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On the cover: Vice President Joseph R. Biden addresses the families of Foreign Service members killed in the line of duty at AFSA's Memorial Plaque Ceremony on May 3 at the State Department. Secretary of State John Kerry and AFSA President Susan R. Johnson also spoke on the solemn occasion. Photo by Donna Ayerst. At lower left, the U.S. Capitol. Photo by Anne Wernikoff.

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### Secretary Kerry's Opportunity

BY SUSAN R. JOHNSON

he Sept. 11, 2012, attack on our mission in Benghazi has riveted the media once again, as politicians debate whether someone in the Obama administration tried to cover up what happened there and a host of related issues. The professional concerns of the Foreign Service, however, are focused on a different template.

In its report, the high-powered Pickering-Mullen Accountability Review Board identified "systemic failures and leadership and management deficiencies at senior levels within the State Department," and raised implicit questions about interagency coordination. In other words, Benghazi is a tragic and poignant example of institutional leadership dysfunction, one that should be taken as a wake-up call.

Institutional dysfunction often besets several inextricably linked dimensions of an organic system, organization or institution. The ARB zeroed in on leadership and management within the Department of State, and highlighted the apparent dispersal of responsibility among bureaus and offices for handling a crisis that, in its judgment, could and should have been anticipated and handled better.

Analysis of other dimensions of institutional weakness or dysfunction within the

State Department and the Foreign Service has been the subject of many of my recent columns.

In these columns, I have made a case for structural and institutional reform of the State Department and the Foreign Service, and raised some fundamental questions. Is diplomacy a profession and, if so, what are its requirements? Do we not need a strong, professional career cadre for effective diplomacy in an increasingly complex world? And if so, what sort of professional development does it require to meet the challenges of today and tomorrow?

Does the State Department really no longer need a strong Foreign Service as the primary vehicle of American diplomacy? Must we choose between nurturing a culture of professional excellence, values and esprit de corps, and just going along with political ad hoc-ism and acquiescence to a context that reduces the Foreign Service to a diminished sub-identity? My conclusion has been that to strengthen American diplomacy and the State Department, we need to strengthen the Foreign Service.

With that in mind, my columns have addressed three sets of issues, starting with the preponderance of political appointments in leadership positions at the State Department and as ambassadors to important missions abroad. I have explained the debilitating impact of this practice on the Department of State and Foreign Service, and urged steps to arrest and reverse this trend.

Second, I have outlined the difficult issues connected with adapting the Civil Service personnel system to the require-

> ments of diplomacy, for better complementarity and coordination between it and the Foreign Service personnel system within State.

Third, I have called for reform of the Foreign Service

to revitalize it professionally and enable it to grow a leadership bench with strategic vision that can deliver objective, nonpartisan advice to political leaders and implement foreign policy effectively. For this purpose, the Foreign Service should revisit recruitment, assignment and evaluation policies, assess the long-term impact of the "cone" system on leadership development and quality, and commit seriously to establishing "training capacity" and a professional education system that is appropriately integrated with career advancement.

One possible way forward would be the establishment of a high-level commission to study and recommend institutional reforms to best serve the demands of American diplomacy in the 21st century. Such a commission should include current and former members of the Foreign Service, as well as members of Congress, academics and eminent personalities with understanding of foreign policy and diplomatic practice.

It is time once again to reaffirm the value of a merit-based, representative professional career Foreign Service to carry out American diplomacy. Secretary of State John Kerry possesses a unique association with, and understanding of, the Foreign Service. Drawing on his long experience with diplomacy and world affairs, he could leave an important legacy by revitalizing the Foreign Service and the practice of diplomacy, in the true spirit of the Foreign Service Acts of 1924, 1946 and 1980.

I welcome your comments at johnson@ afsa.org.

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



#### LETTERS

#### Diplomacy in Action or Inaction?

In what may have been just a strange coincidence, the April 12 *Washington Post* opinion piece by diplomats Susan Johnson, Ronald Neumann and Thomas Pickering ("Bring Back Professional Diplomacy") ran on the same day as a full-page ad for the HBO series "Veep" depicting Julia Louis-Dreyfus' character falling asleep at an international conference. The ad's headline? "Diplomacy in Action."

HBO may amuse its viewers with such portrayals, but the depiction of a bored, disengaged diplomat representing the United States is nothing to laugh about. And that is precisely why Johnson, Neumann and Pickering are spot on in their critique of the current crisis in American diplomatic practice.

The U.S. Foreign Service is imperiled, as they explain, by the rising number of short-term and inexperienced political appointees who lack the training, language skills, on-the-job experience and commitment that distinguish professional diplomats from others.

While some political appointees bring valuable personal assets to the job of representation, most do not. What's more, their growing presence erodes professionalism and costs the State Department in terms of institutional memory, effectiveness and efficiency. As Johnson, Neumann and Pickering point out, Secretary of State John Kerry can best signal that diplomacy really matters by taking steps to right this imbalance.

Jane C. Loeffler Washington, D.C.

#### Foreign Service, Know Yourselves

The April edition of *The Foreign Service Journal* is a masterpiece of writing and editing. After 40 years of trying to understand and propagate our collective ambitions, experiences and organizational aspirations, everything has finally been all wrapped up in one brilliant package. Kudos to all the good folks who put it together!

Regrettably, it is still not possible to assert that all Foreign Service personnel management goals have been validated, or rendered clear and cogent. As a group of government employees, we are indeed fortunate that we have not been parodied on "Saturday Night

Live," or in a feature film or TV series. Just a few seconds of reflection by anyone with embassy experience could produce some award-winning plots. One can also be sure that there are presidential aspirants out there who would fire the whole U.S. Foreign Service if they could.

Nonetheless, thanks to the *Journal*, AFSA members now know more about their union and professional association and the past, present and future of the Foreign Service as an institution.

John Wellington Macdonald Foreign Service Reserve, retired Austin, Texas

#### **Stop Selling Embassies**

Your March issue should serve as a call to the Foreign Service to take a stand on the issue of political appointments to ambassadorships abroad. The "Talking Point" on the subject by Steve Honley and the letter from Tom Niles come at a perfect time—before the 2016 potential presidential candidates start promising plum posts to potential donors.

It is a happy coincidence that recently departed Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton is reported to have held off financial backers pending a decision on her own candidacy. For who among possible rivals from either party could be more familiar with the need for experience and demonstrated expertise in diplomacy and policy formulation?

The American Foreign Service Asso-



ciation must take the lead on this, but is unlikely to do so absent strong and vocal support from AFSA members. Every politician seeking the presidency—including, most prominently, Clinton—should be told in uncompromising terms of AFSA's opposition to appointments from outside of the

Foreign Service as representatives of the United States in foreign lands.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and individual senators as well, should be left with no doubt on this point, and any and all candidates for AFSA leadership should get the same message from its members. President Barack Obama has been as guilty as his predecessors in the sale of embassies to the highest bidders, so we must look to his successor for the end to this disgraceful and harmful practice.

Now is the time to start, before the next auction begins.

Alan Berlind Senior FSO, retired Bordeaux, France

#### **Political Infiltration**

I read with interest Ambassador Charles Ray's March Speaking Out column ("The Foreign Service Needs a Cultural Shift"). Institutional change is inevitable, but too often it unfolds at a glacial pace, well behind the curve.

Amb. Ray and I share a common background of military service prior to joining the Foreign Service, and our tenures as FSOs overlapped, as well. Still, despite these commonalities, I must take issue with some of his assertions.

Amb. Ray is certainly correct in diagnosing the fundamental issue: Foreign Service influence on our foreign policy has eroded over the past several decades. But I would suggest the causes he cites are largely overstated. In addition, after noting what seems to me to be the foremost factors—the growing polarization of American society and the encroachment of political appointees into State Department leadership positions—he then dismisses them as insignificant.

It is true, as Amb. Ray asserts, that political leaders would prefer a career Foreign Service that carries out its policies without question. There is nothing new

about that. But what is different may be the strength with which that preference, which varies with administrations, is expressed.

When I entered the Foreign Service, during the Kennedy administration, it was a central tenet that we owed the political leadership our best

analysis and policy options, regardless of domestic politics. This ethic was reiterated to me at post after post, as well as in Washington. Perhaps my supervisors happened to be ethical giants, but my experience suggests they were the rule rather than the exception.

They also made clear to me that once a policy decision was made, it was to be carried out to the letter. However, it was acceptable—I cannot say encouraged to question the decision before carrying it out if one felt strongly, and these challenges occasionally carried the day.

For that reason, the assertion that the Foreign Service as a whole is "conflict averse" is utter nonsense. Certainly, there have always been some FSOs who meet that definition, and perhaps too many of them attain positions of too much influence. But to suggest that they ever predominated is untrue. Moreover, many names leap to mind that dispel this claim.

Similarly, Amb. Ray's assertion that the FS is institutionally risk-averse also strikes me as a canard. Yes, there are many FSOs who fit that description, but by no means a majority (at least in my experience). At every post at which I served, as well as back in Foggy Bottom, I was constantly impressed by the thoughtful, innovative and mold-breaking ideas, suggestions, arguments and actions my colleagues advanced.

After being thoughtfully examined and considered, many—perhaps most—of those ideas failed for what seemed perfectly valid reasons. Not all brainstorms are worth adopting, after all, and some that do pass scrutiny bring significant unintended consequences.

> Amb. Ray may nonetheless be correct that such suggestions are too often dismissed without

adequate examination. But that does not mean that if adopted, they would have been successful.

Almost invariably, at least in my experience, the failure to assay these suggestions was driven by political considerations, and by political appointees who were able to stop any process they did not like. I saw this in both the Latin American and European bureaus, and heard of similar situations in most other bureaus. (The Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs was notorious in this regard during the George W. Bush administration.)

In sum, while I share several of Amb. Ray's concerns, I believe his analysis is flawed. He properly identifies the core problems—increased domestic polarization and political infiltration at the State Department's policy level, displacing



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FSOs and undercutting the Foreign Service's ability to influence policy discussions and decisions—but then tilts at windmills.

I don't know how this situation can be turned around, or if it can. But I do know that Phil Habib made the case to then-Secretary of State Cyrus Vance at the onset of the Carter administration, and made it stick. I also know that when the Reagan administration came to office with partisan blood in its eye, David Newsom failed to stand up for the Foreign Service.

The senior career officer at a time of transition has a critical role, but whether he or she can overcome or reverse this political encroachment is another matter entirely. Still, the main problem is not with the Foreign Service as an institution, but with the political ideologues at the policy checkpoints.

Jack R. Binns FSO, retired Tucson, Ariz.

#### **Becoming a Union**

Many people today seem somewhat confused about why AFSA decided to become a union. More than four decades ago, it was no secret why the initial undertakings were so full of acrimony management people throughout Foggy Bottom wanted a contract similar to that of the American Federation of Government Employees, instead of rolling negotiations.

The use of office space was in contention, and there were a large number of unfair labor practices. AFSA was operating with a skeleton crew, so many of us had to serve as advisers and attorneys while continuing to do our regular jobs.

What has AFSA accomplished as a union? Some things that readily come to mind are framework issues: pursuing unfair labor practices, selection panels, precepts, insurance, transportation and storage, grievances and more. We have handled all those matters while also doing our utmost to establish professionalism within the Foreign Service.

Besides launching *The Foreign Service Journal*, we have dealt with membership and chapter issues and matters pertaining to the headquarters building at 2101 E Street NW. We also counseled selectedout personnel who regularly graced "Foreign Service Park"—as the little green space across from headquarters was known.

There are surely many who could add to this list of achievements, such as Tom Estes, a key player who began laying the groundwork for our function as a union. In response to recriminations against AFSA members with union roles, many of us became labor union experts and labor lawyers.

One elected AFSA president had to be recalled. Yet even during traumatic periods, the union part of AFSA continued to function smoothly. (It was also during that time that AFSA had its first female president.) These matters all need to be a part of our history as a union.

Roy A. Harrell Jr. FSO, retired Ozona, Texas

#### CORRECTION

Though AFSA purchased its current headquarters in 1967, as reported in "Paving the Way for Unionization" (April), it was the 1965-1967 AFSA Governing Board, chaired by Dave McKillop, that carried out that transaction, not the 1967-1969 board chaired by Lannon Walker. As the article noted, the Walker board did complete work on the new Foreign Service Club that opened in the building in March 1969.

We regret the error.

## TALKING POINTS

#### How the World Sees U.S. Leadership

The latest report from the U.S.-Global Leadership Project, released on March 13, is a decidedly mixed bag. While some regions continue to give the Obama administration high marks for its diplomacy, America's median global approval rating slipped from 46 to 41 percent over the past year. Still, the United States continues to be held in higher international regard than any other major power.

The project, which has conducted surveys in hundreds of countries each year since 2009, is a joint initiative of the Meridian International Center and Gallup. Its purpose is to analyze the factors driving global views of U.S. leadership, create a context for collaboration on how to improve those views, and enhance public and private global engagement efforts.

Approval of U.S. leadership stands at 70 percent in Africa, by far the highest of any region. Indeed, seven of the 10 countries whose respondents are most positive about America are located on that continent. One notable exception is Egypt, where the U.S. has only a 17-percent approval rating—a percentage that has remained basically steady ever since the fall of former President Hosni Mubarak. But in Libya, another hot spot, the figure stands at 54 percent, the highest anywhere in the Middle East or North Africa.

Closer to home, only 40 percent of respondents in Central and South America approve of U.S. leadership. But in Haiti, where Washington played a major role in disbursing relief in the aftermath of the horrific January 2010 earthquake, approval of American leadership stands at a whopping 79 percent.

In Asia, sentiment toward the

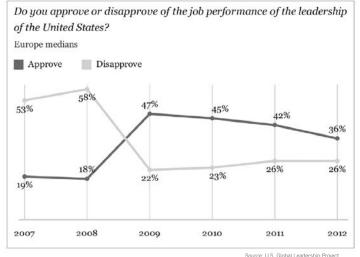
United States has remained relatively stable throughout Barack Obama's presidency, hovering around 37 percent. That figure would be even higher were it not for several countries that have experienced strained relations with

the Washington, such as Iran (12 percent), Pakistan (12 percent), the Palestinian Territories (15 percent), Yemen (18 percent) and Iraq (22 percent). In contrast, Syria has recorded one of the largest increases in approval of the United States over the previous year (a jump of 13 points to 29 percent).

European approval ratings for U.S. leadership have dropped 11 points since the start of Barack Obama's presidency, from 47 to 36 percent. The country giving the United States the highest marks is Kosovo, while Russia is at the other end of the spectrum in its assessment.

The U.S.-Global Leadership Project also conducted a comparative study, asking participants about the leadership Russia, China, the United Kingdom and Germany have shown on the world stage. Although Beijing received a higher approval rating than did Washington four years ago, the first time Meridian and Gallup conducted this survey, that is no longer the case. China now stands at just 29 percent.

Moscow fared even worse: Only 13 percent of respondents said they approve of Russian leadership. London



Source: U.S. Global Leadership Project

#### European approval ratings for U.S. leadership have dropped 11 points since the start of Barack Obama's presidency, from 47 to 36 percent.

came in at 36 percent approval, and 41 percent of respondents approved of German diplomacy.

The poll also asked participants whether they wanted to permanently relocate to another country, and if so, where. The top destinations for relocation were (in descending order) the United States, Britain, France, Canada, Saudi Arabia and Germany. In Liberia, 37 percent of adults polled said they would move to the United States permanently if they could.

The data used in the report came from face-to-face and telephone interviews with approximately 1,000 randomly selected adults (age 15 and older) in urban and rural areas of 130 countries. For results based on the total samples, one can say with 95-percent confidence that the margin of sampling error ranges from 1.7 to 4.8 percentage points.

-Jeff Richards, Editorial Intern

## China: Top Source of Cyberespionage

Writing in the April 23 Washington Post, Craig Timberg summarizes Verizon's latest Data Breach Investigations Report. Issued every year since 2008, the study asserts that 96 percent of 120 incidents of governmental cyberespionage last year originated in Beijing. (The source of the other incidents is unknown.)

Compiled by the company's RISK Team and 19 partners, including federal officials and several foreign governments, the report identifies 44 million compromised records from 621 confirmed data breaches in 2012. Of those breaches, 19 percent were deemed to be the result of government-affiliated espionage. Retail institutions were the most common victims, with profitminded hackers most often based in Romania, the United States, Bulgaria or Russia.

Timberg reports that the sheer

#### SITE OF THE MONTH: www.globalnewsdashboard.com

**B** reaking international news gathered by one of the world's most extensive networks of journalists can now be found in one place, thanks to a new online initiative by the Broadcasting Board of Governors. *Global News Dashboard* pulls together the English-Ianguage news generated by the BBG's 50-plus bureaus, production centers and offices, which are supported by staff journalists and more than 1,500 stringers across the globe.

Visitors can search the site by region, network or type of media, and are then directed to the original content on the sites of the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and Radio Free Asia. *The Dashboard* also offers links to original Spanish-language broadcasts from Radio/TV Martí, and the Arabiclanguage online offerings of the Middle East Broadcasting Networks.

Previously, anyone interested in these broadcasts would have had to visit the Web sites of five separate broadcasters. This tool, built on the Pangea content management system developed by RFE/RL and used by the majority of the BBG's broadcasters to power their Web sites, makes that search easier. —Steven Alan Honley, Editor

volume of Chinese cyberintrusions has made identifying them easier, with telltale sections of code sometimes appearing across different pieces of malicious software. But the Verizon team did not treat the fact that an intrusion emanated from an Internet address in the PRC as sufficient evidence. Instead, they named China only when they could definitively trace the malicious code or tactics used in the attack.

Though the Chinese Embassy in Washington did not respond to queries about the Verizon report, Timberg notes that Chinese officials have consistently denied allegations that their government is a leading source of cyberespionage. However, these latest findings track closely with the National Intelligence Estimate, a consensus document of U.S. intelligence agencies, and build on numerous other reports singling out the People's Republic of China as "uncommonly aggressive in cyberspace."

—Steven Alan Honley, Editor

#### The Rise of the Global South

The impressive economic rise of the BRICS—Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa—has attracted a lot of



attention. But the new 2013 Human Development Report, titled "Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World," cautions that this is not the full story.

> The United Nations Development Program report, published in March, agrees that many countries that are part of the so-called

"Global South" (a group of 40 developing countries) have been enjoying substantial growth despite the economic crisis of the last several years. Although the largest developing economies were the main contributors to the phenomenon, Bangladesh, Chile, Ghana, Mauritius, Rwanda and Tunisia have also made rapid progress.

As the Global North has stagnated, production rebalancing on a scale not seen for 150 years is well under way. China recently surpassed Japan to become the second-largest economy, while India and Brazil are set to overtake all of the European economies except Germany later this decade. In response to this economic shift, the UNDP is calling for far greater representation of the South in global governance systems, including the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the U.N. Security Council.

Among the report's highlights:

• The combined output of the world's three leading developing economies (Brazil, India and China) is equal to the combined gross domestic product of the "Western" industrial powers (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom and the United States).

• Over the last 30 years, developing countries have increased their share of world merchandise trade to 47 percent, and global output to 45 percent.

• More than 80 percent of the world's middle class will reside in the Global South by 2030, when they will account for 70 percent of total consumption expenditures.

• Because of the rapid growth in developing countries, the first Millennium Development Goal—to halve the number of people whose income is less than \$1.25 a day—has been met three years ahead of its target date.

• The economic growth in Latin America has been led by strong states that implemented a gradual and sequenced integration with the global economy. By 2030, Latin America and the Caribbean will be home to one in 10 members of the emerging global middle class.

• India has averaged income growth of nearly 5 percent a year since 1990, but its per capita income is still relatively low. Moreover, the country faces significant environmental, demographic and social challenges in the coming decades.

• While sub-Saharan Africa still has the lowest average national Human Development Index of any region, it is home to 11 of the 14 countries that have recorded annual HDI gains of at least 2 percent each year since 2000. (HDI is a composite statistic of life expectancy,

#### **50 Years Ago**

The key to the rebirth of the Foreign Service, to the future of American diplomacy and hence to honorable national survival lies not in high-flown foreign policy pronouncements, but in the homely budget. No single factor over the years has contributed as much to the parlous state of our diplomatic establishment as the perennial financial impoverishment imposed upon successive State Department budgets.

It is truly remarkable that the numerous criticisms and studies of the operations and organization of the Department of State have uniformly overlooked the real culprit, and seem naively unaware of the strangling effect of lack of funds on our diplomacy, a fact of life with which every career Foreign Service officer lives from the day he enters the Service.

It is also remarkable that the overwhelming bulk of writings on foreign affairs has concentrated on policy questions and has failed to explore the mechanics, organization and facilities for the execution of foreign policy. Here indeed is a fallow but potentially fruitful field of study. For no policy, however well conceived, can be any better than the machinery through which it is executed. ...

This situation requires correction, but it will not come until national values and priorities recognize the vital role of the State Department in the national security complex and allocate to it an adequate portion of the security budget. Up to now the reflex action to any serious international crisis is to ask for more funds to strengthen our military posture. No one thinks of seeking additional financial support for the diplomatic establishment whose primary concern, after all, is the conduct of our foreign relations.

> —From "The Budget and the Future of American Diplomacy (Part I)" by Leon B. Poullada; FSJ, June 1963.

education and income indices, used to assign countries to four tiers of human development.)

• Although Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia experienced considerable improvement in their human development level, the Arab world continues to have both the highest rate of unemployment and the lowest labor force participation rate, especially for women.

—Jeff Richards, Editorial Intern

#### Diplomacy Goes to the Dogs

Writing in the March 4 edition of *Salon.com*, Allison Meier reviews Australian artist Bennett Miller's

"Dachshund U.N.," which ran from Feb. 28 to March 3 in Toronto as part of the Harborfront Center's 2013 World Stage series. The show features 36 adorable dachshunds as United Nations Human Rights Commission delegates, seated (most of the time, anyway) in a replica of the UNHRC's Geneva forum.

Meier notes that the show has plenty of barking and biting, and sometimes the "delegates" even lunge at each other. But she reassures readers: "Don't worry. The dogs are leashed and the owners hidden away nearby to keep things from getting too feral."

Each of the dogs seated behind its country sign, such as France, Argentina

This budget cares for our most valuable resource, and that's the personnel, the men and women of the State Department and USAID who are on the front lines. We have requested \$4.4 billion to fortify our worldwide security protection and improve our overseas infrastructure. \$2.2 billion of this is set aside for constructing secure diplomatic facilities. And this is part of our commitment to implement in full the recommendations of the independent Accountability Review Board, so that we can mitigate the risk of future tragedies like the one we suffered last year in Benghazi.

I'm not going to come here and promise you we're not going to see another terrible incident. There's no way anybody can promise you that. We can't have 100-percent security. We can do the best we can, and we can probably address some of that today. Just two weeks ago I was in Afghanistan, and one of my control officers, Anne Smedinghoff, who was just laid to rest today, was a superb, brilliant, bright, committed Foreign Service officer.

She took part in a major women's event that we did there. And she wanted to make a difference in the world, and she was delivering books in Urdu to kids among the millions of kids going to school because of what we've been able to do to change. And this was the type of thing that's been happening.

There have been a thousand of those events, and it was just

the wrong moment, wrong time. But Anne and Ambassador Chris Stevens represent the same kind of quality of individual that comes to work in this endeavor, which is taking America's values and our interests and trying to share them with other people in the world, and trying to open up opportunities for them and make the world a safer and better place.

This has been a hard year for the State Department family, a family that knows exactly how risky the work that we signed up for can be in a dangerous world. As Secretary, my job is to make sure we protect these people, and frankly, it's all of our job. I think you know that we cannot do it by retreating from the world.

We stand for optimism. We stand for opportunity. We stand for equality. And we stand in opposition to all those who would replace hope with hate, who replace peace with violence and war. That's what we believe. That's what America is at the best, and those are the values of the State Department and USAID that I intend to defend every single day.

— Excerpted from Secretary of State John Kerry's April 17 opening remarks at hearings on the Fiscal Year 2014 foreign affairs budget, held by the House Foreign Affairs Committee and by the House Appropriations Subcommittee on State, Foreign Operations and Related Programs.



Dachshund U.N., created by Bennett Miller (Australia) and photographed by Misha Teixeira.

and the United States, was cast from an open call for volunteers, although Miller has worked with local dachshund clubs in the past. In an interview with World Stage, the artist says he chose dachshunds because they have a "restricted form" with their tiny legs, but are "still very proud and determined and quite beautiful animals."

He adds that there is a "racial diversity in the breed," with long and short hair and varying colors, that is "similar to humanity." Miller, who has

previously put on multimedia installations

on greyhounds and reconstructions of the modernist monkey enclosures at the Berlin Zoo, has presented "Dachshund U.N." elsewhere, but this was its North American debut. It was also the first time it had been performed in an indoor theater. Here is how Emily Senger describes the spectacle for the March 1 issue of *MacLean's* magazine: "When the curtain rises, the crowd laughs and applauds. Calls of 'Ella, over here, Ella!' and 'Walter! Walter!' punctuate the buzz of conversation, as owners in the audience attempt to get their dogs to perform, or at least look toward the crowd.

"After 50 minutes, the curtain drops and the audience groans, something that never happens at the conclusion of a real United Nations Commission on Human Rights [session]."

As we go to press, Miller is in Montreal to cast local dogs for a May 24-26 run of "Dachshund U.N." at the Montreal Festival TransAmerique.

—Steven Alan Honley, Editor

### Iran and the United States: Getting to Yes

BY GEORGE B. LAMBRAKIS

s Iran appears to be rushing to obtain nuclear weapons less for prestige than as a deterrent against potential attack—President Barack Obama starkly warns that he will not permit it to do so. Yet even though the on-again, off-again negotiating process continues to flounder, buying time for Tehran to pursue that goal, there is still a perfectly sane way to avoid this looming train wreck.

First, Iranian policymakers must overcome their fears and grasp the reality that America has not tried to reverse its revolution, now 34 years old. They must also accept that it makes no sense to seek a nuclear deterrent that raises international alarm and, in the final analysis, will not deter.

Iran's rulers will also have to confront the fact that Israel's security is a major factor in American politics and foreign policy. Given that Iran has no permanent conflicts of interest with the Jewish state, it must stop the provocative threats that have characterized Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's government. Even when rhetoric is not backed up by action, it can still have serious consequences.

Finally, while Tehran cannot abandon its long-time support of Shiites in Lebanon, dating back to the shah's reign, it can counsel Hezbollah against military attacks on Israel and withhold assistance for them. Such an approach would not necessarily entail withdrawing general political support for Palestinian and other Arab grievances.

For their part, American policymakers must be prepared to give explicit assurances that they will not try to overthrow Iran's regime, and will end all sanctions, in return for credible evidence that Tehran is abandoning all nuclear development that is not for legitimate peaceful uses. (The details of fuel production, inspections and other safeguards can be left for the negotiators to work out.)

In addition, Congress and the Obama administration will have to recognize that the future of Iran's governance must be left to the Iranians themselves. There can be no repeat of interventions such as the 1953 coup, which rankles most Iranians to this day.

A deal along these lines will become possible after Iran holds national elections this month, allowing a new, hopefully more unified, government to face up to the nuclear issue. No matter who leads it, he, his supporters and, most importantly, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, who will remain as Iran's Supreme Guide, must accept the fact that time is

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To conduct meaningful negotiations, however, Tehran and Washington must put aside the less-important irritants, provocations, "Great Satan" name-calling and pervasive mistrust that contribute to derailing a peaceful resolution of the nuclear issue. And they need to recognize that, even after that dispute is decided, important differences will persist on many issues.

### A Short Review of Recent History

Lest this perspective seem to be coming from cloud cuckoo land, let us remind ourselves that since Iran's 1979 revolution, the United States has made no serious moves to overthrow Ayatollah Khomeini's Shiite Islamic regime.

As Iran's revolution was building up momentum in late 1978, the U.S. embassy in Tehran and the Department of State were well aware of how bitterly most Iranians resented the covert American intervention of a quarter-century earlier, which restored the shah to his throne and ended what many Iranians still see as their best opportunity to create a viable democracy. The decision to let events unfold was facilitated when the shah confided to the American and British ambassadors (and probably to others) that he would under no circumstances turn his formidable army on his own people to cling to the throne.

The Carter administration tried several times to establish communications with Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini: first

#### Iranian policymakers must accept that it makes no sense to seek a nuclear deterrent that raises international alarm and, in the final analysis, will not deter.

through two well-placed merchants from the Tehran bazaar who traveled to Paris in late 1978 and returned deeply disappointed; then through the American embassy in Paris; and finally through my own visit to Khomeini's right-hand man, Mohammed Beheshti, after the ayatollah's return to Iran in January 1979. But all these efforts came to naught, for Khomeini was just not interested in talking to the "Great Satan." (And Beheshti was assassinated soon after.)

Then came Iran's illegal seizure of the American embassy and imprisonment of its diplomats for 14 months. In response to that provocation, the most the U.S. attempted was a limited (and unsuccessful) rescue operation in April 1980; the hostages were freed in January 1981 pursuant to the Algiers Accords, when the U.S. made it clear that it did not intend to overthrow the Khomeini regime.

American and Iranian resentments certainly linger to this day from that drama, as well as from some other unfortunate events since then (e.g., America's erroneous shooting down of a civilian Iranian airliner during the 1980-1988 Iraq-Iran War, and Iran's apparent involvement in some outrages against Americans in Lebanon and Europe). But neither Ronald Reagan nor any of his successors has ever tried to overthrow Iran's regime, despite the heavy presence of U.S. military forces in the region since the early 1990s. If anything, they have done Tehran the favor of removing threats from Saddam Hussein's Iraq and Afghanistan's Taliban.

Indeed, in the 1980s, "Irangate" involved Tehran's leaders in covert transactions for American arms with the Reagan administration and Israel, who wanted to procure Iran's assistance for the release of American hostages in Lebanon (dealings which were only partly effective).

Despite some limited congressional support (and possibly covert U.S. financial assistance) for the die-hard, pro-shah opposition that has persisted ever since the 1979 revolution, it is only after the extent of Iran's nuclear fuel enrichment program came to light that American policy began to harden.

The threat of an Iranian nuclear weapon, coupled with the regime's calls for the destruction of Israel, its public support for Hezbollah and (Sunni) Hamas, and warnings of imaginary plotting by Americans and "Zionists," has mobilized the United States, Israel and others to wield progressively tougher sanctions and other pressures against Tehran.

Although these measures seem to be hurting more and more of Iran's people, those in power are often able to evade them. Some Iran-watchers in academia and think-tanks believe this situation, taken together with the serious demonstrations in Tehran following the last national elections, may be kindling fears in the government of a rising internal opposition (even if the demonstrations were brutally put down by the Pasdaran and Basij militias that protect the regime). This trend could prove significant, and disturbing to older hardliners, if a younger generation without memories of the revolution becomes less enamoured of government under the mullahs and their paramilitary militias.

I sometimes ride in a London taxi driven by a man named Ali. Now in his 40s, Ali left Iran when he was 23, and he returns to visit his family every few years. He told me they were suffering economically. But he is not interested in politics, though he hears politics discussed all around him when in Iran. For him, the supreme guide, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, is a religious leader, and Islam teaches that its leaders do not lie to their followers. The ayatollah says that Iran's nuclear fuel is for peaceful purposes, and for Ali, that settles the matter.

Ali was interested when I explained that the fuel was being enriched beyond the level needed for peaceful uses. If the ayatollah turned out to be lying, Ali replied after some thought, he would not know what to believe in any more.

There are probably a lot of people like Ali in Iran today—people who formed the backbone of "Imam" Khomeini's revolution, and on whom the regime counts for legitimacy. This, too, is something that Tehran's leaders no doubt keep in mind.

#### Isolation Is Not a Good **Basis for Decision-Making**

Those who are dealing with the nuclear issue would do well to consider these lessons from the past. In the final analysis, over three decades, America has not tried to reverse Iran's revolution. President Obama has shown reluctance to pursue more overseas adventures. But he has also surprised observers by his boldness and determination when challenged by clear and present dangers to the United States and to world stability. Iran's leaders underestimate him at their peril.

Simply to assume that others will act in a given situation as you would yourself is akin to what psychologists call "transference." And in certain circumstances, this can be very dangerous. To guard against it, American policymakers try to learn as much as they can about how differently Iranian leaders may process information. But it is even more important for Iran's leaders to study how American and Israeli leaders might react.

Making decisions based on misinterpretation of the outside world's leaders, values and reactions doomed Saddam Hussein-who had little experience of the world beyond Iraq and would not believe unwelcome reports his own people brought him. Today, Iran's top rulers are as isolated as he was. Discounting unwelcome warnings of how others might react could bring an end to Iran's regime, as well.

Still, there is a good deal waiting to be made. For Iran, such an agreement will actually improve on the agreement that ended the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis by removing all sanctions—a concession not offered to Havana. This can then be presented to the Iranian people as their leaders' sacrifice (or achievement) to end their suffering.

How governance in Iran develops after that will be for the Iranians themselves to decide. And those in power in Tehran are unlikely to be seriously bothered in their internal governance as long as they do not threaten others.

Finally, a word about process. With time running out, it would be better to aim higher than the routine step-by-step process of the past. As the Israeli-Palestinian and North Korean negotiations demonstrate, parties that do not trust each other often lose their enthusiasm for reaching the final goal once the leverage that has brought them to negotiate in the first place is relaxed. The Dayton agreement that ended the war in the former Yugoslavia, or the rapid, high-level negotiations with Muammar Qadhafi that terminated Libya's quest for nuclear weapons, are better models to emulate.

By the same token, the negotiations with Iran need to rise quickly to an appropriately high level. Final agreements can be prepared, but they can only be decided after face-to-face meetings of the key policymakers. In the case of Iran, it is inconceivable that the final arbiter, Ayatollah Khamenei, would expose himself personally to direct negotiations. Nor does President Obama need to participate.

But the new president of Iran, who is elected this month, can close the deal with Secretary of State John Kerry (joined, if necessary for reasons of protocol and Persian pride, by Vice President Joe Biden). Whatever faction he comes from, that leader and his supporters, explicitly backed by the supreme guide, must rise above factional divisions and commit the Iranian state to a binding agreement. Discussion of restoring U.S.-Iran diplomatic relations might then follow.

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# CAPITOL HILL AND FOGGY BOTTOM: BRIDGING THE CULTURAL DIVIDE

Though the world looks different from the eastern and western ends of the National Mall, there are actually many similarities between the congressional and diplomatic cultures.

BY CHARLES A. STEVENSON



apitol Hill might as well be a foreign country as far as most Foreign Service officers are concerned. Whether as an ambassador-designate making the rounds or as an office director giving a substantive briefing, the average FSO has little understanding of what drives life on the Hill. Equally disconcerting,

most members of Congress and their staffs have at best a fuzzy idea of what an overseas mission is all about.

I've worked on the seventh floor of Main State, the Secretary of State's Policy Planning Staff and the Senate floor of the Capitol, and have seen people in all those places regularly misperceive and misunderstand each other. My hope is that dispelling some of the myths each side believes about the other might help to bridge the cultural divide between Capitol Hill and Foggy Bottom.

#### Myths about the Hill in Foggy Bottom

*Myth 1: Congress is only beholden to special interests.* People at State have a jaded opinion of politicians—not unlike their fellow citizens, who hold Congress in low esteem no matter which party is in control. The prevailing view is that lawmakers

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nne Wenikof

AFSA held an educational session on Foreign Service life and work on Capitol Hill on April 26. AFSA State Representative Ken Kero-Mentz, AFSA President Susan R. Johnson, and retired Ambassador Charles A. Ray were among the distinguished Foreign Service officers who described their careers and the challenges of diplomacy in the 21st century.

are mainly responsive to "special interests," especially campaign contributors, and put parochial interests ahead of the national interest, particularly when it comes to foreign policy.

*Reality:* Congress was designed to be responsive to the voters, and voters who organize around particular issues are more influential than those who don't.

The fact is that we, the people, have a First Amendment right to "petition the government for a redress of grievances." Every lawmaker is bombarded with appeals and threats from numerous interest groups, some of which are especially large, wellorganized and effective. Pro-Israel groups like the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, for example, have grassroots strength, a large Washington, D.C., staff and a clear agenda. They and many other groups have the power they've earned by playing by the rules.

Moreover, while outsiders may disagree, each group can usually make a case that its "special" interest also serves the national interest. Wise diplomats will discover that at least some of these groups can be valuable allies of U.S. policymakers, both in providing information and insights and offering political support.

Instead of bemoaning the effectiveness of citizen groups,

FSOs need to analyze U.S. politics the way they would politics abroad: Who has power? What do they really want? What goals and concerns are shared by policymakers? How free and fair are the elections? How well informed are the voters? How much corruption is there compared to other places I've served? After such analysis, the FSO is likely to see the U.S. system in a more favorable light.

*Myth 2: Congress ties our hands.* Although the executive branch makes foreign policy, over the years lawmakers have enacted a large and often confusing array of statutes governing various countries and issues. They also insist on procedures such as advance notification of policy changes and the right of particular committees to delay or even veto such actions. Such congressional restrictions keep America from having a clear, consistent, agile foreign policy.

*Reality:* While Congress does impose many requirements and constraints on U.S. foreign policy, it does so because it writes the laws and approves the money that constitute the foundation for all policy. The president can make speeches and deal with foreign officials without congressional involvement, but if he wants to spend money or take actions not already authorized by law, he needs legislative support.



State Department FSO Ken Kero-Mentz, a former legislative director in the office of Congresswoman Ellen Tauscher, addresses the audience of congressional staffers at AFSA's educational session in the Cannon Building. Panelists were: from the left, USAID FSO Jason Singer, Commercial Service FSO Steve Morrison, State Department FSO Elisa Mellinger, Kero-Mentz, keynote speaker Ambassador Charles A. Ray (Ret.) and AFSA President Susan R. Johnson.

In fact, one of Congress' greatest shortcomings is not imposing new restrictions, but failing to clean up the rabbit warren represented by the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, a 400-page piece of legisla-

Dispelling the myths each side perpetuates about the other could benefit both the Foreign Service and Congress. asymmetric threats and emergent opportunities," contingent on prior notification of congressional committees.

*Myth 3: Codels just want to shop.* The most common way FSOs encounter

tion that has not been systematically amended since 1985. As a result of patchwork changes over the years, the law contains a bewildering array of 33 goals, 75 priority areas and 247 directives.

Instead of complaining about the procedures and laws, U.S. diplomats should take advantage of them, using Congress as the "bad cop" that must be appeased so that the "good cop" ambassador can maintain friendly relations with the host government. The annual reports on human rights, counternarcotics and religious freedom that embassy staff members have to submit are potential leverage to get host governments to do what they should anyway.

It is true that legislative restrictions on shifting money to higher-priority activities, and requirements to give key committees advance notice (and sometimes await their formal approval) before acting, have hampered diplomacy. But Congress has been willing in recent years to allow more flexibility. Last year, it approved a \$350 million Global Security Contingency Fund to "address rapidly changing, transnational, members of Congress is when they travel abroad in delegations. These visits impose heavy demands on embassy personnel, who have to spend long hours arranging appointments and providing support.

*Reality:* While some codels do seem to place a priority on visiting tourist sites and shopping, the vast majority are interested in gaining firsthand knowledge of the concerns and challenges facing both the country and the embassy staff there.

Instead of begrudging these visits, FSOs should see them as a great target of opportunity. Where else could they find members of Congress untethered to their staff, constituents and lobbyists? Escort officers get hours of face time with the members, not just 15 minutes in their offices. They can show the lawmakers proof of how well U.S. programs are going—or evidence of host-government shortcomings, contrary to what the country's ambassador in Washington might be telling the Hill. They can educate the visitors, and maybe even persuade them to view some issues differently. I remember seeing attitudinal changes among senators who visited the Soviet Union during the Cold War. The doves, hoping to reach arms control agreements, often commented, "The Russians really are nasty and uncooperative." The

One of Congress' greatest shortcomings is failing to clean up the rabbit warren represented by the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

hawks, previously convinced of Soviet military superiority, now noticed that the elevators didn't even work.

#### Myths about Foggy Bottom on the Hill

*Myth 1: State is disloyal to the administration or has clientitis.* The late Senator Jesse Helms, R-N.C., a lifelong critic of the State Department, used to complain that "there's no American desk at State." He viewed FSOs as lobbyists for foreign governments rather than advocates to those governments for U.S. policies and interests.

Sad to say, there is a long record of presidential distrust of the Foreign Service and the State Department, as well. FDR, JFK and Richard Nixon all disparaged U.S. diplomats. Former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich famously complained that Secretary Colin Powell had "gone native" and was insufficiently supportive of President George W. Bush.

*Reality:* FSOs are professionals who loyally serve whoever is in the White House. Career officials have a duty to give advice when asked (and, equally important, without being asked)—but also to carry out approved policies. The occasional official who leaks damaging information, or otherwise tries to undermine presidential policy, is the very rare exception—and certainly not unique to the State Department.

Diplomats can overcome suspicions of clientitis by addressing local concerns in terms of U.S. interests and opportunities. It also is wise to be careful with wording, making sure "we" always refers to America, not the other country.

*Myth 2: Diplomats always favor appeasement; they're not tough.* This misguided view arises because diplomats tend to prefer engagement and continued discussion with an adversary instead of a severing of relations. The essence of diplomacy is discussion leading to negotiations and compromises. Hardliners and purists never want to talk to bad guys; they hope that threats and ultimatums will be sufficient. Rarely is that true.

Reality: There is ample evidence in recent U.S. history that

civilian officials have been more hawkish, more ready to use military force, than the military. Diplomats aren't afraid of the application of force; they just want that option to be in the background to give them leverage for agreements that can make force

unnecessary.

Lawmakers need to understand that diplomacy—just like legislation—requires contact and nuance, as well as the exploration of options in a search for areas of agreement. Sometimes bluster works, but it can also be counterproductive.

*Myth 3: We spend too much on foreign aid and other international activities.* Opinion polls repeatedly show that the American people stubbornly believe that foreign aid accounts for between 10 and 20 percent of the federal budget. It is the only federal program that regularly receives "cut" judgments from overwhelming majorities in those surveys.

*Reality:* Total allocations for all U.S. international activities including running the State Department and related agencies, foreign assistance, contributions to international organizations, etc.—amount to only about 1 percent of federal spending.

The politicians should know this, since they appropriate the funds, but many of them apparently don't. It will take a sustained education campaign to overcome the public ignorance about the level of spending on foreign relations. It will be even harder to overcome public anger over examples of failed programs and scandals, which seem to be unavoidable in foreign assistance. In the short run, lawmakers need to focus on specific programs, and their strengths and weaknesses, rather than just criticizing generic "foreign aid."

#### Two Cultures that Don't Always Clash

While the world looks different from the eastern and western ends of the National Mall, there are actually many similarities between the congressional and diplomatic cultures. Both diplomats and legislators are dealmakers: the former with other nations and their interagency counterparts, the latter with their colleagues from other states, districts and parties. Each holds reaching agreements as a major measure of merit.

Both groups—unlike, say, the uniformed military—are comfortable with ambiguity. Nuance is not a dirty word, for



many deals depend on artful ambiguity or creative vagueness. And both sides know that geography matters greatly: lawmakers represent their home turf vigorously, just as diplomats represent their home countries' interests and reflect their regional perspectives on who are allies and adversaries.

U.S. diplomats should use Congress as the "bad cop" that must be appeased so that the "good cop" ambassador can maintain friendly relations with the host government.

Still, on Capitol Hill everything is political, and "all politics is local." In contrast, FSOs are required to avoid partisan political activities. Government officials are supposed to advocate official policy in dealing with other nations, not their personal views.

Another area where the two cultures seem to differ is in personality type. Tests for the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator show nearly half of all FSOs are INTJs, a type found in only 1 percent of tested Americans. (The MBTI typology contrasts Introversion and Extroversion, iNtuition and Sensation, Thinking and Feeling, and Judging versus Perceiving.) INTJs are "theory-based, very independent, with a high need for competency." Strong individuals, they aren't necessarily good team players.

Politicians, by contrast, tend to be ENFPs: "people-oriented, creative, seeking harmony, the life of the party, most optimistic, with more starts than finishes."

#### What FSOs Need to Know about the Hill

Congress wants to be consulted about foreign policy decisions. The classic formulation was expressed by Senator Arthur Vandenberg, R-Mich., who was an isolationist before World War II but became a key partner with President

Harry Truman in the late 1940s. Vandenberg said, "We want to be in on the takeoff, and not just the crash landing." Many of the restrictions written into law were put there by angry lawmakers who hadn't been consulted, or heeded when they objected to some administration's policy.

Congress wants to be treated as a co-equal branch of government. It can be hard for an official to suffer fools gladly when an ill-informed member of Congress raises a dumb question in a hearing, but arrogance and condescension invite blowback from people with the power of the purse and the ability to make life miserable for a mere bureaucrat. Yes, it may seem demeaning for a respected career ambassador to have to explain something to a Hill staffer barely out of college. But those staffers usually have the respect of their bosses and the power to advise them, so beware.

Appropriators are different from authorizers. This is one example of why FSOs need to learn as much as possible about

how the Hill works, and who has what kind of power and prejudice—just as they would want to know about officials in the country where they're posted.

The appropriations committees are extremely powerful because no

### Instead of begrudging visits by codels and staffdels, FSOs should see them as opportunities to deepen support for the Foreign Service.

to come from the 2011 Wikileaks disclosure of more than 200,000 State Department classified cables was that it demonstrated the skill of foreign reporting by our diplomats. Because these officers were telling Washington unvarnished truths,

money can be spent by the executive branch except throughwitheir bills. Members of the foreign policy (authorizing) com-leamittees have different ways to influence the State Depart-dement, and they are more concerned with policy than moneydeissues. To paraphrase Sun Tzu, "Know your overseer, or he mayvabecome your enemy."de

#### What Congress Needs to Know about State

State needs resources, authority and maneuvering room to be effective. Just before the Korean War, the State Department budget, including foreign aid and other international activities, equaled half the Pentagon budget. Now it's about 6 percent of it. The nearly 7,000 generalists in the Foreign Service are outnumbered by the members of military bands, or the military officers at the rank of colonel or Navy captain. They carry almost the whole load of diplomacy and international engagement on their shoulders, flying coach when their military equivalents have their own jets.

*Quality people cost money.* More secure embassies cost money. Simply handling the routine diplomacy of a superpower that has recognized 185 countries costs money. And if State is to do what many commissions and think-tanks recommend, it needs even more money to create mid-career training and interagency assignment opportunities.

In exchange for the consultation Congress demands, State also wants and needs legal authority to act quickly and flexibly when international conditions require. Former Defense Secretary Robert Gates frequently lamented the "militarization of foreign policy" that has resulted because the Pentagon had more resources and fewer constraints on using them.

Although Congress likes to send signals and draw red lines to coerce foreign governments to do what we'd like, diplomats often need maneuvering room. Premature sanctions imposed by Congress can prevent agreements that might otherwise achieve most, if not all, of what lawmakers want.

State needs secrecy for effective diplomacy. The only good

with no expectation they would be broadcast to the world, the leaks were harmful to U.S. interests in many countries. Confidential informants were exposed; U.S. officials had to continue dealing with officials they had secretly labeled corrupt; and various nations retaliated against America or its diplomats.

Members of Congress may feel free to offer their own opinions on U.S. foreign policy, but they need to treat secrets as secret, especially during the course of diplomacy. Premature disclosure of a policy change can be just as detrimental to U.S. interests as discussing military plans and maneuvers.

Letters aren't laws; congressional statements aren't official policy. Many foreign governments overreact to statements made by members of Congress, treating them as if they reflect presidential policies. Those lawmakers want to be influential, of course; they want to be heard and heeded. Letters, hearings and group statements are all part of the congressional toolkit to influence policymakers at home and abroad. Sometimes that's all that's necessary to nudge a foreign leader or the U.S. president to do what the person on the Hill wants.

Above all, lawmakers need to remember that, unless the law is changed or the money specifically approved for some new purpose, the executive branch is in charge of U.S. foreign policy. Too often legislators like to posture, passing "sense of Congress" measures that have no real force and effect on policy but cause problems abroad for America and its diplomats.

Whatever you think of Armenian genocide, for example, a formal congressional vote on the issue wouldn't help anyone caught up in the ethnic atrocities nearly a century ago. But it would likely immediately endanger U.S. relations with Turkey today.

There are many more issues that could be addressed by people on Capitol Hill and in Foggy Bottom to improve relations and bridge the cultural divide. But my hope is that identifying and debunking myths held by both sides will help clear the air, and these tips for improving interactions between lawmakers and diplomats will help everyone play nicer together.

## CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS: BENEFITS AND PITFALLS

FSOs have "street cred" with Congress as the professionals who carry out U.S. overseas policies and programs. Here are tips for maximizing that entrée.

BY BETTE COOK

he U.S. Air Force plane touched down on the runway, quickly offloaded its passengers and cargo through the rear exit, and took off. Watching it fly away, I realized: We're alone in a dangerous conflict zone! The cargo consisted of bags of food labeled "USAID FROM THE

AMERICAN PEOPLE." And we passengers were part of a bipartisan congressional delegation the leadership of the House of Representatives had dispatched to Somalia to see the crisis firsthand.

Two U.S. Agency for International Development officials were accompanying the delegation: a Foreign Service officer who had previously been mission director in Mogadishu and now directed the U.S. humanitarian relief effort, and me, a congressional liaison officer. For security reasons, the delegation had split into two groups bound for separate locations, Baidoa and Mogadishu.

It was November 1992. A civil war that had been raging among clan-based warlords ever since the collapse of the military government the previous year was still in full swing. Displaced by the chaos, hundreds of thousands of people were starving to death. The international aid agencies were subject to looting and extortion by militants driving "technicals," vehicles mounted with machine guns and other weapons.

The aid agencies' local staff rapidly completed the loading of cargo and passengers, and we sped away to the compound of a U.S. private voluntary organization. There we met with relief workers and visited a couple of distribution centers to

Bette Cook joined the International Cooperation Administration, a predecessor of the U.S. Agency for International Development, in 1959. Her 42-year federal government career spanned the Foreign Service (Tunisia and Vietnam) and the Civil Service (the bureaus responsible for Vietnam, Latin America and the Caribbean, and Legislative and Public Affairs). Among other responsibilities, Ms. Cook managed the preparation and submission to Congress of USAID's budget request for 23 years, and maintained a continuous flow of information to Capitol Hill on the agency's development and humanitarian assistance programs.

After a brief retirement, Ms. Cook rejoined USAID in 2008 for another four years as a consultant for strategic communications with Congress. She is now a Red Cross volunteer at the Fort Belvoir, Va., hospital that provides medical care to the nation's wounded warriors, service members and their families.



talk with recipients. After a sobering day of learning about the heartrending crisis and witnessing its devastating effects, we were driven back to the runway for the return to Kismayo, Kenya.

In Kenya and Egypt, the

delegation met with other entities organizing humanitarian relief for Somalia to gain a broader perspective. The meetings in both countries included representatives of other African governments, the United Nations, European countries, the U.S. embassy and USAID (and the U.S. military in Kenya), as well as international nongovernmental organizations and Somali refugees.

On our return to Washington, we met with President George H.W. Bush and President-elect Bill Clinton, both of whom concurred with the congressional delegation's findings and recommendations. The Bush administration quickly made a significant troop contribution to a United Nations effort to create a secure environment for humanitarian relief in Somalia. A December 1992 Security Council resolution

#### Careful preparation can make meetings and hearings on the Hill as successful as possible.

led to creation of the first U.N. mission to provide humanitarian relief and help restore order in the country. That two-year effort guaranteed the delivery of humanitarian relief, saving an estimated 100,000 lives.

#### **Building and Maintaining Partnerships**

I tell this story more than 20 years later to exemplify how Congress and the executive branch can work together to address overseas crises. USAID's initial briefings on the Somali crisis helped motivate Capitol Hill to send a delegation, and its report was the catalyst for the president and Capitol Hill to work with the international community on a response.

The sustained support over the years by many members of Congress for U.S. humanitarian relief overseas is, in large part, the result of USAID maintaining a flow of information on overseas disasters and U.S. efforts in response to the crises. A well-informed legislative branch is a good partner for U.S. foreign policy and foreign assistance programs.

AFSA's book, *Inside a U.S. Embassy: Diplomacy at Work*, is an essential guide to American diplomacy that answers the question of what diplomats do. The book is circulating on Capitol Hill.

Foreign Service officers

play a key role in efforts to

with Congress, particularly

given the respect that most

maintain good relations

In 1981, when I first transferred to the agency's legislative affairs office, the director schooled me in the importance of developing and maintaining good relations. As he pointed out, members of Congress and

their staff are our strongest supporters, as well as our sever-

est critics. With that in mind, he strongly encouraged us to go

on daily Hill "walkarounds" to chat with staff on our oversight

As a career liaison officer, I always articulated the current

saying jokingly, "I liked you better when you were in the other

The Department of State and USAID have four principal

oversight committees: the House Foreign Affairs and Senate

Foreign Relations authorization committees, and the House

and Senate Foreign Operations appropriations subcommit-

tees. We also work with other committees that have oversight

responsibilities or particular interests in our programs, includ-

ing the House and Senate agriculture committees (for the P.L.

(military cooperation), and governmental oversight commit-

tees (general oversight and investigation). And we reach out to other members and their personal staff to address any specific

480 Food for Peace program), armed services committees

administration's position on the issues. I still recall staffers

committees and respond to their requests.

A well-informed legislative branch is a good partner for U.S. foreign policy and foreign assistance programs.

orograms. members have for the "street cred" of the men and women who carry out our overseas policies and programs. The legislative affairs offices at State and USAID take full advantage of that resource to advance each administration's programs and goals, both by coordinating visits to Capitol Hill by Washington and overseas

egations and staffers to U.S. project sites. Members of codels and staffdels, as these groups are familiarly known, nearly always return with a greater appreciation for the development and humanitarian activities we are undertaking around the world. But because of legislators' fears that primary election challengers will malign any overseas travel as "junkets," the number of such delegations has declined in recent years. (In fact, some members of Congress even take pride in not owning a U.S. passport.) This discouraging trend makes it all the more imperative for Foreign Service personnel in the field to make the most of such visits.

staff, and by facilitating overseas travel by congressional del-

#### The Value of Firsthand Accounts

Whenever individual FSOs are back in the United States on home leave, it is often useful and desirable for them to sched-

concerns.

party."

the que The bo ule Capitol Hill or hometown meetings through their legislative affairs office. Drawing on their field experience and area expertise, they are excellent advocates for what they and all Foreign Service personnel do. Here are just a few examples of tangible benefits from such conversations that I experienced while working with Congress on USAID's behalf.

• During the November 2011 USAID mission directors biannual conference, the legislative affairs office set aside a "Hill Day" for scheduled meetings with members and staff, including not only those who serve on the agency's oversight committees, but a broader outreach as well. Mission directors held 50 meetings with congressional members and staff that advanced the administration's international development goals and funding needs.

• Two years ago, following the advent of the Arab Spring, an oversight committee member questioned USAID about the wisdom of starting a new transition initiative in a North African country in conflict. An agency field representative, along with USAID and State Department officers in Washington, held several meetings with committee staff to explain the program's value to U.S. foreign policy. The senator agreed that the program could proceed, and it soon achieved success.

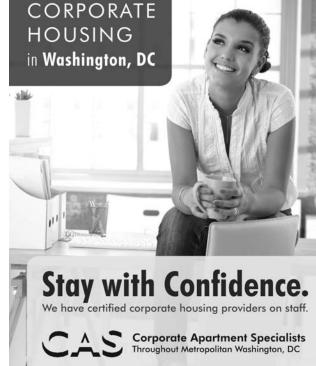
• A few years ago, a Senate appropriations committee was planning to sharply reduce the funding level for a rapidresponse account. An authorization committee staffer, who had just returned from a visit to two countries where he had witnessed the rapid, effective and flexible response to a crisis afforded by the account, expressed his support for the program to the appropriations committee staff. This intervention helped achieve full funding for the account at the president's requested level.

• Several years ago, an oversight committee member had placed a hold on USAID's plans to initiate a pilot program to use the Internet for development purposes in four West African countries. After holding several meetings with committee staff about their concerns, the agency arranged a staff delegation visit to the countries. Mission officers explained the proposed activities and the expected benefits for both the recipients and the agency's overall program. This led the committee to lift its hold, and all four country programs were successful.

#### **Avoiding Traps**

While codels and staffdels represent opportunities, they can pose pitfalls for the unwary, as well.

There are plenty of examples of this. Some time ago, during a defense committee delegation's visit to a country in conflict,



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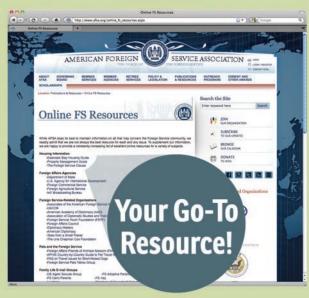
#### **AFSA Resource Marketplace**

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   Security Overseas Seminars:
- PSOS, ASOS, SAA, SOS, SOS
- 4. Transition Center Training home page for eligible family members and members of household (MOH)
- 5. International Jobs Working Overseas
- 6. Country Information (Bidding Resources)
- 7. Transition Center Courses
- 8. Preparing to Go Overseas
- Pets and International Travel
   Foreign Service Assignment Notebook:
- What Do I Do Now?
- 11. U.S. Department of State Career Transition Center (CTC)
- 12. Personal Post Insights
- 13. Elementary School Stuff
- 14. Arrange Medical Clearance and Immunizations
- 15. High Stress Assignment Outbrief Program



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a USAID development officer, then seconded to a Defense Department's combat command, discussed the value of USAID staff receiving some of the training provided to military personnel in that country. Delegation members recognized the benefits of this idea for both the U.S. military and Foreign Service officers in that environment and, on return to Washington, drafted language to do this as part of a defense bill.

However, the provision was subsequently deleted from the bill when another committee of jurisdiction voiced its concern about not having been consulted. Referring the proposal to Washington to facilitate consultations with the other committee might have produced a more favorable outcome.

In another instance a few years ago, a USAID mission director, who was briefing a staff delegation visiting one of several African countries included in a regional assistance program notification then pending before Congress, asserted that the program was not a priority for his mission. This led the committee to place a hold on the proposed expenditure.

In fact, the proposal was very much an administration priority. Moreover, USAID had already determined the program was a good fit for both that particular country and the others. It took several meetings with congressional staff, as well as a follow-up conversation with the mission director, before the committee lifted the hold.

Careful preparation can avert these pitfalls, and make meetings and hearings on the Hill as successful as possible. USAID's legislative affairs office conducts training sessions that give employees the following tips.

#### **Preparation: Purpose, Focus and Practice**

• Carefully review who has requested the briefing and why.

• Review material in the context of the budget cycle, agency priorities, Hill perspectives, controversial topics and media reports.

• Establish goals, expectations and outcomes.

• Finalize talking points, main message and "asks" ahead of time.

• Double-check all handouts.

• Determine the presentation order, including who speaks and the key points to be made by each speaker.

• Prepare potential questions and answers. *Do—* 

- Get to the point quickly and concisely.
- Say, "I will get an answer for you" if necessary.
- Be cognizant of your audience.
- Make eye contact.

- Be professional and courteous.
- Be an agency advocate.
- Listen and make note of Congress' concerns.
- Work out message, roles and materials with fellow briefers and Washington beforehand.
  - Don't—
  - Use jargon, acronyms or USAID-speak.
  - Condescend or offer personal opinions.
  - Answer questions outside the scope of your work.
  - Provide or promise information that may be internal.
  - Ask for or criticize earmarks or funding levels.
  - Blame other agencies, departments or the White House.
  - Be partisan, interrupt or get into an argument.
  - Check your watch or BlackBerry during a meeting.

• Talk about sensitive matters in the lobby, hallway or elevators.

#### Maximizing the Value of Codels and Staffdels

When codels and staffdels visit your country, consider the following suggestions:

• Know your audience. State and USAID's legislative affairs offices can provide background on the interests and concerns of delegation members, as well as biographical information.

• Familiarize yourself with the Washington position on each issue and any information previously submitted to Congress on the subject. Headquarters can help with this research, as well.

• Identify one or two main points you wish to make in your briefing and the results you hope to achieve. Remember that members of Congress and their staff have limited time.

• Avoid requests to the delegation for legislative initiatives not previously cleared with Washington.

• Report any significant issues that arise during a delegation's visit.

Congressional oversight committee members and staff are generally supportive of effective, efficient U.S. foreign policy and international development and humanitarian assistance programs. But some may be critical of certain policies and programs.

State and USAID are committed to developing and maintaining congressional support, and to responding to concerns in an open and transparent manner. Foreign Service officers, both in the field and in Washington, play an important role in this effort, in coordination with State's and USAID's legislative affairs offices.



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## A HUMAN RIGHTS DIALOGUE WITH CONGRESS

Policymaking on human rights issues is sometimes hindered by poor relations between State and Capitol Hill. Fortunately, there are ways to improve cooperation.

BY ROBERT MCMAHON

uman rights activists welcomed passage of the Sergei Magnitsky Rule of Law Accountability Act at the end of 2012, hailing it as a lever for the United States to press Russia on its obligation to be a better global citizen and respect the rights of its citizens. The

act requires the executive branch to bar travel to the United States by top Russian officials implicated in the death of lawyer Sergei Magnitsky, who was detained and died in custody after blowing the whistle on a massive tax fraud with reputed links to the Kremlin, and to seize their U.S. assets. (On April 12, the State Department published the names of 18 Russian officials whose names have been added to the sanctions list overseen by the Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control.)

Although President Barack Obama ultimately signed the measure into law, his administration had actually opposed the measure over concerns that it compromised the president's ability to manage a crucial relationship through a rough phase. But members of Congress said human rights trumped such concerns, and asserted that the bill "fills many of the gaps in President Obama's policy toward Russia," as Sen. Orrin Hatch, R-Utah, the ranking member of the Senate Finance Committee, put it. The mixed messaging from Washington on the Magnitsky Act marked another familiar chapter in a sometimes tense debate between the executive and the legislature over human rights policy. The State Department, of course, is the administration's standard-bearer on global human rights issues, monitoring and reporting on each country and articulating the administration's policy on the international stage. But for nearly four decades, Congress has also been a major player on human rights. It requires annual reporting on each country's performance, establishes special mandates, and sanctions nations and individuals seen as rights abusers.

In a period when bipartisan initiatives are increasingly rare, human rights causes can still unite lawmakers from both parties on subjects like halting human trafficking or sanctioning repressive regimes. "There are many issues where Congress is paralyzed and dysfunctional, but on the issue of human rights, there are people from [one] end of the spectrum to the other who have an interest," Michael Posner, a former assistant secretary of State for democracy, human rights and labor, told a Council on Foreign Relations meeting in March. "So the challenge is just to figure out what's the

Robert McMahon is editor of CFR.org, the Web site of the Council on Foreign Relations. Before that, he was director of central news for Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, and has been writting about human rights in transitional societies since 1995.



FSO Elise Mellinger, right, who currently serves as a Pearson Fellow in the office of Senator Benjamin Cardin, D-Md., discusses the Foreign Service with Elise Egan, a staffer in the office of Congressman Keith Elison, D-Minn., following AFSA's April 26 educational session on Capitol Hill.

issue that's motivating them, and then go figure out how you work with them."

Experts familiar with how human rights issues are handled both on Capitol Hill and in the State Department say policymaking is hindered by mistrust and poor communication between the The Magnitsky Act is the latest chapter in the perennial debate between the executive and the legislature over human rights policy. of small, relatively less important countries that the United States holds them to a higher standard simply because it can.

#### Congress and Human Rights

Congressional activism on human rights policy can

two branches. The differences are attributable to departmental culture, politics and, in some cases, ignorance about the other side's motives and methods. Moreover, some members of Congress see their role as upholding American values abroad, while the State Department is responsible for maintaining a balance of principles with core national interests.

"Congress plays a very valuable role in reflecting the basic values of the American people," says Mark Lagon, a former director of State's office to monitor and combat human trafficking and a former Senate Foreign Relations Committee staffer. Still, he says, "Congress makes mistakes. It needs to hear from the executive branch about [policy] subtleties."

Some experts on human rights policymaking also point out that measures like the Magnitsky Act give the White House leverage to take on major powers like Russia and China, thereby countering perennial complaints from governments be traced back to the 1970s, when a variety of factors—including the Watergate scandal and U.S. interventions in Southeast Asia and Latin America—prompted increased oversight of the executive branch in areas like intelligence and human rights.

It was also during this period that some lawmakers, foremost Sen. Henry "Scoop" Jackson, D-Wash., challenged the Nixon and Ford administrations on détente, an initiative to ease relations with the Soviet Union through linkages in areas such as arms control and trade. The fruit of their efforts was the Jackson-Vanik Amendment linking trade to the emigration of Soviet Jews, which passed over the objections of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. Congress also established a commission to oversee the 1975 Helsinki Accords, a set of agreements that sought to commit the Soviet Union and its satellites to allow small openings for civil society in return for increased trade with the West. In 1976 Congress passed an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act that mandated an annual report by the Secretary of State tracking the way countries that received U.S. aid observe internationally recognized human rights. This led the Carter admin-

The Obama administration's experiences with Congress on human rights during its first term echo those of its predecessors.

istration to create what became the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor.

DRL's annual report has grown to a vast undertaking that



rights monitor for North Korea.

#### How Effective a Watchdog?

Many rights activists regard the annual U.S. country reports as the most thorough of their kind, even while a number of allies and partners regularly protest them. Though the impact of the reports is hard to measure, they are generally seen as helpful for maintaining a steady spotlight on abusive practices.

catalogs each country's

record on respecting norms

for civil and political rights.

Other notable con-

actions on human rights

include annual reporting

on religious freedom and

appointment of a special

human trafficking, and the

gressionally instigated

Other reports have sharper teeth. The annual survey on human trafficking, for instance, threatens to impose sanctions on countries that fail to act to curb the practice and has the potential to move the needle, say scholars Judith Kelley of Duke University and Beth Simmons at Harvard University. They found in a 2012 study that "merely being included in the report motivates countries to criminalize human trafficking."

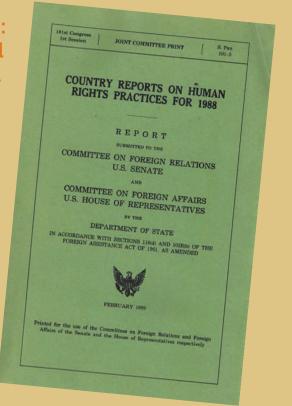
The Jackson-Vanik Amendment is credited with even more sweeping results. The legislation helped lead to the free emigration of hundreds of thousands of people, and human rights proponents say the measure served to underpin U.S. concerns over human rights in the Soviet Union through the end of the Cold War.

Congress has continued to be an important monitor of human rights issues in the former Soviet bloc and beyond through its involvement in the Helsinki Commission, a government agency established in 1976 to press for compliance with rights principles in the 57-nation Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. The commission holds regular public hearings and briefings with expert witnesses to assess developments involving rights, security, and economic and democratic developments.

Still, some experts accuse members of Congress of overzealousness on rights issues, pointing to the creation of scores of mandates, some seeming to duplicate reporting already carried out in the annual global rights survey, which must be handled by an overtaxed State Department. Diplomats have also expressed deep frustration at the failure of the Senate to "Administration of Justice: Due process was denied during the detentions and trials of protesters arrested. ... Individuals responsible for the deaths of prominent journalists, activists and whistleblowers, notably Sergey Magnitskiy, have yet to be brought to be brought to justice."

> - From "Russia," in the Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2012.

Each year since 1977, the State Department has submitted a report to Congress on the human rights conditions in countries and regions around the world, as mandated by Congress in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and the Trade Act of 1974.



approve treaties they say are consistent with U.S. values and human rights practices at home. For instance, late last year the U.S. Senate failed to muster the two-thirds vote needed to approve a United Nations treaty banning discrimination against people with

Both State and Congress would benefit from more frequent contact through existing channels, such as the Pearson Fellowship Program. the Geneva-based Human Rights Council, which the Bush administration had derided as stacked with abusers intent on singling out Israel. As part of its U.N. re-engagement, the administration has opened up U.S. practices to the council's periodic review mechanism,

disabilities, a measure patterned after the Americans with Disabilities Act.

#### A More Pragmatic Approach

The Obama administration took office notably cool to the democracy promotion policies of the George W. Bush administration, preferring a more pragmatic approach to democratization. It has taken heat from the human rights community for its counterterrorism moves, including failure to follow through on announced intentions to close the Guantanamo Bay detention facility and stepping up drone attacks against suspected terrorists.

Yet the administration has led on some issues, such as advancing Internet freedom. The administration also revived U.S. membership in the main United Nations rights agency, a step applauded by many rights activists as a sign of U.S. transparency and one that has bolstered Washington's credibility as a rights standard-bearer.

The administration also introduced a new strategy in 2011 aimed at preventing atrocities, including the establishment of an Atrocities Prevention Board and expansion of executive branch tools to combat rights abuses, including executive orders imposing sanctions. In April 2012, Pres. Obama signed an executive order permitting sanctions against companies and visa bans against those helping Syria and Iran to use technology like cell-phone monitoring to carry out human rights abuses.

The Obama administration's experiences with Congress on human rights during its first term echo those of its predecessors for the past several decades. Each administration,

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whether the president was a Democrat or Republican, has alternated between sparring with Capitol Hill and making common cause on key issues.

#### **A Russian Rights Watershed**

The case of Russia provides a useful example. Determined to "reset" relations to advance arms control and other initiatives that eroded during the Bush administration, the Obama administration promised a different sort of engagement, while pledging to maintain support for allies in the Russian orbit, like Georgia.

The administration was also eager to wind down Jackson-Vanik, which prevented the United States from granting Permanent Normal Trade Relations status to Russia, even though Moscow had long ago lifted restrictions on citizens who wished to leave the country. The measure mainly served to create barriers for American exporters seeking access to Russian markets.

A number of lawmakers had been equally determined to make sure any plan to wind down Jackson-Vanik included new levers for pressing Russia on a backsliding human rights record. As early as 2010, U.S. lawmakers were vowing to hold Moscow accountable for Magnitsky's death.

For the administration, there was a precedent of sorts in the way Congress treated China's application to join the World Trade Organization in 2001. In exchange for agreeing to lift the provisions of Jackson-Vanik, which barred U.S. approval of Beijing's accession, it created two commissions to review U.S.-China relations, Beijing's observance of WTO commitments and the status of human rights in China.

In the case of Russia, members of the Obama administration and Congress shared deep misgivings about Moscow's ongoing crackdown on political and other freedoms. But in dealing with the Magnitsky matter, the administration indicated a preference for exercising a travel ban on Russians implicated in the case through existing visa powers, or issuing an executive order freezing the travel of some individuals. Nonetheless, Congress voted overwhelmingly to restrict travel and threaten to freeze the assets of Russians tied to the case.

Some administration officials say the inclusion of asset controls adds unnecessary complications, while rights activists say the asset controls were important to give the measure bite. "For this to be an effective mechanism for supporting and promoting human rights in Russia, it is important to fully implement it," says Susan Corke, director for Eurasia programs at U.S.-based rights watchdog Freedom House.

#### **Bridging the Divide**

Experts with experience working with both U.S. government branches say the relationship suffers from a lack of sustained contact on human rights and other issues. Posner, speaking at the Council on Foreign Relations, described an aversion in the State Department to testifying and congressional briefings. He said he found it helpful to spend at least one day per week on the Hill, when not on official travel, to discuss rights issues with members of both parties.

"There is huge risk aversion at the State Department in engaging Capitol Hill," says Lagon, the former director of State's trafficking in persons' office. "The State Department engaging the Hill is much like engaging the press. One out of 20 times it will bite you in the rear. But for the other 19 times, greater things ensue."

Adds Barry Lowenkron, who served as assistant secretary for democracy, human rights and labor in the George W. Bush administration: "Sometimes it can just mean going up and having conversations with staffers and walking through what the issues are." Lowenkron adds that avoiding Congress can backfire. "I think the more Congress is ignored or shunted aside, the more it will legislate additional reporting."

Easing relations between the two branches will involve making policies and personalities less foreign to each side. The steps that can be taken include embedding more Foreign Service officers on the Hill. Currently, a small number of FSOs every year have the opportunity to spend a year acquiring legislative experience while working as congressional staff. These opportunities are made available through either a Pearson Amendment assignment or a training assignment through the American Political Science Association's Congressional Fellowship Program.

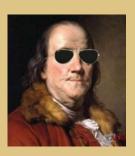
Both programs are well regarded and would benefit from participation by a larger pool of rotated FSOs. Also helpful would be the establishment of a program that sends congressional staff to State Department bureaus involved in human rights work, to gain an appreciation for how such issues are handled there.

But deploying more personnel to each branch has its limits. Most FSOs are focused on training for rotations abroad, and congressional staff members are increasingly stretched thin coping with an array of new foreign policy issues, ranging from geo-economics to asymmetric security threats.

Clearly, though, both the State Department and Congress would benefit from more frequent contact through existing channels to negotiate smoother landings—and present a more consistent voice internationally—for initiatives like the Magnitsky Act.

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## FS HERITAGE AMBASSADORS OF RACE AND NATION

Here is the little-known story of a group of African-American diplomat-writers whose late 19th- and early 20th-century work shaped the Harlem Renaissance.

BY BRIAN RUSSELL ROBERTS

he decades of the 1920s and 1930s are famous for an unprecedented flowering of African-American writing, with many black authors fighting against racial discrimination by publishing novels, poems, plays and essays that argued for their entitlement to full civil rights. Among them, Langston Hughes and Zora Neale Hurston have emerged as the most enduringly famous. Hughes's 1921 poem, "The Negro Speaks of Rivers," is widely read in American high schools and universities to this day, and Hurston's 1937 novel, *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, was adapted as a made-for-TV movie by Oprah Winfrey in 2005.

Less well known is the fact that the Harlem Renaissance the literary movement those authors have come to represent was built upon the late 19th- and early 20th-century work of a vibrant group of African-American writers who represented the United States overseas as diplomatic and consular officers. Beginning during the Reconstruction era, U.S. presidents courted and rewarded their black voting constituencies by appointing African-Americans to diplomatic and consular posts, primarily in nations and colonies of color. Their ranks included Frederick Douglass, the famous abolitionist and social reformer, who served as U.S. minister to Haiti from 1889 to 1891, and was the first African-American to detail his diplomatic work in an autobiography, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (1893).

James Weldon Johnson, whose "Lift Every Voice and Sing" is still widely sung as "The African-American National Anthem," worked as a consular officer in Venezuela and Nicaragua from 1906 to 1913. During these years, Johnson wrote most of his first book of poetry and completed a novel.

W.E.B. Du Bois also briefly represented the United States abroad. Co-founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and a longtime editor of the NAACP's magazine, *The Crisis*, Du Bois spent December 1923

Brian Russell Roberts is a professor of American literature at Brigham Young University, with a focus on African-American literature. The University of Virginia Press just published his book, Artistic Ambassadors: Literary and International Representation of the New Negro Era, which examines the intersecting literary and diplomatic work of African-American writers who traveled as U.S. diplomats during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. through January 1924 as President Calvin Coolidge's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Liberia. This stint as a diplomat came to inflect Du Bois's later political and literary endeavors.

These figures worked side-by-side with lesser-known State Department-affiliated authors of African descent, who served in places like Angola, Madagascar, France and the Dominican Republic. This corps of black writer-diplomats used their overseas experience to develop strategies for racial representation at home, a move that pivotally shaped literature in the run-up to the Harlem Renaissance.

#### The Question of Representative Character

After the Civil War, black men and women in the United States worried that white Americans tended to dismiss high achievements by African-Americans. In a lecture delivered in 1865, Douglass declared that the white public "has sternly denied the representative character of our distinguished men. They are treated as exceptions, individual cases and the like."

During the late 19th century, as black men received appointments to serve as diplomats abroad, they drew on diplomacy's notion of "representative character" to certify their capacity to speak on behalf of America's larger black population. Through their distinguished work in diplomacy, black men were transforming themselves from African-American representatives abroad to representative African-Americans at home.

This movement is illustrated in the 1883 chromolithograph shown here, "Distinguished Colored Men," which showcases 11 of the most distinguished African-American men of the day, five of whom at one point worked as American ministers or consuls: Ebenezer Don Carlos Bassett (minister to Haiti, 1869– 1877), John Mercer Langston (minister to Haiti, 1877–1885), Henry Highland Garnet (minister to Liberia, 1882–1883), Frederick Douglass (minister to Haiti, 1889–1891) and Richard T. Greener (consul in Vladivostok, 1898–1905).

One black diplomat of the era, John Stephens Durham (minister to Haiti, 1891–1893), actually used the phrase "representative character" in an 1894 letter to the *New York Times* in attempting to certify his ability to speak on behalf of America's larger black population. The next year, on the death of Frederick Douglass, Durham again drew on the notion of diplomatic representation to reaffirm what he described as Douglass' "representative character." Douglass, said Durham, was "the ambassador of the oppressed everywhere."

Further drawing on his experiences representing the United



This chromolithograph made in 1883 contains the portraits of 11 prominent African-Americans, five of whom were diplomats. At the center, Frederick Douglass (1818-1895); top right, Blanche Kelso Bruce (1841-1898); top left, Robert Brown Elliott (1842-1884); and clockwise from top of the oval, William Wells Brown (1814-1888), Prof. Richard T. Greener (1844-1922), Rt. Rev. Richard Allen (1760-1831), Joseph H. Rainey (1832-1887), Ebenezer D. Bassett (1833-1908), John Mercer Langston (1829-1897), P.B.S. Pinchback (1837-1921) and Henry Highland Garnet (1815-1882).

States in Haiti, Durham published a 1902 novel, *Diane: Priest*ess of Haiti, which pushes the notion of representative character into the literary realm. The preoccupation with who could speak on behalf of the United States' larger black population became a major concern during the Harlem Renaissance, as writers attempted to position themselves as "artistic ambassadors" (to borrow a phrase from the famous black author Richard Wright).

## The preoccupation with who could speak on behalf of the United States' larger black population became a major concern during the Harlem Renaissance.

#### **Diplomacy or Directness?**

If work in international diplomacy had a hand in influencing African-American discussions of who was authorized to speak for the race, then a second discussion arose concerning the methods that those representatives ought to use. W.E.B. Du Bois powerfully weighed in on this question in his 1903 essay collection, *The Souls of Black Folk*. Balking at the idea that African-American citizens could expect to improve American racial conditions through rhetorical "diplomacy and suaveness," Du Bois declared that black race representatives should "state plainly and unequivocally the legitimate demands of their people."

Some of his peers dismissed the value of direct protests, however. James Weldon Johnson maintained that African-Americans could change their status in the United States through "a demonstration of intellectual parity by the Negro through the production of literature and art."

In fact, Johnson's literary and diplomatic work was intertwined. In Latin America, he wrote poetry that seemed to support the United States' orchestration of revolutions in Nicaragua. "Tropical constitutions / Call for occasional revolutions," wrote Johnson, drawing attention away from the United States' role in orchestrating these revolutions and instead using a pun ("constitutions") to suggest that the root of recurrent Latin American revolutions could be located either in local modes of government or in the very nature of the residents of these tropical lands.

Johnson also used indirect tactics in his 1912 novel, *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*. In this work, the narrator rails against the United States for permitting the lynching of African-Americans in the South. At first glance, this facet of the novel makes the book look as if it were wholly inspired by Du Bois' cry against "diplomacy and suaveness." But Johnson believed he could best be a missionary for the race by continuing to work for the State Department. And, apparently to avoid upsetting white Americans at home (which could possibly lead to his recall), he published his novel anonymously. As a family friend and biographer observed, Johnson "felt a diplomat should not affix his name to so controversial a book." Shortly after the novel's publication, Johnson resigned from his post because of disagreements with, and apparent pressure from, the new Woodrow Wilson administration. He later became a major figure of the Harlem Renaissance, not only republishing his novel in 1927 but also affixing his name to it. Yet he continued to be known for tact and diplomacy in advancing the cause of African-Americans, an approach he had honed while serving his country overseas two decades earlier.

#### Diplomatic Representation *in* Africa, Literary Representation *of* Africa

Commenting on the racial politics of the early 20th-century State Department's appointment practices, Langston Hughes once spoke cynically of the United States' preference for sending black men "to any little old colored country." Clearly Hughes was not dismissing the importance of nations and colonies of color. Rather, his cynicism stemmed from what he (though a diplomatic outsider) identified as an early 20thcentury State Department culture that harbored biases against black nations and colonies, as well as against the black representatives it sent to these locales.

The case of George Washington Ellis (secretary of the United States' Liberian legation, 1902–1910) illustrates some of these racial difficulties. Over the course of a few years, Ellis grew tired of his unchallenging work at the legation and put in repeated requests for transfers, sometimes threatening to resign if his requests were not granted. In discussing Ellis's case with the Bureau of Appointments, Assistant Secretary of State Robert Bacon saw that Ellis either needed to be transferred or permitted to resign. Yet, appallingly, he wondered: "Would [Ellis] be better than some new coon?"

In a powerfully disappointing way, Bacon's words point to a derisive disregard for the State Department's black personnel, as well as for nations and colonies with predominantly black populations. Bacon's words project an image not of international representation but of international misrepresentation. His chosen racial slur framed American relationships with nations and colonies of color in terms of the degrading tradi-

## Early 20th-century State Department culture harbored biases against black nations and colonies, as well as against the black representatives it sent to these locales.

tion of the blackface minstrel show—a type of variety show in which white actors put on black makeup and performed as subhuman buffoons while purportedly acting like African-Americans.

Ellis was most likely unaware of Bacon's comment to the Bureau of Appointments, but he was certainly aware that such stereotypes pervaded white American culture of the day. In Liberia, he devoted his spare time to studying the culture of the Vai-speaking people of West Africa. After hiring Vai scholars to instruct him, Ellis published a 1914 book titled *Negro Culture in West Africa*, which he wrote, as stated in the preface, out of a conviction that "the Negro should explain his own culture and interpret his own thought and soul life, if the complete truth is to be given to the other races of the earth."

Reviewing *Negro Culture* in *The Crisis*, Du Bois could see that Ellis's book pushed against misrepresentative stereotypes like those embraced by Bacon; Du Bois asserted that the book "ought to be in every colored American's library." Of course, Ellis's book did not lay to rest the question of accurate representation for people of African descent. To continue the fight, Ellis published a 1917 novel set in West Africa titled *The Leopard's Claw.* 

Similar literary efforts were made by Henry Francis Downing, who, like Ellis, had been sent by the State Department to West Africa. After serving as a consul in Luanda, Angola, in 1887 and 1888, Downing eventually wrote several plays, as well as a 1917 novel, *The American Cavalryman: A Liberian Romance.* Today neither Ellis nor Downing is well-known, but their literary works once shared space with those of famous figures such as Du Bois and Johnson in *The Crisis's* monthly "Selected List of Books." It is important to recognize these Foreign Service authors' contributions to discussions about accurately representing people of African descent in the runup to the Harlem Renaissance.

#### From Diplomacy to Hip-to-macy

Langston Hughes once wrote a short story featuring a black Harlem resident who dislikes the term "diplomat" and

fashions himself as a "hip-to-mat." The hip-to-mat imagines addressing an international group of diplomats: "Gentlemens of the Summit, I want you-all to think of how you can provide everybody in the world with bread and meat. Civil rights comes next. Let everybody have civil rights, white, black, yellow, brown, gray, grizzle or green."

In coining the term hip-to-mat, Hughes spliced the word diplomat into the phrase "hip to that," thereby integrating the hip "knowingness" of black vernacular culture into diplomacy's traditionally regimented approach to internationalism. Because several black Foreign Service authors at the turn of the 20th century integrated the culture of international diplomacy into their approaches to racial diplomacy, they, too, might be thought of as hip-to-mats.

A particularly intriguing example is Ida Gibbs Hunt, daughter of Mifflin Wistar Gibbs (consul in Madagascar, 1898–1901) and wife of William Henry Hunt, who served at posts in Madagascar (1898–1907), France (1907–1927), Guadaloupe (1927–1929), the Azores (1929–1931) and Liberia (1931–1932). Significantly, Ida Gibbs Hunt was living with her husband at his consular post in Saint-Étienne, France, when Du Bois arrived in Paris to organize the 1919 Pan-African Congress, which was supposed to give a voice to people of African descent in the context of the power realignments taking place after the First World War.

Although the State Department had denied passports to many African-Americans who wanted to attend the Pan-African Congress, it was Gibbs Hunt, the wife of an American consul, who collaborated with Du Bois to organize and publicize the meeting, with Du Bois as the Congress's founding secretary and Gibbs Hunt as the assistant secretary. Even as Gibbs Hunt served as co-organizer of a group seeking to insert itself into negotiations at the Paris Peace Conference and the League of Nations, she wrote two poems that borrowed from the mode of international diplomatic address that she was acquainted with through her ties to diplomacy.

In an implicit critique of the United States' dismal record on race relations, Gibbs Hunt began her poem "To France" with the following lines: "O land of right and justice! / O land AFSA BOOKSTORE Find State Department and AFSA Reading Lists Online

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## Calling All Foreign Service Authors

The November Foreign Service Journal will showcase recently published books by Foreign Service-affiliated anthors.



PS authors who have had a book published in 2012-2013 that has not previously been featured in the roundup, are invited to send a copy of the book, along with a press release or backgrounder about book and author to:

Susan Maitra Foreign Service Journal 2101 E St NW Washington DC 20037

Deadline for submissions is September 3.

Langston Hughes once wrote a short story featuring a black Harlem resident who dislikes the term "diplomat" and fashions himself as a "hip-to-mat."

of people true! / Here is a hearty handshake, / And homage due to you." She also wrote a poem titled "To Belgium," which celebrated the role of colonial soldiers from Africa, Asia and India in the Allies' fight on behalf of Belgium in the face of its World War I invasion by Germany.

A few years later, during the Harlem Renaissance, Gibbs Hunt's hip-to-matic work for the Pan-African Congress seems to have found fictionalization in Du Bois's 1928 novel, *Dark Princess*, which tells the story of an African-American character named Matthew Towns and his work with a woman named Kautilya (a princess from India) to promote an international council of people of color. For decades, the political and literary work of Ida Gibbs Hunt, who hailed from an early black Foreign Service family, has remained a forgotten influence on this major Harlem Renaissance novel, which Du Bois once called his favorite book.

#### The Past Lives On

In the preface to his 2004 memoir, *Dreams from My Father*, then-State Senator Barack Obama cites William Faulkner's observation that "the past is never dead and buried—it isn't even past." In a 21st-century world that has seen America's first two African-American Secretaries of State and the election and re-election of its first black president, remembering the work of early black Foreign Service authors (which also requires remembering virulent racism in America generally and the State Department in particular) can be painful enough that some might wish that the past *could* be dead and buried.

Yet doing so would also require burying the extraordinary resilience and truly admirable achievements of a vibrant group of writer-diplomats who helped shape one of the most important literary movements of the 20th century.

# SHEPARD C. LOWMAN (1926-2013) AN APPRECIATION

Countless Indochinese-Americans will remember FSO Shepard Lowman for enabling their admission to the United States. His country should remember him, as well, for embodying our finest inclinations.

BY LACY WRIGHT



he presence in our country of well over a million Americans of Vietnamese, Cambodian and Lao origin owes much to the determination of a single Foreign Service officer. Shep Lowman made it his life's work to seek resettlement in the United States and elsewhere for the Indochinese who were our allies during the long, brutal

war in Vietnam.

A longtime director of the State Department's Office of Asian Refugees in the Bureau for Refugee Programs (now the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration), Shep later served as the bureau's deputy assistant secretary. And he continued his work long after his official career had ended.

The success of those former refugees is his epitaph.

Shep died peacefully at his home in Fairfax, Va., on the evening of March 2, leaving his family, his many friends and his abundant admirers in deep mourning (see In Memory, p. 66). His loss deprives us of a major humanitarian and a man of great decency and warmth.

I worked for Shep twice, succeeded him in another job after our retirements, and traveled with him to the Balkans during the Kosovo crisis. He was at once mentor, inspiration and friend.

Lacy Wright, a Foreign Service officer for 30 years, now works as director of the INL section at Embassy Vientiane.

He was an unlikely leader, though, at least initially. I first met him in 1970 at the apartment of my then-boss, Cal Mehlert, above the Eden Gallery in downtown Saigon (after which the Eden Center in Falls Church, Va., is named). He was visiting, as I recall, and seemed dispirited. Notwithstanding his Harvard law education and sharp mind, he made a lackluster impression.

Four years later, in 1974, Shep returned to South Vietnam, this time as chief of the internal unit of the embassy's very large political section. That fall, I became his deputy. Together, we came to know many of the country's politicians and other leaders.

#### The Fall of Saigon

Months before the April 1975 evacuation of Saigon, it had become clear that the U.S. Congress was unwilling to allocate the resources that would have allowed South Vietnam to continue its struggle against the North Vietnamese. President Nguyen Van Thieu's decision to pull back his forces from the north had provoked a debacle, and the fall of Saigon was not far off.

Ambassador Graham Martin gave our unit a major role in the evacuation, with particular responsibility for the Vietnamese who had been on our side. Our first job was to make lists of the categories of people who would be most at risk in a communist takeover, an effort that proved of dubious utility as the clock wound down and disorder increased.

But we were able to evacuate many Vietnamese families of Americans. Shep worked almost around the clock, and we both left Saigon by helicopter from the embassy roof on the last day.



Photo Left: Shep Lowman with a group of amputees in Nha Trang, Vietnam, in February 2001.

> Photo at right: Shep Lowman at a refugee camp.

#### **Finding His Calling**

Back in Washington Shep, like many of the FSOs who had been evacuated, was assigned to help resettle the 130,000 Indochinese refugees who were streaming into the United States. It was not a glamorous job, but it was there that he found his calling. Indeed, Shep Lowman caught fire.

By 1981, he had become deputy assistant secretary in the State Department's Bureau of Refugee Programs, where he exerted a major influence on the U.S. refugee resettlement program. The Orderly Departure Program, which brought many thousands of relatives of Vietnamese refugees to the United States; the Humanitarian Operation program for released political prisoners; and the Amerasian program, for children of Vietnamese and American parentage left in Viet-

nam—all bore his imprint. He was well known in the halls of Congress, both among members and staff, for his advocacy and expertise.

Shep also worked on other crises during this period, of course, such as the Cambodian exodus into Thailand that saw

more than 200,000 Khmer flee into Khao-I-Dang and other large refugee camps. The Hmong from Laos were another major concern; those mountain people, who fled into northern Thailand in 1975, needed and deserved our assistance.

But it was Shep's advocacy for the acceptance of Indochinese into third countries, mainly our own, that became his hallmark. It was a commitment that lasted well after "compassion fatigue" for the Indochinese had caused some former colleagues to criticize his singlemindedness. When Shep's State Department career came to an end, he was not finished. From positions at the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, the Jesuit Refugee Service and Refugees International, he continued his advocacy for the admission of Indochinese refugees.

He became a source of occasional irritation to more than one of his Refugee Bureau successors. They could not, because of his stature, refuse his requests for appointments; but they must have dreaded receiving him, since they were well aware that his mastery of the subject far exceeded their own.

#### **A Passion for Vietnam**

Resettlement was Shep's passion, but not his only one. Another was Vietnam itself, where he and his wife, Hiep, spent

> long periods over the last two decades of his life and where he continued his humanitarian work.

> In 1991, he joined the board of Vietnam Aid to the Handicapped. On personal trips to Vietnam, he and Hiep helped oversee the distribution of

wheelchairs to thousands of Vietnamese veterans wounded during the war. He also helped the Vietnamese government write legislation and develop accessible facilities for the handicapped.

Shep worked well beyond the normal age of retirement. In 1998, when he was a Jesuit Refugee Service staff member and I was doing similar work for the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, the Kosovo crisis erupted. Shep suggested that he and I travel to the region to report on how our respective agencies might assist the Kosovar refugees streaming into Macedonia and

## Shep worked almost around the clock, and we both left Saigon by helicopter from the embassy roof on the last day.



Albania. He was over 70 at the time, but neither asked for, nor got, any special treatment as we made our way among the aid workers and journalists flocking to the scene.

Our first night in Skopje was spent in a box of a room that I told him was the worst place I had ever stayed. Shep replied laconically that he could not make the same claim. From Tirana, we hitched a four-hour ride to Albania's largest refugee camp, near the Kosovo border. We traveled the same treacherous mountain road where, several weeks later, the new chairman of Refugees International, his wife, and RI's European representative would be killed when their vehicle plunged over a cliff. We got back the same way. For Shep, it was all in a day's work.

#### A Fine Public Servant

Not all extraordinary people can laugh at themselves, but Shep could. On a trip to Bangkok to visit a program under his responsibility as deputy assistant secretary, he later recounted, he and his local program director were walking along one of the city's notoriously dangerous sidewalks when he fell into an open sewer manhole and literally disappeared from sight. He chuckled at the plight of his subordinate, swerving around and finding his big boss from Washington missing. "The poor guy must have thought, 'My God, I've lost my deputy assistant secretary!""

Although Shep's health began to falter several years ago, he enjoyed an esteem in the Washington area's Indochinese communities that was palpable. Time and again, he and Hiep could be found at Vietnamese functions or in Vietnamese homes, where they enjoyed the status of honored guests. That may say it all.

Despite his achievements, Shep Lowman was a modest man with no taste for ostentation. His friends will remember him for his intense loyalty to his family, his seriousness of purpose and his unwavering honesty. Untold numbers of Americans of Vietnamese. Cambodian and Lao descent will remember him for making possible their admission to the United States.

His country should remember him, as well, for embodying our finest inclinations.

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## AFSA NEWS THE OFFICIAL RECORD OF THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

## Honoring Heroes: AFSA's Memorial Plaque Ceremony

BY JENNIFER LOWRY, AFSA STAFF



Vice President Joseph Biden, Secretary of State John Kerry and AFSA President Susan R. Johnson at the Memorial Plaque Ceremony on May 3.

On May 3, Foreign Affairs Day, AFSA held its 80th annual Memorial Plaque ceremony, honoring eight fallen Foreign Service personnel who gave their lives in service to the United States and the American people. AFSA President Susan R. Johnson introduced Vice President Joseph Biden and Secretary of State John Kerry to the 110 family members and friends seated in the Department of State's C Street lobby.

It was a solemn and historic occasion, marked by the words of condolence spoken by the vice president and secretary of state. Each of the heroes, whose names are now inscribed in marble, were remembered for their dedication, fearlessness and commitment to service, despite the risks and dangers a career in the Foreign Service may present. They were also remembered as sons, daughter, husbands, fathers, sister, brothers, friends and colleagues to the hundreds of people their lives touched. Together, their deaths span 46 years from 1967 to 2013.

AFSA's memorial plaques are a somber reminder of the precarious, yet heroic nature of the Foreign Service, and of the men and women who served. The ceremony provides a unique moment to celebrate their accomplishments and recognize the significant contributions they have made to American diplomacy.

#### The Memorial Plaque Honors:

## Anne T. Smedinghoff

joined the State Department immediately following graduation from The Johns Hopkins University. Her first assignment was in Caracas. When her tour ended, she volunteered to go to Afghanistan. She had been working with schools and local businesses to improve the lives of girls and women in the province of Zabul. On April 6, she was killed in a terrorist bombing while delivering books to a local school. Secretary of State John Kerry remarked, "She gave her young life working to give Heroes continued on page 48

## **CALENDAR**

6/2/2013 – 6/7/2013 AFSA Road Scholar Program

> 6/5/2013 12:00 - 2:00 PM AFSA Governing Board Meeting

6/6/2013 9:00 AM Deadline for Completing AFSA Governing Board Election Ballot

6/7/2013 12:00 - 1:30 PM Luncheon: Incoming FCS Class

6/27/2013 4:00 - 6:00 PM AFSA Awards Ceremony

7/4/2013 Independence Day: AFSA Offices Closed

7/10/2013 12:00 - 2:00 PM AFSA Governing Board Meeting

7/11/2013 2:00 - 3:30 PM AFSA Book Notes: "50 Years in USAID"

7/15/2013 The 2013-2015 AFSA Governing Board Assumes Office

AFSA NEWS



Views and opinions expressed in this column are solely those of the AFSA State VP.

## **Diplomatic Security from 60,000 Feet**

The Bureau of Diplomatic Security is the largest bureau in the department, and one of the fastest growing. It is home to a wide variety of specialists, including special agents, security engineers, security technical specialists and couriers. Its role has evolved substantially over the past decade, and its relationship with the rest of the department is so complex that I have put off writing about it because even a dozen monthly columns would barely scratch the surface.

But DS employees make up a significant number of AFSA's constituents, and DS is central to State's mission. So, as I near the end of my term, I want to devote this column to a brief overview of the issues it handles.

There is an inherent and necessary tension between the core mission of DS and the practice of diplomacy. DS is, appropriately, uncompromising in its efforts to protect safety and national security. But other sections of each post must be equally uncompromising in seeking to interact with host-country populations. Balancing these conflicting missions is achieved, in part, by having the regional security officer report to the deputy chief of mission, rather than the management officer, and by greater delegation of authorities to emergency action committees.

Even so, few officers have the full range of information, knowledge and experience to weigh the risks completelynor the resources or authority to address every risk. Washington must therefore either more forcefully back the decisions of those that do. or. with full input from all players, transparently do so itself. Either way, it must ensure that the decision makers have the authority to effect change, and not merely responsibility for doing so.

The bureau's mission requires specialized and, sometimes, proprietary skills not generally possessed by employees outside DS. Many of these skills are minimally introduced in schools or training and, instead, must be mastered through experience. An ever-increasing range of responsibilities necessarily requires exposing RSOs—the generalists of the DS world—to take on an everincreasing range of duties.

For these reasons, DS manages the careers and assignments of its employees more tightly than other bureaus. Its leadership asserts that the process is collaborative, transparent and necessary to ensure that all employees gain needed experience-but employees complain of limited bidding options, reduced ability to chart their own careers, fewer out-of-cone possibilities and susceptibility to front-office favorites. AFSA

has seen occasional indications of assignments being made to reward or punish employees.

DS's mission also requires procedures and certifications that impact duty-station, availability, work-life balance, Special-Agent Law Enforcement Availability Pay and other issues. Several functions require special suitability determinations, such as fitness-for-duty examinations. Others impose unique reporting requirements; for example, a requirement that special agents report medications they are taking to supervisors and the Office of Medical Services. These may be written into standard operating procedures, or the Foreign Affairs Manual sections, or left undefined, and may even give an individual the ability to decide the fate of a subordinate at will. On the whole, our concern is that DS employees do not always appear to enjoy the protections guaranteed by standardized human resources practices.

DS special agents may face legal issues other FS members do not, including rules for carrying firearms. Unique rules apply to employees authorized to carry arms. For these reasons, among others, SAs are held to "higher standards" in certain areas of conduct. This makes it all the more vital to ensure transparent, written explanations of expectations of DS employees.

For a number of reasons, including limited resources, the need to prioritize basic training of new hires, the need to staff high-risk posts, and perception among SAs that other work is more "promotable," most SAs do not receive adequate continuing training in criminal investigations, and only superficial training, if any, in the separate discipline of security clearance investigations. The domestic offices where such skills are honed are equally considered lessdesirable postings. A lower focus on investigations than on management or protection affects all subjects of DS investigations-DS and other employees alike.

Finally, AFSA has concerns about techniques sometimes used in investigations, and about instances where investigative reports seem narrowly focused or contain opinions that could prejudice a case. The Office of the Inspector General has noted a lack of standardization and the possibility for influence by others in the chain of command. This is especially important in administrative cases, which offer fewer safeguards and protections to the employee than criminal cases. The long-planned construction of a DS training facility and greater focus on, and institutional support for, the investigative function, would help.

#### AFSA NEWS

Views and opinions expressed in this column are solely those of the AFSA USAID VP.



## The Everyday Risks of Overseas Service

Foreign Affairs Day was commemorated on May 3, with a series of events including memorial ceremonies at the State Department's C Street lobby and at USAID in the Ronald Reagan Building. Eight individuals' names were added to AFSA's memorial plaques at State, while two Foreign Service officers were memorialized at USAID.

It was a day that made it clear that our profession carries risks not always recognized by our citizens. The causes of death of those whose lives we celebrated ranged from explosions and terrorist attacks to malaria and inadequate medical care.

At the State Department, Vice President Joseph Biden and Secretary of State John Kerry gave moving eulogies whose empathy comforted the attending family members. Biden declared that Foreign Service officers should receive the same respect that we give our military personnel for contributing so much to our national security and progress without carrying a weapon. At USAID, Administrator Rajiv Shah emphasized the fact that the Foreign Service officers we were honoring had given their lives so that our mission could move forward.

While many of the causes of Foreign Service employees' deaths are easily understood by most, others are questioned. A recent comment by someone outside of the Foreign Service makes this clear, "Is a plaque really justified just because you are overseas? After all, I work in Washington and if I die of a heart attack or car accident, I am not recognized with a memorial plaque. Why is it justified for overseas employees?"

Many of the places where Foreign Service personnel and their families serve, are much more dangerous than in the United States. Access to services we take for granted here are nonexistent at most overseas posts. In the U.S., we call 911 and an ambulance and emergency medical technicians arrive to treat us and take us to a modern, well-equipped hospital. Overseas, we might be lucky to have a decent medical clinic, much less ambulance service.

While the State Department's Office of Medical Programs can be a lifesaver overseas, it cannot compare to the options for care we receive stateside. In the event of a medical emergency overseas, depending on the post, we are better off being flown out of the country to a location where the care won't kill us. I say this from my own medical emergency, which caused me to be transported by a rickety and poorly equipped ambulance over a torturous drive of several hours to Cairo from the Sinai Peninsula. I am sure many of you have similar horror

stories to tell.

Both AFSA's and USAID's criteria for recognition specifically cover death caused by lack of adequate medical treatment. As Vice President Biden noted, Foreign Service employees volunteer for the job despite the dangers and risks, and fully understand that acceptable medical care may be lacking. This is a message others also need to understand to better appreciate the risks taken by FSOs and their family members assigned overseas.

## AFSA Scholarships Established, Renewed or Added in May

• An **anonymous donor** pledged a substantial gift to the financial aid scholarship she established in 2009. A portion of the funds were received in May, with the remaining sums arriving over the next four years. This gift will increase AFSA's endowment and the size of the scholarships bestowed in her name.

• Rep. Chris Van Hollen, D-Md., and his siblings, along with donations from friends and colleagues, have established a perpetual financial aid scholarship in their parents' names. The **Christopher and Eliza Van Hollen Memorial Scholarship** honors their Foreign Service careers and will be awarded for the first time in the 2013-2014 year.

• Stephen Hubler renewed the annual **Alice and John Hubler Financial Aid Scholarship** dedicated to his parents. Mr. Hubler originally established the scholarship in 2005. It will be bestowed in 2013-2014. As a past AFSA scholarship recipient, he feels giving back is important.

• Carefirst BlueCross BlueShield Federal Employee Program sponsored two AFSA academic merit awards for the first time in May 2013. The awards were bestowed on Meredith Hilton and Lee Ellen Myles, both high school seniors and children of AFSA members.

• The **Public Members Association of the Foreign Service** renewed its annual financial aid scholarship for 2013-2014 for a student pursuing a career in the Foreign Service.

#### Heroes

Continued from page 45

young Afghans the opportunity to have a better life."

#### **Ambassador John**

Christopher Stevens served as the U.S. ambassador to Libya from June to September 2012. Killed on Sept. 11, 2012, in a terrorist attack in Benghazi, Amb, Stevens was the first U.S. ambassador to die on duty since 1988, and the eighth U.S. ambassador to be killed in the line of duty. Stevens joined the Foreign Service in 1991, and served in Jerusalem, Damascus, Cairo and Riyadh early in his career, in addition to assignments in Washington, D.C. He had served in Libya twice previously, first as the deputy chief of mission from 2007 to 2009, and then as special representative to the national transitional council during the 2011 Libyan Revolution.

#### Sean Patrick Smith was

serving as a Foreign Service information technology specialist when he was killed during the Sept. 11, 2012 terrorist attacks in Benghazi. Smith, originally from San Diego, enlisted in the Air Force in July 1995, and served for six years, first as a ground radio maintenance specialist before being promoted to staff sergeant in August 2000. Smith was awarded the Air Force Commendation Medal. He joined the Foreign Service in 2002, serving in Baghdad, Pretoria, Montreal and The Hague.

Ty Woods spent 20 years in the U.S. Navy before becoming a security specialist in 2010. As a Navy SEAL, Woods was awarded the Bronze Star Medal with combat 'V' Device for valor in Iraq. He led 12 direct action raids and 10 reconnaissance missions that resulted in the capture of 34 enemy insurgents in the volatile Al Anbar province. Upon retirement as a senior chief petty officer in 2007, Woods joined DS, serving multiple tours in Iraq and Afghanistan, and Central America and the Middle East. Woods was killed in the Sept. 11, 2012, terrorist attack in Benghazi.

**Glen Doherty** served for nine years in the U.S. Navy as a Navy SEAL with multiple combat deployments. In 2005 he left the Navy and spent the next four years working as a security and intelligence specialist for various federal agencies conducting operations in such high-threat regions as Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan and Afghanistan. He had extensive experience teaching and training operators around the world in a range of disciplines, and was an accomplished pilot and nationally certified paramedic. Doherty was on a mission when he was killed in a terrorist attack on Sept. 11, 2012.

**Ragaei S. Abdelfattah** was a U.S. Agency for International Development Foreign Service officer. He died on Aug. 8, 2012, in a suicide bombing attack in Kunar province, Afghanistan. A native of Egypt and a naturalized American citizen who strove to represent U.S. core values abroad, Abdelfattah believed in the importance of Afghans having opportunities to better their lives—from Afghan girls having access to school, to poor farmers having the ability to register familyowned land. Prior to joining USAID, Abdelfattah had accrued more than 15 years of professional development experience working for the United Nations Development Program in Egypt and the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission in the Washington, D.C., area. Abdelfattah used his architecture and urban planning knowledge and skills to help others in every way he could. At the time of his death, he was also working on a Ph.D. at Virginia Tech University.

#### Joseph Gregory Fandino

joined the Foreign Service immediately following completion of law school at Columbia University, becoming one of the first Hispanic American Foreign Service officers. His first post was Santo Domingo, followed by Ciudad Trujillo, also in the Dominican Republic. He then served in Ottawa, followed by the Miami Reception Center, where he assisted Cuban refugees and visiting dignitaries from Latin America, then Bilbao and Madrid. In September 1971, he was assigned to USAID's

Civil Operations and Revolutionary and Development Support program in Vietnam. He was first an ethnic affairs officer stationed in Xuan Loc, Long Khanh province, and then at Bien Hoa Air Force Base outside of Saigon. He died there on June 27, 1972, in the line of duty.

Francis J. Savage's Foreign Service career began following two years in the U.S. Navy. He was first assigned to Iceland in 1950, where he worked in the mailroom. He was then transferred to Marseilles, where he met his wife, Doreen Welsh. Shortly thereafter, Savage and his family were transferred to Trinidad, followed by Tripoli. After working for the Department of State for several years, Savage switched to USAID. His first assignment with the agency was as general services officer in Mogadishu. He volunteered to serve as a provincial representative in Vietnam, only to be injured in a bombing at the My Canh floating restaurant. After a year in and out of Bethesda Naval Hospital, he volunteered to return to Quang Tri Province, Vietnam, Within three months, he became critically ill from his original wounds and died in Saigon Hospital in the spring of 1967.

To view AFSA's Memorial Plaque Ceremony in its entirety, please see www. cspanvideo.org/program/ PlaqueC.

## **AFSA's Memorial Plaque Ceremony**



## **USAID Honors Two of Its Own on Foreign Affairs Day**

On May 3, the U.S. Agency for International Development honored Dale J. Gredler and Eugene F. Sullivan, two Foreign Service officers who died while serving their country, during a memorial plaque ceremony held in the agency's lobby in the Ronald Reagan Building. Family members, friends and former colleagues joined representatives from the American Foreign Service Association and the American Federation of Government Employees to hear USAID Administrator Rajiv Shah pay tribute to the FSOs. Before the ceremony, Administrator Shah invited family members to meet with him privately in his office.

Dale J. Gredler joined USAID in 2001 after working for the Federal Emergency Management Agency as an emergency management program specialist. He started out as a financial management specialist before becoming a Foreign Service contracting officer in 2004. Dale and his family's first overseas post was Jakarta, where he fulfilled a critical role during the reconstruction efforts following the devastating earthquake and tsunami.

In 2009, Dale and his family transferred to USAID's Central Asian Republics regional mission in Almaty. After a few months at post, Dale was evacuated to London for medical treatment,

Continued on page 57



the middle; Caroline Gredler with Administrator Raj Shah; Robert Sullivan affixes his father's plaque, as Raj Shah looks on; Caroline Gredler addresses friends and family; opera singer Bumie Dada opens the ceremony with the National Anthem.





## **AFSA Launches New Foreign Service Program Partnership**

BY TOM SWITZER, SPEAKERS BUREAU DIRECTOR

On March 21 and 22, AFSA launched a partnership with the University of St. Thomas in Houston, aimed at enhancing the efforts of its 40-yearold Center for International Studies to train the next generation of diplomats. The program will focus on key aspects of Foreign Service careers, as well as on American diplomacy overall.

Under this partnership, AFSA will recruit a wellknown, senior U.S. diplomat to address deans, faculty and students on the challenges facing U.S. diplomacy in the 21st century. The speech will take place at the CIS following each biennial national election. The University of St. Thomas is the first institution chosen for this program and has agreed to bear most of the costs via a newly created endowment of up to \$100.000.

#### **Program Kick-Off**

Former Deputy Secretary of State John Negroponte's inaugural address on March 21 officially kicked-off the new "Distinguished Diplomat" lecture series and the partnership between the university and AFSA. Negroponte emphasized, "We want to make sure American students are aware of the opportunities for service to their country abroad; we don't want them all to be from a handful of universities on the



On March 21, University of St. Thomas Assistant Professor Richard Sindelar introduces "Distinguished Diplomat" lecturer Ambassador John D. Negroponte.

East Coast, for example, or the West Coast. We want to have regional diversity. We want the State Department to look like America when it's representing us abroad."

Ambassador Negroponte stressed that those interested in Foreign Service careers should study languages and cultures through schoolwork, internships and travel. He added that, "Speaking to people in their local tongue makes an incredible impression." He went on to opine that the U.S., with all the advantages it enjoys, could well remain the leader of the free world for decades to come, but that it is essential that we get our fiscal and economic houses in order, especially in the face

of growing competition from many countries.

#### What Diplomats Do

AFSA President Susan R. Johnson also addressed the group, commenting that AFSA has expanded its reach to smaller regional schools and emerging international programs by sending diplomats and other practitioners to speak and meet with students to give them a sense of what diplomacy is all about, what diplomats do, why it's important for our national interests and what roles they can aspire to through diplomatic careers. Negroponte and Johnson also spoke to students from three area universities on careers in the Foreign Service. They

encouraged the students to read AFSA's popular book on the topic, "Inside a U.S. Embassy."

#### **Keen Interest**

The main kickoff lecture. evening reception and dinner were attended by prominent Houstonians from academia, business and government, many of whom expressed keen interest in supporting this new partnership. The following day, Johnson spoke at a breakfast meeting of local Foreign Service retirees to detail AFSA's persistent efforts in assisting retirees with benefits and other concerns, and explain the challenges U.S. diplomacy and development face with limited budgets. In view of the success of these inaugural programs, going forward, AFSA will also seek opportunities to establish similarly endowed partnerships with other regional universities around the nation.

Media coverage of these events was heavy, and culminated with the opportunity to meet with the chief editors of the *Houston Chronicle*, laying the groundwork for future AFSA press placements there.

## **AFSA Goes to Capitol Hill**

BY SHAYE HUGGINS, AFSA STAFF

On April 26, AFSA held an educational event on Capitol Hill for congressional staff, fellows and interns. The session, "Diplomacy in the 21st Century: Life of Challenges and Opportunities in the Foreign Service," gave more than 30 attendees a unique opportunity to get to know Foreign Service representatives on a personal level.

The event featured retired Ambassador Charles Ray as the keynote speaker, and a panel comprised of AFSA President Susan Johnson: Ken Kero-Mentz, president of Gays and Lesbians in Foreign Affairs Agencies; Elise Mellinger, a Pearson Fellow and State Department representative on the AFSA Governing Board; Steve Morrison, a **Foreign Commercial Service** representative; and Jason Singer, a U.S. Agency for International Development representative.

Panelists shared their stories of living and working overseas. Morrison described how difficult it was to find help for a son with learning disabilities in a multilingual school system, while Kero-Mentz told attendees how he met his partner while working abroad. Johnson and Singer described what it was like for each of them to grow up as a child of Foreign Service parents, and how those experiences shaped their respective decisions to



(Left to Right) On April 26, AFSA President Susan R. Johnson, AFSA Governing Board State Representative Elise Mellinger, Ambassador Charles Ray, GLIFAA President and AFSA Governing Board State Representative Ken Kero-Mentz, AFSA Governing Board Foreign Commercial Service Representative Steve Morrison and AFSA Governing Board USAID Representative Jason Singer participate in AFSA's educational event on Capitol Hill.

become FSOs themselves.

Amazingly, some audience members seemed shocked to hear about the very real dangers and threats the panelists had faced every day while serving overseas. For example, Kero-Mentz was given a helmet and flak jacket to wear while serving in Baghdad. He also kept a personal weapon on the driver's seat in case he was captured.

The panelists' anecdotes and discussion prompted insightful questions from audience members, some of whom expressed interest in pursuing a career in the Foreign Service. Others simply came to learn more about the different roles FS employees perform.

This type of educational event is a key component of AFSA's advocacy and congressional outreach efforts. It is instrumental in helping members of Congress and their staff better understand the realities and challenges that affect Foreign Service members and their families. The feedback from attendees has spurred AFSA's advocacy department on to plan a similar event in September, in collaboration with affinity groups in Congress.

Whether you are an active-duty or retired member of the Foreign Service, we are looking for compelling stories for our future event and invite you to share yours. Please contact advocacy@ afsa.org to find out how you can help.



As part of the association's congressional outreach efforts, AFSA President Susan R. Johnson meets with Congressman Chris Van Hollen, D-Md., on May 14.

#### Save the Date: 2013 AAFSW Art and Book Fair

The 2013 Art & Book Fair of the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide will take place from Friday, Oct.18 to Sunday, Oct. 27, in the Diplomatic Exhibit Hall in the Harry S Truman building.



The fair will feature books, jewelry, art, collectibles, stamps and coins from all over the world. Proceeds benefit Foreign Service families and the AAFSW Scholarship Fund.

Donations of rare books, jewelry, art items, stamps and coins are now being accepted. To have your donations picked-up, please call (202) 223-5796 or e-mail bookroom@aafsw.org.

If you are interested in volunteering to help us out during this annual event, please contact Art and Book Fair Chairperson Judy Felt at (703) 370-1414. If you love books and exotic items, you won't be disappointed!

## Help Celebrate Diplomacy In Action

This year marks the 65th anniversary of the State Department's Office of International Conferences. Commemorative events in September will mark the occasion with highlights of IO/C's long history of accrediting delegates to multilateral conferences.

AFSA members can provide assistance to our colleagues by lending photographs and memorabilia of conferences they have attended. IO/C is seeking photos or artifacts showing multilateral diplomacy in action—negotiations, meetings, treaty signings and anything else you might come up with. The proposed exhibition will also include written materials.

If you would like to be a part of this significant

anniversary, please contact IO/C Director Rick Weston at WestonRC@state.gov with your list of possible items to loan. Contributions after 1948 and from any international/multilateral organization will be accepted. Ideally, you were accredited to that organization or conference and can provide a short caption or description of what your photo or artifact depicts. Please note that IO/C will return your materials upon request.

We know that AFSA members have a treasure trove of memorabilia from their careers. We are counting on you to come forward with wonderful material to make IO/C's 65<sup>th</sup>-anniversary celebration a truly memorable occasion.

## **Unreasonable at State: It's Not What You Think**

BY DONNA AYERST, AFSA NEWS EDITOR

Definition of UNREASON-ABLE-

1. a : not governed by or acting according to reason <unreasonable people>

b : not conformable to reason : absurd <unreasonable beliefs>

2 : exceeding the bounds of reason or moderation <working under unreasonable pressure>

Unreasonable hangs out with a lot of negative words, such as ridiculous, nuts, crazy and impossible, to name just a few.

Daniel Epstein—along with George Bernard Shaw decided that unreasonable didn't have to hang with the aforementioned words. Instead, it belonged with words like brilliant, exciting, innovative, boundless—you get the idea.

Or do you?

Here's what Shaw had to say about unreasonable and how it equates to man: "The reasonable man adapts himself to the world; the unreasonable one persists in trying to adapt the world to himself. Therefore, all progress depends on the unreasonable man (and woman)."

Enter Epstein, a college kid in 2007, who spent a semester on the shipboard program, Semester at Sea. He says it changed his life (as do most of the students who spend 3½ months traveling the globe). But then Epstein took that life-changing voy-



(From top left, clockwise) Solar Ear makes the world's first solar rechargeable hearing aids; Daniel Epstein (in blue) works with entrpreneurs aboard the *M.V. Explorer* during Unreasonable@Sea; USAID's Chief Innovation Officer Maura O'Neill, Raabia Budhwani from State's Global Initiative Program, Unreasonable Institute founder Daniel Epstein, State's Acting Special Representative for Global Partnerships Thomas Debass and Institute for Shipboard Education President Les McCabe; a State employee puts pipe cleaners to use to solve a d.school problem.

age and molded it into the Unreasonable Institute.

Things started getting exciting (see new definition of unreasonable above). "If George Bernard Shaw is right, if all progress depends on the unreasonable person, than we cannot afford to *not* bet on unreasonable people," the institute postulates.

For background, this is what the institute does: "Each year, we unite 10 to 30 entrepreneurs (called "Unreasonable Fellows") from every corner of the globe to live under the same roof for six weeks in Boulder. Colo. These entrepreneurs receive customized training and support from 50 world-class mentors, ranging from a *Time* magazine Hero of the Planet, to the head of user experience at Google X, to an entrepreneur who has enabled more than 20 million farmers to escape poverty. In the process, they form relationships with corporations and international organizations, receive legal advice and design consulting, and get in front of hundreds of potential funders. Our goal

is to bring all the resources to accelerate these ventures so they can scale to meet the needs of at least one million people each." (source: www. unreasonableinstitute.org)

Sounds unreasonable, unless the notion excites you.

So, on May 1-2, the Department of State's Global Initiative Program partnered with the Unreasonable Institute, Stanford University's d.school and the Aspen Institute to present two days of mind-boggling presentations from 15 startups. Unreasonable continued on page 58

## ACTIVE AFTER ACTIVE-DUTY A Non-Retiring Life

BY AMBASSADOR CHARLES RAY

When I retired from the Foreign Service in September 2012, I think I worried for all of two days about whether or not I'd be able to maintain the schedule of activity I'd become accustomed to over the past 30 years. Then, my two-day vacation was over and I promptly forgot I'd ever had such strange thoughts.

I've been more or less full-time employed since I was thirteen, the year I started high school. During those four years, I worked nights for a poultry company, studied during the day and was a stringer for my local newspaper. My first published fiction was in 1957, when I won a Sunday school magazine short story contest. After high school, I joined the army, and for the next 20 years, wherever I was stationed, I moonlighted for local newspapers and magazines as a writer, photographer or artist.

During the late 1970s, when I was assistant public affairs officer for the 18th Airborne Corps at Ft. Bragg, North Carolina, I did news and photo essays, theatrical reviews, historical and travel articles for local newspapers and regional magazines, and was editorial cartoonist for a weekly in a small town just outside the base. I also contributed poetry to a number of anthologies.

In 1982, I retired from the army and joined the Foreign Service. My writing slacked off a bit, especially in the early years as I established my new career. I still did the occasional travel article or poem, and in the early 2000s I began working on my first novel, a mystery set in Washington, D.C. I love mysteries, but those with a D.C. setting were, in my view, populated with too many politicians, lobbyists, spies and high rollers. I wanted to see something that showed the amazing diversity of the 'common' citizens of the area.

It took me nearly ten years to get that first one done. "Color Me Dead" was published in 2008, and was the start of a series that is now up to number 16. The story of AI Pennyback, a retired army officer turned private detective—a man who hates guns and injustice, and views politicians and bureaucrats with disdain-seems to resonate with a rather loval cadre of readers on both sides of the Atlantic. Sales are modestly steady and most of the reviews have been good.

My first published book, though, was a small tome on leadership, "*Things I Learned from My Grandmother About Leadership and Life*," which grew out of conversations I had with a young economics officer and speechwriter when I was ambassador to Cambodia. I have a rather homespun leadership style (a la Will Rogers and Mark Twain), and he suggested I write a book about it. It seemed an interesting project, so in 2003 l began a draft, and in 2008 it was published. The following year, I did a follow-on, "Taking Charge: Effective Leadership for the Twenty-first Century." Both books can be found in the State Department Library—something I'm quite proud of.

I've always been an eclectic reader, and my writing reflects that. In addition to my mystery series and three books on leadership, I've done a photo-journal of my travels through southern Africa, a two-book sword and sorcery fantasy series, a book of short stories. an urban comedy/fantasy about a 40-year-old loser who is bedeviled by the spirit of his grandmother, and a parody of "Alice in Wonderland." which features a young inner city kid who stumbles down a rat hole and discovers a fantastic world beneath the city. "Wallace in Underland" is probably one of the most fun things I've written.

Oh, and I also still do ad writing and various articles for the Yahoo news site. I'm a content manager for an online Texas travel destinations site and I manage two blogs. My blogs reflect the way my mind works—they're all over the place with photography, art, advice on writing, my personal philosophy and, at times, strong doses of humor.

Am I worried about running out of something to do and being bored? I don't think so. I have a quota of 1,000 words per day—something I learned from a veteran journalist in North Carolina and now I'm able to manage more than five times that on a daily basis. At that rate, my list of pending writing projects will be exhausted sometime in the next century—maybe.



Amb. Ray joined the Foreign Service in 1982. He served in Freetown, Guangzhou, Shenyang and Ho Chi Minh City and as ambassador to Cambodia from 2003 to 2005, and to Zimbabwe from 2009 to 2012. He retired from the Foreign Service in September 2012. To keep up with Amb. Ray, please see charlesaray.blogspot.com and charlieray45.wordpress.

## Winning One for AFSA

On May 13, AFSA participated in Senator Barbara Mikulski's, 23rd annual golf tournament at the Whiskey Creek Golf Club in Maryland. Sen. Mikulski, D-Md., serves as chairwoman of the Senate Appropriations Committee. The tournament consisted of golfers representing a number of industries, associations and private sector groups.

Playing for AFSA, Executive Director Ian Houston landed on the team that eventually took first place honors after shooting a 64. "It doesn't get much better than making birdies and winning a tournament for the Foreign Service," he commented afterwards.

The AFSA-PAC, which sponsored the tournament entry, is led by Ambassador Tom Boyatt, with staff support from AFSA Advocacy Director Javier Cuebas. It continues to provide unique access to key decision-makers in both parties.



Senator Barbara Mikulski, D-Md., is joined by the winners of her 23rd annual golf tournament on May 13. AFSA Executive Director Ian Houston (on the right) played on behalf of the Foreign Service and was happy to be on the winning team.

## New TLG Intern Comes to Washington

BY ÁSGEIR SIGFÚSSON, DIRECTOR OF NEW MEDIA

This summer, AFSA and the Thursday Luncheon Group will welcome the 26th AFSA/TLG intern to the Department of State. This partnership, which dates back to 1992, brings a minority college student to Washington for an enriching and educational internship in foreign affairs.

Leah Castleberry is this year's lucky student. Leah is a rising junior at Howard University, where she studies International Business. She is a Legacy Scholar, a member of the Golden Key International Honor Society and the National Society of Collegiate Scholars. She has also received numerous awards at Howard, including the Walter Payton Award for Excellence in Leadership and Citizenship. Originally from Chicago, she recently traveled to Morocco for a Sister Cities Committee project. She speaks Spanish and some Arabic.

Continuing our relationship with the Bureau for South and Central Asian Affairs, Leah will be an intern on the India desk this summer. Previous interns have also been placed in that office and have reported a meaningful experience in every respect.

AFSA welcomes Leah and looks forward to her contributions. We also appreciate the partnership with TLG, which is celebrating its 40th anniversary this year. Learn more at www. afsa.org/tlg.

## LIFE IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE



## **USAID HONORS**

Continued from page 50

but died enroute. His wife Caroline, and their two young daughters, Alyson and Sarah, survive him.

Eugene F. Sullivan attended Tufts University in Medford, Mass. He was enrolled in the Navy's college training program and became a commissioned officer upon completion. He was adept at learning foreign languages, he was fluent in 13. After his naval service, he first worked for the National Security Agency, followed by the Central Intelligence Agency. In 1957, Eugene joined USAID's predecessor agency, the International Cooperation Administration, as a chemical engineer. In 1962, he was assigned to Seoul, followed by Taipei, Manila and Bangkok.

In 1968, he moved to Addis Ababa, where he served until Jan. 21, 1972, when he died at the age of 47 of blackwater fever, a particularly serious side effect of malaria. He was married to Hope Arlene Corkin for 26 years, with whom he had seven children.

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## FSI/Family Liaison Office FS Family Member Employment Event

On July 10, from 1 to 4 p.m., FSI & FLO presents **Employment Tools for Foreign Service Life and Meet-Up Event** at the Foreign Service Institute. Meet with multinational and nongovernmental organization employers who hire overseas, and take FSI's course, MQ704, covering resumes, interview skills and more.

To register for MQ704 see www.state.gov/m/fsi/ tc/fslstraining/c48159.htm. To RSVP for the Meet-Up, please send your name, summer e-mail address and sponsoring employee's name and agency to FLOAskEmployment@state.gov with MEET UP EVENT in the subject line.



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#### Unreasonable

Continued from page 54

The Dean Acheson Auditorium was full.

"Unreasonable@State was a convening of global startups, policymakers, investors and development practitioners who explored how entrepreneurship and design-thinking can be leveraged to solve pressing global challenges. The main event showcased technology startups with innovative development solutions; highlighted the State Department's efforts to support entrepreneurs; and offered insights from Unreasonable at Sea's global experiment as a startup accelerator having sailed over 25,000 nautical miles and into 13 countries.

Workshops on the second day allowed the diverse group of global influencers to further explore challenges to reach scale and to rethink the future of diplomacy, education, healthcare, capital markets, poverty and the planet." (source: www.state.gov)

The young entrepreneurs who presented had just returned from a voyage on Semester at Sea, bringing Daniel Epstein, founder and driving force behind all things unreasonable, full circle.

Reflecting on the voyage, Epstein said, "We welcomed 20 mentors to sail with us for stints as long as a monthfrom the Prince of Saudi Arabia. Archbishop Desmond Tutu. the founder of Word-Press and Time magazine Heroes. We collaborated with executives from some of the largest multinationals on earth, including Microsoft's Innovation Studios and the innovations team at SAP (a multinational corporation that makes enterprise software). And most notably for me, we set sail with a mix of more than 630 undergraduate students from over 250 universities."

The Unreasonable Institute's mission statement: We exist today to support and accelerate the growth of the world's most unreasonable tech-entrepreneurs (i.e., those hellbent on solving the hardest problem-sets of the 21st century and who will settle for nothing less than global scale).

Sounds pretty reasonable to me.

For more information, see unreasonableinstitute.org, semesteratsea.org and unreasonable@state.gov Web sites.



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## BOOKS

#### A Man with a Mission

Early American Diplomacy in the Near and Far East: The Diplomatic and Personal History of Edmund Q. Roberts (1784-1836) Hermann Frederick Eilts, New Academia Publishing, 2012, \$34, hardcover, 255 pages. REVIEWED BY JASON VORDERSTRASSE

Hermann Frederick Eilts' final book, completed before his 2006 death but only recently published, fills a sizable gap in our knowledge of Edmund Q. Roberts, a key diplomat during the administration of President Andrew Jackson. Any student of U.S. relations with Southeast Asia, the Arabian Peninsula or East Africa will greatly benefit from reading *Early American Diplomacy in the Near and Far East: The Diplomatic and Personal History of Edmund Q. Roberts (1784-1836).* 

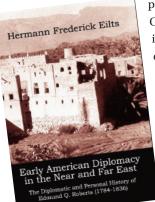
Until now, anyone wishing to learn

about Roberts' exploits had to read his own Embassy to the Eastern Courts of Cochin-China, Siam and Muscat; Benjamin Ticknor's Voyage of the Peacock: A Journal; or W.S.W. Ruschenberger's A Voyage Around the World. While all three books have merit, the fact that they are contemporaneous accounts deprives them of the historical perspective found in Eilts' new work. He also does an excellent job of furnishing details on Roberts' personal life that is lacking in those other accounts.

Edmund Q. Roberts' family was active in the shipping industry, and he traveled widely from an early age. His time in Zanzibar and friendship with New Hampshire Senator Levi Woodbury led Roberts to propose leading a mission to Muscat (which controlled Zanzibar) to conclude a commercial treaty.

Woodbury, who had become Pres. Jackson's Secretary of the Navy, succeeded in having Roberts named as a special diplomatic agent empowered to negotiate such agreements. The government also asked him to pursue treaties of commerce with Cochin-China (Vietnam) and Siam (Thailand). His mission departed in early 1832.

## Roberts crafted detailed accounts of his negotiations for the ratification process, which were useful during the debate over the treaties.



Drawing on accounts of previous visits to Cochin-China and Siam, primarily by Britons and Americans, Eilts illustrates the many challenges 19th-century diplomats faced. For instance, Roberts encountered severe cultural misunderstandings because his information about the countries he visited was inaccu-

rate or outdated. Although he

was not successful in Cochin-China, he did conclude a commercial treaty with Siam.

Extremely slow communication constrained Roberts in his negotiations, leading him to craft extensive explanations of his work for the ratification process. These were useful during the surprisingly active debate over the treaties in several American newspapers.

Following his travels to Southeast Asia, Roberts continued to Muscat, where he was able to conclude a treaty of commerce relatively quickly. Once the Senate had ratified both treaties, Roberts was tapped to return to the same countries to deliver the instruments of ratification. He departed for Muscat on this second mission, which also included the possibility of a visit to Japan, in April 1835.

While the delivery of instruments of ratification sounds simple, it was anything but. For instance, because of the reverence given official documents in Siam, a special stand was constructed to hold the box containing the signed treaty.

Roberts died in Macau of dysentery on June 12, 1836, before reaching Japan. But thanks to his complicated financial affairs, his death is far from the end of the saga. Drawing on Roberts' diaries and letters and other primary documents, Eilts concludes this account by thoughtfully assessing his legacy.

Anyone interested in the history of U.S. diplomatic relations in the Middle East and East Asia, or early American history, will be grateful that Eilts' family pushed for this book's posthumous publication as part of the ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy series.

Jason Vorderstrasse, an FSO since 2004, is currently the Chile desk officer; he previously served in Hong Kong and Kingston. In 2009, he successfully nominated Edmund Q. Roberts for inclusion in the AFSA Memorial Plaques. The views expressed in this article are his own and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of State or the United States government.

## The Persistence of Hope

Radio Congo: Signals of Hope from Africa's Deadliest War Ben Rawlence, Oneworld Publications, 2012, \$16, paperback, 300 pages. Reviewed by David Boyle

In 2007, while planning a trip to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ben Rawlence, a senior researcher for Human Rights Watch, came across a 50-year-old brochure promoting the city of Manono, in the country's southeastern corner. He decided to visit "to see how people are coping after the war...in villages that nobody hears about."

The result is *Radio Congo: Signals* of *Hope from Africa's Deadliest War*, a



Ed Miltenberger Advertising & Circulation Manager Tel: (202) 944-5507 E-mail: miltenberger@afsa.org riveting series of vignettes about millions of civilians living in the midst of a deadly war. Yet while the daily struggle to find food and safety shapes their lives, it never completely defines or overwhelms them.

## Rawlence shows us a wartorn, yet still vibrant society.

Although the book contains ugly scenes, Rawlence prefers to focus on the hope displayed by ordinary Congolese going about their lives: "In their faith that life will continue and, moreover, that things can improve, a peaceful future for Congo will be found."

The book touches only briefly on the fighting that broke out in the DRC in 1996 (a spillover from the 1994 genocide in Rwanda), and continues to this day. Perhaps as many as four million people have died as a result, but no one knows for sure.

Rawlence tries to put a human face on the suffering and the societal breakdown that ensued. Near the city of Goma, for instance, he lunches with a Congolese Army colonel who suddenly interrupts their meal to beat two soldiers for trying to steal food—and then darkly hints Rawlence may be next.

Outside Virunga National Park, he runs across two girls detained by park rangers for collecting charcoal. The girls wail hysterically at their plight, and Rawlence fears what will happen to them once the rangers get them alone. His traveling companion warns him not to interfere. Later in the book, Rawlence meets survivors and ex-members of the Congolese Mai-Mai (not to be confused with the Kenyan Mau-Mau), a militia that "ate infants, burned parents and forced sons to kill their fathers and rape their mothers."



This brutal backdrop only serves to underscore the generosity Rawlence repeatedly encounters. After a punishing motorcycle ride, he stops at a village where "the people do not know us, yet have dropped

everything to talk to us, warm us, feed us, house us." Near the Zambian border, he speaks with Congolese refugees who risk their lives to return home to regain some measure of autonomy and self-respect; their children ask only for the opportunity to attend school. And in an isolated town, he finds an immigration officer with polished shoes and impeccable manners, prompting him to reflect: "Self-respect, manners and hospitality are makers of hope, refusals to capitulate" to the war.

A captivating narrator, Rawlence manages to find humor in the most unlikely places. A difficult aid worker "may work for a charity, but won't exercise any charity herself." On the door of a bar, he sees a sign, "No vests, no sandals, no machine guns,"—and adds, "in that order." And he concludes one misadventure with this sage advice: "Often, the best way to solve a difficult problem in Congo is to get drunk."

Near the end of the book, Rawlence finally reaches Manano, a hollow shell of the prosperous city that existed 50 years ago. He doesn't shy away from describing the ruins he found there, or the human suffering 17 years of war have inflicted on the whole country. But he chooses to spotlight the signs of a still-vibrant society brimming with hope, and held together by the heroism of ordinary men and women.

David Boyle is the deputy chief of the political section in San Salvador. He has also served in Toronto, Malabo, Manila, Lagos, Lima and Kinshasa.

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Shawn Dorman, EDITOR AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

## IN MEMORY

Anne Smedinghoff, 25, a Foreign Service officer, died in the line of duty on April 6 in a terrorist attack in the Zabul province of Afghanistan while delivering textbooks to Afghan school children. Four other Americans and an Afghan doctor also perished in the attack. Ms. Smedinghoff is the first State Department Foreign Service casualty of the 12-year-long war in Afghanistan, and the first FSO to die on the job since last year's attack in Benghazi.

The daughter of an attorney and the second of four children, Anne Smedinghoff grew up in River Forest, Ill., a suburb of Chicago. An avid reader, she had a lively and curious mind. She graduated from Fenwick High School in Oak Park, Ill., where she was an officer in the International Relations Club, and went on to attend The Johns Hopkins University, where she majored in international studies. In 2008, she helped organize the university's annual Foreign Affairs Symposium, which draws high-profile speakers from around the world, among other on-campus and off-campus activities.

Following graduation in 2009, she joined the Foreign Service. Her first overseas assignment was Caracas, and she then applied for the Afghanistan position as a press officer. A colleague at the embassy, Solmaz Sharisi, told the Associated Press: "What I admired most was her energy and enthusiasm, and an unwavering commitment to the work she was doing. She was young, but she almost seemed like a seasoned foreign diplomat."

According to Sharisi, one of Ms. Smedinghoff's favorite projects was working with the Afghan women's soccer team to help it gain greater acceptance; she even honed her own soccer skills by practicing on her days off.

While in Kabul, she also served as the control officer for Secretary of State John Kerry's visit to the country, just weeks before her death.

Scheduled to complete the Afghanistan tour in July, she was looking forward to spending a year learning Arabic in the United States and Cairo before a two-year assignment in Algeria. She was already fluent in Spanish.

By all accounts, Anne Smedinghoff had a promising Foreign Service career ahead of her.

"We are consoled knowing that she was doing what she loved, and that she was serving her country by helping to make a positive different in the world," Tom and Mary Beth Smedinghoff said in a moving statement on learning of their daughter's death. "It was a great adventure for her. She loved it," her father, Tom Smedinghoff, told AP later. "She was tailor-made for this job."

In a statement to the press on April 6 from Istanbul, where he learned of the tragedy, Secretary of State John Kerry condemned the "cowardly" terrorists responsible for the attack, declaring that America "does not and will not cower before terrorism."

Kerry added: "We put ourselves in harm's way because we believe in giving hope to our brothers and sisters all over the world, knowing that we share universal human values. So it is now up to us to determine what the legacy of this tragedy will be. Where others seek to destroy, we intend to show a stronger determination to brighten our shared future. That was Anne's mission."

In memorial gatherings in the Chicago area, Baltimore and Washington, D.C., Ms. Smedinghoff's talent, kindness, generosity, enthusiasm, adventurousness and commitment to making the world a better place for all was recalled and honored.

At Fenwick High School, where Ms. Smedinghoff had returned in December to speak to students about her diplomatic career, Associate Principal Richard Borsch remembered her as a cross-country runner. "That particular sport often produces some of the best students. Perhaps it's all the discipline, the routine, the attention to detail when training."

Her former Spanish teacher, Irene Drago, recalled Smedinghoff's gift for foreign languages and quiet intelligence. She also observed that teachers are supposed to inspire students, but sometimes the reverse is true. "Anne inspired me," she stated.

In Baltimore, at a celebration of her life at Johns Hopkins University on April 27, a group of friends and former classmates recalled adventures with Anne—from sky diving in Arizona and being caught in a Jordanian sandstorm during a biking trip, to the 2009 cross-country biking trek, known as the Hopkins 4K, for the Ulman Cancer Fund for Young Adults. The group launched a drive to gather books for Baltimore public school children in her memory.

Also at Johns Hopkins, friends and family have established the Anne Smedinghoff Memorial Scholarship Fund to help support students who wish to study abroad but need financial help to do so.

The State Department held a Memorial Service on May 2, at which Tom Smedinghoff, Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Tara Sonenshine and Secretary of State John Kerry spoke.

In addition, the Delta Phi Epsilon Professional Foreign Service sorority at The George Washington University held a candlelight vigil for Ms. Smedinghoff on May 3. It was attended by her family and several AFSA representatives.

In River Forest, a group of 13-year-old girls, one of whom remembers Anne as her babysitter, spearheaded an area-wide effort to collect and donate 10,000 books to children.

At the April 17 funeral in Ms. Smedinghoff's hometown, hundreds of family members and friends, including AFSA President Susan Johnson and several State Department officials, gathered to remember the brave, selfless woman who did not let fear stop her from trying to make a difference in faraway places.

Anne Smedinghoff is survived by her parents and three siblings, Mark, Regina and Joan Smedinghoff of River Forest; grandmothers Dorothy Smedinghoff and Bernice Tokarski; numerous aunts and uncles; and 22 cousins.

Her family requests that memorial contributions to honor Anne and her work be made to organizations listed at www.annesmeding hoff.com. Arthur A. Bardos, 91, a retired Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Information Agency, died on March 7 at his home in Chevy Chase, Md.

Arthur Alexander Bardos was born in Budapest and came to the United States when he was 17. After graduating from the University of Southern California in 1943 with a bachelor's degree in cinematography, he served in the U.S. Army in Europe. He was a member of a mobile broadcasting group that produced German-language programming as part of the psychological warfare effort aimed at German youth.

Mr. Bardos, who was fluent in German, French and Hungarian, received a master's degree in comparative literature from USC in 1948. He was enrolled in a Ph.D. program and teaching German at Harvard University when he entered the Foreign Service in 1951. Harvard awarded him a master's degree in comparative literature in 1968.

During a 35-year diplomatic career, Mr. Bardos served overseas in Austria, Vietnam, Guinea, Morocco, France, Belgium, Germany and Turkey. He worked largely on cultural, educational and broadcasting programs.

Mr. Bardos' assignments also included two teaching stints: one at The George Washington University from 1959 to 1961, and one at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University in Massachusetts from 1981 to 1983. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1986.

Mr. Bardos was a member of Diplomatic and Consular Officers Retired and served on the board of Bethesda United Church of Christ, where he volunteered with many programs. He was a past president of a neighborhood association in Bethesda.

Survivors include his wife of 64

years, Lola Arnold Bardos of Chevy Chase; two daughters, Catherine Mack of Lakeland, Fla., and Jennifer Graham of Albuquerque. N.M.; and four grandchildren.

**Betty Lea Andersen Burgess**, 88, wife of the late FSO Harrison Burgess, died on March 16 in Reston, Va.

Mrs. Burgess was born in Superior, Neb., on March 21, 1924, to Andrew and Edna Andersen. She had eight siblings. The family later moved to Colorado. During World War II she served as a nurse at Kelly Field, Texas, where she met her husband. Harrison Burgess of Charlottesville, Va., was stationed at Kelly Field in the Air Force. The couple married on March 27, 1943, and, following the war, moved back to Charlottesville.

After the birth of their two sons, Bob and Scott, Mr. Burgess joined the U.S. State Department as a Foreign Service officer. Over the next 25 years, the Burgesses served in diplomatic posts in Beirut, Salzburg, Belize City, Montreal and Ankara.

In addition to her diplomatic, social and support efforts as an American "ambassador" in these countries and when the family was in the United States, Mrs. Burgess was active in many community activities, including the Belize Hospital Auxiliary and the Contemporary Club and Bailey Museum at the University of Virginia. She was also a skater, fencer, skier, master bridge player, tennis buff and golfer.

Most importantly, family and friends remember, Mrs. Burgess was a loving mother and wife, as well as a gracious hostess and steadfast friend.

Her husband predeceased her in 1999. Mrs. Burgess is survived by their sons, Bob of Falls Church, Va., and Scott and his wife, Paula, of Atascadero, Calif.; a daughter-in-law, Michelle Hartz; grandchildren Dylan, Sasha and Joe; a niece Linda (and her husband, Ron) Bulmer and their children, Heather and Heidi and their families.

It was Mrs. Burgess's wish that any memorial gifts be donations to the Macular Degeneration Association at macular.org/howhelp.html.

■ Ariel S. Cardoso, 94, a retired Foreign Service staff employee and the spouse of FSO Mary Randall Carsoso, died peacefully on March 9 at his home in Washington, D.C. He was a Holocaust survivor.

Mr. Cardoso was born in 1918 in Florence, Italy, to Jewish parents who later moved to Rome. In 1936, he was admitted to the pre-med program of the Liceo Scientifico of Rome. His ambition to be a physician was thwarted before he could enter medical school, when the fascist government enacted racial laws prohibiting Jews from attending public and private educational institutions.

Following German occupation of Italy in late 1943, Mr. Cardoso joined the partisans, and the family went into hiding among Christian neighbors who refused to report them. He prepared escape plans should they learn of imminent arrest. For example, he wore an armband that "identified" him as a member of the Rome municipal military.

After the liberation of Rome in 1944, Mr. Cardoso served with the British Eighth Army, simultaneously applying to British authorities to immigrate to Palestine to join the Jewish Brigade. He trained with the brigade at Sarafano and Ismailia, both in Egypt, before being sent to Italy and then to France, the Netherlands and Belgium.

At war's end, he helped the Haganah smuggle Jewish refugees into Palestine. He then returned to Palestine to fight in Israel's War of Independence, serving as an ambulance driver and medical aide.

In 1952, Embassy Tel Aviv hired Mr. Cardoso as a local employee. There he met his future wife, FSO Mary Randall of San Antonio, Texas. In 1955, when Mary was transferred to Rome, he resigned his position in Tel Aviv and followed her, working in Rome at the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization.

In the spring of 1960, he was instrumental in organizing a community-wide Passover seder at the FAO that hundreds attended, including government officials, international personalities and tourists. The couple was married in Rome in 1960, and Mr. Cardoso became a U.S. citizen a year later.

When his wife was transferred to the consulate in Enugu, Nigeria, Mr. Cardoso took a job with the U.S. Information Service there. They chose to serve as a couple in "hardship posts," taking assignments in Africa, Indonesia and Europe. Mr. Cardoso became a regular employee of the Foreign Service in 1967.

During the next 12 years, he served in Zanzibar, Jakarta, Lesotho, Gambia, Budapest and East Berlin, the couple's last duty station, where he was vice consul. In Budapest, he participated in the return to Hungary of the historic Crown of St. Stephen, leading to improved U.S.-Hungarian relations. The Cardosos retired to Washington, D.C., in 1979.

Family and friends remember Mr. Cardoso as a man of quiet dignity and gentlemanly bearing, with a keen mind and a concern for others. He loved the arts, especially opera and ballet. He enjoyed travel, especially the many cruises the couple took on the great rivers of Europe, experiencing historic towns, cathedrals and galleries, and visiting Italy.

He also enjoyed a good game of Scrabble, despite English not being his first language, and was an avid reader of world news. He spoke little of his wartime experiences, but took great pride in his service to the United States and Israel.

Mr. Cardoso is survived by his wife, Mary, and several nephews and nieces. Contributions in his memory may be made to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, of which he was a charter member.

**Carolina Handall**, 33, the wife of USAID FSO Daniel Sanchez-Bustamante, died on March 4 in Fairfax, Va., of pancreatic cancer.

Ms. Handall was born on Oct. 22, 1979, in La Paz, Bolivia, of Bolivian parents. After studying at the Catholic University of Bolivia in La Paz, she attended the University of Arizona, where she received her bachelor's degree in economics in 2001. She received her master's degree in development economics at the University of Maryland in 2005, and became a U.S. citizen in that same year.

In 2003, Carolina Handall married Daniel Sanchez-Bustamante. Mr. Sanchez-Bustamante, who had worked for USAID since 2000, joined the Foreign Service in 2003. The couple undertook three tours overseas, the first in 2005 to San Salvador, where their daughter Luciana was born. In 2007 they were posted to Quito, where their second daughter, Christina, was born in 2009. They were assigned to Accra in 2011. A time of service...a time of need

Help for Seniors May Be Just a Phone Call Away-

During Washington, D.C., postings and overseas, Ms. Handall pursued her career as an economist with the Inter-American Development Bank in Washington, with CARE in El Salvador and as an economic specialist at Embassy Quito.

Ms. Handall was an avid tennis player, a dedicated mother and wife, and she loved to dance. She was happiest when surrounded by her many friends and family, who remember her generosity, compassion and positive, life-affirming spirit (see "Remembering Carolina" in the May edition of *AFSA News*).

She is survived by her parents, Juan Carlos and Liliana Handall, and her brother, Juan Pablo, of La Paz; her husband, Daniel, and their daughters, Luciana and Christina, of Fairfax, Va.

**John James Keith**, 32, beloved son of retired FSO and former Ambassador James Keith and his wife, Jan, died on Jan. 18 at his parents' home in Reston, Va.

John was born Park Jung-hyun in southwestern South Korea in 1980. Soon thereafter, his parents died of tuberculosis. At about age 5 John suffered an accidental fall at an orphanage, resulting in brain damage, cerebral palsy and seizure disorder.

He first met the Keith family at age 14 in an orphanage in South Korea, when Mr. Keith was posted there as a political officer. The Keith family first fostered and then adopted John in 1995.

John received numerous surgeries to help him walk while living with the Keiths in Seoul, and he became a popular target of affection and attention at embassy events. While recovering from surgery, John received care and support from the pastoral community in Seoul able to help you or someone you know. Some examples of assistance are: Home Health Care

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FSJ ONLINE www.afsa.org/foreign\_ service\_journal.aspx at Yongsan base. Father Erhart, a U.S. Army Catholic priest, would regularly visit and offer Communion to John.

In 1997 John transferred to the United States with his new family, settling into the Reston, Va., community that had been home to the Keiths since 1983. John attended Marshall High School's Davis Learning Center and eventually found his dream job, working at a movie theater. There he met and befriended Phat Khomp, who was to become a faithful friend and mentor for the rest of John's life.

John moved with his family to Hong Kong, where he became a favorite of the consul general's residence staff and volunteered, with his mother, at a local orphanage. John similarly endeared himself to the residence staff in Kuala Lumpur, where Mr. Keith served as ambassador.

The tropical heat was a challenge for John, who with his mother took up the art of batik at the Kuala Lumpur Crafts Center. John enjoyed drawing and developed a distinctive style. His pieces became treasured gifts to family and friends, and his work was recognized by AFSA as one of their holiday postcards.

On return to Virginia from Kuala Lumpur, while Mr. Keith served in Afghanistan, John's health began to decline. His routine of exercising by walking the block in the Keiths' Reston neighborhood began to erode. By the late fall of 2012, he was hospitalized. Diagnosed with aplastic anemia, he came home from the hospital under hospice care in January.

John is survived by five siblings: Jason, Emily, Scott, Andrew and Elizabeth. They loved him dearly and were his protectors, his co-conspirators and his best friends. When they married, their families became John's supporters, as well, including Jason's wife, Annie, and their daughter, Lily. John was proud to be an uncle and doted on his niece, much to the delight of Jason and Annie, who had both served in Korea with the U.S. Army.

Emily and Spencer were married in 2011, providing John the opportunity to sport a tuxedo and serve as one of the ushers, handing out programs from his wheelchair.

When Scott was married to Barbara in the fall of 2012, John's health was already in decline, but he played his part in the wedding party, dancing in his wheelchair along with his friends and family.

Andrew was engaged to be married on New Year's Eve 2012. While John was at home under hospice care, on Jan. 17, the day before he died, he was best man to Andrew and Kate at a marriage ceremony conducted in John's bedroom at the Keiths' Reston home, with families of both bride and groom in attendance.

Elizabeth (Lizzie) never knew family life without John, because she was born in Seoul while he was being adopted and he left this world before she left their Reston home to make her own way in life. She and he shared a special bond.

Mr. Keith and his wife, Jan, are grateful to the many Foreign Service colleagues in Washington and scattered across Asia who embraced John with warmth and love. He had a difficult life, but it was a life that brought grace to others through his suffering. He touched many people, helping all of them to gain perspective on their own lives.

The family requests that donations in John's name be made to the SPARC Solutions organization in Northern Virginia, which works to support adults with lifelong disabilities, at www.sparc solutions.org or by mail to SPARC, P.O. Box 10797, Burke VA 22009.

**Shepard C. "Shep" Lowman**, 86, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on March 2 at his home in Fairfax, Va.

Born and raised in New York and Oklahoma, Mr. Lowman served in the U.S. Navy from 1944 to 1946. He received a B.A. degree from the University of Kentucky in 1952 and an LLB from Harvard Law School in 1953. He worked in the private sector until 1956.

Mr. Lowman joined the State Department Foreign Service in 1957. After his first posting, to Vienna, he returned to the department. In 1961 he was detailed to Harvard University for advanced economic studies, and posted to Stuttgart in 1962. In 1966, he was sent to Vietnam, where he fell almost instantly in love with the country and its people. He met his future wife, Hiep, in Chau Doc in 1968.

After several assignments in the department, in 1974 Mr. Lowman returned to South Vietnam, this time as chief of the internal unit of Embassy Saigon's political section. There he was charged with assisting with the 1975 American evacuation, with particular responsibility for the family members of American citizens and Vietnamese who had been on our side.

Back in Washington, Mr. Lowman was assigned to help resettle the 130,000 Indochinese refugees who were streaming into the United States. There, as his colleague Lacy Wright puts it in the Appreciation on p. 41, he found his calling.

By 1981 Mr. Lowman had become deputy assistant secretary in the State Department's Bureau of Refugee Programs. During this period he also worked to address the Cambodian exodus into Thailand, during which more than 200,000 Khmer fled into Khao-I-Dang and other large refugee camps, and with the Hmong refugees from Laos.

His advocacy for the acceptance of Indochinese refugees into third countries became a lifelong passion, which he continued after his State Department career ended, through positions at the U.S. conference of Catholic Bishops, the Jesuit Refugee Service and Refugees International. It is a lasting hallmark of his accomplishments.

Mr. Lowman is survived by his wife, Hiep, of Fairfax, Va.; their children, Kate, Thomas Trinh, Dinh Phuc Nguyen, John Trink, Mary, Lina, Mark Nguyen and Lisa Lowman; 20 grandchildren; and one great-grandson.

William Henry Rodgers, 96, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Feb. 23 in Peoria, Ariz.

Mr. Rodgers was born in Benton, Mo., in 1916, and was raised there until the last year of high school, which he spent at Central High in Cape Girardeau, Mo., graduating in 1934.

After two years at what is now Southeast Missouri State University, he transferred to the University of Wisconsin in Madison, where he received a bachelor's degree in 1938 and a master's degree in 1939. His area of specialization was Hispanic studies.

He then taught Spanish at Kemper Military School in Boonville, Mo., and at the Lakeside School for Boys in Seattle, Wash., until 1946, when he became an instructor in the Romance languages department at the University of Minnesota. There he did further graduate work in Spanish literature and Latin American studies.

In 1950 Mr. Rodgers took a leave of absence to accept a State Department grant to serve as director of the Nicaraguan-American Cultural Center in Managua. From there he was transferred to Guatemala to serve as director of the Guatemalan-American Institute. There he met and married Mary Jeanette Kohler in 1952.

After a year of further graduate study at the University of Minnesota, he joined the Foreign Service of the United States Information Agency. His first posting was as cultural attaché in San Salvador. He was then assigned to Lima to serve for two years as cultural affairs officer and two years as information officer.

Other foreign assignments included Santiago, Buenos Aires and San José. During two tours at USIA in Washington, D.C., he served as country affairs officer for Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Venezuela and the Caribbean area.

After retirement from the Foreign Service in 1976, Mr. and Mrs. Rodgers settled in Sun City, Ariz., in 1977. He taught Spanish for five years at Rio Salado Community College and for 16 years at the College of Extended Education of ASU (formally the Sun Cities Center for Lifelong Learning at Arizona State University).

Mr. Rodgers was a volunteer instructor in Spanish conversation for the Circulo Español and was president of that organization for two years. Other volunteer activities included tutoring at the Dysart Community Center and recording Spanish textbooks for the Recording for the Blind organization.

He is survived by his beloved wife of 60 years, Mary K. Rodgers of Sun City; a nephew, Daniel Miller; and a cousin, Jack Helm. **Virginia A. Weyres**, 87, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Nov. 19, 2012, in Chapel Hill, N.C.

Ms. Weyres was born in Racine, Wis., on Jan. 28, 1925. She spent her childhood in West Bend, Wis., where she worked as a bank teller until she passed the Foreign Service exam. She was one of the few, and perhaps one of the first women, to pass the exam without having gone to college.

She joined the Foreign Service in 1954. Her first posting was to Amman, after which she was transferred to Buenos Aires in 1957 and then to Saigon in 1959. She was assigned to Oslo in 1962, returning to the department in 1968. She ended her career as a State Department inspector.

After retiring to Washington, D.C., she continued to work as a consular inspector for several years and was actively involved in various political and charitable causes.

Ms. Weyres had spent a month each winter on an island off the coast of North Carolina, and decided about a year ago to move to Chapel Hill, where several of her State Department friends had already settled. Unfortunately, she was able to enjoy her new home for only eight months, when she suffered a stroke from which she never recovered.

Family members recall that Ms. Weyres loved her career, and considered herself blessed to have chosen it instead of the more conventional marriage and family. Her nieces and nephews credit her for the fact that they grew up with a greater awareness of the world, because of the exotic gifts she sent from the places she was posted and her compelling stories about her years of service.

Ms. Weyres leaves two siblings and numerous nieces and nephews who cherish her memory.

**EDUCATION SUPPLEMENT** 

## THINKING THROUGH EDUCATIONAL OPTIONS FOR YOUR FOREIGN SERVICE CHILD

Choosing a school for your FS child is not just about feeding the mind, but also feeding the young person's appropriate social and emotional development. Here are some tips on how to make the right choice.

BY REBECCA GRAPPO

t's hard to predict how a teenager will react to the idea of an international move. Some see it as a grand adventure and look forward to the change of lifestyle with eagerness and enthusiasm. Yet many parents worry that they might face the opposite reaction: open mutiny, complete with accusations of ruining the child's life. Of course, the reaction could also be somewhere in between—or both, depending on the day.

Each teenager is different, but one thing is universal: Choosing a school is not only about feeding the mind, but also feeding the young person's appropriate social and emotional development. That makes it a doubly important decision, one for which consideration of the child's resilience is essential.

Even under the best of conditions,

bidding on posts while trying to find the right school for your child is a challenge. The bid list of possible posts around the world comes out, and you have a tight turnaround time to figure out whether the job is right, the post is right, and the school is right. If you have to find a school that will meet the needs of an exceptional child, your anxiety can be thrown into the red zone.

#### **Choosing a School**

Though there are many benchmarks for determining the suitability of a school, it is important to keep in mind that every individual has their own needs. A school that is great for one student may be a disaster for another. Here are some of the things to consider:

*Size.* Larger schools tend to have more academic and extracurricular offer-

Rebecca Grappo, a certified educational planner, is the founder of RNG International Educational Consultants, LLC. She works with Third Culture Kids around the world and is a frequent presenter on the topic of global mobility and its impact on children and teens. Ms. Grappo does placements for international schools and boarding schools, including those for students with learning disabilities, as well as for therapeutic schools and programs. She also works with students from around the world on college applications, and is an instructor with the University of California-Irvine, where she teaches other consultants how to work with international students. Married to a retired career Foreign Service officer, she has raised their three children internationally. You can reach her at rebecca@rnginternational.com.

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13

## Whether or not a large school is right mainly depends on the personality of the child.

ings, as well as a larger pool of students in which newcomers can find friends like themselves—or what I like to call a suitable peer group. But whether a large school is right for a child mainly depends on his or her personality. Some students need a bigger stage and thrive in larger schools. Others may feel lost and invisible in a large school, but thrive in the intimacy of a smaller setting.

*Curriculum.* Making a decision about the appropriate school should include a thorough look at the curriculum that is offered. Most families are familiar with the traditional American international schools that feature a standard U.S. curriculum with Advanced Placement courses or the International Baccalaureate program. Other options typically include local schools and, perhaps, English, French or German schools.

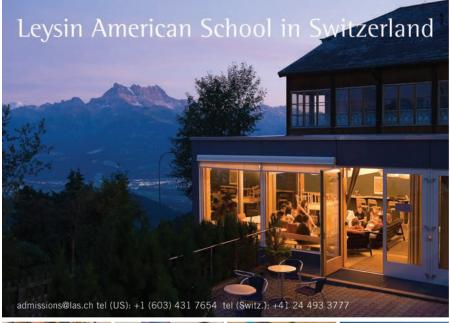
The language of instruction must also be addressed. French and German schools offer baccalaureate programs, but the medium of instruction is French and German respectively. So academic, as well as social, fluency in those languages is imperative.

Once students approach the high school years, it is important to pick one

particular curriculum and stick with it. It is very difficult to switch between types of curricula without losing credits, or even the foundational work that is needed to succeed in a course.

If the student is thinking about college after high school, curriculum is an even more important concern. Because many colleges are looking for a particular sequence of courses and hours completed in each subject area, the student and family are well-advised to start with the end goal and then work backward to ensure that all requirements will be met.

*Extracurricular activities.* Not all cultures value extracurricular activities as highly as Americans do. Many schools overseas do not even understand the concept, and it is normal for students to





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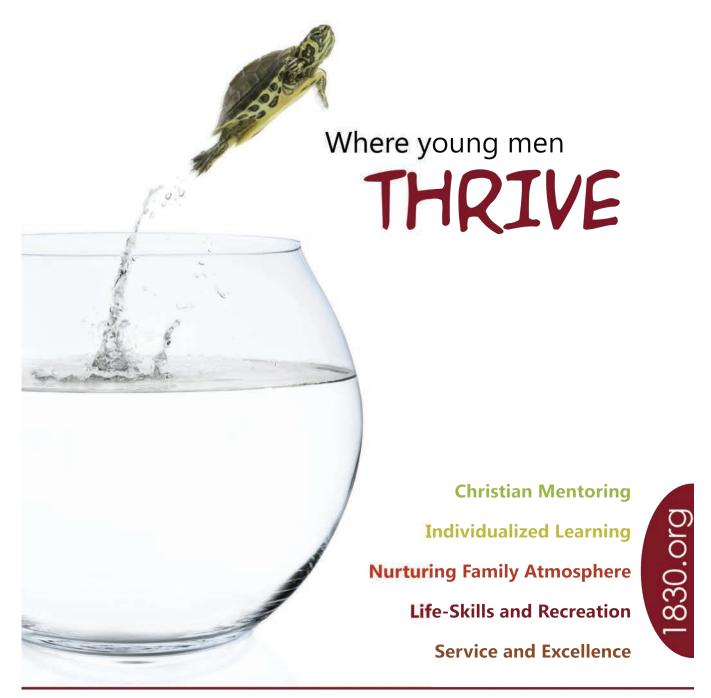




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## If the student is thinking about college after high school, curriculum is an even more important concern.

attend classes during the day and then go home.

But as Dr. Madeline Levine, a child and adolescent psychologist, notes in *Teach Your Children Well: Parenting for Authentic Success* (Harper, 2012), extracurricular activities "contribute to many of the skills kids are developing self-esteem, self-reliance, enthusiasm and a good work ethic, to name a few." This experience is important in middle school, and the process continues into high school, helping adolescents develop a healthy self-concept and identity.

By pursuing interests that foster personal growth, students are also acquiring transferable skills that will help them plug into their new communities and make those vital social connections. If the school has no activities or the student is homeschooled, it can be challenging to find alternative ways to connect and stay active. But many teens get very involved in dance, music, sports, horsemanship, local leagues, church or other religious activities, and community service.

As it happens, many of the young people who struggle most with moving are the ones who have not been involved in after-school activities. Perhaps they didn't want to participate, had no way to get home after school, couldn't find anything that interested them, or felt they had too much homework. Whatever the reason, too much time alone without positive peer relationships can lead to



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#### **EDUCATION SUPPLEMENT**

## As it happens, many of the young people who struggle most with moving are the ones who have not been involved in after-school activities.

feelings of loneliness and isolation—two very prominent risk factors for adolescents.

In sum, when evaluating a future assignment, it's important to think about the availability of extracurricular activities and the logistics of participation. Countries beset with civil unrest or extreme transportation issues may create barriers for kids. Some families decide on boarding school because they realize that the opportunities for activities beyond academics would be unacceptably restricted at the school at post.

*Peer group.* A related factor in selecting a particular school is whether or not a supportive and positive peer group can be found there. Perhaps the social group in the school is a bit too fast and socially sophisticated for your teen's needs. Perhaps it's not fast enough.

Some Foreign Service children and teens may feel bullied, left out or pressured in ways that make them uncomfortable. Still other teens may be in the cultural and linguistic minority, and find it hard to break into a well-established social circle of local teens.

Because healthy peer relationships are so important to adolescent development, this factor can be a deal breaker whether the school in question is at post or not.

School culture. Like any institution, schools have their own cultures. We would like all schools to foster a culture of kindness, warmth, fairness, equality and acceptance. But not all schools do this well—and some might be quite surprised if you even raise the subject.

As a result of working closely with students and families, I have heard a lot *Continued on p. 82* 



BERLIN BRANDENBURG INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL

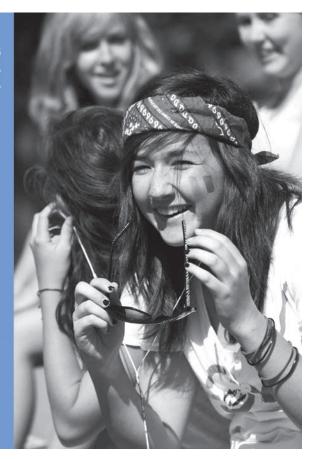
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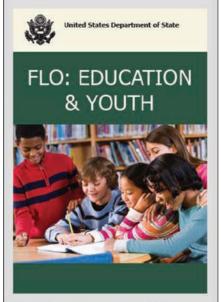
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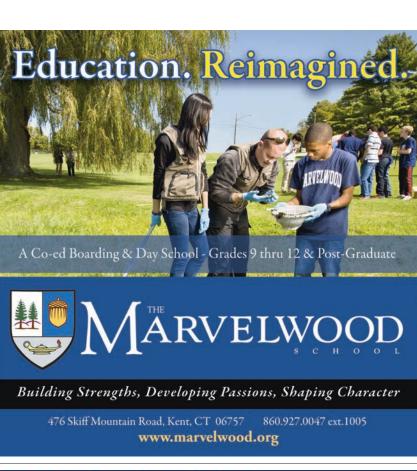
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Admiral Farragut Academy	83	410	70/30	42	30	PK,3-12	Y/N	Y	Y	10	Y	N	40,550
Colorado Springs School, The	89	307	50/50	17	17	PK-12	Y/N	Ν	Y	90	Y	Y	25,000
Fairfax Christian School, The	89	330	50/50	20	30	PK-12	Y/N	Ν	Ν	10	Y	Ν	48,000*
Fay School	97	450	50/50	25	16	PK-9	NA	Y	N	25	Y	Ν	Visit Web site
Grace Episcopal School	93	123	46/54	0	0	PK-5	NA	NA	Y/Y	3	NA	Y	17,348
Hampshire Country School	99	25	All boys	100	0	3-12	N/N	Ν	Y/Y	65	NA	Ν	51,500
Montverde Academy	69	973	52/48	32	37	PK,3-12	Y/N	Y	Y	25	Y	N	35,000

#### Junior High/Senior High

Grier School	92	300	All girls	95	50	7-12	Y/N	Y	Y	120	Y	Y	47,800
Hargrave Military Academy	81	310	All boys	92	10	7-12, PG	Y/N	Limited	Ν	76	Y	Ν	33,795
Oakland Collegiate School	71	100	All boys	98	5	7-12	Y/Y	Ν	Ν	68	Y	Ν	30,000
St. John's Military School	72	230	All boys	100	10	6-12	Y/N	Y	Y/Y	80	Y	Ν	34,100
St. Stanislaus	77	356	All boys	25	5	7-12	Y/N	Y	Y	20	Y	Y	23,257
Stoneleigh-Burnham School	83	155	All girls	71	40	7-12, PG	N/Y	Y	Limited	100	Y	Ν	48,896
Thomas Jefferson School	98	91	50/50	60	30	7-12, PG	Y/N	Y	Ν	12	Y	Ν	41,500

#### Senior High

Bridgeport International Academy	100	84	51/49	33	42	9-12	N/N	Ν	N	45	Y	Y	30,000
Christchurch School	97	221	67/33	60	22	9-12	Y/N	Y	Y	50	Y	Limited	44,700
Interlochen Arts Academy	99	474	37/63	96	21	9-12, PG	Y/N	Ν	Ν	140	Y	Ν	50,460
Madeira School	100	302	Allgirls	55	13	9-12	Y/N	Y	Y	12	Y	Limited	48,497
Squaw Valley Academy	75	100	75/25	95	60	9-12, PG	Y/N	Ν	Y	45	Y	Ν	44,298
St. Mark's School	87	340	55/45	80	18	9-12	Y/N	Y	N	30	Y	Ν	49,130
St. Timothy's School	88	165	Allgirls	70	20	9-12, PG	N/Y	Y	Limited	19	Y	Limited	49,100
Wayland Academy	86	185	47/53	75	25	9-12	Y/N	Y	Limited	142	Y	N	41,193

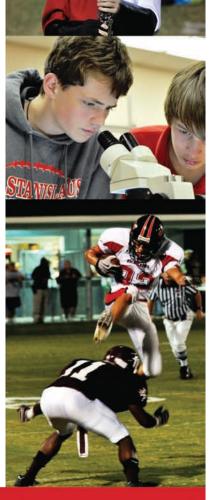
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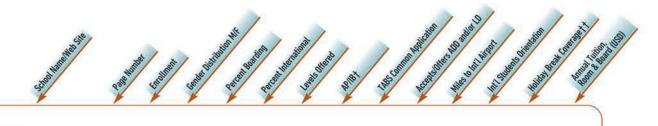
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Discovery School of Virginia, The	93	70	71/29	100	5	7-12	N/N	Ν	Y/Y	70	Ν	Y	60,000
Glenholme School, The	85	120	70/30	92	6	5-12, PG	NA	Ν	Y	30	Ν	Y	Call
Gow School, The	84	150	97/3	92	33	7-12, PG	NA	Ν	Y	20	Y	Y	55,400
Heartspring School	73	55	80/20	77	Accepting	Ages 7-21	NA	Ν	Y	20	Y	Y	Call
Landmark School	95	460	60/40	35	3	2-12, PG	NA	N	Y	25	N	N	49,200- 65,500
Marvelwood School, The	75	150	55/45	90	33	9-12, PG	Y/N	Y	Y	Y	90	Limited	50,250

#### **Overseas**

Berlin Brandenburg International School	74	700	50/50	20	65	K-12	N/Y	N	Y	15	Y	N	45,000*
Escuela Campo Alegre	93	610	50/50	NA	80	N-12	N/Y	Ν	Limited	20	Y	Ν	28,401
Jakarta International School	95	2,400	50/50	NA	85	K-12	Y/Y	NA	Limited	30	Y	N	12,960- 20,900
John F. Kennedy School Berlin	85	1,655	50/50	NA	53	K-12	Y/N	Ν	Limited	15	Y	Ν	None
Leysin American School in Switzerland	70	340	53/47	100	75	8-12, PG	Y/Y	Y	Limited	75	Y	N	46,000
St. Stephen's School Rome	99	250	46/54	16	67	9-12, PG	Y/Y	Ν	Ν	12	NA	Ν	43,800*
TASIS The American School in England	79	780	50/50	24	46	PK-12	YY	N	Limited	8	Y	N	53,000*
TASIS The American School in Switzerland	79	325	50/50	84	55	7-PG	Y/Y	Limited	N	5	Y	Ν	74,500
Yew Chung International School of Beijing	87	850	50/50	NA	100	K2-12	N/Y	N	Limited	20	Y	Y	11,466- 39,588

#### Other

Family Liaison Office, Department of State	75	Information and resources for Foreign Service families Contact FLOAskEducation@State.gov
Foreign Service Youth Foundation	82	A support network for U.S. for Foreign Service youth worldwide Contact fsyf@fsyf.org

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New School, The	106	Student body of 10,797: 28/72 gender distribution male/female; 20 percent boarding; 28 percent international BA, MA and Continuing Education. 18 miles to international airport. International students orientation. Tuition \$15,260 to \$39,350. For more information, please visit www.newschool.edu
University of South Florida	103	Student body of 41,047: 43/57 gender distribution male/female; 18 percent boarding; 5 percent international. BA, MA. 16 miles to international airport. International students orientation. Tuition \$6,330 to \$20,600. For more information, please visit www.usf.edu

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# Like any institution, schools have their own cultures.

#### Continued from page 74

about the "inside story" at many schools, and it used to surprise me to find out how many schools don't have these values.

At some schools, the students are so highly motivated and achievementdriven that they create a culture that is hyper-competitive and filled with pressure. The student who responds well in such an environment may find that he or she likes being pushed to achieve. But those with a different temperament may shrink from the fray.

It is also important to consider the host-country culture and its influence

in the school. Is there a healthy balance between nationalities? Does one group dominate the others? Will your teen find friends, or will your teen be on the outside looking in?

*College counseling.* Most of the American international schools supported by the Office of Overseas Schools, or accredited by an American accreditation agency, offer American-style college counseling. However, many Foreign Service students are enrolled in non-American schools, and therefore may not have access to counselors at all, much less ones who are familiar with the counseling process for U.S. colleges or universities.

Since transitioning to the next phase of education is so important, it is beneficial for students who don't have access to college counseling to work with an independent educational consultant who is familiar with students who have lived abroad. The same can be said for students who wish to study outside the United States, those who are seeking a nontraditional postsecondary course of study and, perhaps, special education students seeking to learn more about their options apart from a traditional four-year college.

*Safety.* Students need to feel emotionally safe in order to learn. Beyond that, they also need to feel a sense of physical



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# Not all families feel that the "American" school is the best fit for their child.

security. With many more posts around the world considered dangerous, this is an increasingly relevant issue. Even if a post has been secure in the past, it is not immune from current events.

As any family that has been evacuated knows, living under a security threat can have a very negative effect on students, and restricting their actions due to security concerns may have a stunting effect on their normal trajectory of development.

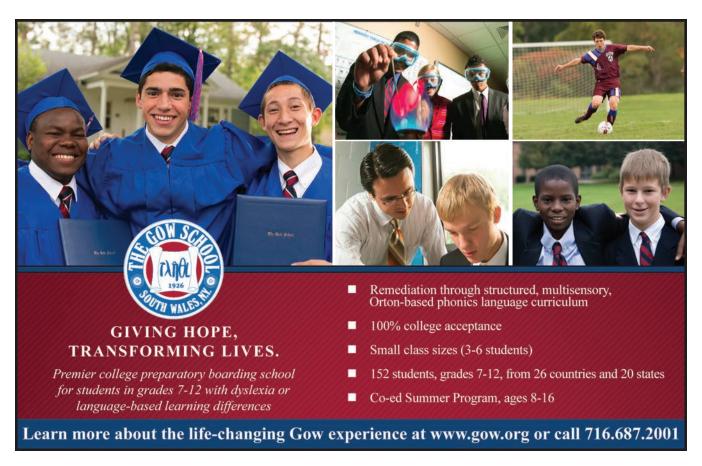
Perhaps there are compelling reasons to accept an assignment at a danger post; or perhaps the post becomes dangerous during your tour. But given the effect on children, boarding school may be a better option to consider in such circumstances.

#### **Types of Schools**

American international schools are very often the preference for Foreign Service families. The Department of State Office of Overseas Schools determines the "adequacy" of elementary and secondary schools at posts that are not Department of Defense schools, on the basis of whether they offer an education equivalent to that found in an American public school. According to DSSR 271.b, an "adequate school" is one that does not require "mandatory denominational religious instruction" and provides "an educational curriculum and services reasonably comparable to those normally provided without charge in public schools in the United States."

Regional Education Officers from the Office of Overseas Schools visit regularly and offer logistical and financial support to these schools. Families choose them for their quality, curriculum offerings, extracurricular activities and college counseling, and because they are most like the public schools their children might find in the United States.

However, not all families feel that the "American" school is the best fit for their



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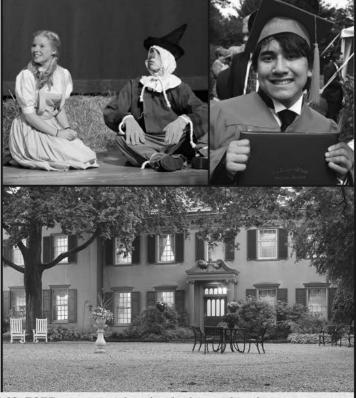


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Successful completion of the International Baccalaureate diploma requirements is greatly respected by college admissions offices in the United States, but this course of study is not for the faint of heart.

child. Teens with the profile of an "exceptional learner"—i.e., either gifted and talented, or with learning differences, ADHD, etc.—may find that they will be more readily accepted and better able to thrive in an alternative setting.

Families may use the education allowance to choose a different school. British schools are often a viable choice, because English is the medium of instruction and many international capitals have schools that offer a British curriculum, helping to ensure continuity for the student.

When students reach the equivalent of grades 11 and 12 in the British system, they choose their A-level subjects, and most students focus more narrowly on either a math/science track or an English/history/geography track. At the end of the course of study, they are given external exams in those subject areas, and the scores are submitted to British universities.

In general, there is also less focus on daily classroom work and more focus on exams in British schools. End-of-term exams are also externally graded (i.e., not by the same teacher who taught the course or knows the student). It is all very different from what families are used to in American schools.

Some families choose the French or German system. French Baccalaureate and German Arbitur schools are known for being very rigorous and demanding, and a student needs to be highly motivated to push through the many requirements in these schools.

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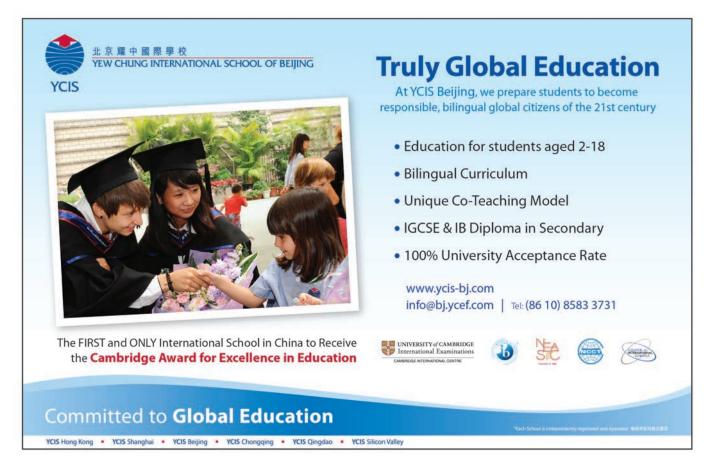
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#### EDUCATION SUPPLEMENT

## Too often parents, educators and society expect the gifted child to be able to fend for himself or herself. After all, they're bright, right?

students are also asked to choose a course of study that will emphasize either math and science or the humanities. As in the British system, math and science subjects are approached differently, so it might be difficult to transfer such credits.

#### **IB and AP Programs**

Both American and other international high schools are increasingly offering the International Baccalaureate program. The IB program is a very rigorous college preparatory curriculum with in-depth and integrated study of the core subject areas (i.e., mathematics, science, language arts, social sciences and foreign languages) at either the Higher Level or Standard Level.

Students may take individual IB courses, opting for certificates for those they have completed, or they can seek to obtain the IB Diploma. The diploma requires additional work, consisting of an Extended Essay, completion of the Theory of Knowledge class and Creativity, Action and Service hours. Final exams are externally evaluated by the International Baccalaureate Organization, and grades are given on a seven-point scale (not the 0-100 point scale used in most American schools).

Successful completion of the IB Diploma requirements is greatly respected by college admissions offices in the United States, but this course of study is not for the faint of heart. One common misunderstanding about the IB program is that it is transferable wherever one goes in the world. This is not exactly true: in fact, the diploma program is customized in each country and geographic area to reflect the local culture and history. Families need to confirm that all

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# From the FSJ Education Supplement December 2009 The ABCs of Education Allowances

BY PAMELA WARD

Employees of government agencies assigned overseas are granted allowances to help defray the cost of education for their children in kindergarten through 12th grade, one equivalent to that provided by public school systems in the United States.

In most cases, posts abroad are served by one or more English-language schools with an American curriculum. The majority of these are nongovernmental, nonprofit, nondenominational, independent schools, usually with a board of directors establishing policy and a superintendent, headmaster or principal as the senior administrator. Even though these schools may be called American, they are not entities of the U.S. government. Some receive government grants for specific purposes, but these grants represent a small percentage of the overall budget. Children of many nationalities attend these schools—including, in most schools, a significant percentage of host-country students.

The allowances for a specific post are determined by the fees charged by a school identified as providing a basic U.S.type education. Parents may use this allowance to send their children to a different school of their choice, say a parochial or foreign-language institution, as long as the cost does not exceed that of the "base" school. If the alternative school is more expensive than the "base" model, the difference would be an out-of-pocket expense for the parents.

An allowance covers only expenses for those services usually available without cost in American public schools, including tuition, transportation and textbooks.

There are several offices in the Department of State prepared to help you understand how the educational allowances work. These include the Office of Overseas Schools (www.state.gov/m/a/os), the Office of Allowances (http://aoprals.state.gov) and the Family Liaison Office (www.state.gov/m/dghr/flo/c1958.htm).

Excerpted from the article by Pamela Ward, a regional education officer in the State Department's Office of Overseas Schools, in the December 2009 FSJ. The complete article is available online at www.afsa.org/fsj.





# The line between homeschooling and distance learning and online schools is starting to blur.

credits will transfer if the student moves between the junior and senior year, and they need to determine what credits and courses remain to meet graduation requirements.

The other college preparatory course of study commonly found at American international schools is the Advanced Placement program. AP courses, and the exams, are designed by the College Board in the United States. Some colleges accept AP credits when students meet that college's grade requirement (usually a score of 4 or 5).

Whereas the IB Diploma program involves an integrated group of courses, the AP program consists of a menu of 31 possible courses (not all courses are offered by all schools). Depending on their capacity for hard work, their aptitude and their interests, a student might choose to take one or more AP courses (rarely more than four or five at a time, however). One point of caution for parents moving with high school students is that it can be very difficult to move from an IB school to a school with AP courses or vice versa—especially between 11th and 12th grades. In some cases, schools will not admit students to an IB program for just one year; in other cases, the course credits do not align, making it difficult to graduate on time. So it's important to investigate these questions thoroughly before making any decisions about a new assignment.

#### **Exceptional Learning Needs**

Exceptional learners include students with learning differences as well as those who are extraordinarily gifted. Profes-

#### From the FSJ Education Supplement June 2009 A Vital Point of Contact: The Office of Overseas Schools

BY KRISTIN GRASSO AND CAROL SUTHERLAND

Established in 1964, the Office of Overseas Schools coordinates and administers the Department of State's Overseas Schools Assistance Program. A/OPR/OS works to ensure that the best possible educational opportunities are available for dependents of U.S. government personnel while stationed abroad.

While the office's primary goal in supporting schools abroad is to promote quality, American-style educational opportunities, it also increases mutual understanding between the people of the United States and those from other countries through its assistance to overseas schools by demonstrating American educational ideas, principles and methods.

The schools A/OPR/OS assists are independent, nonprofit and nondenominational. In most cases, they were established on a cooperative basis by U.S. citizens residing in foreign communities. The schools vary widely in historical background, size and complexity, ranging from tiny primary schools with fewer than a dozen students to large K-12 schools with enrollments approaching 4,000.

The Department of State does not operate these schools; instead, ownership and policy control are typically in the hands of parent associations that elect school boards. The boards then develop school policies and select administrators, who oversee day-to-day operations.

In the 2008-2009 academic year, the State Department assisted 196 schools, and A/OPR/OS publishes a one-page fact sheet on each of them. The office also compiles a CD-ROM of detailed reports on more than 500 preschools, elementary schools and secondary schools. These backgrounders bring together information on course offerings, special programs, programs for children with special needs, extracurricular activities, graduation requirements, etc. This information is available from the Community Liaison Officer at each post and on the A/OPR/OS intranet site. Copies of the CD-ROM are also available to individuals upon request. In addition, A/ OPR/OS maintains a resource center on schools at each post including yearbooks, newsletters, school profiles and a few videotapes.

As all Foreign Service parents know, the quality of education available is a major factor they consider in the bidding process for overseas assignments. Foreign Service personnel being posted overseas who have school-age children should therefore make A/OPR/OS one of their first points of contact.

To reach the Office of Overseas Schools, you can use any of the following methods:

Tel:	(202) 261-8200
Fax:	(202) 261-8224
E-Mail:	overseasschools@state.gov
Internet:	www.state.gov/m/a/os
	(Contains the list of REOs and their regions)
Intranet:	http://aopros.a.state.gov
	(Contains the list of REOs and their regions)
Address:	2401 E Street NW (SA-1)
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	Washington DC 20241-0003
Resource	Center Hours:
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Excerpted from the article of the same title by Kristin Grasso and Carol Sutherland of the Office of Overseas Schools. The complete article may be accessed online at www.afsa.org/fsj.

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#### EDUCATION SUPPLEMENT

It can be difficult to find the right level of mental health or counseling support at many posts, so the special education allowance also supports therapeutic schools and programs as an option.

sionals describe students who are both as "2E" or "twice exceptional." (Another term for this is GT/LD, which stands for "gifted and talented/learning disabled.")

Too often parents, educators and society expect the gifted child to be able to fend for himself or herself. After all, they're bright, right? They should be able to just get on with it.

But consider this: If the average IQ

is 100 points, a child with one standard deviation of 15 points would have an IQ of 85 points or 115. Two standard deviations would be 70 or 130. Clearly, we would educate the student with a 70 IQ differently, so why would we ignore the unique needs of the student with a 130 IQ?

An additional factor is how best to meet the social and emotional needs of

the highly gifted. Often they have difficulty relating to their peers—whether it involves everyday conversation, socializing or sharing age-appropriate jokes. As a result, many exceptional students also face social isolation, which can be a risk factor for mental health and behavioral issues. Teens with learning differences need to find not only learning support, but activities where they can feel successful.

Bidders with an exceptional children, should contact each school, present the documentation you have defining your child's special needs, and then determine whether it can meet those needs. I recommend contacting the special education coordinator or school counselor as a first step. A phone call will allow



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#### From the FSJ Education Supplement December 2012 No, Really, the World Is My Classroom! Homeschooling in the Foreign Service BY ELIZABETH POWER

hen they are out and about in the middle of a weekday, my three kids are routinely asked by confused and curious strangers, "What are you doing out of school?" Their confusion only grows when my kids answer proudly, "We don't go to school-we homeschool."

We are one of many Foreign Service families that have made the choice to educate their children at home over the years, following a general trend in the U.S. population. The Family Liaison Office estimates that approximately 1,000 FS children are currently homeschooled overseas. Homeschooling can include a wide variety of educational styles and practices.

An excerpt from the article by the same title by Elizabeth Power, an FSO who, with her husband, Conor, homeschools their three children. The complete article can be accessed online at www.afsa.org/fsj.

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#### **EDUCATION SUPPLEMENT**

The regulation states that the course of study must either be accredited or be approved by the school district in the child's home school district in the United States.

you to explain the circumstances more effectively than just sending an e-mail. It's easier to say no to an e-mail than it is after listening to a person's story. Be sure to highlight any strength that your child has so that the focus is not solely on the psychological-educational evaluation. School records with teacher comments are also important.

It is extremely important to be as honest and forthright as possible in these

conversations. Yes, you want your child to be admitted. But the more important goal is for your child to be in an environment where he or she will thrive. *Do not withhold information*. Once you disclose your child's learning differences, be alert to the response. If the school is negative or not willing to embrace your child, you need to think twice about that school.

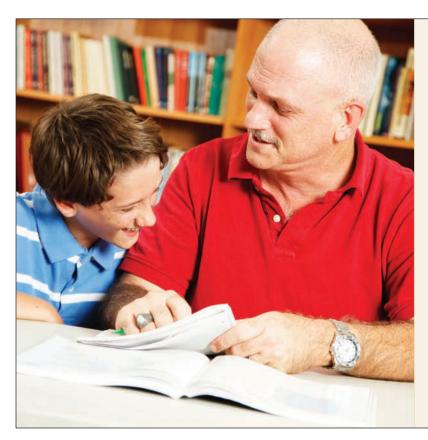
In my experience, many international schools can now accommodate mild to

moderate learning differences in the lower grades. However, once they become older and enter high school, the work becomes more complex, the tasks required of students are more demanding, and the ability of most international schools to meet those needs diminishes. This is when a boarding school that truly understands and welcomes a child with exceptional needs may be the best possible option.

Fortunately, the away-from-post allowance for students with special needs is generous and will generally cover the cost of a first-class education.

#### **Other Educational Options**

Homeschooling. Many more families are choosing the option of homeschool-*Continued on p. 98* 



#### **ARCHIVE OF EDUCATION ARTICLES**

Go to www.afsa.org/educationarticles

*The ABCs of Education Allowances* by Pamela Ward

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

The Boarding School Option: A Tent for a Global Nomad by Pamela Ward

> When Boarding Schools Are an Option by Leah Wallace

Applying to U.S. Colleges: A Primer for FS Teens by Francesca Huemer Kelly

Ranking College Rankings A Handy Guide by Mohammad Alninnawi

*Tips on Writing A College Admissions Essay* by Francesca Huemer Kelly

Telepractice: Answers to the Special Ed Puzzle Overseas by Erin Long From the *FSJ* Education Supplement June 2010

## Online Education: Unprecedented Opportunities

BY KRISTI STREIFFERT

Just as today's Foreign Service families cannot imagine how their predecessors lived without the Internet, we may soon be wondering how we ever got along without online education. Distance learning, as it is sometimes called, offers an unparalleled opportunity for FS family members to target and tailor their educational needs to their circumstances.

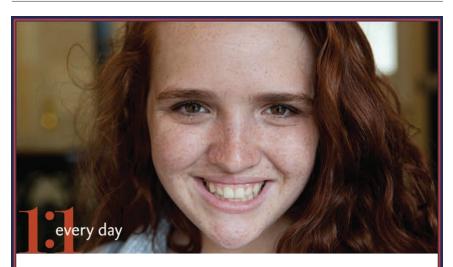
Universities offer online undergraduate degrees in nearly every possible topic—from interior design to accounting. There is no one set of programs that works best for FS families—to suggest otherwise would be to ignore the wide array of circumstances of family members (age, educational level, English-language abilities, and interests and talents, to name a few).

In fact, the plethora of opportunities for online students means that the buyer must beware. The online student must identify his or her educational goals clearly—A degree? A postgraduate degree? A certificate? Continuing education credits? Then he or she carefully chooses the appropriate institution and program.

This is excerpted from the article of the same title by Kristi Streiffert, a Foreign Service spouse and freelance writer, that was published in the June 2010 Schools Supplement. The complete article can be accessed online at www.afsa.org/ fsj. Y Lit retreation a local distance of the local distance of the

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# FSJ's Guide to Education & Family Service Providers

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American College Admission Consultants, LLC american-college-tours.com	Marsha Evans evans.acac@gmail.com	(703) 655-7456	VA	LPC, UCLA certificate	U.S. college admission consulting & college tours
Erin Long, Speech Pathologist worldwidespeech.com	Erin Long ecslong@gmail.com	(571) 247-4246	VA	M.A., SLP-CCC	Speech-language pathology assessment and therapy
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Expat Teens Talk expatteenstalk.blogspot.com	Dr. Lisa Pittman pittman_smit@yahoo.com	(414) 208-7369 E-mail preferred	DC, Singapore	Ph.D., Psych. M.Ed., Special Education	Therapeutic services for adolescents
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RNG Int'l Education Consultants rebeccagrappo.com	Rebecca Grappo becky.grappo@gmail.com	(703) 887-8072	СО	Cert. Educational Planner, Member IECA	Boarding schools, therapeutic schools, TCK college advising
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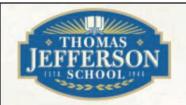


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## The special education allowance also supports therapeutic schools and programs as an option for families.

#### Continued from p.94

ing, and the education allowance supports this (see Department of State Standardized Regulations 277.3). The children of some Foreign Service families who have taken this option do extremely well in academic achievement and development of talents, to the benefit of their college applications.

Some students follow a prepared curriculum that is packaged by a homeschooling company. Others cobble together their own program by combining classes and courses from different homeschooling curricula. The State Department regulation states that the course of study must be either accredited or approved by the child's home school district in the United States.

Other families create a hybrid model that combines homeschooling with participation in a few classes or activities at the school at post. Whether or not the school at post will agree to such a hybrid arrangement must be determined beforehand. Some families have done this successfully to help their children with special learning needs.

**Distance learning**. The line between homeschooling and distance learning and online schools is starting to blur. School districts themselves offer classes online, and there are also distance learning schools that offer a full array of classes for the online student. These might include virtual academies such as Laurel Springs or K12, and even schools for the gifted student such as EPGY, offered through Stanford University.

Students can either enroll for the entire school year or for a semester online, or

they can take a single class that may not be offered in their school overseas. Distance learning is making the world of educational opportunities accessible from the comfort of one's home.

**Boarding schools.** Boarding schools are often a wonderful option for students who need consistency in the curriculum, friends and activities to thrive. Many posts around the world simply do not offer the high school program that will meet a student's educational needs. In those situations, a boarding school can be the solution.

There are all kinds of schools, each with a different focus, culture and niche. They can be small, medium or large, and can focus on the arts, a sport or a certain element of academics. Students with learning differences might also thrive more in the supportive atmosphere of a school with a specialized program to address their needs.

**Therapeutic schools and programs.** Adolescence can be a difficult and challenging time for most students, but some young people struggle more than others with the normal trajectory of development. Many teenagers today are at risk for mental health issues such as depression, anxiety, eating disorders, cutting, suicidal thoughts, substance use, oppositional behavior and other self-harming behaviors. Studies indicate that students with ADHD and learning differences can be especially at risk.

It can be extremely difficult to find the right level of mental health or counseling support at many posts around the world. Therefore, the special education allow-

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### From the FSJ Education Supplement June 2011 Promoting Your Child's Emotional Health

BY REBECCA GRAPPO

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

And, at one time or another, most Foreign Service parents ask themselves the same questions: What am I doing to my kid? Is this globally nomadic lifestyle a good thing or a bad thing?

There are no right or wrong answers to these questions; but there are ways to protect and promote the emotional well-being and resilience of internationally mobile children.

This is excerpted from the article by the same title by Rebecca Grappo, an FS spouse and certified educational planner. The complete article can be accessed online at www.afsa.org/fsj.



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Moving overseas with teenagers can be a great adventure, and many students thrive in this lifestyle of global mobility.

ance also supports therapeutic schools and programs as an option for families. The right therapeutic intervention might make all the difference between a student who learns how to cope with the challenges and one who suffers.

#### Some Closing Thoughts

Moving overseas with teenagers can be a great adventure, and many students thrive in this lifestyle of global mobility. They love the thrill of adventure, appreciate cultural diversity and embrace the life of the expat teen. Teens who have portable interests and talents or skills seem to be able to adapt more easily to new academic, social and physical environments.

However, not all teens are able to cope with the changes that come with an international move. In particular, students who have difficulty learning, interacting with peers or interpreting social cues often struggle more. Sometimes the inability to adjust to a new environment results in maladaptive behaviors, self-harm and mental health issues.

No parents want their child to suffer, and no parents move with the intent of hurting their child's development. But it is essential for parents to look at "the big picture" when bidding on posts overseas, to be sure that their teenager's academic, social and emotional needs will be met. Selecting the right school can make all the difference.





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### Putting College Rankings into Perspective

A nnual college rankings is a cutthroat business that has led many schools to shun student needs and the needs of society in favour of maintaining or increasing "prestige." According to Rachel Fishman and Robert Kelchen in the September/ October 2012 Washington Monthly, many schools have moved up the U.S. News & World Report rankings by increasing their spending and raising admissions standards and tuition rates to recruit "a better sort" of student, abandoning all but the most privileged students.

In response to this trend, in 2005 *Washington Monthly* began publishing its own ranking system to evaluate schools' effectiveness rather than their status. *WM*'s "different kind of college ranking" looks at how well a school performs with the students it has in terms of metrics that measure the widely shared national goal of increasing social mobility, producing research and inspiring public service. "What are colleges doing for the country?" *WM* asks.

This year, with the cost of education becoming an ever more serious crisis, *WM* has introduced a new factor into its unique rankings that evaluates a school's cost-effectiveness. The "cost-adjusted graduation rate" gives the highest rankings to schools that have not only better-than-expected graduation rates (measured by comparing the school's expected and actual graduation rate) but at the same time keep the prices low.

*WM*'s complete 2012 college rankings, as well as insightful discussion of the most recent trends in education, can be found online in the College Guide section of the publication's Web site (WashingtonMonthly. com/College\_Guide).

-Susan Brady Maitra, Senior Editor







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From the December 2011 FSJ Education Supplement **College Applications Checklist for 11th-Graders** BY FRANCESCA KELLY

hen it comes to college admissions, junior year of high school is crunch time. This is when you're expected to take the most challenging courses, get the best grades and start racking up those SAT or ACT scores. Junior year is the last full academic year that factors into acceptance decisions from colleges. It also provides an opportunity to bring up a mediocre grade point average and polish your resumé.

In addition, you can finish—yes, finish—a whole swath of the applications process in 11th grade so that you do not get hit with a ton of pressure the next fall.

This no-nonsense, month-by-month guide from December through August of your junior year will help you get a head start on the college application process and sail through your senior year.

Francesca Kelly, a Foreign Service spouse, is a college applications essay tutor and writes frequently on educational issues. The college applications checklist for 11th-graders in the December 2011 issue of the FSJ is available online at www.afsa.org/fsj.

## **College Applications: Books**

Barron's Profiles of American Colleges with Web site Access. Barron's Educational Series, 2012. Comprehensive reference book with statistics on all four-year accredited institutions in the United States.

The Best 377 Colleges, 2013 Edition. Princeton Review, 2012. Excellent all-around guide that weeds out the top ten percent universities for you, including humorous best-andworst lists.

Colleges That Change Lives: 40 Schools That Will Change the Way You Think About Colleges. Pope, Loren. Penquin, 2012.

The Insider's Guide to the Colleges, 2013: Students on Campus Tell You What You Really Want to Know, 39th Edition. Yale Daily News Staff, ed. St. Martins Griffin, 2012. One of the most interesting college admissions books out there because of its emphasis on student feedback quotes about their colleges.

Cracking the SAT, 2013 Edition. Princeton Review, 2012.

The Official SAT Study Guide, 2nd edition. The College Board, 2009.

Crash Course for the ACT, 4th edition. Princeton Review, 2012.

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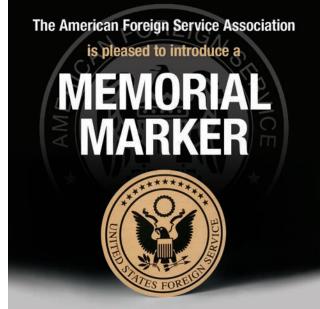
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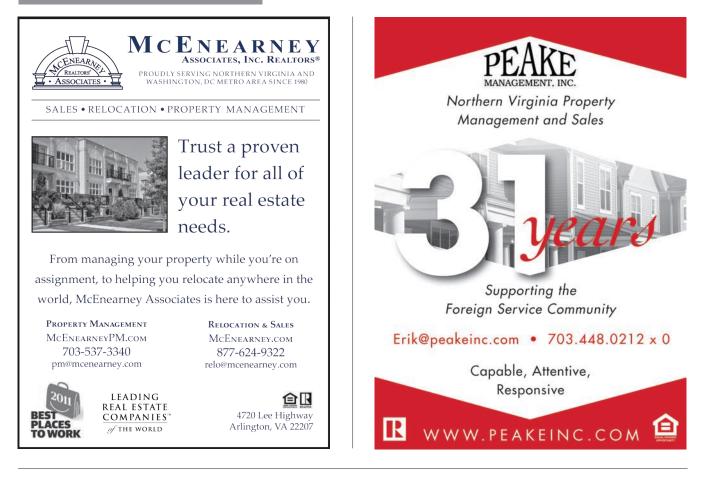
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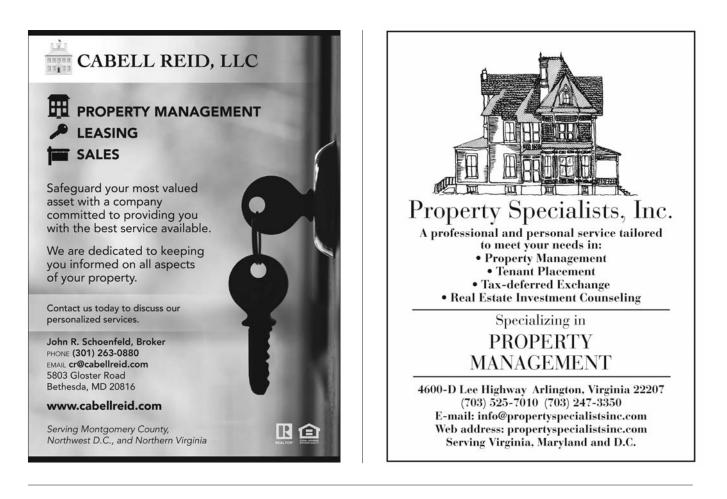
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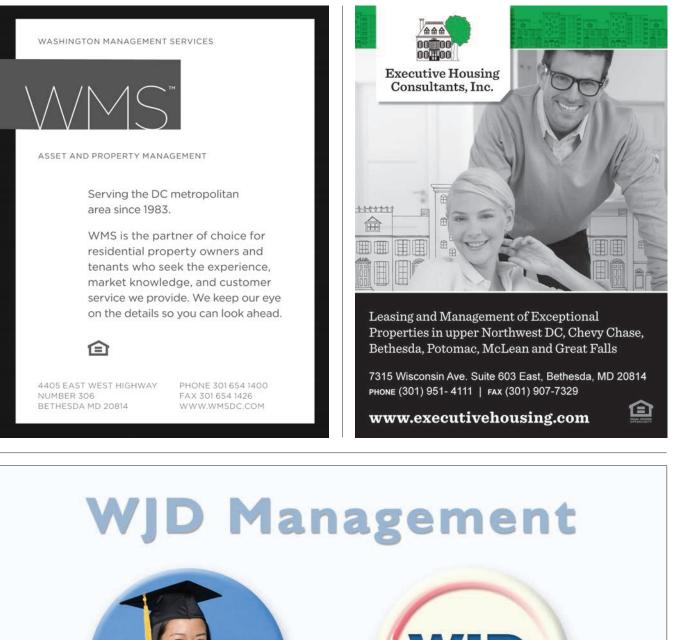


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BY DEBI DEMETRION 💻 LAHORE, PAKISTAN



little girl rests against the tiles of a pillar during play at the Tomb of Jahangir, the Mughal emperor who ruled what is now Pakistan from 1605 to 1627. Wherever I've served, I've been fascinated with the children I've encountered. Their innocence and love of life, even in poverty, are inspiring.

Debi Demetrion is an Office Management Specialist in the Regional Security Office of Consulate Lahore. She has served previously in Honduras and Oman. Lahore is Ms. Demetrion's last posting, as she will reach mandatory retirement age in 2014. Wishing she had discovered this career earlier in her life, she vows to use her remaining 15 months to travel the region, capturing more of the youth of the world with her camera, a Sony a55.

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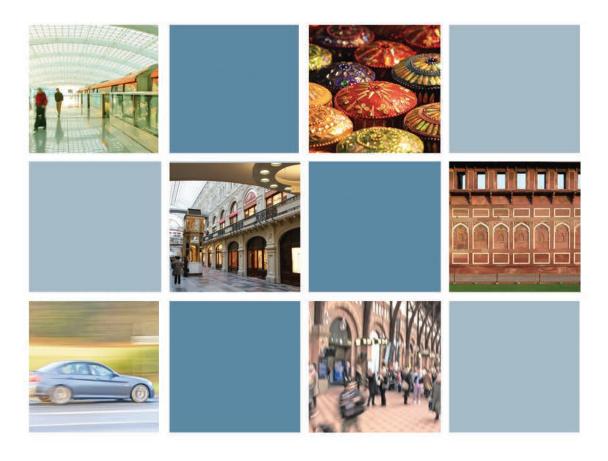
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