policy. Unless government provides the appropriate incentives, business will always choose short-term profitability over the common good. And so long as their reelection demands perpetual fundraising, our elected officials will always



favor the wealthiest individuals and companies.”

Elsewhere in the book, she proclaims that “We don’t need a new prescription; we need a new eye chart.” In that spirit, Stanger’s prescription is for a radical transformation of American foreign policy, one that will retrieve the conduct of international affairs from the grasp of the private sector.

Peter F. Spalding is a retired Senior Foreign Service officer who served in the Middle East, Africa and Asia.

Being On the Ground

Honorable Survivor: Mao’s China, McCarthy’s America, and the Persecution of John S. Service

Lynne Joiner, Naval Institute Press, 2009, \$37.95, hardcover, 402 pages.

REVIEWED BY SUSAN BRADY MAITRA

Honorable Survivor, the remarkable story of John Service’s life and Foreign Service career by Lynne Joiner, is not just a fascinating read. It recounts the adventures of a courageous and talented individual who was at the center of momentous historical developments.

It also offers breathtaking insights, for diplomats and students of history alike, into the realities of the process of national policymaking, including the terrible toll exacted by egotism, miscommunication, prejudice, turf warfare and plain ignorance. As such, the book is full of timely lessons — not the least being the critical value of quality Foreign Service political reporting.

The son of American missionaries, John Service was born and raised in China, becoming fluent in the language

Unafraid to draw conclusions from his observations, Service pleaded for a policy more in tune with realities in China.

and culture of its cities, towns and countryside. As an FSO posted to Chunking in 1941, when China was under siege by Imperial Japan, Service reported prolifically on what was happening on the ground: in particular, the rise of the Maoist movement and the machinations of Chiang Kai-shek’s Kuomintang — collecting vital information that Washington had no access to otherwise. Unafraid to draw conclusions from his observations, he pleaded for a policy more in tune with realities in China, one that would optimize America’s position in this vital region.

Yet Service’s reports and analysis were dismissed. And as the Cold War deepened and the era of anti-communist witch-hunting unfolded, his loyalty was called into question and his diplomatic career destroyed. Accused of “losing China,” John Service was persecuted for the next decade.

Throughout the ordeal, he maintained the courage, integrity, modesty and good humor that were the hallmarks of his character. His 1951 dismissal from the Foreign Service was finally overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1957. Another kind of vindi-

cation came with the Nixon administration’s dramatic opening to Communist China in 1971.

At a luncheon AFSA hosted to honor Service and the “old China hands” on Jan. 30, 1973, historian Barbara Tuchman pointed to the acute sense of irony Service and his colleagues must have felt watching the Nixon-Mao Zedong meeting. “Why were these individuals not listened to even before they were persecuted?” she asked. “Why is there a persistent gap between observers in the field and policymakers in the capital?”

In *Honorable Survivor*, all of the answers Tuchman offered to those questions are on display, in detail and Technicolor — the preconceptions and long-implanted biases of the particular policymaker; psychological factors at the receiving end, such as temperament or private ambitions and fears; and national myths, such as the myth of the communist monolith, which Tuchman judged “the costliest of our time.”

Yet the value of quality reporting endures, Tuchman noted. “Fortunately for the record and the reputation of the Foreign Service, the reports of Service and his colleagues from China in the 1940s are now where anyone can consult them — in the published volumes of *U.S. Foreign Relations, China Series*. Under the inflexible verdict of history, they stand up.”

John Service, the guest of honor that day, devoted his own remarks to the topic of Foreign Service reporting. “Confucius seems not to have said: ‘One picture is worth a thousand words,’” Service told the gathering. “But perhaps one can coin another phrase: ‘One close look is worth a thousand distant guesses.’ There is no real substitute for being on the ground.”

There were still parts of the world

BOOKS

where the situation was not unlike that in China during the 1940s, Service observed, issuing a cautionary notice that remains valid today: "If we keep ourselves in ignorance and out of touch with new popular movements and potentially revolutionary situations, we may find ourselves again missing the boat. The proper measure of such reporting should not be popular sentiment in the United States as reflected in some segments of the press, or by some congressional committees not charged with foreign relations. . . . The legacy of Senator Joe McCarthy still needs, in some respects, to be shed."

Reading *Honorable Survivor*, one cannot help but reflect on more recent foreign policy challenges — Vietnam, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan — where a genuine comprehension of developments in a distant land could make all the difference for effective policymaking.

Lynne Joiner, an award-winning broadcast journalist, news anchor and documentary filmmaker, is currently a media consultant for Shanghai International TV Channel. She was first introduced to the story of John Service in a Chinese political science class at Cornell University. As a young broadcast journalist during the 1970s, she had the opportunity to visit China with a congressional delegation and made a documentary film about the trip.

Months later, at a Stanford University conference on U.S.-China relations, she met Service and his wife. Their shared professional interest in China developed into a decades-long personal friendship, whose warmth and spirit animates this lively and extensively documented work. ■

Susan Brady Maitra is the Journal's senior editor.

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IN MEMORY

Alice Dorothy Trunk Botterud, 93, wife of the late FSO Keith Botterud, died on May 11, 2009, in Bozeman, Mont.

Mrs. Botterud was born on April 9, 1916, in Forsyth, Mont., the daughter of Frank J. and Oona Fay (Gasaway) Trunk. Her family moved to Missoula, where she attended the Sacred Heart Academy, and then to Bozeman, where she graduated from Gallatin County High School. She attended Montana State College for a year before going to Columbus Nursing School in Great Falls, Mont. She then joined Consolidated Freight, working in Miles City, Bozeman, Glendive and Livingston.

In Livingston, she met Keith Botterud. The couple married on St. Patrick's Day in 1942 in Washington, D.C., at the time of Mr. Botterud's enlistment into the U.S. Navy, and lived there for many years while he finished his education at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service and joined the Department of State.

Following World War II, Mrs. Botterud accompanied her husband and their new baby, Karen, to his posting in Holland for two years. They returned to Virginia for several years and were then sent to Norway for four years, where their second daughter, Anne, was born. With the State Department, they also lived in Honduras for two

years, spent four years in Iran and four years in Pakistan before returning to Washington, D.C. In 1972, the couple retired to Montana, settling in Bozeman.

Mrs. Botterud lived an adventurous life as a diplomat's wife. Family members recall that she always felt her most productive years were spent in Iran, where she rubbed elbows with some of the wealthiest and the poorest people in the world. Her greatest satisfaction, she always said, came from working in the health care clinics that served the poverty-stricken in Iran.

In Bozeman, Mrs. Botterud was very active in Resurrection Parish, as well as several book clubs and bridge clubs. She also enjoyed traveling to the West Coast for salmon fishing.

Alice Botterud was preceded in death by her husband Keith, her brother Frank J. Trunk Jr., and younger sister Betty Ann Todd. Survivors include her two daughters, Karen Botterud of Chicago, Ill., and Anne Botterud of Denver, Colo.; a stepdaughter, Diane Lovett of Cottonwood, Ariz.; a sister, Margaret Waltari of Missoula, Mont.; and several nieces and nephews.

Memorials may be made in her name to Resurrection Parish, 1725 S. 11th Ave., Bozeman MT. Condolences and memories may be shared with the family at www.dahlcares.com.

Madeleine Byron-Maguire, 82, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Oct. 8 in Gresham, Ore.

Mrs. Byron-Maguire was born in Algiers and raised in France. One of the first war brides, she married Robert Byron in Paris in 1945. The couple settled in Chicago, Robert's hometown, for a few years.

Following the birth of their daughters, Pat and Cathleen, they returned to France, and then Morocco, until 1960, when they returned to Chicago. There Mrs. Byron-Maguire worked with the U.S. Naval Research Office until she joined the Foreign Service in 1967, after the death of her husband.

Mrs. Byron-Maguire's first post was Monrovia (1967-1969). She was subsequently appointed to Conakry (1969-1972), Prague (1972-1974), Tunis (1974-1976) and Nairobi (1976-1979). After finishing her career in Yaoundé (1979-1981), she retired to Oregon, where she taught French conversation at Mount Hood Community College in Gresham for several years.

Mrs. Byron-Maguire was preceded in death by her second husband, Edward Maguire, also a Foreign Service officer.

She is survived by her two daughters, Pat and her husband Jean-Dominique Leullier of Rots, France; and Cathy and her husband Tom Jupille of Alamo, Calif.; and five grandchildren

IN MEMORY



and nine great-grandchildren, in France and the United States.



Robert B. Clary, 89, a retired FSO, died of renal failure on June 4, 2009, at his residence in Peoria, Ill.

Born on Aug. 14, 1919, in Cass County, Indiana, Mr. Clary completed high school at the age of 17 and went to the Chicago area to see the world and begin his quest for adventure. He was teaching photography at Hull House in 1941, when his U.S. Army reserve unit was activated. He spent the next four years in the European theater and was discharged in 1945 with the rank of first lieutenant, having been awarded the Bronze Star Medal with two clusters and the ETO Ribbon with five battle stars.

Mr. Clary graduated from Kansas State University in 1950 with degrees in engineering and public administration, which he put to use, first, as an engineer with the American Salt Company, and then as engineer and city manager of Newton, Kan.

In 1964, as the Vietnam War was intensifying, Mr. Clary joined the Foreign Service as an officer in the Public Administration Division of the USAID Saigon mission. This assignment was followed by a tour in Bangladesh, where he met and married fellow FSO Barbara Gensler on April 4, 1969. He then served as a program analyst on the Operations Appraisal Staff of the USAID Auditor General.

Mr. Clary's favorite assignment was as the senior operations officer in the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance, a position he held from 1972 to 1980. Major assessment/survey field assignments included Ethiopia, Uganda, Sudan, Kenya, Italy, Honduras, Bangla-

desh, Haiti, Djibouti, Mauritania, Senegal, St. Lucia, Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso) and other Sahel countries.

In 1980, Mr. Clary retired from the Foreign Service. He continued to enjoy travel, as well as golfing on exotic courses in places such as Egypt, Malawi and South Africa, while his wife completed her Foreign Service career.

In 1993, the couple returned to Peoria. There Mr. Clary volunteered at the American Red Cross and the Corn Stock Theater, and marshaled on the Peoria Municipal golf courses. He was a member of the Knights of Columbus Bishop Rosati Council 5034 and an usher at St. Vincent de Paul Catholic Church.

Friends and family members recall the pride he felt in having accomplished more in his life than he had ever imagined he could. And they recall how highly he valued the satisfaction he gained from helping to solve the problems of those less fortunate.

Mr. Clary is survived by his wife of 40 years, Barbara Clary of Peoria; his former spouse, Maxine Meyer; a son, Robert (and wife, Inge) of Chicopee, Mass.; a daughter, Marcia McVay (and husband, Richard) of Topeka, Kan.; five grandchildren; 10 great-grandchildren; nine sisters-in-law; and five brothers-in-law.



Weston Lewis Emery, 85, a retired Foreign Service officer, died at his home in McLean, Va., on Sept. 13 from complications caused by Alzheimer's.

Mr. Emery was born on Jan. 7, 1924, in Gardiner, Maine. His grandfather was president and co-owner of the narrow-gauge Kennebec Central Railroad and the Sandy River & Rangely Lakes Railroad in Maine. In the 1930s, his

parents moved the family to Winter Park, Fla., where they launched and ran the Emery Institute, a pioneering correspondence program for stutterers, available in multiple languages.

Mr. Emery was drafted into the U.S. Army in 1943 and tested into the Army Specialized Training Program at Texas A&M University. He served with the U.S. Army's 12th Armored Division (the "Mystery Division" responsible for liberating 11 concentration camps) in Europe during World War II. He received a Combat Infantryman's badge, Bronze Star medal with oak leaf clusters, Certificate of Merit as a combat radio operator, European African Middle Eastern Campaign medal and the Croix de Guerre.

Mr. Emery received his bachelor's degree from Rollins College in 1948 and pursued graduate degrees at Boston University and Université de Grenoble. At Rollins he was president of the Delta Chi Fraternity and later received the school's Alumni Achievement Award in Military History.

After several years in the private sector, including experience in Laos, Mr. Emery joined USAID in 1959 and was posted to Tunis as a procurement officer. Subsequent postings included Tegucigalpa, Quito, Asuncion and Washington, D.C., where he served in the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance. Mr. Emery was fluent in French and Spanish. He retired from USAID in 1986.

Having been passionate about family roots throughout his life, Mr. Emery took genealogy courses during retirement and recorded 400 years of family ancestry. He also wrote *C-66: A World War II Chronicle of an Armored Infantry Company* (1992), which was acclaimed by numerous historians, both military and civilian.

IN MEMORY



Mr. Emery is survived by his wife of 55 years, Brigitte LeMaire Emery of McLean; two daughters, Christine Emery of Washington, D.C., and Caroline Emery of Jacksonville, Fla.; one son, Eric (and his wife, Wendy) Emery and two grandsons, Benjamin and Christian Emery, of Westerville, Ohio.



Michael Mennard, 86, a retired FSO, died at his home in Potomac Falls, Va., on Oct. 24. He had been in failing health for several years.

Mr. Mennard was born Miodrag Ugrinovic to a Serbian Orthodox family in Yugoslavia. He came to the United States in 1946 as a displaced person sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, which provided a scholarship for him to Ripon College in Appleton, Wis. He studied there before joining the U.S. Army in 1948.

He was sent to the Army Language School in Monterey, where he became an instructor in Serbo-Croatian. Later he was assigned to Helmstedt, West Germany, where he accompanied the trains that transited East Germany to Berlin. He was discharged as a sergeant in September 1952 and returned to the U.S., where he received his citizenship in December of that year. At that time he legally changed his name to Michael Mennard.

Mr. Mennard graduated in 1953 from the University of California at Berkeley, where he also earned a master's degree in history in 1954. He received a doctorate in history from Georgetown University in 1964.

In 1955, he joined the Voice of America where he broadcast in Serbo-Croatian to Yugoslavia. He served as an information officer in Stuttgart in the mid-1950s. In 1964, he was as-

signed to New Delhi, where he established the South Asia Bureau of the Voice of America. In 1974, he entered the Foreign Service, serving two tours in India and one in Germany as a USIA officer. He retired in 1985 and settled in Northern Virginia.

During retirement Mr. Mennard was a consultant on Yugoslav issues and contributed op-ed articles to newspapers and publications about the break-up of that country.

His first marriage, to Nancy Mennard, ended in divorce. A daughter from that marriage, Tracy Mennard, died in infancy in 1961.

Mr. Mennard is survived by his wife of 40 years, Mildred Stewart Mennard of Potomac Falls; his son, Jason Mennard (and wife Erin) of Winchester, Va.; two stepchildren, Roger Coleman of Asheville, N.C., and Christian Coleman of Orlando, Fla.; and six grandchildren.



Albert F. Papa, 90, a retired Foreign Service staff officer, died on Aug. 19 at his home in Bridgewater, N.J.

Mr. Papa was born in Fairview, N.J. During World War II he served in Africa, Italy and France with the U.S. Army. He joined the State Department in 1950. During a 30-year career, he served in Berlin, Coblenz, Dhahran, Rio de Janeiro, Ankara, Rome and Geneva. He received two Distinguished Service Awards.

Mr. Papa was predeceased by his daughter, Lee Ann Papa. He is survived by his wife, Clara (Carrie), of Bridgewater; a daughter, Jo Anne; and three grandchildren.

Memorial donations may be made to St. Ann RC Church, 45 Anderson Street, Raritan NJ 08869, or to the American Heart Association.

John Brayton "Bray" Redecker, 76, a retired FSO, died on Oct. 8 in Washington, D.C., after a brief illness.

The son of a Foreign Service officer and a gifted linguist, Mr. Redecker devoted his career to various forms of service abroad. After graduating from Williams College with a B.A. in 1955, he served as a naval intelligence officer in Germany and an employee of Alcoa in its Geneva office. He entered the State Department Foreign Service in 1964.

Mr. Redecker's overseas postings included Berlin, the U.S. Mission to NATO in Brussels, Rabat and Madrid. He retired in 1991 as deputy consul general in Frankfurt, where he made important strides in strengthening U.S.-German commercial relations. During domestic tours, he attended postgraduate training at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1967-1968).

A leader in applying systems analysis principles to the State Department's domestic and overseas operations, Mr. Redecker pioneered the use of game theory to illuminate foreign policy issues.

Following his retirement from the Foreign Service, he served in Egypt and the Philippines as a development specialist with the Louis Berger Group. He continued to be active as a diplomatic courier, remaining on the rolls of that service until his death.

Mr. Redecker is survived by his wife, Jul Patino Redecker; his son, Robert; his daughter, Cynthia; and a granddaughter, Tanaquil.



Colleen Ann Wardlaw, 51, a retired Foreign Service nurse practitioner, died at her home in McKinleyville, Calif., on Sept. 9.

IN MEMORY



Ms. Wardlaw was born on March 10, 1958, in Sheridan, Wyo., the daughter of Kenneth Wardlaw and Joyce Montgomery Wardlaw Morrison. A 1976 graduate of Wheatland High School, she won a scholarship and trip to Washington, D.C., as the Wyoming Betty Crocker Family Leader of Tomorrow.

As a National Merit finalist, she received a four-year Superior Student Scholarship to the University of Wyoming, where she received her B.S. degree in nursing with honors in 1980. After receiving her adult nurse practitioner degree from Metropolitan State College in Denver, Colo., in 1984, she worked at the Denver General Hospital walk-in clinic for two years. She was an avid traveler and, during that time,

went to China for a two-week bicycle tour to see the Great Wall and the Terra Cotta Soldiers in Xian.

In 1986, Ms. Wardlaw joined the State Department as a nurse practitioner and served in Malawi, Russia and Morocco. During her career in the Foreign Service, she spent time in London and Paris and traveled extensively in Africa, Russia and Morocco.

Ms. Wardlaw left the Foreign Service in 1996 and moved back to Laramie, Wyo., where she volunteered at Laramie County Community College teaching English to foreign students. A creative educator, she used a variety of methods, including board games she developed, to help students engage in conversational English.

After relocating to McKinleyville,

she spent a year in China teaching English to students at a medical school in Changchung.

Ms. Wardlaw was predeceased by her father and her grandparents. She is survived by her mother, Joyce Morrison of Tucson, Ariz.; her stepmother, Hilary Wardlaw of Casper, Wyo.; a brother, Keith Wardlaw of Laramie, Wyo.; a sister, Connie Lemcke of Brighton, Colo.; five nieces and nephews; and four aunts and an uncle.



Samuel Shelton Westgate III, 64, a retired FSO, passed away surrounded by family and friends on Oct. 13, 2008, in Arlington, Va.

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IN MEMORY



in 1962, Mr. Westgate received a B.A. from Stanford University and a Ph.D. from the University of California-Berkeley. He taught at King Faisal University in Saudi Arabia before joining the U.S. Information Agency. Mr. Westgate met his wife, Pummarie Summondis Westgate, when she was a journalist with the *Bangkok Post* and he was a cultural attaché.

During a 22-year career with USIA, Mr. Westgate served in Thailand, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia and Germany, where he was consul general in Stuttgart. His last foreign posting, without his family, was in Ethiopia. He retired as acting deputy director of public affairs for Africa. Mr. Westgate spoke seven languages, was a member of Mensa and was a Silver

Master in bridge.

Mr. Westgate is survived by his wife of 26 years, Pummarie Westgate of Arlington, Va.; their two sons, Guy and Geoffrey; three sisters, Leanne, Lorinda and Jenette, and a brother, Bill.

Memorial contributions may be directed to The American Red Cross, for Hurricane Katrina reconstruction.



William B. Whitman, 73, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Oct. 30 in Washington, D.C.

Born on Nov. 28, 1935, in East Orange, N.J., Mr. Whitman was a 1957 graduate of Northwestern University. In 1960, he was commissioned as a Foreign Service officer. He served in

Italy (with assignments to Palermo, Milan and Rome, where he was minister-counselor for economic affairs), Bolivia, Yugoslavia and Washington, D.C.

After the breakup of Yugoslavia, Mr. Whitman served in Macedonia as head of mission, with the title of ambassador, for the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. He was also special assistant to former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, who headed the International Commission on Missing Persons after the Balkan War.

After retiring from the Foreign Service, Mr. Whitman worked part-time as a Senior Foreign Service inspector in Burkina Faso, Germany, Mexico, Madagascar, Niger and Washington, D.C. He also became a prolific travel writer. More than 200 of his articles appeared in a wide range of publications including *Business Jet Traveler*, *Capitol File*, *Forbes-Life Magazine*, *Hemispheres Magazine*, *National Geographic Traveler*, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*.

Mr. Whitman was also the author of six books. Of these, *Washington, D.C.: Off the Beaten Path — A Guide to Unique Places* (Globe Pequot Press, 2001), an insider's guide to the District's hidden corners, is now in its fifth edition. His *Literary Cities of Italy* (Starrhill Press, 1991) takes readers to the literary haunts of great writers in Rome, Florence and Venice. He also wrote *Virginia Wine Country* (Casco Communications, 1997), a comprehensive guide to Virginia wine and winemakers, and *The Quotable Politician* (The Lyons Press, 2003), a compendium of political sayings.

Mr. Whitman is survived by his wife of 43 years, Cameron DeCamp Whitman of Washington, D.C., and his daughter, Ellis Whitman, a writer and editor in New York City. ■



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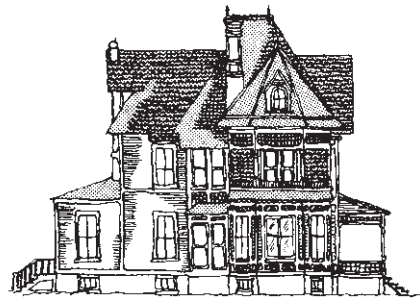
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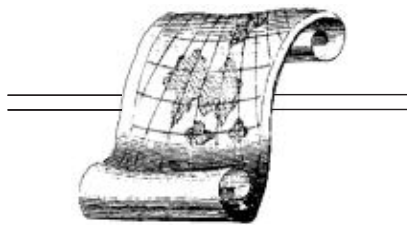
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REFLECTIONS

I Remember a Gift

BY BOB GRIBBIN

In 1986, when I was deputy director of the Office of East African Affairs, I made a tour of U.S. embassies in the region. My itinerary included Djibouti, a small desert country at the southern mouth of the Red Sea. Neighboring Ethiopia and Somalia, then at relative peace, had been warring for years.

That conflict had been compounded by drought and famine. As a result, many thousands of ethnic Somali tribesmen from the Ogaden region of Ethiopia had sought refuge in Djibouti. They were confined to United Nations-run camps located in the arid hinterland of one of the most desolate nations in Africa.

After a dusty, hot, half-day's drive from the capital, I arrived at one of the camps where several thousand refugees had been grouped for months, essentially on a moonscape. This refugee camp was a bleak and seemingly hopeless place. Yet the elders of the camp committee greeted me graciously and guided me on a tour of their squalid domain. We wove in and out of little lanes between the stick huts. Green plastic sheeting provided cover from the sun. Bags of U.S.-donated maize and tins of vegetable oil were stacked in the food distribution warehouse.

A one-tent school was operating. It had little more than a blackboard, but children sat in rapt attention as their teacher lectured, and then recited back what they had heard. Outside the small clinic, the day's clients — pregnant women, wailing babies and those worn out from the ills of the region — waited

*A dusty, hot,
half-day's drive from
the capital, the
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hopeless place.*

patiently. Inside, several refugee nurses dispensed what care they could. They proudly proclaimed that childhood immunizations were up-to-date. Flies buzzed incessantly.

Elders bemoaned their plight: their suffering from war and famine, their flight from their homes, especially their loss of goats and camels. They noted that the youth were bored in the nothingness of the camp, and all were stymied by the inability to look ahead. They were compelled to live day by day. Of course, they asked for America's help, especially in rectifying conditions in Ethiopia so that they might be able to go home.

The camp committee was most anxious that I see their newly acquired well, water pump — provided by a grant from the U.S. government — and garden. We walked up a rock-strewn ravine past the cemetery, where several new graves gave mute testimony to the ravages of disease and malnutrition.

Beyond, nestled on the slope of the valley in a region where not a single

blade of vegetation was visible for miles, was a small patch of green. The elders showed me how boys carried water from the new well to the plots, where they had managed to coax several scraggly tomato plants and other vegetables from the hard earth. The chief pointed with pride to the first watermelon, about the size of a small soccer ball. He then had it picked.

He presented it to me with great ceremony and thanks for America's concern and assistance. I was overwhelmed. The camp's children were desperate for this sort of nourishment, yet it was given unhesitatingly to a stranger — to someone who obviously had no need for it. I had to accept it, for this was a gift from the heart. I managed to utter thanks and a few words of encouragement. We then shared the bits of melon.

In the years since, I have always been struck how people with so little, and with such great need, could give so easily. Yet we, with so much, find it hard to give a little. ■

Retired Ambassador Robert Gribbin spent many years in East and Central Africa, first as a Peace Corps Volunteer and then as a diplomat fanatically committed to in-country travel. His many Foreign Service postings include stints as Rwanda desk officer (1977-1979) and deputy chief of mission (1979-1981) and ambassador in Kigali (1995-1999). He is the author of In the Aftermath of Genocide: The U.S. Role in Rwanda (iUniverse, 2005).

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