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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

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Cover illustration by Marian Smith. This oil painting, "To Remember," was among her entries to AFSA's 2011 Art Merit Award competition.

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President's Views
Moving Forward Together

By Susan R. Johnson

The impact of globalization and militarization is generating a pressing need to review and rethink the roles of diplomacy and development, both in supporting our foreign policy and national security and in advancing American interests and values. Within the broad framework of this debate, a question arises: how can a professional association and bargaining unit such as AFSA contribute to strengthening our diplomacy and development services as a tool of national power?

There are three aspects of this issue on which I believe AFSA should continue to focus its energies: (1) raising the profile and credibility of diplomacy; (2) enhancing the professionalism and quality of American diplomats and development experts; and (3) protecting and promoting the interests of each of our member agencies. (I will develop each of these objectives more fully in future columns.) I invite readers to share their thoughts on these goals to benefit the newly elected 2011-2013 Governing Board, which will soon set priorities for the next two years.

AFSA has welcomed the commitment of Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton and outgoing Defense Secretary Robert Gates to diplomacy and development as critical tools of national power, alongside defense. Equally important, they have both consistently sought the resources and domestic political support those functions deserve. As part of this effort, AFSA has strongly supported full implementation of the Diplomacy 3.0 hiring program and completion of the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review.

As our recent annual reports document, AFSA has been investing in its own capacity building, starting with a renovated building, a modernized Web site and IT communications capacity. We have expanded professional staffing to deepen our bench in the areas of policy, legislative work, labor management and retiree services, as well as targeted use of outside expertise.

AFSA has begun a program to collect and present Foreign Service profiles to demystify our profession and explain what our diplomats and development experts around the world actually do, illustrating the excellent return on investment that diplomacy and development services offer the American taxpayer. We have also issued a new edition of our book, *Inside a U.S. Embassy*, expanded media outreach, sought out opportunities to testify before Congress, and begun building a broader spectrum of alliances with other groups.

In addition, AFSA continues to work to define and enhance professionalism in American diplomacy and development. We are pursuing this goal through coverage in the *Foreign Service Journal*, by expanding the quantity and quality of our programming, by participating in the American Academy of Diplomacy's project on diplomatic professional education and training, and working to formulate ethical standards and a code of conduct for today's Foreign Service professionals. This demands more attention and closer cooperation with management and the Foreign Service Institute, as well as with American diplomats who, as master practitioners now in academia, represent a valuable resource.

Effective promotion and protection of the interests of the Foreign Service requires broad understanding of what the key issues are and what strategies are most likely to be effective. Federal government employees across the board have been presented with unprecedented challenges, starting with questions about their relevance and role, but the largest proportional cut in the 2011 and 2012 budgets relates to international affairs. Challenges of this severity to the Foreign Service call for a collective response.

As the 21st Century AFSA Slate's campaign theme, "Moving Forward Together," emphasizes, your support will strengthen our credibility and capacity to speak out on your behalf — whereas lack of interest will diminish our voice. Please share your thoughts at johnson@afsa.org. ■

Letters

Well Done!

Congratulations on your May issue ("Work-Life Balance: Handling the Ups and Downs of Foreign Service Life"), which brought together a lively set of articles to address a very apposite theme. I particularly enjoyed Amanda Fernandez's contribution, "Si, Se Puede," because it is written in the present tense, journal-style, and does not dwell only on the drudgery of the advance visit. It also describes the pleasure of getting away from parenting responsibilities for a few days, and pays attention to a soccer match between Ecuador and big bad Argentina.

Larry Lesser
FSO, retired
Washington, D.C.

Ecuador Has It Now

Quito was my first Foreign Service posting, so I was interested to read Amanda Fernandez's account of her quick visit there in the May *Foreign Service Journal*. I was particularly amused by her report that Ecuador's national motto is "Si, se puede" ("Yes, it can be done," or "Yes, we can"), which she used as the title for her article.

During my time in Ecuador in the mid-1970s, it seemed like the national motto was "No hay" ("There isn't any," or "We don't have any"). I would stop at the store to buy something, and very often that was the reply.

"Hay leche?" ("Do you have milk?"), I would ask. "No hay." Or if the shopkeeper was particularly grumpy, the answer might be, "Si hay, pero no tenemos." ("Of course, the item you're asking for is available somewhere in the world, but we don't have it.")

If things have progressed so much in Ecuador in the last 35 years that "Si, se puede" is indeed more appropriate than "No hay," I am delighted for that country and its inhabitants.

Stephen Muller
FSO, retired
Troy, N.Y.

Rebalancing Pay

The Secretary of State should suggest to the appropriate parties that all U.S. government personnel serving overseas receive the "rest of U.S." locality pay rate — currently 14.16 percent. While this would be a salary cut for everyone serving overseas (approximately 2.3 percent for non-Senior Foreign Service personnel and roughly 10 percent for all others), it would be a fair change that would put all civilians serving overseas on an equal footing.

Many will argue we should not willingly give up any compensation. But we need to consider that in return, we will gain an equitable system and millions of dollars in savings — some of which could be used to address compensation shortfalls affecting our local staff members, many of whom risk their lives for our country and receive precious little in return.

Concurrently, I suggest that the U.S. government make Thrift Savings Plan contributions for personnel serving overseas based on the Washington, D.C., rate — similar to the scheme used to assure retirement annuities are based upon virtual locality pay. This slight increase in compensation would ease the impact of the reduction advocated above.

It would also right the wrong that is presently being done to all non-Senior Foreign Service personnel serving overseas. Over the course of a typical FS career, this currently translates into a reduction in deposits to an employee's TSP exceeding $10,000.

For far too long, our Senior Foreign Service leadership have accepted the pay-scale change that gave them the equivalent of Washington, D.C., locality pay regardless of where they serve, but have done an ineffective job of advocating that lower-graded staff receive the same compensation. I acknowledge that many people have worked very hard on this issue, and my statement is not meant to diminish those efforts. But the fact remains that they have fallen short.

Like many former military personnel, I was always taught that you take care of the troops first. So what a principled Senior Foreign Service leader-

ship would have done is reject the raise when it was only for them, and work to win it for all Foreign Service personnel.

Yes, the lower-graded folks have now received two-thirds of that increase in pay. But it is still unacceptable that the leadership receives the full amount while non-SFS personnel do not. Likewise, it is unjust that colleagues from other agencies, alongside whom we all serve, receive the full Washington, D.C., locality pay while non-Senior Foreign Service staff do not.

I've been with State for more than 15 years now and, to tell the truth, never felt like we deserved Washington, D.C., locality pay while serving overseas. (I have never served in Washington, and never received locality pay there.) After all, we're not in Washington and we do have our housing costs paid.

And while I disliked the fact that overseas employees of other federal agencies have been receiving locality pay for years now, I always felt appropriately compensated for my work — right up until the moment our senior officers took the increase for themselves, leaving the rest of us behind. Since then, I've lost a tremendous amount of respect for those who lead us.

As Under Secretary for Management Patrick Kennedy noted in an April 15 department notice on this topic, this is an issue of equity. So it is time for Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton to insist on an equitable solution.

In this fiscal climate it is virtually certain that Congress would support the approach I've proposed above. I hope it receives serious attention and AFSA supports it.

Thomas Schmitz
Financial Management Officer
Embassy Quito

An Annuity for Non-Working FS Spouses

The May *Journal* documented the economic sacrifices made by non-working spouses at overseas missions. However, this problem actually extends into retirement, because the employed FS member has no option other than to accept the "Reduced Annuity with Survivor Benefit" for his or her non-working spouse. That election instantly reduces the couple's retirement income by about 10 percent (as well as decreasing future cost-of-living increments).

Meanwhile, the spouses and partners of colleagues at other federal agencies who have spent all or most of their careers in the United States have had the opportunity to be employed, publicly or privately, and to qualify for separate retirement benefits. So when the government-employed spouse files for retirement, he or she has the option to reject a survivor benefit reduction, given their other retirement income.

This holds even more true for my tandem-employed Foreign Service compatriots, both because each spouse has earned a well-deserved retirement annuity in his or her own right, and because both partners would most likely elect a full annuity. This would result in about a 20-percent cost avoidance in their total combined annuities (as well as the additional compounding of future cost-of-living increases).

In the interest of equity, and to recognize the sacrifices of non-working Foreign Service spouses, I recommend that Section 806(b) of the 1980 Foreign Service Act (as amended), be further amended. The wording could be relatively simple to grant the survivor benefit, but waive the reduction of the annuity for any federal government employee whose non-employed spouse has accompanied him or her on official U.S. government travel orders on foreign tours of duty totaling 10 or more years. "Non-employed" could be defined as a spouse who does not qualify for a Foreign or Civil Service annuity.

Foreign Service tandem couples on retirement also qualify for federal employee health benefits as two individuals, each paying from their own annuity — whereas a single-income annuitant couple pays at the "family" rate, about one-third more. It would be another small but appreciated step if a non-working spouse who met the "10-year overseas rule" (envisioned above) would qualify the couple for a new FEHB "self-plus-one" rate.

These two relatively low-cost adjustments would bring official and tangible fiscal recognition to the non-salaried member of the team, who faithfully supported government policies and objectives throughout a demanding Foreign Service career at U.S. diplomatic missions.

Paul J. Steere
USIA Foreign Service Specialist, retired
Kenmore, Wash.

Stick to the Issues

I've generally found the *FSJ* interesting and informative on many of the key issues facing the Foreign Service. But AFSA State Vice President Daniel Hirsch's column in the April edition of *AFSA News*, "Good Supervision Leads to a Good EER Season," was a glaring exception.

I'm not denigrating the subject itself, but would simply suggest that discussions of employee evaluation reports are best left to State's management and human resources types. AFSA's useful role is at a more general

level (e.g., negotiating promotion precepts and ensuring general fairness of the promotion process).

We look to the *Journal* to be our conduit into the important issues of the day affecting the Foreign Service. There are a host of those at the moment including the budget, the Defense Department's takeover of foreign affairs, and the continuing expenditure of treasure and careers on the Iraq and Afghanistan "expeditions." The State VP should find plenty of material in those kinds of themes for his monthly column. There's no need to provide a lecture on EERs and Supervision 101.

Joseph Schreiber
FSO, retired
La Guacima de
Alajuela, Costa Rica

Thank You, Ted

I read with great interest Ted Wilkinson's article in the March *Journal*, "Toward a More Perfect Union." It was well done! It is but another example of all the hard work he has done for AFSA, both as chairman of the Foreign Service Journal Editorial Board and in many other capacities.

Peter Lord
FSO, retired
Richmond, Va. ■

Send your letter to the editor to journal@afsa.org.

CYBERNOTES

Honoring Public Diplomacy Practitioners

Public diplomacy, when done right, combines leadership, imagination, resourcefulness and plain determination, often under challenging conditions. The Public Diplomacy Alumni Association (formerly the USIA Alumni Association) recognizes outstanding achievement by individuals and teams, both at overseas posts and at State Department headquarters, who display these qualities.

This year's awardees were honored at PDAA's 2011 annual dinner (the 14th such celebration) on May 15 in Arlington, Va. They are:

Christopher Teal, the public affairs officer and deputy consul general at Consulate General Guadalajara, was hailed for his "dedication, vision and leadership in creating 'Cobertura Segura' (Secure Coverage) to train and support Mexican journalists in a high-risk reporting environment."

In 2010 alone, at least 12 newspeople were killed in Mexico. Recognizing that, out of fear, Mexican media were underreporting on drug cartels and thus failing to inform the public of the threats to Mexico's security, Teal developed a pioneering program to help protect the lives of journalists and, in turn, to better inform the Mexican people.

Teal worked with the University of Guadalajara and nongovernmental organizations to develop online programs to train journalists in developing sources, covering dangerous stories and getting them out to an audience while maintaining their own security. He worked with participating reporters to create their own network of print, online, bloggers, radio and TV broadcast journalists, and an electronic "guidebook" that has become an important tool throughout the hemisphere. Teal also secured funding and support from other government agencies and NGOs to expand the program and to refine the material.

Joann Lockard, the public affairs officer in Kampala, was saluted for her "leadership and creativity in designing and implementing an interagency public affairs effort that improved the lives of Ugandans across sectors and increased awareness of and receptivity to the U.S." Recognizing the need for coordinated, innovative and collaborative public diplomacy, she developed a plan, assembled a team and introduced new technologies to realize her vision of "One Mission, One Voice."

Lockard's "Uganda Model" was a multiagency effort consisting of an array of programs to reach youth, women, and Muslim communities, and

As I said to Prime Minister Netanyahu, I believe that the current situation in the Middle East does not allow for procrastination. I also believe that real friends talk openly and honestly with one another.

So I want to share with you some of what I said to the prime minister. Here are the facts we all must confront. First, the number of Palestinians living west of the Jordan River is growing rapidly and fundamentally reshaping the demographic realities of both Israel and the Palestinian Territories. This will make it harder and harder, without a peace deal, to maintain Israel as both a Jewish state and a democratic state.

Second, technology will make it harder for Israel to defend itself in the absence of a genuine peace. Third, a new generation of Arabs is reshaping the region. A just and lasting peace can no longer be forged with one or two Arab leaders. Going forward, millions of Arab citizens have to see that peace is possible for that peace to be sustained.

— President Barack Obama, addressing the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (*www.aipac.org*) in Washington, D.C., May 22.

to develop their technological savvy and journalistic, political and entrepreneurial skills. She brought young people from the poorest parts of the country to programs in the capital and arranged scholarships for poor but talented students to attend top U. S. universities like the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Amherst College. She reached into all sectors, including the homosexual community, with programming on HIV/AIDS awareness, journalistic standards and human rights.

Albina Burashnikova, Nina Afanasyeva and **Arzigul Kochkarova** were cited "for their commitment, creativity and courage in managing American Corners in Mary, Turkmenabat and Dashoguz, Turkmenistan, respectively, and for connecting America to tens of thousands of Turkmeni people."

As facility and program managers, they are the face of America in their communities, advising and assisting students to study in the U.S.; providing English, Internet and leadership training; managing rich libraries of American books and movies; and organizing events on American culture and history.

That they do so in one of the most restrictive societies in the world testifies to their courage, energy and imagination. The three have had a direct, measurable effect on the lives of many, empowering a new generation of Turkmeni youth.

Joseph Zilligen and **Carla Benini**, PD desk officers in the Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs, were honored "for their uncommon commitment to duty and their intelligent, steadfast and creative approaches to building broad and strong relationships with Afghanistan and Pakistan."

As the Washington leads for State Department public diplomacy programs in Pakistan and Afghanistan, respectively, Zilligen and Benini were an integral part of the effort to secure a tenfold increase in funding for the two countries. They also ensured that the additional resources were used to achieve key PD objectives, including increasing media engagement, building communications capacity, strengthening people-to-people ties and combating extremist voices.

Their efforts created text messaging platforms where none had existed; brought television and radio reach to at-risk populations in Kandahar and both sides of the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan; and helped improve Afghan and Pakistani outreach to audiences in Europe and the U.S.

Mr. Zilligen was recognized for his exceptional support for the public affairs section in Islamabad during a period of unprecedented growth in resources and programming; for managing the U.S.-Pakistan Strategic Dialogue Communications Working Group; and for his diligent support for Pakistani exchangees in the United States.

Ms. Benini was honored for her coordination of a pioneer SMS project; for advocating and supporting more European programming on Afghanistan; and for exemplary work on a tour for Afghan journalists.

For more information about the awards and the work of the Public Diplomacy Alumni Association, visit the organization's Web site (**www.publicdiplomacy.org**).

— Steven Alan Honley, Editor

The Impact of Social Media

Recent events in Egypt and Tunisia intensified the debate among foreign policy analysts, communications experts and sociologists on the opportunities — and limitations — of social media to effect political change. In the

April edition of Cybernotes, we examined the impact of social media on the revolutions in Egypt and Tunisia. This month we'll focus on the ability of these tools to help advance democratic change in the long term.

In October 2010, sociologist Malcolm Gladwell sparked the debate with a piece in *The New Yorker* titled "Small Change." According to Gladwell, social media cannot be decisive factors because they fail to promote the strong interpersonal ties that sustain high-risk activism. Rather, they create weak ties among large communities that are inadequate for overcoming the fears that revolutionary groups must confront.

Gladwell maintains that the decentralized networks created online constitute inadequate structures for revolutionary groups. To support this claim, Gladwell cites Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni and Calvert Jones's fall 2008 essay in *International Security*, "Assessing the Dangers of Illicit Networks: Why al-Qaida May Be Less Dangerous Than Many Think." Sangiovanni and Jones argue that decentralized networks are problematic structures for illicit groups — and can present new organizational dilemmas that threaten both group cohesion and the ability to act collectively.

However, other observers and policymakers foresee great possibilities for social media. The State Department has supported Internet freedom with more than $20 million over the past

Site of the Month: www.project-syndicate.org

Project Syndicate describes itself as a "unique collaboration of distinguished opinion makers from every corner of the globe." It is both a nonprofit newspaper syndicate and an association of 459 newspapers from 150 countries, based in Prague. Contributions from the Open Society Institute and the syndicate's member papers in developed countries support the organization, which provides opinion editorials free of charge to newspapers in less-developed countries, where journalistic resources may be in short supply.

The syndicate collects original opinion editorials for these newspapers, on topics ranging from philosophy and science to international economics and foreign affairs — and publishes them online. This makes its Web site a unique resource for fresh perspectives and incisive expert analyses.

It has an impressive list of contributors, including Ban Ki-Moon, Jimmy Carter, Mikhail Gorbachev and Joseph S. Nye. Recent contributors include Council on Foreign Relations President Richard Haass, who wrote a Feb. 13 op-ed titled "Reflections on the Revolution in Egypt," and Christopher Patten, the current chancellor of Oxford University, who addressed the topic of "Turkey and the Future of NATO" on March 31.

Recent op-eds in its Special Series section include a Dec. 16, 2010, piece by former British Prime Minister Tony Blair titled "Faith in a Globalized Age," and a March 13 commentary by U.S. Ambassador Christopher Hill titled "Obama of Arabia?" Because of its broad scope and membership, *Project Syndicate* translates most of its editorials into eight languages: English, French, Czech, Spanish, Russian, Arabic, German and Chinese.

The site also has Twitter and Facebook accounts, and produces Podcasts with commentary from its contributors and an iPhone application.

— Danielle Derbes, Editorial Intern

three years and has pledged another $25 million for 2011.

In a rebuttal to Gladwell, New York University New Media Professor Clay Shirky wrote an article titled "The Political Power of Social Media" for the January-February edition of *Foreign Affairs* hailing the force of social media. He urges State to shift its focus away from anti-censorship software, and toward promoting the Internet as an accessible gathering place and forum for participation.

Shirky sees great potential for social media to strengthen civil society and the public sphere. By increasing communicative freedom, social media strengthen political freedom. Moreover, they feed what media theorist Mark Briggs termed "the conservative dilemma." As new forms of media emerge and reveal gaps between the regime's view of events and those of the public, authoritarian governments must engage in a game of Whack-a-Mole, generating propaganda and censorship campaigns to counteract competing narratives.

Social media also provide outside observers with opportunities to better understand public opinion and to view events through the eyes of the local population. Where they are widely used, social media act as a barometer for public attitudes. This accelerates the speed at which policymakers, reformers and observers can gather information, and reduces the costs and risks they incur in doing so.

Another thread of the debate surrounds the question of who will benefit more from social media: democratic reformers or the governments that seek to suppress them. In his op-ed "Reflections on a Revolution in Egypt," Council on Foreign Relations President Richard Haass concludes that "social media are not decisive: they can be repressed by governments, as well as employed by governments to motivate their supporters."

During her Feb. 15 speech on Internet freedom, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton commented that the 2009 protests in Iran and the 2011 protests in Egypt both represent the power of the Internet as "an accelerant of political, social and economic change and … as a means to stifle or extinguish that change."

However, Clinton added that this thread of the debate is "largely beside the point" — because the value of the Internet derives from the various activities its users pursue within it. The objective, therefore, is to secure basic rights and freedoms online, so that social media can fulfill their potential to form a global public space.

Whether social media fall to meet Gladwell's expectations or rise to meet Shirky's remains to be seen. Egypt, where 15-20 percent of the population has Internet access, is one of the better-connected countries in the region. With such a small proportion of the Middle East and North Africa online, it is too early to judge social media's potential to bring about change in the region.

— Danielle Derbes, Editorial Intern

Video Review: Public Diplomacy

A re-released video production, "Public Diplomacy" (The Public Diplomacy Council, 2011, 102 minutes), serves both as a primer on the substance of public diplomacy and a time capsule on this foreign affairs function as practiced by the U.S. Information Agency until the end of the last century.

50 Years Ago…

My reaction to your most stimulating and provocative editorial, "Daring and Dissent," is that it is excellent as far as it goes — but unfortunately, it doesn't go far enough.

For having the daring to dissent, I was once described in a performance evaluation as "intellectually arrogant." Again, in another instance a report on the economic excesses of a certain dictator was forwarded by an unusually fair chief of mission, under a transmittal indicating strong disapproval. It was subsequently graded Excellent.

I have seen excellent dispatches and reports mercilessly slashed with an editorial pencil and even relegated to the "round file" because they were at odds with a superior's judgment, critical of the foreign government, or because they might adversely reflect upon a superior's handling of a policy matter or situation.

Should not provision be made, or at least the convenience studied, of having posts submit dissenting reports under a covering comment and evaluation by the superior? Only thus will the policymakers here in Washington have the necessary facts and interpretations (which most frequently differ) upon which to base their decisions.

— 'J.B.', "Daring and Dissent" (letter to the editor), *FSJ,* August 1961.

Originally produced in 1996 by the USIA Alumni Association, it was a program aimed at making the case, in a post–Cold War world, that the practice of public diplomacy has validity in the future.

The program is divided into two parts. The first, "Telling America's Story," gives historical background on USIA and describes its premises and tools, distinguishing how public diplomacy differs from traditional diplomacy. Part II, "The Road Ahead," documents the ways in which USIA looked to the future to define new audiences and adapt new technologies, such as then-novel interactive TV programs and Internet adaptations.

The Public Diplomacy Council, which promotes understanding and support for public diplomacy, has now reissued this original material as an information tool, principally for educational and international affairs institutions. It has bookended the original material with comments from two senior PD practioners: Robert Chatten, once deputy director of the Voice of America, and Linda Jewell, who ended her Foreign Service career as ambassador to Ecuador.

The two do not shy away from criticizing what has happened to the public diplomacy function in the 12 years since USIA was absorbed by the Department of State. Chatten cites the enormous cuts in personnel, especially overseas, while Jewell laments the reduced impact of PD disarmament in the last decade.

"Public Diplomacy" was produced by Global Village Communications with the help of the Public Diplomacy Council. Copies for personal or classroom use can be ordered from the Council at **www.publicdiplomacycouncil.org,** where the video can also be viewed or downloaded. ■

— Michael Canning, USIA FSO, retired

SPEAKING OUT

Needed: A Professional Specialization in International Organization Affairs

BY EDWARD MARKS

Ambassador Glyn T. Davies' article in the December issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*, "Wanted: Experienced Officers to Address Global Challenges," persuasively explains the importance of multilateral diplomacy and the value to Foreign Service generalists of assignments to international organizations and agencies.

I hope that many readers will take his advice to heart and bid on such postings. Still, his call verges on treating such assignments as one-time postings — a 21st-century version of the old "take an excursion tour to see what the rest of the world looks like" approach.

As such, it falls well short of what American career diplomats, the Foreign Service and the State Department must do to enhance our effectiveness in multilateral diplomacy, in general, and our performance at international organizations, in particular.

Instead, the Foreign Service should be striving to establish a comprehensive, professional approach to the discipline of multilateral diplomacy.

Toward that end, what is needed is not merely a single tour for some officers, but a career concentration for a significant number of FSOs. In other words, the Service needs to craft a professional career "area" specialization.

It is true that much diplomatic expertise translates from post to post, and multilateral assignments are no different from bilateral ones in that regard. And it is also true that no matter what kind of work they are doing, good officers become knowledgeable well before the end of the tour (especially if it lasts three years or longer).

International organization expertise would be an additional specialization — a sort of overlay to the officer's main career track.

Acquiring Multilateral Expertise

Nevertheless, one-off tours simply do not provide the concerned officer, nor the U.S. government, with real expertise. No matter how skillful the individual becomes, a good deal of that experience is lost, or filed away, simply because the officer only rarely gets an opportunity to use it in future assignments. For this reason, the Foreign Service has created both geographic and functional specializations, and provided appropriate training, education and assignment patterns for each.

The one-tour limitation is particularly characteristic of multilateral assignments, where second tours are rare and where much of the experience acquired does not translate well to bilateral work. Certainly, at any one time a good number of our multilateral mission staff should be "one-timers," as is true in bilateral missions. But at the same time, there should be a core of experienced officers with "local" background and professional memory.

One comforting aspect of this suggestion is that it does not require any fundamental change in the current system of five career tracks. These tracks (or "cones" if you wish) — consular, economic, management, political and public diplomacy — all represent professional perspectives in play at international organizations. Every international organization deals with those subjects daily, so country representatives require expertise in all of these subjects. For instance, there are many opportunities for management track officers to represent the United States on various United Nations budget, management and reform committees.

But officers also require the "area expertise" of the specific organization as a sort of overlay to the track specialization. For that reason, I would not recommend creating a sixth career

track for multilateral diplomacy.

How to manage this in career patterns, assignments and training I will leave to the folks in personnel management. Most, if not all, Foreign Service generalists can lay claim to more than one specialty, generally a combination of area and functional expertise (e.g., economic officers with hard-language training and Latin America service).

There is no reason why similar assignment patterns cannot be arranged for extensive international organization service and training. Such expertise can be achieved fairly easily, if we wish.

The most important change would be to provide the possibility of multiple tours to selected and interested officers, beginning at a fairly junior level.

The first tour should be followed at some point not long after with another assignment to a multilateral institution — and then, if the officer's career is sufficiently successful, a senior appointment in due course. Along the way, appropriate academic study could be provided, as is done for other professional specialties.

These assignments could be interspersed with assignments in the Bureau of International Organization Affairs, of course, as well as appropriate training or education, either at the Foreign Service Institute or in graduate-level coursework at a university. Also desirable would be relevant assignments to other departments or agencies, such as the Treasury Department or the U.S. Agency for International Development.

Playing Catch-Up

There is nothing very radical about this proposal. Many countries already offer their diplomatic professionals the chance to acquire a multilateral specialty, whether formally or informally. Those of us who have served in U.S. missions to international organizations have long noted, somewhat ruefully, the "local" expertise of many of our counterparts. We usually have to play catch-up, learning on the run about the organization in question and the history of any specific subject on its agenda.

Postings at multilateral organizations could be interspersed with assignments to the Bureau of International Organization Affairs or other agencies.

Just like countries, international organizations have their own local cultures; understanding them makes life easier and success more likely. Precedent and local history are extremely important in international organizations because so many of the matters under consideration have very long lives; in fact, one is tempted to say, eternal ones!

Furthermore, as we all know, the operating procedures in international organizations are complicated, if not esoteric. It therefore behooves us all the more to become conversant with them. After all, we respect, and operate within, local custom everywhere we are assigned. Why not do so with international organizations, as well?

It is also useful to note that for the diplomatic corps of many countries, an assignment to an international organization — particularly United Nations headquarters in New York City — is extremely sought after. Because such postings are considered assignments for high-flyers, experience with international organizations is common among senior officials of many countries.

This is especially true for middle-sized and smaller countries. Because they tend to have fewer overseas missions, the opportunities to pursue their national interests offered by international organizations are seen as extremely valuable. One result of this perspective is the generally high quality of foreign diplomats posted to places like the U.S. Mission to the United Nations in New York.

Fringe Benefits

This aspect of international organizations creates another potential opportunity for American diplomats. The country representatives based at the headquarters of any international organization, especially those in New York, Geneva or Vienna, constitute unique conglomerations of professional diplomats. They are, in essence, the equivalent of the diplomatic corps in a national capital — but they operate without the distraction of dealing with a host government.

The milieu of multilateral agencies inherently requires extensive interaction with colleagues. Representatives at all levels spend enormous amounts of time with each other: in formal and informal meetings, in the fabled corridors and, particularly when the organization is in session, in almost endless, work-related social activities.

A national representative to a major international organization therefore gets to know many of his or her counterparts from other countries quite well. At the end of the assignment, an American representative leaves with

contacts from all over the world. After such a tour, there would be few capitals anywhere in the world without a local contact for the working diplomat.

For all their faults, international organizations in general, and the United Nations in particular, remain important elements of the global community. While international affairs is no longer purely a game for nation-states, they continue to be major players and international organizations constitute important arenas for their interaction.

In addition, numerous non-state actors are turning to the international fora as platforms for action. We don't have to exaggerate their importance to accept their value.

Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton recently declared, "In this first part of the 21st century, we increasingly are focused on networks, on multilateral relationships and organizations." If she is right, and I think most of us would agree she is, then we ought to manage our participation in such fora seriously and professionally, and send experienced personnel to do the job. ■

Many other countries already offer their diplomatic professionals the chance to acquire a multilateral specialty, whether formally or informally.

Edward Marks spent 40 years in the Foreign Service, including an assignment as ambassador to Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. After retiring from the Service in 1995, Ambassador Marks did consulting work with the United Nations, private companies and the Department of Defense, and continues as a senior mentor at various military institutions. He is a member of the American Diplomacy board and a Distinguished Senior Fellow at George Mason University.

What If I Disagree?

Our nation has benefited greatly from the institutionalization of dissent in the culture of the Foreign Service.

By Thomas D. Boyatt

Sporadically, the media become enthused by a "whistleblower" or an act of "telling truth to power." Usually such interest is ex post facto. For example, a career employee of the Securities and Exchange Commission warned of Bernard Madoff's Ponzi scheme years before it collapsed in 2009 — in time to save investors billions of dollars. But he was ignored until the damage became public. The lesson is that to be effective within bureaucracies, dissent must be institutionalized.

Ambassador Boyatt testifies on Capitol Hill in 2007.

In the U.S. federal government (and probably in the world) such institutionalization exists in only one place — the U.S. Department of State. For more than 40 years, whistleblowers and those prepared to speak truth to power have been protected and respected there. Such support exists equally within the formal bureaucratic system and within the informal — some would say more powerful — system in which professional reputation is paramount.

In the State Department itself, the combination of turmoil over the Vietnam War and the advent of white-collar unions in the early 1970s led to the establishment of an official mechanism for disagreement called the "Dissent Channel." Procedures were promulgated in the Foreign Affairs Manual, State's regulatory compendium, enabling any Foreign Service employee to write a dissent message addressed to the Secretary of State and sent through the

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Thomas D. Boyatt, an FSO from 1959 until 1985, served as ambassador to Colombia and to Upper Volta (now Burkino Faso) and chargé d'affaires in Chile, among many other postings. Currently the treasurer of AFSA's political action committee, AFSA-PAC, he has in the past been AFSA's president, vice president and treasurer, as well as serving as a retiree representative on the Governing Board.

He is currently president of the Foreign Affairs Council, chairs the Academy of American Diplomacy's "Foreign Affairs Budget for the Future" project, and continues to lecture, teach and consult. Ambassador Boyatt received AFSA awards for dissent two times: the William R. Rivkin Award in 1970 while serving in Nicosia, and the Christian A. Herter Award in 1977 while serving as country director for Cyprus. In 2008, he received the Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy Award from AFSA.

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Secretary's policy planning staff. Such messages cannot be stopped or altered by supervisors at any level, ambassadorial or otherwise. The director of policy planning is required to provide a substantive response within 30 to 60 days.

There is always the possibility, however remote, that superior officers — like parents — may be right from time to time.

Formal and Informal Structures

The Dissent Channel has been used to ventilate differing views on sensitive policy challenges — from Vietnam, the Middle East and Cyprus in earlier times, to Bosnia, Iraq and Afghanistan more recently. Some of the hundreds of dissent messages sent over the decades have led, immediately or eventually, to policy changes.

Perhaps most important, the dissent process has influenced the quotidian policy debate. Senior officers are more tolerant of differing views, more willing to discuss and debate rather than issue dicta. The permanent policy discussion is more open and vibrant because of the existence of the Dissent Channel.

Outside the official State/Foreign Service structure, the informal system has strongly supported those with dissenting views for even longer. In 1969 the American Foreign Service Association joined with the family of the recently deceased Ambassador William Rivkin to create the annual Rivkin Award. This award recognizes officers working constructively within the system to change policy and performance for the better. An independent panel of judges makes the award, which includes public recognition at a reception in the State Department's elegant Benjamin Franklin Room and a cash stipend.

Since 1969, the Rivkin Award (for mid-level officers) has been joined by the Harriman (for junior officers), Herter (for senior officers) and Tex Harris (for specialists) awards. In a culture where peer regard is very highly prized, the AFSA awards for constructive dissent bestow extraordinary distinction. Moreover, most awardees have gone on to enter the Senior Foreign Service and to account for a much higher percentage of ambassadors than the Service as a whole.

A Unique Process

In addition to the informal and official dissent structures, the unique aspects of the foreign policy process are also significant. First, policymaking is in a constant state of becoming; the struggle continues 24/7. It is never settled.

From a micro perspective, U.S. ambassadors make representations virtually every day to the 190 countries and institutions with which we have diplomatic relations. The reactions to these démarches, duly reported, change the status quo and provide opportunities to discuss, consider and, perhaps, change American policy.

From the macro perspective, every presidential or congressional election; every senior leadership change; major international events; and a host of other factors constantly bombard the policy process. The foreign policy debate is unending.

Second, upon entering the Foreign Service and after each promotion, FSOs swear to "uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic." We do not swear allegiance to a president or an administration. At least implicit in this oath is the requirement to "tell it like it is" and to give our best policy advice.

Finally, it is important to understand that dissent is part of a continuum that begins with advocacy. The most effective way to influence the permanent policy process is to convince superiors of the validity and utility of your views. Being right with some consistency helps. Being wrong is also an option.

A certain humility on the part of policy advocates (and thus potential dissenters) is useful, as well. There is always the possibility, however remote, that superior officers — like parents — may be right from time to time.

The Prime Directive

Official and informal dissent structures and the unique aspects of the foreign policy process provide background and context. Important questions of when and how to dissent remain. Certainly, formal dissent is not to be undertaken lightly. The key element is that you must believe the national interest is threatened.

This assertion leads to the prime directive. Dissent is about the national interest, not individual world views. You may object to the "war in ____" (fill in the blank). But if

you are not an expert in the country or region and/or you do not have some level of responsibility for policies there, leave the dissenting to others. On the other hand, if you have the bona fides and your advocacy has not been successful, then you should consider formal dissent.

If you choose that option, keep the following points in mind:

• Articulate the case for change succinctly and precisely.

• Record your years (hopefully) of experience in the country or area and your current responsibilities in the matter. Your immediate supervisors will know of your experience and authority; others may not.

• Have a plan for success (your dissent becomes policy) and for failure (your dissent is dismissed). If the former, have the next steps outlined in detail and ready to table. If the latter, know how you will proceed — simply go back to work and live to fight another day; seek a transfer; or submit your resignation and go public.

The most effective way to influence the permanent policy process is to convince superiors of the validity and utility of your views.

Many, if not most, Foreign Service officers will never face the hard choices of formal dissent. Rather, the vast majority of them will have an impact on policy through advocacy.

Those who do choose formal dissent are too valuable to lose, in my view. Accordingly, I am not a strong supporter of resignation, even though I understand that occasionally it will be the only way. From the perspective of 50 years of involvement, I would argue that particular foreign policies are not as critical with the passage of time as they seem to be in the heat of the moment.

Still, dissent has become institutionalized in the culture of the State Department and the Foreign Service, and the nation has greatly benefited thereby. ■

Dissent in the Kissinger Era

State's Dissent Channel is a unique government institution. Here is a look at its origins and early history.

By Hannah Gurman

Richard Milhous Nixon offered himself to the American people in 1968 as the candidate who would conclude the Vietnam War not only with "peace and honor" for America, but also with candor and honesty toward the American people. In accepting the Republican Party's nomination, Nixon declared: "Let us begin by committing ourselves to the truth, to see it like it is and tell it like it is, to speak the truth and to live the truth." In contrast to Lyndon Johnson, who had gained a reputation for trying to suppress dissent, Nixon vowed to "bring dissenters into policy discussions."

By the time Nixon assumed office in 1969, those who had chosen to remain in government service despite their opposition to the Vietnam policy began to speak out. When the president announced his decision to invade Cambodia in April 1970, 20 Foreign Service officers sent a letter to Secretary of State William Rogers condemning the invasion. It was the largest collective protest in the department to date. The outspokenness of the signatories contrasted sharply with the passivity of previous generations at State, who had effectively gone into hibernation in response to the attacks of Senator Joseph McCarthy, R-Wis., and his allies.

John Marks, one of those who resigned in opposition to the war, gave a name to the emergence of a new type of "skeptical diplomat" who distrusted the State Department "as an institution." In a play on Nixon's failed policy in the war, he called it the "Vietnamization of the Foreign Service."

It was in this, the worst crisis of legitimacy in the history of American foreign relations — in which diplomats, as well as the public, had come to distrust the foreign policy establishment — that the State Department created its official "Dissent Channel." Established in 1971, the Dissent Channel allowed Foreign Service officers to send their disagreements with the policy status quo directly to the Secretary of State, who would then have the responsibility of reading it, considering its merits, and responding with a substantive message of his or her own.

This organizational mechanism reflects the degree to which diplomatic writing had become bureaucratized since the establishment of the modern State Department

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in the early 20th century. It stands out not only as an elaborate and formal bureaucratic mechanism, but also as a form of public relations, through which the Nixon and successive administrations have tried to enhance their image as embracers of dissent. In institutionalizing dissent and marketing the institutional mechanism to the public, the State Department became, as one commentator has noted, "unique as a historical entity and government bureaucracy."

When President Nixon announced his decision to invade Cambodia in April 1970, 20 FSOs sent a letter to Secretary of State William Rogers condemning the invasion.

In the 40 years of its existence, the Dissent Channel has done little to affect U.S. foreign policy. Case closed. Or maybe not. That very failure reflects the channel's success at quelling internal dissent in a way that the public could actually support. The Dissent Channel thus deserves attention as a neglected, but illuminating element of the politics of secrecy and the public's fight for transparency in the Nixon administration — a fight that continues today.

The First Dissent Channel Telegram

As president, Richard Nixon frequently claimed that he would do what was best for the country, regardless of how it might affect his reputation. Contrary to what he said, however, Nixon cared greatly about his public image. Intent on enhancing its reputation, the Nixon administration distorted the Dissent Channel, presenting it to the public as a tool that would increase the influence of rank-and-file diplomats on foreign policy. Touting the importance of internal dissent to a group of reporters, Under Secretary of State for

The Dissent Channel

The State Department's official mechanism for policy dissent, the Dissent Channel was created in 1971 when, under the direction of Secretary of State William Rogers and Under Secretary of State for Management William Macomber, the department revised the Foreign Affairs Manual to give FSOs the explicit freedom to dissent (2 FAM 070).

The director of the Policy Planning Staff manages the Dissent Channel. Consistent with its mandate to stimulate innovation and creativity in the department, this unique process allows the policy planning director to bring constructive, dissenting or alternative views on substantive foreign policy issues to the Secretary of State and senior department officials.

In the first three decades of its existence, the Dissent Channel received more than 250 messages, ranging from a high of 30 in 1977 to a low of two in 2000. Of the first 200 messages from 1971 to 1991, about 50 addressed general topics such as housing allowance policy. Some of the policy-related messages may have received senior-level consideration. At its peak, during the Carter administration, the channel logged almost as many dissent messages (75) in four years as the Reagan and Bush administrations did in 12 (84).

Recent Dissent Channel Usage

1994	9
1995	6
1996	6
1997	9
1998	8
1999	5
2000	2
2001	11
2002	1
2003	7
2004	6
2005	6
2006	4
2007	4
2008	1
2009	7
2010	14

During the 1990s, annual totals of contributions averaged in the single digits. In April 1998 the department revised the FAM to specify that the channel is to address only "substantive foreign policy matters." It also tightened the security for Dissent Channel messages, noting proscriptions against, and penalties for, interference with use of the channel.

Although there was a blip of increased use in the channel in 2001 to 11, an official monitoring the channel noted that a number of the 2001 messages did not accord with the FAM regulations.

During the last decade, dissent messages dwindled to one in 2008 before rising again in the last two years.

— Susan Maitra, Senior Editor

Management William Macomber proclaimed, "We want to get it to those people in positions of authority who can do something about it."

The very first telegram submitted through the Dissent Channel in April 1971 illustrates just how misleading this claim actually was. In December 1970, East Pakistan, whose population was majority Bengali — a group that had historically been treated as second-class citizens by the ruling elite of West Pakistan — voted overwhelmingly for representatives of the Awami League, which advocated for an autonomous East Pakistan.

Not surprisingly, the Dissent Channel did not change the president's position. But it did contribute to a growing concern about leaks.

Rather than accept the outcome, the leader of the military junta ruling Pakistan, General Yahya Kahn, cracked down, arresting the leaders of the Awami League and prompting mass protests in the streets. In response, Yahya unleashed the military on East Pakistan, initiating what was essentially a genocide against the Bengali people.

State Department employees specializing in South Asia had foreseen such a crisis and had urged the administration to take steps to prevent it. But when the Nixon administration chose not to act, Dacca consulate members were forced to wait in the shadows, as thousands were killed in death squads on the streets — 7,000 in a single night — and millions fled to India, creating one of the worst refugee crises in history.

Dismayed and frustrated, staff at the Dacca consulate sent a Dissent Channel message to Washington on April 6, 1971. The memo challenged the administration's decision not to publicly condemn the genocide being committed against the Bengalis by the Pakistani military: "Our government has failed to denounce the suppression of democracy. Our government has failed to denounce atrocities. … We, as professional public servants, express our dissent [from] current policy and fervently hope that our true and lasting interests can be defined and our policies redirected in order to salvage our nation's position as a moral leader of the free world."

Nixon had long harbored hostility toward the leaders of India and a striking warmth toward those of its enemy, Pakistan — a feeling that was only strengthened when Islamabad offered to play a role in aiding a renewal of U.S.-China relations. Nixon and National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger regarded Yahya not only as an ally, but also as their main connection to China. Convincing them to put pressure on Yahya would have been virtually impossible for a high-level adviser, let alone a rank-and-file diplomat expressing his views through a formal bureaucratic mechanism. When the White House first learned of the likelihood of violence on a massive scale, Kissinger had decisively directed against action of any sort. One week before the dissent cable was sent, Nixon wrote to Yahya, expressing his happiness that Yahya had been able to cement his role as leader of all Pakistan.

Not surprisingly, the Dissent Channel did not change the president's position. But it did contribute to a growing concern about leaks. This much is clear from the response of Secretary of State Rogers to the cable. Upon receiving the message, Rogers called Kissinger. The telegram was, he said, "miserable," "terrible" and "inexcusable." It was bad enough that they "had bitched about our policies," but the real problem was that they had given it lots of distribution, so "it will probably leak," he railed.

Kissinger agreed, and was particularly concerned that the memo would leak to Senator Ted Kennedy, D-Mass., a vocal opponent of the administration's South Asia policy. The head of the Dacca consulate, Archer Blood, was transferred to another post, as were many of his colleagues. Thereafter, Nixon and Kissinger cut themselves off completely from the South Asia experts in the State Department, whose voices were ignored when the situation escalated from humanitarian crisis to a full-blown war between Pakistan and India in 1971.

As its inaugural message demonstrates, the Dissent Channel reveals the limits not only of dissent in the diplomatic establishment, but also of bureaucratized diplomatic writing, which threatened to displace the more traditional forms. Many Foreign Service officers lamented the shift and were nostalgic for the days when political reporting had more weight and prominence in the department. "Since the more traditional skills of analysis and reporting were identified with the old elitist concept of the Foreign Service," lamented an old Ger-

man hand, "they were consciously downgraded in favor of the more modern approaches; i.e., management and various technical specialties."

Testing the Limits of Transparency

The Watergate scandal dominated the political scene from 1973 to Nixon's resignation in August 1974. Its shadow loomed over the Ford administration, putting the issue of accountability at the forefront of American foreign policy and presidential power, and revealing the absurdity of Nixon's claims to be a candid and honest president who wished to create an open White House in which dissenting views would be welcome. Watergate became the exemplum of the "imperial presidency" and abuse of executive privilege that former government officials, journalists and academics identified and denounced, thus shaping the historical legacy of the Nixon administration for decades to come.

As its inaugural message demonstrates, the Dissent Channel reveals the limits of dissent in the diplomatic establishment.

In the midst of this backlash against the imperial presidency, a public debate over a Dissent Channel message became the exception to the new earnestness in challenging the abuse of executive power. For what it reveals about the limits of post-Watergate reform, particularly in terms of transparency in foreign policy, the case is worth illuminating in some detail.

In 1975, the House Select Committee on Intelligence, also known as the Pike Committee (for its chair, Representative Otis Pike, D-N.Y.), began to investigate the process of gathering intelligence and making decisions in recent foreign affairs crises. As part of its inquiry, it subpoenaed an official dissent memo on U.S. foreign policy in Cyprus.

The memo had been written in August 1974 by Thomas Boyatt, who had served as chief of the Cyprus desk during the coup in which the Greek military junta had overthrown the Cypriot president. Before the coup, Boyatt had sent a series of messages through the regular cable channels, predicting that continued passive support for the rebels would result in an overthrow of the Cypriot government, giving Turkey an excuse to invade the island on behalf of the Turkish minority there.

Events played out according to his dire predictions. Months of war in the region resulted in the eventual partition of Cyprus between Turkish and Greek enclaves still in existence today.

In his Dissent Channel message, Boyatt argued that Washington could and should have done more to prevent the coup — specifically, by informing General Dimitrios Ioannides, the head of the Greek military junta and mastermind of the coup, that the United States did not support his plan and warning him that it would lead to serious hostilities between Greece and Turkey. Yet in line with the administration's passive attitude toward the Greek junta, the American ambassador in Athens, Henry Tasca, had resisted his subordinates' calls to this end.

After the coup, Boyatt argued, the U.S. could have done more to prevent the Turkish invasion, by putting pressure on Greece to remove Nikos Sampson, who had taken over in Cyprus. But again, following the policy of passivity endorsed in Washington, the American ambassador did no such thing, thus making Turkey's intervention inevitable. Boyatt critiqued the policy of partition, arguing that it did not solve the fundamental problem and warning that it was only a matter of time before the current instability erupted into renewed violence.

Loyalty to Subordinates

Experts on Cyprus generally agree that then National Security Adviser and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was willfully ignorant of the area's complex political dynamic. "He knew nothing about Cyprus and did not bother to inform himself," wrote George Ball, who had been critical in preventing such a disaster in the Johnson administration. Almost immediately after reading Boyatt's dissent memo, Kissinger had Boyatt removed from the Cyprus desk. In so doing, he sent Boyatt and other would-be dissenters a clear message about the consequences of voicing opposition to the administration's policies.

Yet, just as Macomber and others had originally presented the Dissent Channel to the public in a rather rosy light, so did Kissinger now present his relationship with internal dissenters in a way that masked his actual hostility toward them. In a letter to the Pike Committee, he

explained that he could not possibly comply with the request to give Boyatt's dissent to the committee, as doing so would breach the loyalty he owed his subordinates in the State Department.

"The 'Dissent Channel,' through which this memorandum was submitted," he wrote, "provides those officers with the Department of State who disagree with established policy, or who have new policies to recommend, a means of communicating their views to the highest levels of the department." If these officers are to "give their best," he explained, they "must enjoy a guarantee that their advice or criticism, candidly given, will remain privileged."

Kissinger continued: "There have been other times and other committees — and there may be again — where positions taken by Foreign Service officers were exposed to ex post facto public examination and recrimination. The results are too well known to need elaboration here."

But he elaborated them nonetheless: "gross injustice to loyal public servants, a sapping of the morale and the abilities of the Foreign Service; and serious damage to the ability of the department and the president to formulate and conduct the foreign affairs of the nation."

Invoking the Ghost of McCarthy

Kissinger was, of course, invoking the specter of McCarthyism, which had taken such a great toll on the State Department in the 1950s and whose scars had not yet fully healed. In accusing the diplomatic establishment of tilting U.S. foreign policy in the interest of world communism, McCarthy and others made a point of obtaining the policy papers of the rank-and-file, which they used as evidence of communist conspiracy.

In the months, years and decades following these attacks, the department vowed to protect the rank-and-file from future political assaults. Never again, its leaders promised, would outsiders be able to hold a Foreign Service officer responsible for his or her positions. In place of individual responsibility, in its dealings with Con-

gress and the press, the department would stress a sort of collective or organizational responsibility. This meant that individual Foreign Service officers were not to be held publicly accountable for the words they wrote as government servants. In effect, the department permanently removed the notion of individual authorship and in its place substituted a version of corporate authorship.

The Boyatt case sheds light on the limits of post-Watergate reform, particularly in terms of transparency in foreign policy.

The Secretary of State used the ghost of McCarthyism to advance his and the administration's own interests. Mobilizing the image of himself as benevolent protector of the Foreign Service against the threat of a McCarthyist renewal, Kissinger argued that he and other senior policymakers in the department, and not the rank-and-file, should be "held accountable" for the agency's foreign policy decisions.

To this end, the Secretary volunteered to testify before the committee. In lieu of handing over the memos submitted to him, he offered to prepare a "summary" of all the dissenting documents he had received (and rejected) in relation to the Cyprus crisis so that the names of the individual authors would remain confidential. No decent liberal, or any American for that matter, could take issue with the department's stance when framed in such terms.

Or could they? Congress had certainly witnessed these tactics before. It had only been two years since the scandal of Watergate had begun to rock the nation. In his grand effort to cover up the scandal, Nixon had instructed his subordinates to do everything they could to prevent the investigation from airing the administration's dirty laundry. The precise directive was to "stonewall." When Congress began to request tapes from the White House in the spring of 1973, stonewalling took the form of executive privilege.

Despite severe criticism of the Christmas bombing campaign in North Vietnam and the beginning of the Watergate investigation, Nixon's popularity peaked in early 1973, after the signing of the Paris Peace Accords. It was the legal battle between Nixon and Congress on the one hand, and Nixon and Watergate Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox on the other, that sparked the first dramatic decline of confidence in the president. After a series of decisions and appeals on behalf of the Justice Department, the case went to the Supreme Court, which in 1974 delivered a unanimous verdict against the White House. Executive privilege, while not without its merits, was not absolute.

Not So Fast

Yet in 1975 only Rep. Pike voiced concern over Kissinger's invocation of executive privilege. More than any other member of the committee, Pike saw a relationship between Kissinger's foreign policy authority and his power to control and contain the writing of his subordinates in the State Department.

When the Secretary testified before the committee on Oct. 31, 1974, the chairman questioned whether a summary could ever substitute for the original. "This Congress," Pike told Kissinger, "has been subject to alleged 'summaries' before. There is no such thing as a 'full summary.'" Even if the Secretary did not deliberately intend to distort the policy recommendations contained in Boyatt's memo, Pike declared, by summarizing it and the other documents, Kissinger would, by definition, alter them. Congress must follow the "best evidence rule," argued Pike. And "the best evidence of what Mr. Boyatt said is not your summary of it, or anybody else's summary of it. It is what Mr. Boyatt said."

In a compromise gesture, Kissinger offered to provide the committee with an "amalgamation" of the dissenting views on Cyprus. Unlike a summary, the amalgamated document would, he promised, contain "the full contents of Mr. Boyatt's memorandum to me." These words would be "interspersed among the other paragraphs and without any identification of authorship." But for Pike, it would not suffice to say that all the words of Boyatt's memo would be in the amalgamated document. By that measure, he pointed out, "The submission of a dictionary to the committee would be in compliance with the subpoena."

"What I am trying to find out," Pike explained to his peers, "is the form in which the words are going to be presented to us." The most fundamental problem with both a summary and an amalgamation, argued Pike, was the fact that it blurred perspective. "If we are not familiar with say, four or six documents, and all the paragraphs of four or six documents were interspersed and mixed up like some sort of magnificent jigsaw puzzle and there was no picture, how could we elicit from those mixed-up paragraphs what we are trying to get?"

In lumping together the telegrams and memos of several dissenters, Pike noted, Kissinger would erase the particular perspective of each one. In order to understand the process of shaping policy from a conglomeration of admittedly partial perspectives, doesn't one need to have some sense of who wrote what? In an amalgamation, it would be impossible to know whether the dissenting position "comes from the doorman or the ambassador," Pike pointed out. "And that," he said, is a "ridiculous proposition."

The Principle of Corporate Responsibility

By offering to submit a summary of Boyatt's and others' written dissent, the department implied that the words of rank-and-file Foreign Service officers were not to be interpreted from the perspective of the individuals who wrote them, but rather from that of the senior policymaker who read them. And the principle of corporate responsibility made it possible for Kissinger to justify presenting the public with a flattened-out version of the rank-and-file's policy analyses. The absence of authority and authorship thus became mutually reinforcing. By emphasizing the corporate status of career diplomats' writing, the department underscored the rank-and-file's impotence in the formulation of foreign policy.

Conversely, by emphasizing the need to protect Foreign Service officers from being held accountable for foreign policy decisions, the department strengthened its position about the corporate ownership of the rank-and-file's written words. The situation had come full circle. Whereas McCarthy had branded State Department officers authors of a policy that made America vulnerable to world communism, the State Department now implied that career diplomats were *not* authors of policy, in either the symbolic or literal sense of the term.

Perhaps even more important than the specter of McCarthyism was the desire on the part of many Americans to put Watergate behind them and end the mood of bitterness and mistrust between the legislative and executive

The "Boyatt Case" from Boyatt's Perspective

There is always a "back story." I offer mine to add texture to Ms. Gurman's article, which usefully and appropriately concentrates on the constitutional duel between Secretary Kissinger and Chairman Pike.

First, the case did not begin with a debate between the two men. Rather, it began when Chairman Pike learned of my dissent memorandum and summoned me to testify before his committee. Having been relieved of my position as the country director for Cyprus, I had no formal supervisor to consult.

When I called Larry Eagleburger for advice, he told me to refuse to appear. I countered that I would not risk a congressional subpoena, but would follow any departmental guidelines for my testimony that he might relay to me. Those guidelines instructed me initially to refuse to respond to any questions, and subsequently to respond only on matters below the classification of "Confidential." In short, I was to stonewall Chairman Pike.

I appeared before the committee twice. Each time I described the guidelines I had been given. Chairman Pike eventually exploded at the Secretary and the department, but appeared to understand my personal predicament. He then shifted his focus to the attempt to gain access to my dissent memorandum. The Pike-Kissinger constitutional duel Ms. Gurman describes was the result.

Colleagues will appreciate that my congressional appearances were harrowing. I was a mid-level officer on my own without institutional support from State, other than Larry's telephonic instructions. Nor did I have the money to hire a Washington lawyer. I did, however, have friends. Tex Harris, a law school graduate and member of the D.C. bar, gave me legal advice pro bono; he and others also worked to salvage my Foreign Service career.

The Professionals Were Right

My dissent memorandum was dangerous to the State Department's hierarchy because it summarized the differences between the career diplomats and the department's leadership on the Cyprus issue — in a situation in which the professionals were right. With the support of colleagues in my office and the directorates for Greece and Turkey, I argued that:

- The Greek junta was planning to overthrow President Makarios, notwithstanding their denials of such intent;
- If the Greek colonels established a puppet regime in Cyprus, the Turkish Army would invade and partition the island; and
- Such an outcome would be disastrous for the United States, for it would destabilize NATO's eastern flank, giving the Soviets a chance to intervene, and turn the Cyprus problem into a permanent irritant.

In order to prevent this disaster, I further argued that we should confront the junta and tell them clearly to stay out of Cyprus. My analyses were not given credence, and the policy recommendation was ignored. The results were even worse than I had predicted considering the loss of life, including the death of our esteemed colleague, Ambassador Roger Davies.

Secretaries of State and presidential administrations do not deal well with situations in which the career diplomats are right and they are wrong.

The point is that Secretaries of State and presidential administrations do not deal well with situations in which the career diplomats are right and they are wrong. This applies on a bipartisan basis; e.g., the Clinton administration's handling of dissent on an active policy to prevent genocide in Serbia; George W. Bush and the Iraq War; and Barack Obama's Afghanistan policy and the freedom agenda for Arabs. However, career Foreign Service officers still have the responsibility to speak truth to power — which the Dissent Channel enables them to do.

Attention Must Be Paid

In my case, the department redeemed its vow cited by Dr. Gurman "to protect the rank-and-file from political assault." My Senior Foreign Service colleagues circled the wagons around me. Shortly after I was relieved as Cyprus country director, Foreign Service Director General Nathaniel Davis called to say he was assigning me to the Senior Seminar for a sabbatical academic year of reading, study, travel and first-rate lectures by the likes of Buckminster Fuller. I did not realize it at the time, but I was being "laundered" for future use.

Larry Eagleburger played an informal but decisive role

in my onward assignment as minister counselor and deputy chief of mission in Santiago. Historically, DCMs in Chile had gone on to become ambassadors. In this way, the "network" was making sure that my dissenting views on Cyprus did not end my career.

There is a denouement to the story. Almost 30 years after the Cyprus crisis of 1973-1975, Henry Kissinger spoke at a luncheon hosted by the American Academy of Diplomacy. In the question period following his remarks, Dr. Kissinger found occasion to refer to the crisis. He stated that Tom Boyatt had written "a prescient memorandum that did not receive the attention it deserved."

He then terminated this brief apologia with a witty remark about how his well-known paranoia had degenerated into masochism. This brought the house down in laughter. In this public forum, I would like to thank Secretary Kissinger for his kind public words on that occasion. Every one of the 150 distinguished retired FSOs in that room got the message.

— *Thomas D. Boyatt*

branches, which threatened to paralyze the federal government. It would be a long time before Congress would compromise on major issues of foreign policy such as war powers.

In this sense, at least, the Boyatt case played an important role, precisely because, in most people's eyes, it did not constitute a major issue, and could thus serve as a symbol of congressional compromise without actually giving up very much. Under pressure from the press as well as the American public, the Pike Committee acquiesced to this logic. In an 8 to 5 vote, it accepted Kissinger's amalgamation.

The Boyatt affair was the first and last time that Congress and the press engaged in public debate about access to Dissent Channel messages. This case nonetheless prefigured fundamental questions about diplomatic dissent writing and public transparency that would resurface in response to diplomatic dissent over the Iraq War and other more recent issues. ■

Savior Diplomats: Finally Receiving Their Due

Seven decades later, the examples of these 60 courageous public servants still offer lessons for members of today's Foreign Service.

By Michael M. Uyehara

The commission of the Holocaust Memorial in Israel, Yad Vashem, has conducted an extensive search to identify "the Righteous among the Nations," non-Jews who saved Jews during World War II. To be recognized, Yad Vashem requires that a Jewish party make the nomination; the assistance must be repeated and/or substantial; assistance to a family member or Jewish convert to Christianity does not count; and there cannot have been any expectation of financial gain. More than 20,000 individuals have been so designated thus far.

Drawing on Yad Vashem's research and other sources, the Raoul Wallenberg Foundation has compiled a list of 60 "savior diplomats" (not all of whom have been designated "Righteous among the Nations"), including five Americans, on its Web site. The list contains only one woman, Brazilian Aracy Moebius de Carvalho Tess, who was chief of the passport section at the Brazilian consulate in Hamburg. However, this presumably just reflects the fact that few women were employed as diplomats then.

Michael M. Uyehara, a Foreign Service officer since 1986, is currently a political-military affairs officer at the U.S. Mission to International Organizations in Vienna. This article is based on a research paper he wrote for a graduate course in international relations.

Getting Out

Jews attempting to flee Germany or German-occupied countries during the 1930s and 1940s had to provide evidence of a visa to another country in order to receive permission to leave. In addition, they had to obtain transit visas for any countries that they had to cross in order to reach their final destination. Jews would circulate from consulate to consulate in desperate search for the appropriate visa, and long lines would immediately form whenever word got around that a particular office was more generous with its issuances.

In U.S. practice at the time, and continuing to this day, each consular officer had to determine whether a potential immigrant was "likely to become a public charge" before issuing a visa. To overcome the presumption that this was the case, the applicant had to present either proof of sufficient funds or an affidavit of support from a sponsor in the United States.

Because numerical limits were not generally applied to transit visas, consular officials had more discretion to issue those.

Harry Bingham

While stationed at the U.S. consulate in Marseille from 1940 to 1941, Hiram ("Harry") Bingham IV and Miles

Standish issued hundreds of visas to support the work of Varian Fry, the representative of the private U.S. Emergency Rescue Committee. Together, the three men helped at least 1,500 Jews escape to Spain and other safe havens, including artist Marc Chagall, novelist Heinrich Mann, political scientist Hannah Arendt and other prominent Jewish intellectuals and creative figures. All told, Bingham saved the lives of more than 2,000 Jews and other refugees in Vichy France.

After attracting unfavorable State Department attention for the large number of visas that he was issuing, Bingham was abruptly transferred, first to Lisbon and then to Buenos Aires, and his Foreign Service career came to an untimely end not long thereafter. (See the June 2002 *Foreign Service Journal* for a full profile.)

In June 2002, AFSA presented Bingham's family with a posthumous award honoring him for exemplifying the spirit of constructive dissent. And on May 30, 2006, the U.S. Postal Service issued a commemorative stamp honoring Bingham as one of six "Distinguished American Diplomats."

Raoul Wallenberg

Probably the most famous name on the list is that of Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg. According to the late U.S. Representative Tom Lantos, D-Calif., one of those whom Wallenberg rescued, during a stay in Budapest of approximately six months the diplomat "saved the lives of tens of thousands of men, women and children by placing them under the protection of the Swedish crown." (The Yad Vashem Web site notes that he issued at least 4,500 protective letters to Jews authorizing the bearers to travel to Sweden.)

Wallenberg arrived in Budapest on July 9, 1944, with $200,000 to spend on his mission. With this generous U.S. funding, he established "Section C" within the Swedish legation to help Jews. He eventually employed 340 people, most of them Jews, and set up a network of more than 30 safe houses, designated as Swedish legation premises.

He extended the initiative of Swedish Minister (Head of Legation) Carl Ivan Danielson in issuing 600 provisional passports to Jews who could prove they had personal or commercial ties to Sweden. Wallenberg also concocted the "Schutzpass," a safe passage document. He started with an initial run of 1,500, and later printed thousands more.

Probably the most famous name on the list is that of Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg.

Wallenberg was a special case, however. First, he was not a career diplomat, but a businessman fluent in several languages, who was specifically hired to carry out a special mission. Second, he was acting on behalf of the U.S. War Refugee Board and enjoyed the support of the Swedish government in carrying out his mission of saving Hungary's Jews. Finally, Wallenberg also had some Jewish blood, since his great-great grandfather was Jewish before converting to Lutheranism.

The mystery of his disappearance in January 1945 continues to pique the public's interest. (He reportedly died while in Soviet custody in 1947, but this has been widely disputed.) Numerous books have been written about him, and several movies have been made about his life.

Doing Their Duty

In general, the activities of the 60 "savior diplomats" on the Raoul Wallenberg Foundation list fall into three broad categories. In the first instance, some of the diplomats were conducting normal diplomatic or consular activity that also had the effect of protecting Jewish individuals or communities. The U.S. consul in Bern, Howard Elting, was recognized for transmitting the Auschwitz Protocols — eyewitness accounts of the atrocities there — as an authentic document to the Department of State and Jewish community leaders in Switzerland. Isidor Fabela, the Mexican delegate to the League of Nations, drafted his country's official protest of Germany's 1938 annexation of Austria.

The future Pope John XXIII, known then as Archbishop Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli, was papal nuncio in Istanbul during the war. He not only reported to the Vatican on the killings of millions of Jews in Poland and Eastern Europe, but interceded with King Boris on behalf of the Bulgarian Jews, and with the Turkish government on behalf of Jewish refugees who had fled there. Roncalli also did his utmost to prevent the deportation of Greek Jews.

Other actions fell within the traditional consular responsibility to provide protection to citizens of the sending state. The Portuguese vice consul in Paris, Carvalho da Silva, personally intervened and persuaded the Gestapo to free 40 Portuguese Jews who were at the deportation cen-

ter in Drancy, France. Radu Flondor, a Romanian consul in Vienna, is on the list for issuing passports to Jews of Romanian origin in Vienna, allowing them to escape Nazi persecution.

Carlos de Liz-Texeira Branquinho, the Portuguese chargé d'affaires in Budapest in 1944, acted with the permission of the Portuguese government to issue safe conducts to persons with relatives in Portugal, Brazil or the Portuguese colonies. Diplomats from other countries also issued visas and passports liberally to Jewish refugees.

Although he acted on behalf of Jewish applicants, the U.S. consul general in Tangier, Rives Childs, exercised a familiar consular role when he persuaded Spanish authorities to issue visas and access to Spanish safe houses until Jewish refugees could emigrate from Algeria. The consul general at the U.S. embassy in Berlin until 1941, Raymond Herman Geist, was also cited for helping Jews and anti-Nazis to emigrate from Germany, intervening on their behalf with high-ranking Nazi officials. Many of these people were under imminent threat of deportation to concentration camps.

In 2002, AFSA presented Harry Bingham's family with a posthumous constructive dissent award.

Acting on Their Own Authority

Another group of savior diplomats took actions that, while part of normal diplomatic and consular roles, exceeded their instructions or included activities that would normally be considered improper or even illegal. A U.S. vice consul in Breslau, Stephen B. Vaughan, issued visas for entry to the Philippines (then a U.S. territory) to more than 700 Jewish families escaping Germany in 1938 and 1939, on the basis of their qualifications as agricultural experts — although none were farmers. Monsignor Angelo Rotta, as a diplomat of the Holy See in Bulgaria, issued false baptismal certificates and visas so that Bulgarian Jews could travel to Palestine. And Thomas Preston, a British consul serving in present-day Kaunas, Lithuania, provided 400 illegal Palestinian certificates and 800 certificates of legal journey to Jews so they could escape through Istanbul to Palestine.

A third group violated their instructions. Conspicuous among these was the trade attaché at the German embassy in Copenhagen, Georg Ferdinand Duckwitz. Though a member of the Nazi Party, he alerted the Danish government to Germany's plans to deport Danish Jews and clandestinely arranged for Sweden to provide them with safe haven. He later became Germany's ambassador to Denmark.

Gerhart Feine, director of the Jewish Department of the German Plenipotentiary in Budapest, was also instrumental in alerting Wallenberg and other diplomats regarding Adolf Eichmann's plans to deport Hungarian Jews, allowing them to take timely action to accelerate their programs. His actions went undetected. Portuguese Consul General Aristides de Sousa Mendes in Bordeaux, Brazilian Ambassador Luis Martins de Souza Dantas in Paris, Chinese Consul General Feng Shan Ho in Vienna, and Japanese Consul Chiune Sugihara in Kaunas, Lithuania, all issued visas against the express orders of their government or superiors.

At Risk for Reprisal

While diplomatic or consular immunity largely protected savior diplomats from retaliation, this was not always true. The Nazi authorities bombed the house of the Turkish consul general in Rhodes, Selahattin Ülkümen, fatally injuring his pregnant wife, as punishment for his efforts to exempt 42 Jewish families, comprising more than 200 people, from deportation to Auschwitz-Birkenau.

The Nazi authorities also took action against diplomatic representatives of countries occupied by Germany. The Polish chargé d'affaires in Budapest, Henryk Slawik, was arrested after issuing documents falsely certifying Hungarian Jews as Christians and deported to Mauthausen, where he died. Nazi and French authorities arrested the Czech consul in Marseilles, Vladimir Vochoc, for issuing false visas and passports to Jews and anti-Nazis, but he managed to escape.

Raoul Wallenberg's disappearance at the hands of the Soviets was unlikely to have been related to his efforts to rescue Jews. However, a close associate of his, Swiss Vice Consul Carl Lutz, was arrested and beaten as Allied forces closed in on Budapest.

These diplomats and consular officers also had to struggle against an organizational and bureaucratic culture that discouraged risk-taking. So the moral, and sometimes physical, courage required to defy the orders of their superiors is all the more remarkable.

The Japanese consul in Kaunas, Chiune Sugihara, began his rescue effort when a Dutch Jew applied for a

transit visa to reach Curaçao. When Tokyo denied him permission to issue, Sugihara did so anyway, and continued to do so. He issued as many as 10,000 visas, even after receiving two more direct orders to cease his activity.

Like all diplomats, Sugihara would have been cosmopolitan in his outlook (for instance, his first wife was Russian), but little in his background indicates why he decided to help Jewish refugees. Moreover, with his Japanese culture and as a diplomat, Sugihara's compulsion to conform should have been doubly strong.

In 2006, the U.S. Postal Service issued a stamp honoring Bingham as one of six "Distinguished American Diplomats."

No Good Deed Goes Unpunished

However, the greatest threat that diplomats and consular officers generally faced came from their own governments for violating organizational discipline, as shown by Harry Bingham's experience. He was far from the only diplomat to suffer such consequences.

Two Swiss consular officers stationed in Milan, Pio Perucchi and Candido Porta, together issued more than 1,600 illegal and unauthorized visas to Jews who had fled Austria after the Anschluss, against the specific regulations and policies of the Swiss Federal Department of Justice and police. As a result, Perucchi was not allowed to continue working at the consulate after March 1939, and Porta was demoted and transferred to a different section.

After the Portuguese government fired its consul general in Bordeaux, Aristides de Sousa Mendes, for issuing 30,000 visas, he lost his property and died in poverty. Feng Shan Ho was reprimanded by the Chinese ambassador to Germany, and Chiune Sugihara was forced to resign from the Japanese diplomatic service.

To underscore just how exceptional these men were, here is how Varian Fry described Harry Bingham's replacement — perhaps a more typical specimen of the time:

"The new man in charge of visas at the Marseille consulate is young and inexperienced. This is his first post. Afraid of making mistakes, he tries to solve his problems by refusing visas whenever he can.

"But he is also a snob," Fry continued. "The other day I talked to him about just two cases, both women. One was a German Social Democratic underground worker. She had a good affidavit. The other was the Countess X. She has [sic] no affidavit at all. B. refused to give a visa to the German political refugee. 'How do I know she won't do underground work in the United States if I let her in?' he asked.

"But when I mentioned the Countess X, he became sweet as honey. 'Oh, I'm sure there'll be no difficulty about her visa,' he said. 'Just tell her to come in any time she wants to and ask to see me personally. I'll fix her up right away.' He didn't even ask what the countess's politics were."

Some of these figures acted in ways that would normally be considered improper or even illegal.

The Bureaucratic Tightrope

Melissa Jane Taylor of the State Department's Office of the Historian has documented the strains experienced by U.S. consuls in Vienna as they tried to square organizational discipline with their conscience. She singles out John Wiley in particular, who was counselor of the U.S. legation and then became consul general after the 1938 Anschluss, when the legation became one of four consulates in the combined Germany/Austria. Fifteen men worked in Vienna as consuls or vice consuls from 1938 until the consulate closed in July 1941.

After Germany's annexation of Austria, the two countries' annual quotas under the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924 (25,957 and 1,413 respectively) were combined for a total of 27,370. In Berlin, the strict application of the public charge clause meant the American embassy could issue only 10 percent of the available quota each year.

In the face of restrictive U.S. immigration quotas and a sudden influx of Jews seeking to emigrate to the U.S., Taylor notes that Wiley's consulate "would respond to the Jews' plight in a humanitarian manner, but would not subvert the Department of State's restrictionist policy. Wiley and his staff walked a fine line that allowed them to uphold the law, but in such a way as to grant American visas to as many qualifying applicants as possible." Just over two-thirds of the Jews who lived in pre-Anschluss Austria — 128,500 from a population of 185,000 — emigrated from March 1938 to November 1941; of this number, 28,165 emigrated to the United States.

Dissent Today

In the Department of State, like any other large bureaucratic organization, the norm is to allow dissent and open debate in the formulation of policy, but to require that all employees fall into line with the policy once it is formulated. If an individual continues to object strongly to a particular policy, he or she has the option of resigning — but not of disregarding the policy or refusing to carry it out.

This was certainly the sequence of events regarding U.S. Balkans policy in the early 1990s, when five State Department employees eventually resigned in protest of U.S. reluctance to intervene to stop genocidal attacks in Bosnia, and during the run-up to the 2003 U.S. intervention in Iraq, when another three diplomats resigned. Yet while both sets of resignations attracted strong media attention, the value of taking such action is debatable. Some argue that staying allows dissenters to continue influencing the direction of future policy from within the system.

The quandary for diplomats in World War II, however, was more immediate and direct. The diplomatic role and its associated immunity changed the calculus of intervention for these officials, as opposed to a private individual who did not represent a foreign government. Faced with a need for action, a diplomat has the responsibility to determine whether to "expropriate" his or her government's authorities and privileges toward an objective that might not be consistent with the sending country's foreign policy.

Whether, and how, any public servant should register dissent is a never-ending dilemma. Each Foreign Service member could be called on at any time to choose between conscience and duty. Although under special, and hopefully never repeated, circumstances, the experience of these "savior diplomats" 70 years ago may still hold lessons for us today. ■

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • July-August 2011

AFSA Memorial Plaque Ceremony Honors Our Colleagues

BY DONNA AYERST

The AFSA Memorial Plaque Ceremony is a solemn occasion paying tribute to those Foreign Service employees who have lost their lives in service to their country. This year's ceremony — held on May 6, Foreign Affairs Day — was different because family members of Eugene Francis Sullivan Jr. came to celebrate his life. They came remembering the husband, father and Foreign Service officer he was. They came en masse, all 27 of them.

Eugene Francis Sullivan Jr. — whose name was added to the plaque — was a Foreign Service officer with the United States Agency for International Development from 1957 until his untimely death from blackwater fever, a complication of malaria, on Jan. 21, 1973, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

A Legacy of Dedication

In her opening statement, AFSA President Susan Johnson said, "To the families and friends gathered here, I express our deepest gratitude for the contributions that your loved one made to the Foreign Service and to our nation, and for the sacrifice that he and you have made. He has left a legacy of dedication that serves as inspiration to future generations who pass through these halls."

Johnson then read a message from President Barack Obama: "Today, Eugene joins other heroes on the Memorial Plaques honoring those who have given their lives in pursuit of a higher cause. On Foreign Affairs Day, we pay special tribute to all those who have given their lives

Continued on page 51

DONNA AYERST

The family of Eugene F. Sullivan pays tribute to him during AFSA's Memorial Plaque Ceremony, May 6.

AFSA Announces 2011 Award Winners

On June 23, in the splendor of the State Department's Benjamin Franklin Room, AFSA honored the winners of the 2011 AFSA Constructive Dissent Awards and Outstanding Performance Awards. Winners received a certificate of recognition, a monetary prize and — new this year — the AFSA Globe.

Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy

Ambassador Rozanne L. Ridgway

Constructive Dissent Awards

Christian A. Herter Award: Dr. James W. Bayuk, Pretoria
William R. Rivkin Award: Joel Ehrendreich, Singapore
F. Allen "Tex" Harris Award: Maurizio Visani, Surabaya

Outstanding Performance Awards

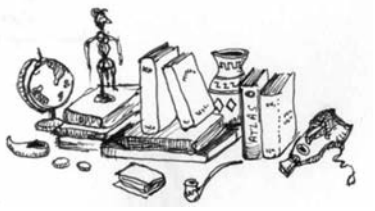
Nelson B. Delavan Award: Ann Rehme, Pretoria
M. Juanita Guess Award: Mike Vining, Ulaanbaatar
Avis Bohlen Award: Charla Chaudhry, Chisinau; Terry Farrar, Havana
AFSA Post Representative of the Year: Larry Fields, Kathmandu

Please see page 56 for an FSJ *interview with Amb. Ridgway. Constructive Dissent Award profiles begin on page 39. Outstanding Performance Award profiles begin on page 42.*

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

51st Annual Art & BookFair

The 51st annual Art & BookFair of the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide will take place from Fri., Oct. 14, through Sun., Oct. 23. As usual, the event will be held in the Diplomatic Exhibit Hall in the Harry S Truman building. The fair will feature books, art, collectibles and stamps and coins from all over the world. All proceeds benefit Foreign Service families and the AAFSW Scholarship Fund. Donations are now being accepted. For donation pickup, please call (202) 223-5796 or e-mail bookroom@aafsw.org.



Adair Family Memorial Lecture

AFSA, in conjunction with the School of International Studies at American University, will present Amb. R. Nicholas Burns, former under secretary of State for political affairs, speaking on the subject of Foreign Service challenges in the 21st century. The Fifth Annual Adair Family Memorial lecture will be held on Wed., Aug. 31, at 3:30 p.m., in the Kaye Memorial Chapel on the main A.U. campus in Washington, D.C. This program inaugurates the fall semester for A.U.'s School of International Studies. For more information, please e-mail switzer@afsa.org.

Hail and Farewell to AFSA Interns

AFSA welcomes our new summer interns: Asa Horner joins us as the *Foreign Service Journal* editorial intern, Rebekah Yurco is our new public affairs intern, Jamie Long is the legislative affairs intern, and Minh-Nhat "Leo" Tran will join us in August as the new advertising and publications intern.

We bid farewell to our outgoing interns: marketing and outreach intern Mina Seljogi, legislative affairs intern Stefan Geyer and advertising intern Susanne Brands. We thank them for their exemplary work and wish them all the best! More information on AFSA internships is available on our Web site at www.afsa.org/internships_at_afsa.aspx.

FSYF Welcome-Back Picnic

Every September, the Foreign Service Youth Foundation organizes a welcome-back picnic for FS families who have recently returned from overseas. This year, the picnic will take place on Sun., Sept. 18, from 4 to 6:30 p.m., at Nottoway Park in Vienna, Va. Please join us even if you have not returned to the D.C. area recently.

The picnic is a great opportunity to make new friends, reconnect with old ones and welcome home your colleagues. FSYF will provide hot dogs and hamburgers (including a vegetarian option) and drinks. Please bring a salad, side dish or dessert to share. The picnic will have a carnival theme, with fun for children of all ages, including face painting, a magician and carnival games. RSVP to fsyf@fsyf.org by Wed., Sept. 14.

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Leave Me Alone!

Foreign Service members are highly dedicated to our mission and tend to be workaholics. But even the most dedicated workaholic needs to get away from post on occasion — either to relax or to study.

AFSA frequently hears from employees unable to do either, because they occupy "one-of" positions at posts — performing an essential service with no backup. Most frequently, these are specialists, though as we open new and smaller American Presence Posts or set up new Provincial Reconstruction Teams, generalists are increasingly affected, as well. Often, R&Rs are shorter than the employee would like. Sometimes even the ability to take sick leave is affected.

> ... most bureaus are loath to spend money to allow an employee to take leave or even to attend training.

3 FAM 3412 clearly gives employees the right to use accumulated annual leave, and supervisors have a responsibility to allow, or even require, them to take it. Leave can be rescheduled due to the needs of the office, but it should be granted at some point during the year. Restoration due to exigencies of the Service is possible, but is viewed as an exceptional event. In general, leave canceled due to normal workload, vacancies or poor planning, or to provide other employees with the opportunity to use leave, is not considered an exigency and therefore does not constitute a basis for restoration.

FS members, and particularly "one-ofs," also tend to be asked to work overtime and, as a result, accrue compensatory time off. Here the plot thickens. There are several variants of comp time, which must be used within 26 weeks after the pay period during which the overtime was accrued and at the post where the overtime occurred. Again, we hear from members that they cannot use this time, or that if they use it, they will forfeit annual leave.

Last but not least, we hear from members who "cannot be spared" to attend training, even when that training is mandatory. Several classes and seminars have been canceled, not for budgetary reasons, but because so few posts could "spare" the students, that a minimum number of students could not be reached. Office Management Specialists seem to be particularly affected, but we have heard similar complaints from others, as well.

The obvious solution to all of these problems is backup, which in today's climate may well require out-of-the-box thinking. Rovers are a traditional answer, but often there simply are not enough of them to fill in everywhere they are needed. When Actually Employed employees are another traditional solution, but these are bureau-funded — and most bureaus are loath to spend money to allow an employee to take leave or even to attend training.

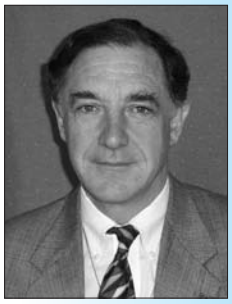
AFSA is urging the department to centralize WAE funds, to allow greater opportunities for such employment and free the process from bureau budgets. Bureaus would be more likely to use a an annuitant if "their" money was not involved.

We are urging the department to centralize funds and authorizations for OMS training, and for all training that is aimed at improving an employee's skills as an individual, rather than serving a post-specific function.

While AFSA is generally wary of filling Foreign Service jobs with Civil Service employees, we will be discussing the matter further within the context of the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review process. One solution to the "one-of" issues might be tapping a Civil Service counterpart to serve as a backup when possible. While we feel strongly that Foreign Service positions should be filled by FS employees, there is a benefit to providing Civil Service employees with actual hands-on understanding of how overseas posts operate and a better picture of the environment in which we work.

Member insights and suggestions of other ways to address this issue are welcomed. Please share them with me at hirsch@afsa.org. ❑

V.P. VOICE: **FCS** ■ BY KEITH CURTIS



Spending Money to Narrow the Deficit

The Foreign Commercial Service tortuously continues the post downsizing process. Initially, the list of potential closures included up to 30 posts; but it is now below a dozen, as political realities enter the process. For example, Dublin was on the earlier list, but it wasn't long before Irish-American forces weighed in and took it off the list (what were they thinking?).

The Government Accountability Office would like to think that downsizing can be a simple, straightforward management process. But they sometimes seem to lack a basic understanding of their own political environment. Meanwhile, as the days tick on, the failure of the budgetary process becomes compounded. The basic reality is that it takes up-front spending to wrestle any long-term savings from cuts and closures, with little time left in this fiscal year to see any savings. In addition, the closure of FCS posts will inevitably affect the budgets and workloads of our fellow Foreign Service agencies.

> If you want to narrow the deficit, *increase* spending on export programs, don't decrease it. This is an argument Republicans should understand.

We continue to debate how open this process should be. Releasing information about FCS post closures too early can be very destructive to morale and functionality. But letting the process be dominated by the rumor mill can cause even more widespread demoralization and paralysis. Therefore, the sooner the specifics are made known, the better.

This is an education process for everyone involved, but especially for a new group of members of Congress who, frankly, have not had the time to fully understand the impact of their decisions. We talked to one staffer several weeks ago who seemed convinced that sending $70 million in aid to Russia didn't make sense. That is, until we pointed out that the money could be going toward supporting the agreement to dismantle nuclear warheads now pointed at our homes, buildings and leaders.

The great irony of this process is that the more you cut the budget to support exports, the more you will widen the deficit. As we have repeatedly told key members on the Hill over the last several months, FCS can document $359 worth of exports we helped make happen for every $1 appropriated. At an average corporate tax rate of 23 percent, each dollar generates over $83 in tax revenue. If you want to narrow the deficit, increase spending on export programs, don't decrease it. This is an argument Republicans should understand.

We can only hope that this important and necessary educational process sinks in before it is too late. ❑

AFSA/FSJ PANEL:

Work-Life Balance in the Foreign Service

BY DONNA AYERST

On May 26, AFSA followed up the May issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* — which focused on work-life balance — by hosting a panel discussion on the topic. The panel, moderated by Faye Barnes, president of the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide, included Kathleen M. Lingle, executive director of Alliance for Work-Life Progress; Judy Ikels, chief of the State Department's Work-Life Division in the Bureau of Human Resources; Stephen K. Morrison, a senior commercial officer on assignment to the U.S. Export Assistance Center; and Margot Carrington, Foreign Service officer and recipient of a 2010-2011 Una Chapman Cox Sabbatical Leave Fellowship to conduct research on the challenges facing working women.

The term "work-life balance" was coined in 1986 and is widely used, but what does it mean? According to Lingle, it is about the juggling act everyone who works does: "It's the intersection of the four balls we juggle: career, family, community, self."

DONNA AYERST

Judy Ikels displays State's Work/Life Division's new logo at AFSA on May 26.

"Balance is elusive in the Foreign Service," says Carrington, who is using her Cox Fellowship to look into ways to achieve balance to enhance the Foreign Service mission. "Workplace flexibility enhances employees' lives and, in turn, their productivity and sense of accomplishment. But workplace flexibility while at an over-

Continued on page 50

2011 AFSA CONSTRUCTIVE DISSENT AWARD WINNERS

Profiles of award winners written by Donna Ayerst

The Christian Herter Award

FOR A SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER

Dr. James W. Bayuk

The nomination for this award states: "Dr. Bayuk has led a 'quiet revolution' in the State Department's Office of Medical Services for many years. His recommendations have not always been popular ones and his ideas have not always been adopted, but he always has conducted his dissent within State Department channels. In an era of tight budgets, we need more officers like Dr. Bayuk, who take the time and effort to come up with creative, cost-saving measures to make our system more efficient and responsible to the administration and the taxpayers."

Bureaucracies can be averse to change, even when it will lower costs, increase productivity and provide better service. But Dr. James W. Bayuk, the Regional Medical Officer in Pretoria, is not averse to change. In fact, you could say that he embraces it.

Why would someone who works in a bureaucracy embrace change? Especially when organizations can fear change and that fear can lead to unpleasant experiences for employees, such as less-than-stellar performance evaluations or a steeper climb to get to the top. This fact doesn't seem to bother Dr. Bayuk.

Whenever he sees a problem, he instinctively wants to fix it — making him a conscientious public servant. Luckily for the American taxpayer, when Dr. Bayuk fixes a problem, it saves money. His uphill battles haven't always been successful, but that doesn't stop him from trying.

Take, for instance, the mammogram and X-ray unit in the Department's Office of Medical Services, where Dr. Bayuk worked from 2000 to 2004. As more and more private commercial labs opened in Washington, D.C., Dr. Bayuk argued for the closing of MED's underutilized and overstaffed unit. According to his calculations, "The State Department was spending over $200,000 each year to keep the unit operating, even though it was performing far fewer mammograms and X-rays in a day than any commercial lab."

"The government should not be in the business of providing lab work and medical screenings, when contracting these services out can save the government substantial costs," he argued. Dr. Bayuk's reasoning ran into strong opposition from the Bureau of Human Resources, the laboratory staff and MED leadership.

One of Dr. Bayuk's arguments concerned technology. If you worry about keeping up with the latest iPod or computer technology, think about trying to keep up with the latest mammogram or X-ray technology. Commercial labs have state-of-the-art technology. Pivotal to Dr. Bayuk's argument was the fact that Foreign Service employees could go to private labs as close as three blocks away from State and obtain better services, which would be covered by the employee's federal health insurance benefits at less cost to the department.

Dr. James W. Bayuk heads up the medevac center in Pretoria.

"When talking about what are government services, you have to ask what an essential service is. Laboratory services are not an inherent function of the government," maintains Dr. Bayuk. The X-ray unit was finally closed in 2003.

That's not all. In 2006, Dr. Bayuk received the department's Award for Innovative Technology, for making it possible to link post-specific (not personal) medical information to the Overseas Briefing Center, making it available to everyone via the Internet.

Dr. Bayuk also set his sights on closing MED's blood-drawing lab as far back as 2002. In this case, he cited much larger cost-savings and quality-improving factors. He maintained that all MED needed was a phlebotomist to draw blood, transport it to a commercial lab, which could deliver results electronically the same day. Yet despite a 2006 Office of the Inspector General report recommending a review of laboratory services and outsourcing as a cost-effective alternative and the concurrence of the medical director in 2007, the lab remains open.

Currently under his scrutiny: transparent bidding for MED leadership; State's medical clearance process; absence of clear guidance on how medical issues are now going to be managed overseas; using available technology and systems instead of spending millions of dollars to develop a bespoke product; and fitness for duty examinations. Who knows what he will focus on next?

Dr. Bayuk is just the kind of public servant the Foreign Service needs. ❑

William R. Rivkin Award

FOR A MID-LEVEL FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER

Joel Ehrendreich

In 2005 Joel Ehrendreich was serving as a mid-level political officer in Tokyo, in charge of coordinating external relations, among other duties. When an invitation for the American ambassador to Japan to attend a memorial ceremony on Aug. 6 came from the mayor of Hiroshima, the ambassador asked Joel to handle it. He responded to the invitation with a "Yes."

Joel Ehrendreich goes over a scavenger hunt strategy with children from a Singaporean orphanage during Corporate Community Day.

The ceremony's stated purpose was "to comfort the souls of those people whose lives were lost due to the atomic bombing, as well as to pray for the realization of everlasting peace." For 59 years, the U.S. government's policy had been to decline the invitation.

"When I was tasked to respond to the invitation, I started to think, why not? It didn't make sense to me to refuse the invitation. I felt the time had come to change our policy," Ehrendreich explains. With such a controversial idea on the table, Ambassador Thomas Schieffer invited the country team to a meeting to discuss the pros and cons of the proposal.

"I went to the meeting with a PowerPoint outlining my key points. I pointed out that although the Hiroshima mayor had used the event to criticize U.S. policy in the past, I felt that by being absent, we were perpetuating a free forum for criticism of the United States.

"Also, other countries in Asia, particularly China, were using Japan's actions during World War II to put Japan on the defensive on various issues, including United Nations Security Council reform, participation in peace support operations and alliance transformation. I believed that by participating in the Hiroshima ceremony, the U.S. could provide moral authority and leadership in dealing with memories of World War II, while strengthening our alliance with Japan by providing them the opportunity to turn the page with their neighbors," says Ehrendreich.

He also pointed out that U.S. representatives had attended memorial ceremonies at other sites, including Iwo Jima, Okinawa and Normandy. Accordingly, our absence in Hiroshima simply perpetuated a stigma that somehow the atomic bombing was too sensitive to be touched.

Ehrendreich said that the reaction of those at the country team meeting was less than positive. In fact, of the officers attending, only one of the 24 said, "This isn't a bad idea." Most felt that attendance at the memorial ceremony could be construed as some sort of apology for the bombing, or that we would be drawing undue attention to ourselves — which, in turn, could stir up anti-American feelings.

In nominating Ehrendreich for the award, James P. Zumwalt, a minister counselor at the State Department, says: "Joel demonstrated considerable intellectual courage in countering this strong opposition and pointed out that a U.S. official could attend without issuing any official apology."

Although the department did not implement the recommendation in Ehrendreich's Dissent Channel cable (05 Tokyo 4278), he continued to advocate a policy change. Zumwalt states, "Joel was no longer in Japan, but he wrote me each year with a not-so-subtle reminder of his position on the issue."

Support for his idea continued to grow while other supporters, even those who had never seen Joel's dissent cable, began to appear. And finally, on Aug. 6, 2010, Ambassador John V. Roos attended the ceremony in Hiroshima.

"In the end, Joel was right," Zumwalt observes. "Ambassador Roos' attendance at the ceremony was extremely well received by the Japanese people and the international community. Indeed, it helped strengthen U.S.-Japan relations."

On that day, far from Japan, Joel recalls, "I was really proud to be an American and to see our ambassador represent our country in such a dignified and decent manner, while reinforcing the great friendship the U.S. and Japan have forged together since the bombing."

When asked what it took to change an outdated policy, Joel's response was simply, "Think compassionately. And never give up." ❑

The F. Allen "Tex" Harris Award

FOR A FOREIGN SERVICE SPECIALIST

Maurizio Visani

"No sooner had I arrived in Surabaya than the security assessment was handed to me on a silver platter," recalls Maurizio Visani, a mid-level Foreign Service employee and this year's winner of the F. Allen "Tex" Harris Award for constructive dissent by an FS specialist.

Consular Agency Bali had just completed an information technology assessment that revealed critical security flaws. Specifically, it was using the Internet to pass U.S. citizen Personally Identifiable Information, in violation of U.S. regulations and the Privacy Act of 1974. On his first full day at post as Information Program Officer, Visani came up with a solution to the security deficiency — bring OpenNet, State's intranet, to CA Bali.

The immediate response from post, the department's Bureau of Information Resource Management, and the Bureau of Consular Affairs executive office was "no."

The unanimous thumbs-down was due, in part, to CA's worldwide policy granting consular agencies OpenNet access only via FOB/ONE — the department's program allowing an employee to log in to the intranet remotely using an electronic key fob — and to the fact that no other consular agency had OpenNet.

However, Maurizio continued to believe that installing the program in Bali was the only appropriate solution to prevent personal information being passed over the Internet unencrypted. A subsequent post inspection report by the Office of the Inspector General also recommended this solution. Visani set about to meet IRM and the Bureau of Diplomatic Security requirements for the office space before intranet installation could be possible. Once those were met, post informed CA/EX; but again, the answer was "no."

Visani persevered. "We were a little disheartened, but Regional Security Officer Rodney Collins checked out the DS regulations and I checked out the IRM regulations. We could see no reason not to install OpenNet, and were determined to see this thing through," he recalls.

Systematically, Maurizio gathered key support from Embassy Jakarta, the East Asia and Pacific Affairs Bureau executive office and CA. He laid out his argument clearly, outlining the benefits of OpenNet to the U.S. government and American citizens resident in Bali. Referencing federal guidance and report summaries, CA/EX eventually responded favorably to the OpenNet request cable drafted by Visani.

"Although the plan made sense, many were not in favor of challenging CA/EX's worldwide policy. Maurizio worked through the appropriate channels and aggressively crafted a convincing case that would eventually lead to a change in policy, making CA Bali the first consular agency in the State Department with OpenNet."

Maurizio Visani (right) mentors others through the mission's education outreach program.

"Once we got the go-ahead from CA/EX, the next hurdle was the funding battle. In addition to the IT hardware, the office had to be changed to meet the security requirements, which meant installing locks and bars. In the end, the embassy bore the costs," Visani recounts.

The nomination for the award states: "In the beginning, although the plan made sense, many were not in favor of challenging CA/EX's worldwide policy. But instead of accepting that bureau's initial answer, Maurizio worked through the appropriate channels and aggressively crafted a convincing case that would eventually lead to a change in policy, making CA Bali the first consular agency in the State Department with OpenNet."

"By establishing OpenNet, our efforts will lead to better services for American citizens. Everyone wins," Visani declares. ❑

The Nelson B. Delavan Award

FOR A FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICE MANAGEMENT SPECIALIST

Ann Rehme

"I hadn't lived more than 20 miles from home until I joined the Foreign Service," Ann Rehme remembers. Obviously, that has changed.

Ann Rehme, this year's recipient of the Delavan Award, is an office management specialist powerhouse. "No task is too large or too small" seems to be her credo. And equally important, "If there is no fun, there is no Ann," she says with a laugh.

When Rehme was in her mid-20s, working for an agricultural trade association, her supervisor suggested she join the Foreign Service. At the time, Ann wasn't ready to leave home. Ten years later, her former supervisor sent her an ad from the *International Herald Tribune* to join the Foreign Service. She contacted him and he said, "You are well-suited for the Foreign Service. Give it a try."

Ann Rehme (rear) joins Elizabeth Caruso Powers (left), and her daughter, Maggie, at the embassy's 2010 FIFA World Cup pep rally held in June 2010.

He was right. According to Helen La Lime, deputy chief of mission in Pretoria, who nominated Rehme for the award, "Every once in a while an enterprise has the good fortune to be graced with an indispensable person who ensures the organization reaches its ultimate potential. At Embassy Pretoria, that person is Ann Rehme, who delivers day after day."

Rehme approaches her job — OMS to a hard-charging, dynamic ambassador — with a customer service attitude, substantive knowledge of how the department works and a belief in the importance of forging good partnerships. "I am customer service-oriented, and a very resourceful person. If I don't have the answer to something, I find it. People soon learn they can depend on me," says Rehme.

Organizational skills were in great demand with the World Cup, an event of global proportions, coming to South Africa. La Lime points out that "Ann's professionalism and energy made her supremely effective, and compounded exponentially the effectiveness of everyone around her. She handled with perfect aplomb the demands of the World Cup, the visit of Vice President Joe Biden and several visits to Washington by South Africa's president and several foreign ministers."

The Delavan Award not only recognizes an individual's professionalism and effectiveness, but also his or her contribution to morale. The front office in Pretoria is staffed by Rehme, three seasoned OMSs and four OMS first-timers. Rehme appreciates the role she has taken as a mentor and sounding board for her new colleagues, by stating: "I listen to their concerns and questions and provide guidance and answers whenever I can. If they can't come to me for help, what example would I be setting?"

La Lime concurs: "Ann has a wonderful ability to reach out and to listen to people's concerns. Regardless of how busy she is, she takes the time to answer questions and assist and mentor officers and OMSs. Her calm, open demeanor builds morale, and her wry sense of humor makes the office a fun place to work."

Her focus on morale goes beyond the office. Whether hosting Marines in her home or finding families to host Peace Corps Volunteers during the holidays, Rehme strives to serve the broader community. Says La Lime, "She takes on sponsoring medevac patients here from neighboring posts, ensuring they have what they need and can get to where they need to be. She is so in tune with the community that the ambassador looks to her first for counsel on reaching out both to Americans and South Africans."

> "Every once in a while an enterprise has the good fortune to be graced with an indispensable person who ensures the organization reaches its ultimate potential. At Embassy Pretoria, that person is Ann Rehme, who delivers day after day."

Looking back on her decision to join the Foreign Service later in life, Rehme says: "I think waiting to join the Service has allowed me to better appreciate the experience and wisdom I have gained. I am grateful to Thomas J. Brennan, currently serving in the Foreign Commercial Service in Baghdad, for steering me toward this career. When, as my supervisor, he first mentioned it to me, all I could think of was, 'Why is he trying to get rid of me?'" ❑

The M. Juanita Guess Award

FOR A COMMUNITY LIAISON OFFICE COORDINATOR

Mike Vining

"You couldn't pay me enough to be the CLO," is a response frequently heard when a Community Liaison Office coordinator position is advertised at posts around the world. Fortunately for Embassy Ulaanbaatar, Mike Vining had a different response.

Being a CLO coordinator is not an easy job. How many positions have eight areas of responsibility that range from crisis management to event planning, with employment liaison, guidance and referral, education liaison, welcoming and orientation, information and resource management, and community liaison in between? The list of duties is enough to leave the faint-hearted in the dust.

Within weeks of his arrival in Ulaanbaatar, Vining's positive attitude and enthusiasm brought about a perceptible change in the level of energy at post. He used his cheery outlook to make the embassy's newsletter a lively snapshot of life at post, using fresh articles, lots of photos and up-to-date information. By encouraging community members to contribute articles on their knowledge and experiences of Ulaanbaatar and the rest of Mongolia, he expanded the information base, while creating partnerships within the community.

In addition to working on the newsletter, Vining started organizing outings and adventures. Soon, more and more people were joining in. "I sort of fell into the position. The previous CLO had left, and so the position was empty when we arrived at post. When the position was re-advertised, with a little encouragement, I decided to apply. I was the only applicant," he said.

Vining's personal goal for his time in Mongolia was to be a stay-at-home dad. Vining's wife, Lisa, serves with the U.S. Army, and this was their first FS tour. "I was really looking forward to spending time with our daughter," said Vining. "Part of my reasons for taking the CLO position was the opportunity to learn more about Mongolia and to share that learning experience with her."

That's when Vining turned into a whirling dervish, the only way to describe the breadth of activity he unleashed in his community. The Fourth of July community event is big at every post, but there aren't many CLOs who, along with volunteers, will actually make hundreds of "brats" by hand to ensure their fellow Americans will have hot dogs on the day.

Contacts with local businesses turned into opportunities for community adventures in Vining's capable hands. Jet-boat river excursions, long weekend camping trips and tours of chocolate and beer factories, are among the activities that he arranged.

Soon the post's decrepit "community center" was on Vining's hit list of things to do. He successfully lobbied for funding to turn a dismal basement into a lively facility enjoyed by the entire community. Family movie nights, happy hours, streamed-in sporting events and even homework sessions and extracurricular activities are now on the center's calendar.

Mike Vining (front right) and the embassy team he organized for a Habitat for Humanity project.

Every fall around the world, CLOs in remote posts are thinking about turkeys: how and where to get them. The situation has gotten so bad that the department's Family Liaison Office's CLO training program warns CLOs not to get into the turkey business. That advice fell on deaf ears in Ulaanbaatar.

Vining and his CLO assistant, Stephen Burnett, had a plan. But it took many months and many meetings with local businesspeople before they convinced a local company that there was a market for turkeys in Ulaanbaatar. That November, an entire container of frozen turkeys arrived at post. The American community, including the mission, international school, Peace Corps Volunteers and private companies, all sat down to a proper Thanksgiving dinner. Today, turkeys are available in many local markets, with one Mongolian catering company offering pre-roasted turkey dinners.

"We have a very proactive community, with everyone pitching in to help. Stephen has provided enormous support. We are also lucky to have Tumenbayer, our Locally Engaged Staff assistant, in the office. He is pivotal in facilitating cultural events, which help bring Americans and Mongolians closer together," says Vining.

Vining is often asked whether he would be a CLO again at another post. His answer is always yes.

"I could see myself being a CLO again; what better way to learn about the people at post, both American and host country nationals? It is a job filled with amazing opportunities for discovery."

It is obvious the CLO bug has bitten him.

The nomination for the M. Juanita Guess Award states: "Mike believes anything is possible." ❑

The Avis Bohlen Award

FOR A FOREIGN SERVICE FAMILY MEMBER

Charla Chaudhry

Fifty years ago, the Soviets opened Tirnova, a rehabilitation center for children suffering from tuberculosis. In 2009 Charla Chaudhry, a Foreign Service family member in Chisinau who is one of two winners of this year's Avis Bohlen Award, walked into Tirnova with her colleagues from the International Women's Club of Moldova.

"It was like going through a time warp. It seemed nothing had changed since the facility first opened. I mean *nothing*," Chaudhry recalls. "No running water, no clean drinking water, no doors, cemented-shut windows, mold, leaking roof, completely dilapidated — you get the picture."

At the time, Chaudhry was president of the club's grants committee, which administers an active charitable outreach program. Tirnova was one of many places the committee had visited while seeking out beneficiaries for the club's small grants. For Chaudhry, it was a place of lost children; a place the world had forgotten. It grabbed her and wouldn't let her go.

Charla Chaudhry (left) and colleagues, during a recent visit to the Tirnova tuberculosis rehabilitation center.

"I didn't come to Moldova with a plan to do this. I just fell into it. One visit, and I felt I couldn't walk away," she explains. When she got home that night, she told her husband, U.S. Ambassador Asif Chaudhry, that she needed a lot of money: $2 million, to be exact.

The rebirth of the center began with a $10,000 allotment from the Women's Club for a new girls' bathroom. At this moment, Chaudhry realized she was going to be in this for the long haul and needed a strategy to accomplish the task.

"The project began to take on a life of its own. Things started to go full throttle. This was all new territory for me," Chaudhry says excitedly, with an obvious passion in her voice. "I knew I had to ratchet up the game. I decided to take my pictures and story to anyone who would listen and look."

Chaudhry believes that her passion served to inspire others who, in turn, became passionate about the project. "Serendipity had a lot to do with how it all came together: the right place, the right time, the right people," she says. "Everyone was on the same page, and we all ran with it."

Within months, Chaudhry had assembled a group of major donors, helping hands and inspired partners — including the State Department's Humanitarian Assistance Fund, the U.S. European Command, the state of North Carolina, the Latter Day Saints Church Humanitarian Mission, the Rotary Club, Moldovan volunteers and many others. Together, they raised more than $600,000 in cash and supplies.

The club then assembled a team of architects, engineers and contractors to set priorities, draw up plans and define a timeline. Chaudhry attended all of the logistical meetings with the team and was pivotal in seeing that deadlines were met and that all participants were doing their jobs with due diligence. Her engagement with local senior government officials brought additional critical support.

Today, more than 200 children at Tirnova have running water and new bathrooms, mold-free and freshly painted walls, computers for their new classrooms, new windows and roofs, sports equipment and play areas. And as Chaudhry says, "…most of all, we have sent them the message that they are not forgotten, and that they are indeed valuable. Here in Moldova, we have remembered how good it feels to take care of one another."

> "We have sent them the message that they are not forgotten, and that they are indeed valuable."

The nomination of Charla Chaudhry for the Avis Bohlen Award concludes: "It is pivotal to note that Mrs. Chaudhry's efforts with this project didn't just radically change the living conditions of the children from the center; she supported the diplomatic relationship with the Republic of Moldova in immeasurable terms. The fact that the spouse of the U.S. ambassador engaged in this particular project — and many others — with such vigor and succeeded with such effect, will have a lasting impact on the U.S. bilateral partnership with the government of Moldova."

Just before the recent dedication ceremony of the Tirnova Center, Moldovan Prime Minister Vlad Filat called Chaudhry to ask what he could bring. ❑

The Avis Bohlen Award

FOR A FOREIGN SERVICE FAMILY MEMBER

Terry Farrar

What do rebuilding computers, making dress patterns, growing vegetables, directing plays and hosting auctions all have in common? Terry Farrar, a Foreign Service family member in Havana, and one of two winners of this year's Avis Bohlen Award.

"I volunteer. That's what I do," declares Farrar. "Before coming to Havana, I knew working would not be possible. But I was a bit surprised to learn that volunteering could also be difficult, as many local churches and organizations tend to shy away from fraternizing with Americans."

Chief of Mission Jonathan D. Farrar and Terry Farrar (center) join children and staff from the cancer rehabilitation center.

That did not stop Farrar, however. In fact, you might say it inspired her to reach out. Her first endeavor was to support a local nonprofit for children with cancer or in remission. After visiting the children in the hospital, or hosting parties and presenting children's plays for them, she turned to Cuba's artist and diplomatic mission communities for additional support.

Her warmth, charm and integrity inspired others. Local artists donated more than 40 pieces of work for a benefit auction she hosted for the international community. The results were so staggering that the nonprofit donated 10 percent of the proceeds to Haiti's earthquake relief efforts.

Last year, another embassy stepped in to host the auction, and another has volunteered for next year. "My hope was that fundraising for the children's nonprofit would become sustainable, and it seems it is on its way," explains Farrar.

Next, Farrar turned her sights to creating a vocational program at a local church aimed at teaching sewing to impoverished women. Using the ties she had forged with the artists and the international community, she was able to raise enough funds to purchase 20 new sewing machines, desks and chairs. Today, Farrar serves as instructor and mentor to more than 50 women, inspiring them to establish their own small businesses or become independent seamstresses.

"We are blessed and feel privileged to be able to give back after 31 wonderful years in the Foreign Service," Farrar says of her husband, chief of mission Jonathan D. Farrar, and herself.

Residents of Havana aren't the only ones to have benefited from Farrar's tireless efforts to engage and support people. The high morale of the official American community, despite Havana being a hardship post with limited access to goods and services, is a direct result of her hospitality and generosity. For example, she created an extensive vegetable garden at the residence and invited American families to take whatever they wanted. Farrar's warmth extends to the mission's local staff as well, as she includes them in her massive family barbecues and swimming parties.

The nomination states: "These examples serve to illuminate Farrar's unique commitment to creating community at post, but they hardly reflect how overwhelming her commitment has been, particularly within the politically complicated Cuban context. I can think of no other American diplomat in Havana who gave so much time and energy to all the communities at post, or who so patiently and profoundly inspired good will towards America and its role in Cuba."

"I am a conduit for others to help," Farrar explains. "They may want to volunteer, but feel they can't. I provide them with the opportunities and hold events; they participate and help the cause." She goes on to say, "I couldn't accomplish what I do without the support of the entire community. I will happily accept this award on behalf of the community in Havana." ❑

AFSA Post Representative of the Year
Larry Fields

So you want to be an AFSA post representative? Bear in mind that it's a real job. It requires work. People will depend on you. It is high-profile. It is important. Oh, and you won't get paid.

We could tell you what the job entails, but then it might not be as extensive as the job Larry Fields — and this year's AFSA Post Representative of the Year — did in Kathmandu.

Here is a list of what Fields did (in his own words) during the past year:

• I religiously passed on AFSAnet and AFSA News items by e-mail.

• I created and posted bills reminding members to apply for AFSA scholarships and awards, and then shared the posters with AFSA for worldwide use.

• I established a Foreign Service Professional Development Library, housed in the Information Resource Center, which the ambassador applauded in a dedication ceremony.

Meghan Aberle, Larry Fields and Amb. Scott DeLisi attend the Dec. 16, 2010, dedication ceremony for the AFSA Foreign Affairs Professional Development Library in Kathmandu.

Larry Fields is clearly a strong AFSA supporter. "AFSA is uniquely placed to benefit both employers and the employees. It serves as a good example for both private- and public-sector unions," says Fields.

• When the new AFSA Web site went live, I announced the fact to our community and provided feedback to AFSA.

• When some Eligible Family Member employees complained that they were singled our for separate and unequal treatment – they were assigned escorting duties in a way they felt demeaning – I accompanied them to meetings with the deputy chief of mission to raise the issue. Post management then promptly addressed it.

• I teamed up with our human resources officer when she was giving presentations on various employee benefits. She would present the government-provided ones, and I would discuss the non-governmental ones. For example, when she discussed life and long-term insurance, I presented AFSA insurance options. When she discussed retirement plans, I talked about the different individual retirement plan accounts, real estate and other aspects of retirement planning.

• I created an AFSA recruitment presentation, outlining what the association does and how it benefits members. I also shared it with AFSA for its use.

• I suggested the Zipcar membership idea, which culminated in a sizable discount for AFSA members.

• I wrote a biweekly "AFSA Corner" column for the post newsletter, ensuring regular communication with our members.

The Fields family on a trek in Nepal.

• An EFM, the spouse of a USAID officer, applied to the Professional Associate Program. She felt that her application would be disadvantaged because of USAID's chaotic summer bidding cycle this year. I advocated on her behalf with the director general, whose response addressed the issue.

Larry Fields is clearly a strong AFSA supporter. "AFSA is uniquely placed to benefit both employers and the employees. It serves as a good example for both private- and public-sector unions," says Fields.

This is a bad time for unions, which have gotten a lot of bad press lately. Fields sees unions as a partnership. "I do a job for my employer, and in return, I expect to be treated as a professional. It is a partnership and relationship that benefits both," said Fields.

Judging by the work Fields put into his volunteer job as AFSA post representative, it is clear that AFSA, the post and Fields have all benefited. ❑

AFSA Book Notes: Amb. Edmund Hull on *High-Value Target*

BY DANIELLE DERBES, AFSA STAFF

On May 16, the AFSA Book Notes program presented former U.S. Ambassador to Yemen Edmund Hull, who discussed his new book *High-Value Target: Countering Al Qaeda in Yemen.* As AFSA President Susan Johnson stated in introducing Hull, the release of this book could hardly be timelier, given the recent demise of Osama bin Laden.

Amb. Hull laid out three main propositions for effective U.S. diplomacy in the fight against al-Qaida. First, the State Department should place more emphasis on learning from experience and tapping best practices. Drawing on his own experiences, Hull explained that the State Department hires smart people and provides them with training, but much of what FSOs learn is dependent on the leaders under whom they work.

Although every FSO cannot work under a great leader, there is a lot they can learn from what has been done in the past. Hull cited the example of how George Kennan analyzed the sources of Soviet conduct. Emphasizing the best practices developed by U.S. diplomats over the years would improve the State Department as a learning institution and allow for greater capacity for growth.

Broad Solutions Needed

Hull's second proposition was that an effective counterterrorism strategy cannot be conceived of as a purely intelligence or military issue — the scope of the solution must be broad enough to cover the problem. During Hull's ambassadorship in Yemen (2001-2004), this meant linking the security issues that are important in Washington to the development issues that are important in Sana'a. Hull stressed that it is critical to gain the 'buy-in' of the people, as well as of the government.

Finally, Amb. Hull's third proposition is that the embassy country team is an effective mechanism for a government-wide effort, but it needs effective support. One of Hull's goals in writing *High-Value Target* was to demonstrate how much his team accomplished despite having few resources. He maintains that their successes will save more costly expenditures on military operations in the future. The Foreign Service has taken on many new responsibilities in the area of counterterrorism, but the resources provided are not yet commensurate with those responsibilities.

DONNA AYERST

Amb. Edmund Hull discusses his new book at AFSA -HQ event on May 16.

During the subsequent discussion, Amb. Hull faced a series of questions on the future of U.S. policy in the region, the potential impact of the Arab Spring and the role of the State Department in counterterrorism efforts.

CNN's Elise Labott asked how a possible regime change in Sana'a could affect U.S. counterterror efforts in Yemen. Hull answered that, although Pres. Ali Abdullah Saleh was important to U.S. efforts in the country, the partnership between the U.S. and Yemen is broader than any one man, and will continue.

The Arab Spring

The retired ambassador added that in the long term it would be good for the U.S. — and bad for al-Qaida — if there were a smooth transition from Saleh to a more popular president. Al-Qaida's goals to establish an Islamic caliphate and implement strict sharia law do not answer the plight of today's revolutionaries in Yemen, and across the region. Rather, the rights being demanded by today's youth are more in line with the values of democratic governance.

FSJ Editorial Board Chairman Ted Wilkinson asked Hull whether he thought it necessary to maintain a "one size fits all" policy toward the protests, or whether the current country-by-country approach is preferable. Amb. Hull agreed that the differences among individual political situations warrant the country-by-country approach, but cautioned that Washington and the international community should not allow Yemen to drift toward al-Qaida.

Amb. Hull urged the U.S. to work with its allies to prevent the terror network from gaining breathing room. He praised the work of U.S. allies, including the U.K., Jordan, Germany and the Netherlands, for their work on training the Yemeni military and police, and on development issues.

He also noted positive growth in the Gulf Cooperation Council, and stated that he hopes the GCC will take a similar posture toward Yemen as Europe took toward, for example, post-Franco Spain: recognizing the long-term importance of stabilizing the country and bringing it into the fold.

In conclusion, Amb. Hull stated that he believes the Obama administration has a counterterrorism strategy for the region, is actively addressing the problem and is allocating resources. The question now, he says, is effective implementation of the strategy. Hull ended with some optimism for the future: the sooner the U.S. acts, the greater its chances of success in the fight against al-Qaida. ❑

2011 AFSA Merit Award Winners

BY LORI DEC, SCHOLARSHIP ADMINISTRATOR

AFSA is proud to announce the 28 Foreign Service high school seniors who were selected as the 2011 AFSA Merit Award winners. These one-time-only awards, totaling $44,000, were conferred on Washington, D.C.-area winners on May 6. AFSA congratulates these students for their academic and artistic achievements. Winners received $2,000 awards, and honorable mention winners received $1,000 awards. The best-essay winner and the community service winner each received $500. Judges are members of AFSA's Committee on Education, chaired by Amb. C. Edward Dillery and made up of individuals from the Foreign Service community.

This year, 91 students competed for 16 Academic Merit Awards. They were judged on grade point average, standardized test scores, an essay, two letters of recommendation, extracurricular activities and any special circumstances. From the Academic Merit Award applicants, Caroline Huskey was selected best-essay winner, and Jordan Warlick was selected as community service winner.

Sixteen students submitted art merit applications under one of the following categories: visual arts, musical arts, drama or creative writing. Art applicants were judged on their art submission, two letters of recommendation and an essay. Katherine Skipper was selected as the Art Merit Award winner for her short story and novel submissions. Sophia Hubler and Anna Turner were selected as the Art Merit Honorable Mention Award winners. Sophia submitted photographs, and Anna won for her piano submission. Anna was also an Academic Merit Winner.

Nine academic merit named scholarships have been established to date, the newest created this year by the Foreign Service Youth Foundation. These awards were bestowed on the highest-scoring students. The named scholarships are: the Association of the American Foreign Service Worldwide Scholarship; the John and Priscilla Becker Family Scholarship; the Turner C. Cameron Memorial Scholarships; the John C. Leary Memorial Scholarship; the Joanna and Robert Martin Scholarships; and the Donald S. Memorial and Maria Giuseppa Spigler Scholarship.

For more information on the AFSA Merit Awards, the AFSA Scholarship Program, or how to establish or apply for a scholarship, contact Lori Dec at (202) 944-5504 or dec@afsa.org, or visit our Web site at www.afsa.org.

Academic Merit Winners

Erika Cummings – daughter of David Cummings (State) and Constance Cummings; graduated from Rocky Mountain High School, Fort Collins, Colo.; attending the University of Oklahoma, majoring in piano and pre-med.

Hayley Ernyey – daughter of Alexander Ernyey and Helen Lovejoy (State); graduated from Cairo American College, Cairo, Egypt; attending Tufts University, majoring in Middle Eastern studies.

Alexandria Foster – daughter of C. Franklin Foster (FCS) and Virginia Foster (State); graduated from Jamestown High School, Williamsburg, Va.; attending the College of William & Mary, majoring in international relations; designated the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide Scholar.

Eliza Hale – daughter of Jonathan P. Hale (State) and Sarah J. Sandberg; graduated from Escuela Campo Alegre, Caracas, Venezuela; attending Harvard University, majoring in cognitive science; designated the Joanna and Robert Martin Scholar.

Thaddeus Jones – son of Stuart Edward Jones (State) and Barbara Lynn Jones (State); graduated from Sidwell Friends School, Washington, D.C.; attending Duke University, majoring in engineering; designated the Foreign Service Youth Foundation Scholar.

Patrick Morgan – son of Richard H. Morgan (State) and Katheryn Morgan; graduated from Escuela Americana, San Salvador, El Salvador; attending the University of Virginia, majoring in international studies.

John Nesemann – son of Michael E. Nesemann (State) and Susan A. Nesemann; graduated from George Mason High School, Falls Church, Va.; attending the University of Virginia with no declared major.

Alexander Recinos – son of Augusto Recinos (State) and Helen Greeley Recinos (State); graduated from James Madison High School, Vienna, Va.; attending Reed College with no declared major; designated the Donald S. Memorial and Maria Giuseppa Spigler Scholar.

Jennifer Rollins – daughter of Jay Reed Rollins (USAID) and Nancy Rollins; graduated from Forest Park High School, Woodbridge, Va.; attending Brigham Young University, majoring in English.

Marshall Thompson – son of Dean R. Thompson (State) and Jane K. Thompson; graduated from Walt Whitman High School, Bethesda, Md.; attending Wheaton College, majoring in philosophy/theology; designated the Priscilla and John Becker Family Scholar.

DONNA AYERST

Scholarship Winners Honored

AFSA Committee on Education Chairman C. Edward Dillery and nine local AFSA Merit Awards winners attended a May 6 reception at AFSA. Back row, left to right: Amb. Dillery, Thaddeus Jones, John Nesemann, Alexander Recinos, Justin Kanga and Marshall Thompson. Front row, left to right: Jennifer Rollins, Sarah Kelley and Erika Cummings.

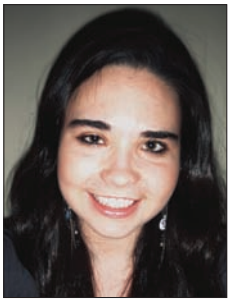
PMA Funds $4,000 AFSA Scholarship

Nick Frankhouser (left), Public Members Association of the Foreign Service Scholarship coordinator, and Amb. C. Edward Dillery, chairman of the AFSA Committee on Education, join this year's AFSA Scholarship recipient, Elise Guice, at PMA's annual luncheon on May 5.

ELISE

Justin Kanga – son of Ardeshir F. Kanga (State) and Cecilia de Kanga; graduated from Montgomery Blair High School, Silver Spring, Md.; attending the University of Maryland, majoring in engineering.

Sarah Kelley – daughter of James T. Kelley (State) and Martha N. Kelley (State); graduated from McLean High School, McLean, Va.; attending the University of Virgina, majoring in anthropology; designated the John C. Leary Memorial Scholar.



Stephanie McFeeters – daughter of Brian D. McFeeters (State) and Melanie McFeeters; graduated from the International School of Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia; attending Dartmouth College, majoring in English; designated the Turner C. Cameron Memorial Scholar.

Anna Turner – daughter of Conrad William Turner (State) and Susanne Turner; graduated from the International School of Belgrade, Serbia; attending Pomona College with an undeclared major; designated the Turner C. Cameron Memorial Scholar and an AFSA Art Merit Honorable Mention winner.

William VanKoughnett – son of Hale C. VanKoughnett (State) and Diane B. VanKoughnett; graduated from the International School of Manila, Philippines; attending Harvard University, majoring in film; designated the Joanna and Robert Martin Scholar.

Ksenia Weisz – daughter of David Weisz (State) and Kaara Ettesvold (State); graduated from the John F. Kennedy School, Berlin, Germany; attending Brown University, majoring in Russian and international relations.

Academic Merit Award Honorable Mention Winners

Cameron Addleton – son of Hon. Jonathan S. Addleton (USAID) and Fiona M. Addleton; graduated from Mount de Sales Academy, Macon, Ga.; attending the Georgia Institute of Technology, majoring in political science.

Mahalia Clark – daughter of Samuel Clark and Lisa Brodey (State); graduated from the International School of Geneva, Switzerland; attending Brown University, majoring in chemistry.

Christopher Huffaker – son of Thomas K. Huffaker (State) and Claire Huffaker; graduated from Webber Academy, Calgary, Alberta; attending Williams College with no declared major.

Elizabeth Leader – daughter of Damian R. Leader (State) and Joan Leader (State); graduated from the American International School, Vienna, Austria; attending the University of Notre Dame, majoring in biological studies.

Rachel Schwartz – daughter of David J. Schwartz (State) and Ruth Ellis; graduated from Washington-Lee High School, Arlington, Va.; attending the College of William & Mary, majoring in international relations.

Samantha Sidhu – daughter of Apar S. Sidhu (State) and Mary Ellen Sidhu, graduated from Lycee Mater Dei, Brussels, Belgium; attending Middlebury College, majoring in international politics and economics.

Jordan Warlick – daughter of Hon. James B. Warlick, Jr. (State) and Hon. Mary B. Warlick (State), graduated from the International School of Belgrade, Serbia; attending the University of California Davis, majoring in international relations.

Art Merit Award Winner

Katherine Skipper – daughter of Thomas Skipper (State) and Kristen B. Skipper (State); graduated from the International School of Beijing, China; attending the University of Richmond with an undeclared major. Katherine won for her creative writing submissions.

Art Merit Award Honorable Mention Winners

Sophia Hubler – daughter of Stephen A. Hubler (State) and Ute Reith-Hubler; graduated from the Anglo-American School, St. Petersburg, Russia; attending Pennsylvania State University, majoring in fine arts. Sophia won for her photography submission in the Visual Arts category.

Anna Turner – See Anna's listing under the Academic Merit Award winners. Anna won for her piano submission in the Musical Arts category.

Community Service Award Winner

Jordan Warlick – See Jordan's listing under the Academic Honorable Mention Winners.

Best Essay Award Winner

Caroline Huskey – daughter of Dr. James L. Huskey (State) and Joanne Grady Huskey; graduated from Saint Andrews Episcopal School, Potomac, Md.; attending Wake Forest University, majoring in economics.

AFSA MERIT ESSAY WINNER

Life's Serendipity

BY CAROLINE HUSKEY

10:34 a.m., Aug. 7, 1998. My world went black. A violent, terrible shake sent chunks of cement crashing down on my head. Dust obliterated my senses. I recall the roar of flames, the cries of the trapped, the pervasive fear. Then a reassuring hand clasped mine and led me toward a pinpoint of light — a hole torn through the thick steel door; on the other side, devastation.

The scene that ensued was a blur of roaring flames, fleeing bodies, and thick dust. I remember a Kenyan man kneeling on the embassy steps, mouth open wide in agony, the color of his deep ebony skin eclipsed by the crimson red of the blood that soaked through his torn clothing. Despite the surrounding chaos, the memory of this man is clear. I understood then that I shared with that man an experience of terrible, hateful, unfair violence.

Just one month after my fifth birthday, I barely understood what was happening. I could not have explained what motivated the terrorist group al-Qaida. Nor could I have comprehended what fault they found in the United States embassy in Nairobi, or for that matter, the United States itself. I could not have understood why I had been a victim of their hate.

Al-Qaida's 1998 bombing of the U.S. embassy in Nairobi created a wave of despair throughout Kenya. It was felt by 10 children left to mourn the loss of their father, Stephen Kimani, who had supported them on his meager salary. It was felt by Sue Bartley, who was robbed of her husband and son with just one heartbreaking blast. It was felt by Rose Wanjiku Mwangi, who suffered for four days trapped under the rubble as the nation prayed for her survival. It was felt by Teresa, a Kikuyu woman who suddenly found herself confined to a wheelchair.

One day, weeks after the bombing, I started to realize the ways in which the Nairobi bombing had enabled cross-cultural understanding as I watched my mother teach Teresa — the Kikuyu woman confined to a wheelchair — how to dance. The attack brought tears to our eyes, and our knees to the ground, but it brought our hands together: Kenyans and Americans, Kikuyus and Luos, young and old, rich and poor, the man crying on the steps and me. Together, we built a memorial park; we prosecuted the guilty; we moved forward; we learned to dance again.

Still, the burning question remains. Why did a few angry men from a little island called Lamu hate my country, my race, my culture enough to kill me? I have seen, heard and felt the hateful intolerance within our world as those with opposing beliefs and glaring differences act violently toward one another. But experiencing this unreasonable hate so early in my life has shaped who I am. I am a person who seeks to understand, rather than be motivated by anger, fear and hate.

I was blessed to have survived al-Qaida's bombing of the U.S. embassy in Nairobi, blessed to have my family alive and blessed to have walked out of a building in which hundreds died. The people in Nairobi that day did not deserve the hatred of a few angry men. The victims were not in any way at fault. They were just in the wrong place at the wrong time. Grateful for my family's survival, I am left feeling that life, for all its logic, is ultimately and unexplainably serendipitous.

Yet this is what makes us equal. This serendipity is what makes the story of the man on the steps, the story of Rose Mwangi, the story of Stephen Kimani, the story of Sue Bartley, the story of Teresa, my own story. The possibility that our fates are interchangeable makes us equal. My life experience has resulted in my belief that life's serendipity makes a stranger's story my own, which means in every way humans are equal. This belief set my life goal of cross-cultural understanding and acceptance. Together, we live serendipitously. ❑

Work-Life Panel • Continued from page 38

seas post is more difficult than in Washington," she concludes. Carrington also points out that wherever the employee may be, workplace flexibility is a necessary component for women to advance in their jobs or enjoy greater career opportunities.

"The State Department has programs and regulations in place, but many people are unaware of what is available," Ikels laments. "We want to see more employees teleworking, so we are in the process of identifying every position as telework-possible or not. If it is, the employee will be notified."

Ikels highlighted the department's life care program, which was specifically designed for people who have to do things from a distance. "Information Quest can help people manage their checkbooks, find a contractor, locate a therapist, manage time and everything in between," she says. "All you have to do is to let them know what your needs are and they will do the leg work."

Family Issues

One of the most difficult challenges facing Foreign Service families is finding programs and support for children with learning difficulties. Stephen Morrison painted a picture of the heart-wrenching experiences he and his wife faced when finding support for their learning-disabled child: "It was like playing 52 pick-up, only you had to play it every time you changed posts. It was starting over each time, finding the right school, the right therapist, the right support; but you do it because it is your child, and you can't quit on your child."

Ikels commented that the culture of the Foreign Service breeds workaholics, and too few superiors take the stance of former Secretary of State Colin Powell, who famously told State employees: "You are not going to impress me by being here at 8 o'clock tonight. What will impress me is if you are at home with your family."

During the question and answer period, members of the audience raised a range of issues, from maternity leave and lactation stations to how taking assignments to meet the needs of your child can prevent an officer from being promoted. ❑

THIS MONTH IN DIPLOMATIC HISTORY:

Ralph J. Bunche: Nobel Peace Prize Winner

BY GREG NAARDEN

This month's combined July-August edition provides us with the opportunity to celebrate a classic American success story. Ralph J. Bunche, who was born on Aug. 7, 1904, in Detroit, established himself as a luminary in multiple disciplines: academia, diplomacy and civil rights.

Ralph Bunche was a self-made man. He lost his parents at an early age, and his grandmother, a woman of modest means, raised him in Los Angeles. Despite the disadvantages of his early years, Bunche distinguished himself academically through primary and secondary school.

Attending UCLA on a basketball scholarship, he studied political science, and graduated as valedictorian in 1927. He continued his studies at Harvard on an academic scholarship, earning a Ph.D. in 1934. He then became a professor at Howard University, where he had a storied academic career.

During World War II, Bunche's work on colonialism in Africa brought him to the Office of Strategic Services and then the State Department. He advised the U.S. delegations involved in establishing the United Nations, and also drafted portions of the United Nations Charter. He served the U.N. for decades in various positions, including as under secretary for political affairs, and attained worldwide fame as a Middle East mediator. He won the 1950 Nobel Peace Prize for negotiating the 1949 Arab-Israeli armistice.

Mr. Bunche used the fame he acquired on the international stage in his advocacy for civil rights in the United States. He marched with the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. in Alabama and Washington, D.C., and served on the board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for 22 years.

Ralph Bunche died in 1971, leaving an enduring legacy at each of the institutions he served. Parks, scholarships, buildings and the State Department's library have all been named after him, testimony to a passion for service that was best summed up by U.N. Secretary General U Thant in his eulogy:

"Ralph Bunche was a practical optimist who believed that whatever might go wrong in matters of peace or justice, it was never too late to try again. His love of humanity and his belief in mankind's ultimate goodness carried him through many a crisis which would have broken a lesser man." ❑

"This Month in Diplomatic History" is a periodic column on U.S. diplomatic history. Authors are members of the Friends of the USDC, a support group for the U.S. Diplomacy Center.

Greg Naarden is an FSO who has served in Frankfurt, Dushanbe and Kabul. He is currently assigned to Washington, where he is trying to track down artifacts for the U.S. Diplomacy Center. If you're interested in the Friends of the USDC, feel free to contact him at NaardenGL2@state.gov.

Plaque Ceremony • Continued from page 35

in service to our nation. I proudly join Secretary Clinton in saluting those lost and in thanking the members of our diplomatic service for their selfless contributions to America and the world. Signed, Barack Obama."

Explaining the background of the AFSA memorial plaques, Johnson emphasized that family members are an integral part of the Foreign Service. In the year 2000, in cooperation with the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide, AFSA established a plaque recognizing Foreign Service family members who have died abroad.

"Every year, on Foreign Affairs Day, a wreath is also placed at that plaque, located on the other side of this lobby, to recognize the sacrifices made by family members who accompany their spouse or parents overseas. Today, we proudly honor all those represented on these hallowed walls," Johnson said.

Johnson ended her remarks by adding, "As we solemnly honor Eugene Sullivan, today, nearly 40 years later, we also remember another member of the Foreign Service family, Sharon Clark, who died of cerebral malaria on Dec. 26, 2010, while serving in Abuja, Nigeria."

DONNA AYERST

Deputy Secretary of State James Steinberg offers words of condolence to the Sullivan on Foreign Affairs Day, May 6.

A Sense of Mission

Deputy Secretary of State James B. Steinberg then took the podium: "From all that I've learned in hearing this remarkable story, Gene Sullivan's life was shaped by a powerful sense of mission. During tours of duty of Seoul, Taipei, Manila, Bangkok and Addis Ababa, Gene lived his dream of helping the poor and the powerless. That commitment extended to his private life, as well. Gene gave generously to many charities and orphanages.

"Gene's friends and family describe him as a man full of intellectual curiosity with a love of travel, new cuisines, and new languages, especially languages. He spoke 13 of them, including two Chinese dialects.

"They also talk about what a loving husband and father he was, and we're honored that so many of his members of his family are here with us today. And I want to pay tribute to you for being here. Thank you so much." ❑

Unaccompanied but Not Alone

BY GABRIELLE HAMPSON, COMMUNICATIONS & OUTREACH OFFICER, FAMILY LIAISON OFFICE

Many Foreign Service families are separated when employees are assigned to a post where family members may not accompany them. This separation creates hardship for all members of the family, but can be especially difficult for children. They must grapple with feelings of isolation and loss, as well as live in a community that may not realize that a parent is not only absent, but serving in a high-risk environment.

To recognize the sacrifices children make when their parents serve at an unaccompanied post, the Family Liaison Office distributes medals and certificates of recognition to Foreign Service children up to the age of 21. The awards are given at a variety of venues: the child's end-of-year school

Proud parents Denise and Jason Banks watch as their son Matthew receives a State Department medal.

celebrations; at ceremonies at overseas missions; by a local public official; or at the annual Youth Awards Ceremony held in the State Department's Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room.

"Without the support of my family, I would never have been able to survive mentally. My family is the true hero," says Jason Banks, who recently returned from a one-year assignment to Pakistan. Banks nominated his 5-year-old son, Matthew, for a medal.

Because they are unable to attend the mid-July award ceremony in Washington, Banks contacted the mayor of his hometown, Frisco, Texas. The mayor presented Matthew with his award at a recent city council meeting.

Since establishing the program in 2006, FLO has distributed more than 2,000 awards and certificates to children. This recognition program is now available to all foreign affairs agency employees serving permanent change-of-station or long-term TDY assignments at designated unaccompanied or limited accompanied posts. All eligible Foreign Service, Civil Service and Locally Engaged Staff employees may submit nominations.

To request a medal for your child, you may download a nomination form from FLO's unaccompanied tours Web page at www.state.gov/m/dghr/flo/c14521.htm. For additional information please e-mail FLOAskUT@state.gov. ❑

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A Consummate Negotiator: Rozanne L. Ridgway

Last month AFSA recognized Ambassador Ridgway's many contributions to American diplomacy and her lifetime of public service.

By Steven Alan Honley

On June 23, Ambassador Rozanne L. Ridgway received the American Foreign Service Association's Award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy, in recognition of a distinguished 32-year Foreign Service career and a lifetime of public service. Past recipients of the award include U. Alexis Johnson, Frank Carlucci, George H.W. Bush, Lawrence Eagleburger, Cyrus Vance, David Newsom, Lee Hamilton, Thomas Pickering, George Shultz, Richard Parker, Richard Lugar, Morton Abramowitz, Joan Clark, Tom Boyatt, Sam Nunn and Bruce Laingen.

Roz Ridgway was born in St. Paul, Minn., on Aug. 22, 1935. While still enrolled at Hamline University, she passed the Foreign Service exam and was accepted into the Service. So upon graduation from Hamline in June 1957, she immediately left for Washington, D.C., to take the A-100 orientation course and remained in Washington for her first Foreign Service assignment, in an office working on educational exchanges.

Her overseas postings included Manila, Palermo and Oslo; Nassau, where she was deputy chief of mission; and appointments as U.S. ambassador to Finland (1977-1980) and the German Democratic Republic (1982-1985). In Washington, she served as a political-military officer in the Office of North Atlantic Treaty Organization Affairs, and as desk officer and, later, deputy director for policy and planning in what was then the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs (now Western Hemisphere Affairs).

Over the course of a 32-year diplomatic career, Ambassador Ridgway used her skills and expertise to negotiate complex multilateral and bilateral agreements across a host of issues affecting the interests of the United States. Beginning in the 1970s, for example, Ridgway was a central player in the task of containing disputes over fishing rights to prevent bloodshed and damage to significant international and domestic interests.

Toward this end, she worked closely with the American fishing industry, Congress and officials from Ecuador, Peru, Brazil and the Bahamas. Her success in this regard led to her appointment in 1975 as deputy assistant secretary of State for oceans and fisheries affairs and, in 1976, her confirmation by the Senate as ambassador for oceans and fisheries affairs.

Later that year, when Congress enacted a 200-mile exclusive economic zone before such zones were accepted by the international community, Ridgway led dedicated teams of U.S. negotiators to reconstruct an entire body of law governing ocean resource management, particularly fisheries, and international marine science. She personally conducted many of the negotiations and worked with key congressional figures to obtain approval of all the agreements before the legislation came into effect. The whirlwind 13-month effort successfully prevented conflict on the high seas.

As Counselor of the Department of State and, subsequently, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Negotiations, Ridgway brought to a successful conclusion the slow-moving negotiations for the payment of claims of Amer-

Steven Alan Honley is the editor of the Journal.

ican citizens for property seized by the communist government of Czechoslovakia and the return to Prague of gold reserves stolen by Nazi Germany, which had been held in New York and London since their recovery at the end of World War II.

In 1985, Amb. Ridgway returned to Washington from her post in East Berlin to praise from President Ronald Reagan for the "careful, clear-eyed dialogue which you were able to establish in this sensitive post." He noted "the breakthroughs [you] accomplished after patient, difficult negotiations in such areas as religious freedoms, the reunification of divided families, and the payment of American claims." And he added that he looked forward to her "wise counsel and expertise" as assistant secretary of State for European and Canadian affairs.

For the next four years, Amb. Ridgway led the interagency team supporting Pres. Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz through all five Reagan-Mikhail Gorbachev summits, was the lead negotiator for all of the summit joint statements, and chaired the summit working groups dealing with human rights. She worked closely with Secretary Shultz to obtain the release of Soviet dissidents and spoke out on behalf of Soviet Jewry.

Assembling a talented team of colleagues as deputies, office directors and desk officers, Amb. Ridgway ensured that the rich agenda of European, Canadian and international organization issues that comprised the bureau's concerns and responsibilities at that time were addressed in a manner that served U.S. interests.

After retiring from the Foreign Service in 1989, she served as president, chief executive officer and co-chair of the Atlantic Council of the United States from 1989 to 1996. In 1994, President Bill Clinton named her as chairman of the Board of the Baltic-American Enterprise Fund which, over the next 16 years, worked to assist the strengthening of democracy in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. As required by law, the Fund sold its successful enterprises in 2010 and financed the creation of the Baltic-American Freedom Foundation, a legacy institution dedicated to preserving and enhancing ties between the United States and the three Baltic countries.

Amb. Ridgway retired from both the Fund and the Foundation in 2011. She is at present chairman of the Board of Trustees of the CNA Corporation, an Alexandria-based not-for-profit organization engaged in operations analysis and solutions for the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps and a variety of federal, state and local agencies.

She also served on many corporate boards of directors between 1989 and 2009, including Boeing, 3M, Sara Lee, Manpower, Citicorp/Citibank, Berlitz and Nabisco, and on the boards of the National Geographic Society and the Brookings Institution. She was selected as one of Corporate America's Outstanding Directors in 2001. At present she is a director of the Emerson Electric Company, the Washington Institute of Foreign Affairs and the Senior Living Foundation of the American Foreign Service.

Amb. Ridgway received the American Academy of Diplomacy's Annenberg Award for Excellence in Diplomacy in 1989, the Secretary of State's Distinguished Service Award in 1989, and the Presidential Citizen's Medal, also in 1989. She was elected to the National Women's Hall of Fame in 1998. She and her husband, retired Captain Theodore E. Deming, USCG, reside in Arlington, Va.

Foreign Service Journal Editor Steve Honley interviewed Amb. Ridgway on April 20.

FSJ: *Who were some of the people you admired or were inspired by during your Foreign Service career?*

RR: At every stage of my career, whether junior, mid-level or senior, there was always someone on the horizon of my activities whom I admired. In my first assignments, which tended to be in educational exchanges and other things that women were doing in the late 1950s, there was a group of women who had entered government service during World War II and had segued into the Foreign Service. They were very talented and, I must say, very willing to help a junior officer — after all, I was only 21 when I came into the Service — sort of grow up.

Next, there are names like George Vest, Ron Spiers, Margaret Tibbets, Joan Clark — and John Hugh Crimmins, a wonderful figure in Latin American affairs, and particularly important because he taught me how to write for, and work with, Congress.

And then when you get to the end of my career, you're looking at George Shultz.

FSJ: *Growing up in Minnesota, did you meet any diplomats?*

RR: No, though there were some there. I lived at home in a very family-oriented setting, and had never even considered the Foreign Service until an FSO on home leave turned up at one of my university classes to talk about diplomatic careers and handed out application forms.

FSJ: *About this time, you also read a magazine profile of a female FSO that inspired you, right?*

RR: Yes, a piece in *Life* magazine profiling Pat Byrne, a talented officer.

FSJ: *When did you take the Foreign Service exam?*

RR: When I was 20, which was the earliest you could take it then.

FSJ: *You passed it on the first try?*

RR: Yes, and then I took the oral here in Washington, where I was spending a semester at American University. During my final semester back in Minnesota I got a telephone call from State saying, "We're going to be forming the June 1957 class; would you be available for it? And what is your preference on an assignment — Washington, D.C., or overseas?" I chose Washington because I had not lived away from home, except for taking American University's Washington Semester program. And it seemed wise to learn how to live away from home before venturing halfway around the world.

In addition, I came into the Service on language probation — I had taken Spanish but had not had any opportunity to use it. By coming to Washington and getting accustomed to living on my own, I could room with some other young women and take my language course before I went out to Manila. So by the time I went overseas, I was a little older and a little more experienced, and had gotten my language requirement out of the way.

FSJ: *How many languages did you learn over the course of your career?*

RR: Four in all: Spanish, Italian, Norwegian and German. I got a 4/4 in Italian, and 3/3 in all the others. As for Finnish, that one I studied every morning with a teacher, and I went back to the basics, reading fairy tales and things of that sort. There's one line I can still recite that means: "There were once two princesses who lived in faraway China."

I learned enough to give a speech in Finland's two languages: Finnish and Swedish, which was easy because of the Norwegian. I really practiced and I gave it at the Finnish-American Friendship Day convocation one year.

FSJ: *I bet that was a hit.*

RR: It was. But I never tried that again, because it just took so much time.

> ***"In my first assignments I worked with a talented group of women who were very willing to help a junior officer … sort of grow up."***
>
> **— Ambassador Rozanne L. Ridgway**

FSJ: *What were your first assignments?*

RR: After completing A-100, I was assigned to the Office of International Educational Exchanges. There I encountered a group of women who had been in the Office of War Information during World War II and then came into the education exchange part of State. Then I went to Manila in 1959 for two years as one of three personnel officers, after which I came back to the Foreign Service Institute to study Italian in preparation for my assignment to Palermo. I really enjoyed Italian — it was the language that, for some reason, suited me best.

From 1962 to 1964 I was a visa officer in Palermo where, once again, I found a group of talented female officers. It was a great assignment. I have an idea that for many FSOs, their consular assignment is the one that brings back the fondest memories.

I had been pushing for a political job for my next assignment, and when some inspectors came through, they thought they could help. Sure enough, along came an assignment to The Hague. But when I went to the airport to fly back to the States for home leave, I discovered that the Alitalia pilots had gone on strike!

Meanwhile, there was a call from Washington instructing me to skip home leave and do a direct transfer to the Netherlands. I was at a colleague's home waiting for flights to resume, so when the consulate called to pass the message, they let me choose whether I was still "officially" at post. I decided I really wanted to go home on home leave as planned — my mother had been recently widowed, and it was important for me to get back to Minnesota. And so it was decided that I had already gotten on the plane and was therefore not available for direct transfer.

I spent the summer of 1964 in Minnesota wondering what would happen to me, having given up a political assignment I'd wanted. Then, out of the blue, I heard from George Vest with an assignment to a regional political-military affairs job in the office of NATO affairs, one of the most illustriously staffed offices in the State Department at the time.

In a way, that began the second phase of my career. First there was what I would call the "growing up" phase, where I gained experience living overseas, acquiring a couple of languages and developing some professional skills. And then I came back to Washington for a three-year assignment in EUR/RPM, from 1964 to 1967.

FSJ: *What was your next assignment as a political officer?*

RR: In 1967 I went to Oslo, where Margaret Tibbets was ambassador. It was a small post, so I got to work with her closely and see how she managed her relationship with the staff, with the Norwegian government and people, and how she entertained and managed her household.

FSJ: *Didn't Ambassador Tibbets pass away recently?*

RR: Yes, she did. In fact, I wrote a tribute to her that ran in *State* magazine. I think by the time I became ambassador to Finland a decade later, I very much modeled myself after what she had done as chief of mission in Oslo. She was very generous with staff, sharing representational funds and travel opportunities — all the kinds of things that are so enriching for junior and mid-grade officers.

At the same time, she dealt with major policy questions. France was already departing from NATO, and the Norwegians had a plebiscite coming up on the question of whether they were going to leave the Alliance, as well. In addition, Vietnam posed a challenge for NATO solidarity. And so there were many substantive issues on Embassy Oslo's agenda.

By the time I finished my three-year tour in Oslo, it was 1970. The United States was in turmoil, with the Kent State shootings, and the assassinations of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy, and so much more. So it seemed like the right time to come back to the States, even though I was "off-cycle" for assignments. But that was when I met Joan Clark, who sort of talked John Hugh Crimmins into letting me be the Ecuador desk officer. And that began yet another phase of my career.

FSJ: *Did being a female FSO present any special challenges?*

RR: No, not really. First of all, I was a girl between two boys in my family and, if I'd sat down at the dinner table and said, "I want to be a fire chief some day," nobody would have said, "You can't." So I sort of went through my career aware of the occasional slight, but not letting it become central to my feelings about the Foreign Service.

There were a few things that came up early on, but again, I was 21 years old when I entered the Service. I don't think I would have been handing senior positions to someone like me, either, until I'd had time to "grow up" in the Service.

"Out of the blue, I heard from George Vest with an assignment to the Office of NATO Affairs, one of the most illustriously staffed offices in the State Department at the time."

And about the time that I had begun to feel that something was wrong, I was selected for the job in RPM, which was a wonderful opportunity that didn't come to a lot of other women. But the result is that I was not in the course of my career an "angry woman."

I think you have to have a passion and anger and a sense of having been hurt somehow or being disadvantaged to get involved in lawsuits and the like. And I simply didn't share that passion.

That said, I certainly knew women who had to resign from the Service simply because they had married. They had a real case, but that didn't affect me. I see that separately. But as for the other complaints, I didn't feel the passion to join in those fights. And so I didn't.

FSJ: *When you did an oral history interview with the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training some years back, you made a comment that Oslo was your loneliest tour. Was that just the place and stage of your life?*

Ambassador Ridgway with President Ronald Reagan and Chief of Staff Donald Regan at a 1985 White House dinner.

RR: I think it was Norway. I'm from Minnesota, so the place wasn't terribly alien. But Norwegians are shy and careful in their friendships, and very family-oriented, so they don't have extensive social circles. And it was way up north, and it could get very dark.

It took a while to be seen as somebody who wasn't just sort of flitting through the area. But as I mentioned, I had some representation money, so I was able to entertain colleagues from the Norwegian Foreign Ministry, the Institute of Foreign Affairs, younger parliamentarians and circles like that, and gradually life got easier.

FSJ: *You also said something in that interview along the lines that, when you first got there, you made up your mind that "I'm not going to learn how to play bridge or make rugs or ski cross-country." But you ended up doing all three!*

RR: Right. It was lonely, but you get through it. And later, when I became ambassador in Finland in that same kind of climate, I could see that it was tough on the staff. So we tried to do things, arrange our travel programs for the darkest part of the year, keep moving, keep thinking and stay occupied.

"When I became ambassador to Finland, I very much modeled myself after what Margaret Tibbets had done as chief of mission in Oslo."

FSJ: *Your next assignment was as State Department counselor, correct?*

RR: Yes, in 1980. But between the time I left Helsinki and started as counselor, most of the job's responsibilities disappeared.

FSJ: *What happened?*

RR: There's a bit of background to this. Lucy Benson Wilson was retiring, and suddenly there were no women among the State Department principals on the 7th floor. I was called and asked to become counselor, even though I was not particularly close to the department leadership at that time.

I knew that was a risk but accepted the position anyway, on the grounds that I thought I was qualified. But as I said on the day that I retired, "Don't ever take a token job unless you have a token mind." And as I took up my duties, I realized I was there just to be a photograph in the department's organization chart. Even so, I had a great year.

FSJ: *But you had to find your own issues to work on, right?*

RR: Right. But that allowed the position to be placed at the disposal of offices that never had their issues make it to the 7th floor. So it worked out. You do what you have to.

With Finnish designer Armi Maria Ratia, left, in Helsinki, 1977.

FSJ: *What happened when the Reagan administration came in the next year?*

RR: As you would expect, I was replaced as counselor right away, but eventually was named Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Negotiations.

Once again I found things to do, like resolving the Czech gold claims issue. That involved very interesting and very intricate negotiations, in which the British were also involved. And I had a really good team, just as I'd had when I was handling fisheries issues.

By the way, almost the first international issue facing the new administration involved fisheries in Canada, on the

eve of President Ronald Reagan's visit to Ottawa. I was asked to take that issue on, and we managed it successfully.

FSJ: *You handled a lot of different issues during your career, but I think probably most people would say you're best known for working in Europe and dealing with those issues. Do you consider yourself a specialist in European affairs?*

RR: Well, people may think of me as a Europeanist, but, in fact, I was a negotiator. My fisheries activities were very extensive, including negotiations with Japan, Korea, China, Taiwan and Mexico.

FSJ: *You and your team negotiated something like 26 bilateral fisheries agreements, I believe.*

RR: Something like that. I was a problem-solver: when something had to be untangled and fixed and put back together again in a way that served U.S. interests, that's what I did. And it tends to look European, but it is really negotiations.

"When something had to be untangled and fixed and put back together again in a way that served U.S. interests, that's what I did."

FSJ: *Obviously you became a subject-matter expert. Is that the way you tended to approach those assignments? Or did you rely on people who knew all the details?*

RR: Both. You had to know the subject yourself, because your counterpart across the table was probably the national principal for whatever that issue was. But I also always tried to surround myself with a team of people who knew even more than I did and worked together well.

FSJ: *Forgive me if this is trying to read too much meaning into it, but do you think female FSOs tend to be more oriented to teamwork and sharing credit and getting the job done as opposed to ego? Or is it just a matter of personality?*

RR: Well, I'd be hard put to say that — think of people like George Vest and Ron Spiers and George Shultz. All of them had that same quality of work-

ing through teams. So it just depends on the person, not the gender.

FSJ: *When you went to Nassau in 1973 as Ron Spiers' deputy chief of mission, you commented that you found the DCM course really valuable. What made it so useful?*

RR: At that time the department had a very high casualty list of promising officers going out as DCMs, only to fall victim either to misunderstanding their role within the embassy or not understanding the DCM's relationship to the ambassador. And so Dr. Harry Wilkinson, who is now at Rice University, put the DCM course together. And I was one of those who went through one of its first iterations.

The phrase that still stays with me from it was "establishment of the so-called 'psychological contract' between the DCM and the ambassador." What is our relationship? What do you expect of me? What do I expect of you — and how are we going to conduct our relationship? I suppose these days management courses call that candor and transparency.

That is a tremendous technique for all kinds of situations. When I was assistant secretary of EUR, I had all these deputy assistant secretaries and office directors who were wondering what I expected of them; and I, what they expected of me. And there's nothing wrong with sitting down and talking about it. And it was the same with George Shultz when he was Secretary of State.

FSJ: *That's a good segue to discussing your three ambassadorships. When you discussed your time in East Germany during your oral history, it sounded like there was no clear idea of what the department wanted you to do.*

RR: Larry Eagleburger, then under secretary for political affairs, called me in 1982 about going to the German Democratic Republic. I said fine and started preparing. This was during the

"Don't ever take a token job unless you have a token mind."

first Reagan administration, and it was clear that the policy was that we didn't talk to people in places like the GDR. They're the enemy, the Warsaw Pact; so unless they're willing to quit and join NATO, you don't talk to them.

When I paid my calls on East German officials I said, "This is what we want done: we want families reunited, we want claims paid, the Jewish claims paid, we want the paintings of Lyonel Feininger returned to his family…" And after I recited that long list, Erick Honecker and others said, "Suppose we did all that. What are you prepared to do for us?" I had to say "Not a thing."

And so I went back to Washington, and said to Larry Eagleburger: Look, if you really want me to solve these problems, you've got to give me something to work with — whether it's trade or the opportunity for East German officials who are traveling in the States to come to Washington and meet with counterparts and go over issues, or to consult with us on the Helsinki Process. And Larry's answer to me was, "Well, you know the view. You can go out there and if you can put something together, fine. But I leave it up to you to hear the sound of the saw on the limb behind you."

FSJ: *So did you ever hear the saw?*

RR: No, mostly because I came back to Washington on issues before the saw could be sharpened. I still often lost in the Washington interagency setting, but I think I got people to understand that there was a balance here.

For example, the Canadians walked away with all of our wheat trade in East Germany and Eastern Europe. They just came in with better interest rates on trade, and the rest. I can't tell you how many hundreds of millions of dollars of economic trade we lost because people said, "Well, they have to solve all these problems first before we can compete for trade with them."

And I said, "If that's what you want to do, fine. But you should have both pieces in front of you: Here's the opportunity and here's the cost if it's not pursued. And if you are consciously accepting the cost to maintain the principle, fine. But don't expect me to go out there and do both — seize this opportunity and maintain this principle. It's one thing or the other, a conscious choice.

I think in some respects that's what brought me to the attention of George Shultz. In my cables back to Washington, I made my pitch for some of these packages of things. I lost, but I was trying to work these issues in a way that served U.S. interests. You can't operate with a whole long list of "You must" and nothing saying "We will." You can't operate that way. Yet we often still try that approach today; and when we do, problems remain unsolved.

FSJ: *And you believe that put you on Secretary Shultz's radar screen.*

RR: Yes. At that time George Vest was the director general, but I don't know what kind of conversation took place in Washington. I only know that I got a call, first from George Vest and then from George Shultz, about the assignment as assistant secretary for European and Canadian affairs. I obviously accepted gladly since I knew that it was not going to be like the counselor job. And the next four years (1985-1989) were just incredible.

FSJ: *Did you plan all along to leave the Foreign Service after that, or were you hoping to find another job?*

RR: A little bit of both. There was an assignment in the offing for me as ambassador to NATO. I think everybody knew it — the Europeans certainly did. But I decided that I really had done enough. The four years had ended on an upbeat note, and you have to ask, "Can I top this?" And the answer was "probably not."

Besides, it was time to go. I really didn't want to pack up again, and I had married before going out to East Germany. And we'd had two years apart when I was in East Germany and Ted was in Alaska. So I just couldn't do it. Somebody reminded me the other day that I was asked, 'What did you retire to do?" And I said, "I retired to consider the possibilities." And two or three whole new careers unfolded over the next 20 years.

FSJ: *First, you worked with the Atlantic Council.*

RR: Yes, I was president and chief executive officer for them, doing what everybody does who ends up in not-for-profits: I was a fundraiser. And you try to think of projects that might interest people who have funding, so that you can keep the staff together.

FSJ: *You spent six years as the council's president?*

RR: No, three years as president and then another three as co-chair, along with General Andrew Goodpaster. During the second three-year period, when David Acheson was the Atlantic Council president, I really was sort of a teammate, working on a number of broad issues and doing some fundraising where I could. But for the most part, I built up my corporate career.

FSJ: *And has that been your other focus in retirement?*

RR: Oh, yes. I loved it. But I had to stop — nearly all those companies have mandatory retirement ages. I am still on one corporate board, Emerson in St. Louis, where I've been extended for a couple of years. But this is my last year there. In the course of the last three years, I have retired in order from all of the other boards. And now I'm trying to understand retirement.

FSJ: *Do you have any suggestions for today's Foreign Service as an institution?*

RR: I don't know the new Foreign Service. I look at the nominations in *State* magazine, and I certainly see a range of faces and genders and colors and backgrounds. That indicates a Service that has grown and matured, and is more reflective of American society than it ever was in my day. And the Service has been willing to change. Whether it's been forced to, or just un-

derstood that it was missing a lot of good people by being the way it was, I don't know.

But judging by those pictures, a lot of change has taken place. Judging by what I see in the *Foreign Service Journal* and *State*, technology and the whole world of information and media and things of that sort have imposed changes. And, of course, terrorism and new security requirements have imposed enormous pressures on the State Department to change.

Still, when it comes to recruiting, I think State ought to continue to go after the very best people it can find. We have to find the kind of people who constantly learn, who have the ability to adjust, a sense of humor, a delight in interchange with people and other cultures, and general toughmindedness.

The Foreign Service is a demanding profession, where careers can be 30 years long or more. Recruiting for specific skills and assuming that those requirements are not going to change will simply leave you with an inflexible FSO corps with all the wrong abilities as time passes.

"When you look back on a career and can be warm-hearted about all the people you met, even those on opposite sides of issues, you know you've been part of something special."

I'm a great believer in going out and finding bright people who are educable, comfortable in changing circumstances, able to relate to other cultures, able to function in other languages and able to keep learning. Men and women with intellectual and physical courage and stamina. That's what I would look for.

FSJ: *Do you do any recruitment for the Service?*

RR: Yes, when I'm back in Minnesota at Hamline University. Plus a lot of people call and ask me to talk to their children or to small groups of people. I'm happy to do that. For one thing, it keeps young people moving through my life. Where else am I going to see them?

I'm a big fan of government service. I'm desperately sorry to see the denigration of public service at any level. There may have been mistakes. And I understand the concern about the pension problem and so on. But the underlying issue is whether we're going to continue to value public service, as I think we must.

For women and minorities in particular, public service has offered equal pay for equal work longer than many other parts of the economy. And in a sense, it has moved more quickly to create equal opportunity. That isn't always the case in other professions. So public service has been a good place for people to start.

The Foreign Service is a wonderful career, I believe — an exciting place to be, as are most government careers. I believe in the importance of public service and the value for our country of public servants.

With Secretary of State George Shultz in Italy, 1987.

FSJ: *Do you see the Foreign Service as a career as opposed to a series of jobs?*

RR: Yes, it's a career full of building blocks. We're back to the capacity to learn. No matter whether you're a junior officer or mid-level, you're acquiring

experience: how to negotiate, how to meet with people, how to write and speak effectively across a society, and how to develop contacts. You don't just pick up knowledge and professionalism and then leave.

FSJ: *Use of the State Department Dissent Channel has fallen considerably in recent years, as has the number of nominations for AFSA's four annual constructive dissent awards. Some people attribute those trends to a change in the culture of the Service, where people just give up on trying to change policy and suppress their dissent to get ahead.*

RR: That's a shame. When you get to where you're sitting with the president and the Secretary of State, and are asked your opinion, you don't give them the answer you think they want. You've got to give them *your* opinion. You may lose the argument, as I sometimes did when I was arguing for more engagement with East Germany. But I did my best. And then I went back and tried something else.

With her husband, Captain Theodore Deming (ret.), USCG, 1987.

Perhaps the Office of the Inspector General could take on the subject of dissent as they do their post reviews. Include it as a question when interviewing officers: "Have you ever disagreed with post management? How have you expressed the disagreement? How was it received?" And the team should ask ambassadors whether they feel their staff members are thinking carefully about problems and coming up with alternative approaches.

FSJ: *That sounds like a terrific idea. Any final thoughts?*

RR: I loved my career, and would do it all over again. It felt like 10 years, not 32. And when you look back on a career and can be warm-hearted about all the people you met, even those on opposite sides of issues, you know you've been part of something special.

FSJ: *Thank you very much.* ■

Taking Diplomatic Professional Education Seriously

A new American Academy of Diplomacy study makes a compelling case for establishing a systematic training regimen at State.

By Robert M. Beecroft

In February, representatives from the United States and 15 other countries gathered at Wilton Park in the United Kingdom to debate issues related to — as the conference organizers put it —"creating the new diplomat." Given the fluid, multifaceted environment in which diplomacy now operates, participants agreed that relying on informal, on-the-job professional education and training for diplomats makes about as much sense as doing so for military officers.

Coincidentally, the question of what the "new diplomacy" entails, and how to ensure that U.S. Foreign Service officers are fully equipped to carry it out, was the subject of a report the American Academy of Diplomacy released that same month. Titled "Forging a 21st-Century Diplomatic Service for the United States through Professional Education and Training," the AAD study calls for amassing and sustaining the human and budgetary resources required for a systematic regimen of professional diplomatic education at the Department of State.

That objective dovetails nicely with the thrust of the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review, which concludes that building "a civilian capacity to prevent and respond to crisis and conflict and give our military the partner it needs and deserves" cannot be done on the cheap. Moreover, it will require close collaboration, and a broad consensus about what is at stake, between the executive and legislative branches. The full report can be found on the Academy's Web site: www.academyofdiplomacy.org.

Robert M. Beecroft, a Foreign Service officer from 1971 to 2006, currently serves as a supervisory senior inspector in the State Department's Office of the Inspector General. His previous assignments include: ambassador and head of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe's mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina; special envoy for the Bosnian Federation; and principal deputy assistant secretary of State for political-military affairs, among many others.

Conducting the Study

In August 2009, the American Academy of Diplomacy's president, retired Ambassador Ronald E. Neumann, asked me to take the lead in producing a report on how the Department of State educates and trains its professionals for their roles and missions, including specific recommendations for changes and improvements. With funding from the Una Chapman Cox Foundation and additional help from AFSA and the Delevan Foundation, we assembled an advisory group of some 25 concerned people, chaired by one of America's most distinguished senior diplomats, retired Ambassador Thomas R. Pickering.

Advisory group participants included retired U.S. diplomatic and military officers, corporate executives, academic experts, congressional staff members, QDDR working group members, and representatives from the American Foreign Service Association and the U.S. Institute of Peace. Although they were not responsible for the study's conclusions, the director general of the Foreign Service and the director of the Foreign Service Institute were regular and welcome participants in the process, along with senior members of their staffs. In addition, through the good offices of AFSA, we

were able to tap into the views of serving U.S. diplomats in the field and in Washington.

In May 2010, the advisory group held its first meeting, and a small drafting group got to work. We also assembled a separate "red team," whose task was to question the assumptions, conclusions and recommendations in the draft. Two of our colleagues visited a number of embassies in Washington, including those of Brazil, Canada, China, France, Germany, India, Mexico and the United Kingdom, to learn how other diplomatic services educate and train their professionals. We also investigated in detail the professional education requirements of U.S. military officers, which are as systematic as State's are ad hoc.

Although we compared notes with QDDR working group members as the two projects went forward, the two studies complement, but do not duplicate, each other. Perhaps the most important distinction is the fact that the QDDR consistently refers to training, while the AAD project's stress is on professional education across a diplomat's career.

In other words, we focused on how strong intellectual skills, informed analysis, structured thinking, the art of negotiation and the ability to manage programs can best be acquired and developed by Foreign Service generalists as they advance through the ranks. Such a focus goes beyond training, to the core qualities of a diplomat's abilities.

Relying on informal, on-the-job professional education and training for diplomats makes about as much sense as doing so for military officers.

Early on in the project, there were intense debates in the working group about whether diplomacy is in fact a profession and, if so, what qualifies it as such. Here is one definition, drawn from the Web: "Diplomacy is the art and practice of conducting negotiations between accredited persons … representing groups or nations. It usually refers to international diplomacy, the conduct of international relations through the intercession of professional diplomats with regard to issues of trade and war. International treaties are usually negotiated by diplomats prior to endorsement by national politicians."

I suspect that many Foreign Service officers these days would say: "How old-fashioned." They might also cite a more succinct definition: "Diplomacy is the art of being able to tell someone to go to hell in such a way that he looks forward to the trip."

More seriously, if — to quote another definition from the Web — a profession is "a discipline whose activities are carried out by a group of specifically prepared and like-minded individuals," then we need to ensure that the diplomatic profession qualifies as such every bit as much as the military profession. Consequently, two questions arise: What are the activities that today's and tomorrow's U.S. diplomats carry out? And are our diplomats being adequately and "specifically prepared" to perform those activities?

Investing in Professional Training

Those are the core questions that the AAD report addresses. It is direct and to the point:

"Since at least 2001, America's 'smart power' equation has been out of balance. Increasingly, underinvestment in diplomacy and development has led to our military taking on responsibilities traditionally met by diplomats and development experts. Driven by the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and the need to respond to the global threat of terrorism, resources and influence have flowed, abundantly and too often uncritically, to the Defense Department, which more than anyone has pointed to the limitation of bullets in addressing the challenges in this region.

"While the root cause of this imbalance lies in a lack of broad understanding about the value and requirements of diplomacy and development at this point in history, the lack of resources allocated to the State Department and other foreign affairs agencies, and the inconsistent and uncoordinated response of those agencies to rapidly changing international priorities and demands have also played a contributing role."

The heart of the report consists of eight specific recommendations that focus on the need to redress America's chronic underinvestment in diplomacy and strengthen and expand the State Department's professional development process. The first three deal with the broad question of resources, for without proper funding and sufficient personnel the specific steps recommended by us — or anyone else — will be fruitless. Thus, we stress the need to:

- Redress the chronic underinvestment in American diplomacy;
- Provide and sustain a 15-percent "float," or personnel overcomplement, which is essential to free up FSOs for professional education and training (and which already exists at the Defense Department); and
- Make a long-term commitment to investing in professional education and training.

We are well aware that acquiring and maintaining such resources in the current budget climate will be extraordinarily difficult. To succeed will require active, effective lobbying on Capitol Hill and a carefully calibrated public outreach effort, targeting opinion leaders and key audiences throughout the United States. But the alternative — a second-rate diplo-

matic force incapable of meeting the nation's goals — is simply unacceptable in today's and tomorrow's world.

Taking Training Seriously

Without a larger work force to increase flexibility, those already serving will find that they must remain in critical jobs and cannot be spared for training. All the talk of mandates will be so much hot air if we cannot establish a larger reserve of training positions. This is something the State Department realized as early as 2008, when it expanded the current training requirement to a total of about 1,100 positions, most of them for language training.

The next two recommendations are the most far-reaching in the study. The first deals with strengthening the personnel system so that at least some assignments can be deliberately related to a long-term view of essential training.

For this to happen, we want to break certain cherished traditions. One of these is the myopic focus on assignments that considers only the immediate needs of the Foreign Service and the preference of the officer. We do not think this approach adequately serves the national interest in a fully trained professional corps. Instead, the personnel system should be reinforced with staff and authority to play a more central role.

The Career Development Program has already begun to move in this direction, with its list of essential requirements for promotion. But it leaves these steps entirely to the officer. Nor is it yet clear that the personnel system will be able or willing to enforce its own rules. We think it should.

For this to happen, there must be a rebalancing of forces: enough bodies to train; stringent requirements for certain types of training; and a clear enough linkage between training and promotion to break the deeply rooted Foreign Service culture of resistance to training — an approach our nation can no longer afford. We recognize that such change must come in tandem with the resources to implement them; but come it should.

The AAD report's findings dovetail nicely with the thrust of the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review.

Training vs. Education

The next recommendation changes the focus from training to education. Foreign Service officers, like other serious professionals, need intellectual preparation for the much broader responsibilities that come with seniority. This is recognized in a notion of our military colleagues that they "train for certainty and educate for uncertainty."

The utility of education, not just training, is borne out overwhelmingly by the experience of those who have had such opportunities — in the now-discontinued Senior Seminar, at the service colleges, or through university training.

We believe the goal must be to give every mid-level officer a year of professional education, not just a pastiche of short (and mostly optional) training courses jammed into already crowded professional lives.

Professional education must involve a more serious commitment to reflection and thought. Eventually, we recommend that such a year of advanced study, relevant to one's career track, become a firm condition for promotion to senior ranks.

We recognize that the resources do not currently exist to move instantly to such a program. We therefore recommend assigning growing numbers of officers to a year of professional education at service colleges and other universities, until we reach the point at which everyone can participate. Resources permitting, State might revisit the utility of something like the old Senior Seminar, in the hope that we will someday carry our own weight in the area of professional education, as FSI now does in training.

Other recommendations return to the focus of training. We recommend establishing a temporary corps of roving counselors, drawn extensively from among recently retired FSOs, in response to problems that the mid-level gap has caused. With two-thirds of FSOs having spent less than 10 years in the Service, more attention must be paid to mentoring, as well. The director general is moving ahead with a similar program, which we strongly endorse.

Whatever changes we or others recommend, on-the-job training will remain a fact of life. But why should we go on assuming that every Foreign Service officer knows how best to motivate another generation, or is a great teacher? This is why we recommend conducting a study to examine best practices in on-the-job training.

Senior FSOs Need Professional Education, Too

The report's final three recommendations apply to how our most senior officers are prepared for their jobs.

The experience of our large group of former chiefs of mission on the advisory group is that few country directorates have an adequate knowledge of how best to prepare a new ambassador to go to his or her post. As a result, too much time is wasted while the new chief of mission designs his or her own consultation. A five-day training course for desk officers and

others responsible for preparing new COMs for their posts would help ensure that bureau personnel are fully prepared to assist new chiefs of mission in identifying major policy issues and arranging for appropriate consultations.

Similarly, we continue to entrust senior positions within the department to persons from outside the profession who are unfamiliar with the bureaucratic and professional culture in which they must lead and function. To address this gap, we recommend developing a familiarization course for new non-career officials based in Washington.

This course should focus on the structure and procedures of the department, the interagency process and Washington power relationships, not on the responsibilities of chiefs of mission overseas — the subject of the seminar ambassadors now take before beginning their assignments in the field.

Our report focused on the Department of State's Foreign Service cohort, because that is where the competence of the American Academy of Diplomacy is strongest. However, we recognize that our partners in the business of diplomacy in USAID, Commerce and Agriculture have similar needs for expanded professional education and training. We strongly support reviews similar to this one in these other agencies.

From Vision to Reality

Significant obstacles to implementing our recommendations remain. Diplomacy continues to be little understood and largely invisible to much of the American public.

In Congress, negative stereotypes about diplomats persist, and — unlike the military, with its bases and industrial infrastructure across the country — the State Department can count on relatively few allies on Capitol Hill. We are continuing outreach efforts in Congress and the executive branch, expanding our dialogue with the American public and developing alliances with other individuals and organizations whose goals complement our own.

The heart of the report consists of eight specific recommendations to redress America's chronic underinvestment in diplomacy and strengthen State's professional development process.

Ironically, current budgetary concerns might be one such ally. In recent years, Defense Secretary Robert Gates and a number of senior U.S. military officers, long concerned with relentless force overstretch and mission creep, have been among State's strongest advocates. The Fiscal Year 2011 Department of Defense budget request, which includes overseas contingency operations funding for Afghanistan and Iraq, totals $708 billion, though as of late May the final authorization had not yet cleared Congress.

Meanwhile, on April 14, the House and Senate approved legislation embodying an agreement between the Obama administration and congressional leaders to fund the government for the remainder of FY 2011. Signed into law on April 15, H.R. 1473 funds the State Department and Foreign Operations accounts at $48.98 billion, some $7.8 billion less than the administration's original request for $56.8 billion.

We have been down this road before, but this time the scenery has changed. The neat lines dividing diplomacy, development and defense have been blurred, and in some cases erased altogether. The natural partners of diplomats have ceased to be primarily other diplomats, or functionaries in ministries. Our Foreign Service officers urgently require the strongest possible preparation to meet the new challenges they face. As professionals, they cannot afford a return to the status quo.

The American Academy of Diplomacy's diplomatic professional education and training report, taken together with the broad vision set out in the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review, offers a specific, workable road map. What is required now is the political will to transform this vision into reality. ■

The Kings and I

An FSO explains why consorting with heads of state isn't everything it's cracked up to be.

By Henry Precht

My first encounter with a head of state, I seem to remember, was on the front porch next door when my mother held me up to exchange waves with FDR as he drove down Montgomery Street in Savannah en route to give a speech. As I was less than 2 years old then, "seem to remember" is the appropriate verb form — as it also might be for the tales that follow.

After a long period without sovereign contacts, a new start began when I was the Navy duty officer in Naples and received a call one Sunday afternoon from the embassy in Rome. "The king of Saudi Arabia," I was told, "will arrive at Capodichino Airport this evening and sail on the *Independence* for an official visit to the States. We think he may have a herd of goats with him to provide his usual beverage. Will you take care of meeting the goats and getting them promptly to the ship?"

"Aye, aye, sir," I replied, and began to wonder just how I might do that. But a call to the commissary manager lined up a refrigerated truck, which I met at the airport. Finding the most in-charge-looking FSO within the official enclosure, I saluted smartly, and said, "I'm here for the king's goats."

"Good. Stand nearby, please."

The plane landed and a platoon of men in white robes with curved knives disembarked and boarded limos. I waited, but no goats appeared. It was an inauspicious start for my career of service to sovereigns.

The next opportunity came when I was a new FSO, and President John F. Kennedy visited Rome. As a control officer, I was told that he wished to deliver an unscheduled speech on Capitoline Hill after calling on the mayor. "But there will be no one there," I observed. "All Romans will be eating lunch."

"That's *your* problem," was the official response. So I called the U.S. Information Service and ordered up an enthusiastic audience for JFK to address.

Next to arrive in Rome was Vice President Lyndon Johnson, preceded by various peculiar demands (e.g., raise the hotel shower head). Again a control officer, I was told on a Saturday evening that LBJ wanted to take with him on departure at noon Sunday 50 silk ties and five oil paintings, which should include some cows and a lot of blue, and be priced at not more than $150 each.

Deputy Chief of Mission Outerbridge Horsey said he would round up the ties and I should see to the paintings. So I called the USIS and ordered them up. At 9 a.m. Sunday, somehow everything was in place, including five paintings, one with a cow and another an abstract (with some still-sticky blue paint) by a USIS staffer — each priced at exactly $150.

Dealing with Peacocks

Continuing my quest for top people, I arrived in Tehran in 1972 for a four-year tour. Each year I escorted a visiting group of War College colonels to an audience with the shah

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of Iran, who, for an hour, answered their wide-ranging questions. Most elicited impressive answers, except perhaps for the annual, inevitable query about his opposition. "A mere nuisance," he assured them, "which will not impede Iran's march to greatness."

On another occasion, I was escort officer for Senator Charles Percy, D-Ill., who had a private audience with His Imperial Majesty while his staffers and I waited outside. After a bell rang, we were ushered in to be introduced by the senator. At the end of the list he added, "And of course, you know Henry Precht." I can still hear that booming imperial silence.

A few years later I was the Iran desk officer as the Peacock Throne began to show deep cracks. I argued against those who wanted the shah to use the iron fist to quell his opponents, believing that liberalization of the regime might improve the U.S. position in Iran. Before his fall, the shah came to know my name and told an interviewer I was a "son-of-bitch McGovernite." Few FSOs, I suspect, have been so creatively cursed.

My experience with the king of Saudi Arabia was an inauspicious start for a career of service to sovereigns.

As the Iranian Revolution neared its climax — the shah fled, the Ayatollah Khomeini returned, Prime Minister Shapour Bakhtiar tried and failed to run the state — Marvin Kalb used a news broadcast to flag the split between the White House and State: "The White House says it fully supports Bakhtiar; State officers say he is doomed."

The next morning I was summoned to the White House and found, seated at a huge round table, everyone senior to me in the department, from assistant secretaries to Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. President Jimmy Carter entered. He was livid. Referring to the Kalb program, he said, "We cannot conduct effective policy when dissenting opinions are leaked to undercut us. The next time this happens, the leaker will be fired, and so will his boss." He stormed out.

One assistant secretary, glancing at me, called the president unfair. (Actually, I agreed with him and had not leaked, although many in the department knew my views.) Sec. Vance, ever the healer, cautioned, "We hear what the president said, and he is right. Now, let us forget this meeting, but remember his message."

Three weeks later, someone leaked a report of the meeting to the *New Republic.*

Eventually, the shah's hex worked. Senator Jesse Helms, R-N.C., blocked my appointment as ambassador to Mauritania because "this fellow brought down one king who was our friend, and we don't want to put him close to another one" (the king of Morocco). My approach to that neighboring royal realm foiled, I was assigned as deputy chief of mission in Cairo in July 1981.

Off Bended Knee

Shortly after arriving, I was taken by the ambassador on an introductory call on President Anwar Sadat in his Delta village home — more like a McMansion with very high walls in the suburbs. Sadat began to tell us his strategy for forthcoming talks with Israel in Washington when a helicopter was heard outside and Vice President Hosni Mubarak entered. After being introduced, he joined us in the circle, like me, a silent notetaker. A few months later, he was president.

As chargé d'affaires I had a number of meetings with Mubarak, one of which was particularly stressful. Two high-level U.S. delegations arrived simultaneously, each with three or four members of Congress and six or seven constituents, for a grand total of more than 20 men.

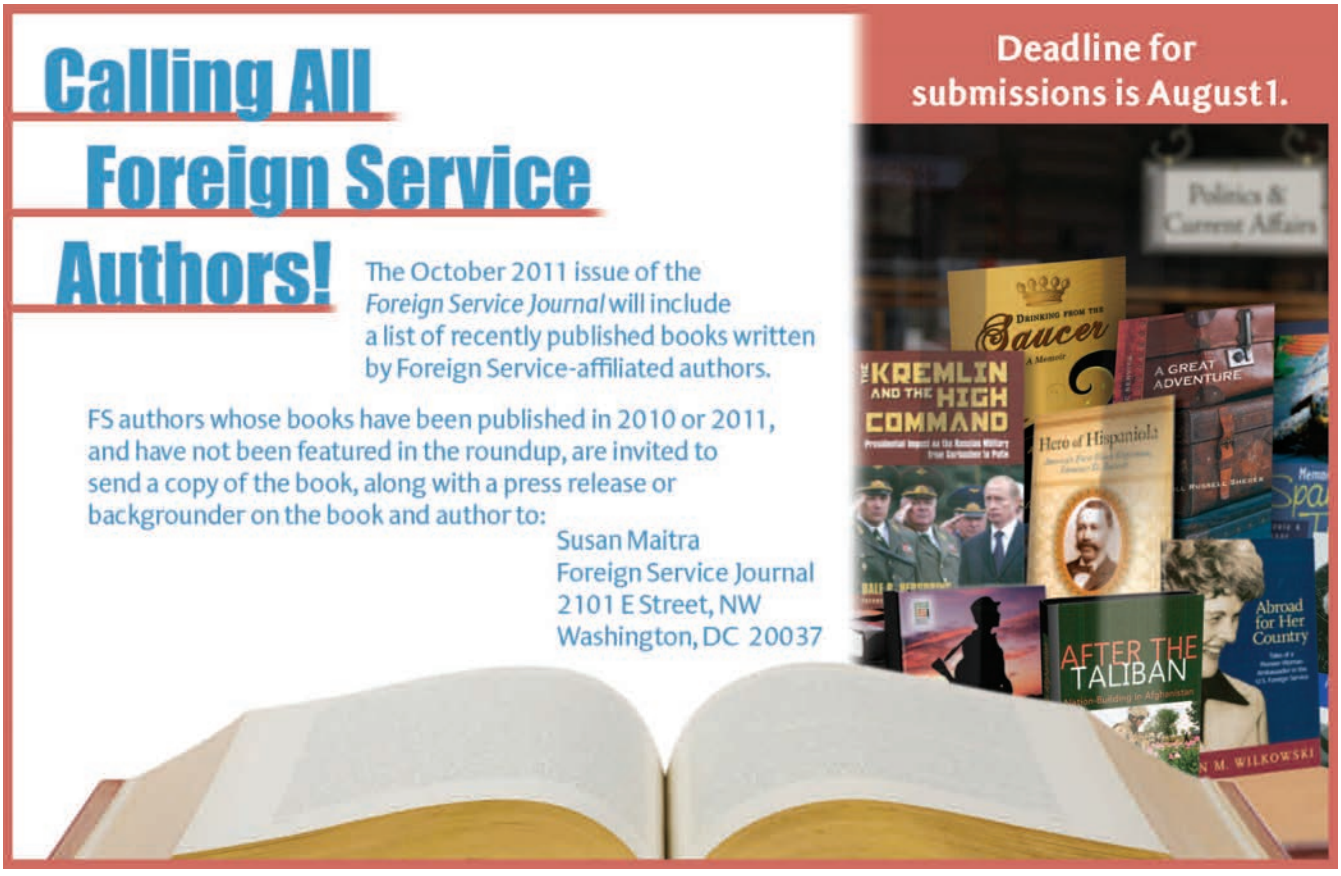
The Egyptian president normally met visitors in a small office with space for just five or six guests at most. I asked advice from the chief of protocol, who insisted that only members of Congress were welcome — no private citizens.

When I told the assembled throng that a trip to the bazaar would be arranged for the excluded travelers, the head of one delegation said he could not abandon them: "They paid my way; I must stay with them." But the leader of the other group whispered to me, "I can see you're in a spot; we'll go with you on the bazaar tour." When I took the pragmatic Representative Dick Cheney, R-Wyo., and his two colleagues for the audience, Mubarak exclaimed, "What's this? I thought there would be two dozen of you."

When I made my farewell call on the president several years later, he greeted me with a wry smile. "Well, Henry, you were here four years, and we didn't have an Islamic revolution," he remarked. I responded with an even weaker smile, not yet imagining that his tenure would some day rival that of Ramses II in its longevity.

But my own time at the top was over. All I was left with was the need for two joint replacements, the consequence of so much career time spent on bended knee. ■

Watch for the October FSJ*'s annual roundup of books by current and former members of the Foreign Service and their families.*



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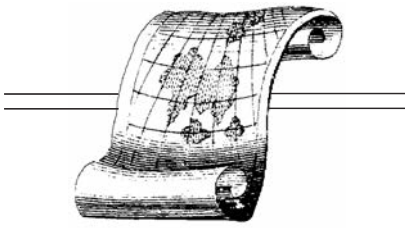

REFLECTIONS

The Greater Honor

BY VICTORIA H. HESS

My family moved to Peshawar, in the Northwest Frontier province of Pakistan, in July 1998. That name always suggested a certain wildness to me since the area is located at the edge of the country, with a wide ungovernable belt known as the Tribal Territories between it and the Afghan border. As long as we stayed in the city, we were assured safety; but if we chose to venture west, a military guard was required.

It is the duty of members of the dominant Pathan tribe, which is closely affiliated with the Taliban, to protect guests with their lives if necessary. This sense of honor helps explain why no outside force has ever conquered the areas held by the Pathan, and why the Pakistan government concedes that the Tribal Territories are still ungovernable.

In 1998, Peshawar was not yet on the world's radar screen. Al-Qaida had not yet made the news, nor was Osama bin Laden a household name. But within weeks of our arrival, the bombing of the U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam changed our lives: our talk became grim, and we adopted a "but for the grace of God" attitude. Unknown to us, the U.S. government was making plans to respond.

At 3 a.m. one mid-August day, with just a 24-hour warning, every American in our mission was gathered in front of the consulate — about 20 people. We were told we would be driving to Islamabad, then flying from Pakistan. None of the families knew why. We were puzzled, sleepy and scared, but we tried not to upset our children.

We drove east on the Grand Trunk Road toward Islamabad.

While waiting, we talked among ourselves, and learned from the few allowed to stay in-country that our government had declined to tell the NWFP authorities why we were leaving. These authorities had expressed concern, for the omission disturbed the traditional sense of Pathan honor by implying that we were running from their protection. After all, they would keep us safe no matter what.

Even so, we drove east on the Grand Trunk Road toward Islamabad. The trip through the night and into the gold-rimmed dawn was quiet. A plane would meet us in Islamabad for a 30-hour trip to Baltimore, but we were still in the dark.

Only after the Red Cross met us in Baltimore did we learn that, while we were in the air, the United States had launched cruise missiles at suspected al-Qaida strongholds, one of them only 60 miles from our home and barely outside Pakistan. Rioting followed.

We later heard from third-country friends who had stayed in Peshawar that, after a few days, life returned to normal, and the international school reopened.

But it would be five months before our government allowed us to return to post. The "Pak-Evac" families, as we came to be known in Washington, came close to rioting ourselves over this delay.

Still, what I remember most poignantly is our convoy through the NWFP toward the Punjab. The U.S. government had not only refused to tell local officials why we were leaving, but later bombed perilously close to the province. Yet as we left, they did what they could to protect us until we had left their territory, fulfilling their sense of duty by providing an escort.

As we drove into the dawn, at every dusty kilometer along the route, we saw a pair of fatigue-clad soldiers standing at attention, guns held ready. By the time we crossed into the Punjab, the sun had risen and our honor guard was gone. ■

Victoria Hirschland Hess was married to a Foreign Service officer for 17 years. Their fourth overseas tour, in Pakistan, included three evacuations, a car bombing and a coup, interspersed with moments of joy from the hospitality of their hosts. She and her children now live in Jackson Hole, Wyo.

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