

SPECIAL FEATURE: CLASSIC PICKS FROM THE *JOURNAL'S* PAST DECADE

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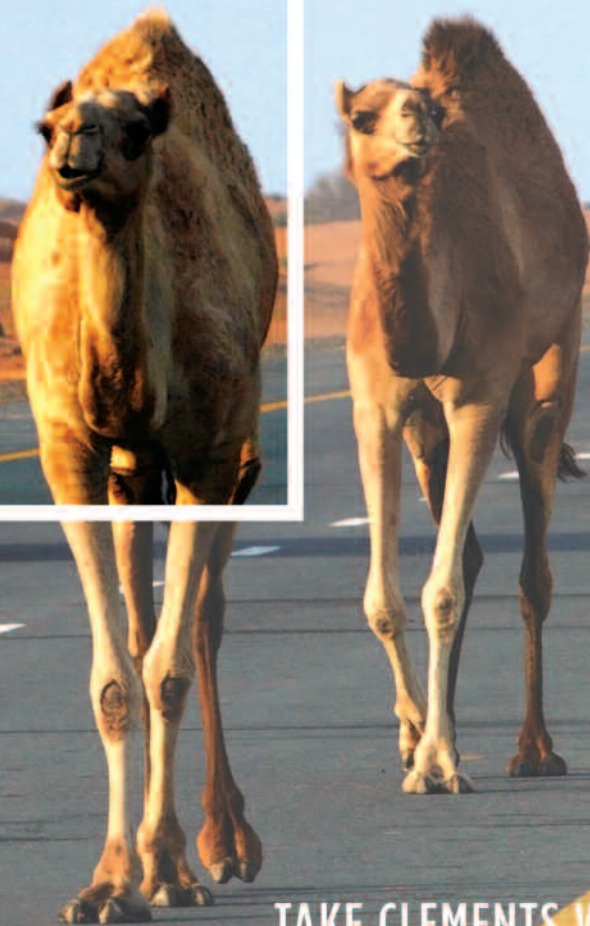
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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

## *AFSA Board Launches Strategic Planning Effort*

BY SUSAN R. JOHNSON

The 2011-2013 AFSA Governing Board held a day-long strategic planning retreat at AFSA HQ on Sept. 17. The purpose was to strengthen AFSA's institutional framework and procedures to better carry out its mission of promoting excellence in diplomacy and be an effective voice for the Foreign Service.



The board enlisted a professional strategic planning professional, Carol Rylander of Rylander Associates, who has extensive experience in helping non-profit boards with all elements of effective planning and capacity building. AFSA staff members also participated and will play a key role in developing specific action plans to achieve the goals.

The immediate goal of the day's work was to develop a practical vision for five priority strategic areas: strengthening governance; enhancing image, outreach and communications; strengthening professionalism and effectiveness (for AFSA and for the Foreign Service); expanding core advocacy; and growing membership and development.

Our task was, first, to identify what we want to see in place in three to five years for each priority, potential barriers to achieving the envisioned outcomes and, finally, practical strategies to address potential obstacles and realize each vision. Second, we aimed to collectively review board roles and responsibilities, and launch board team building in a purposeful way for stronger

board performance.

My report on the proceedings begins with the role and responsibilities of board members, and the strategic priority of strengthening governance.

Clear articulation of the role and responsibilities of board members, individually and collectively, will give AFSA members a better idea of what is involved in serving on the board and make it more effective. It should also improve board-staff collaboration.

In addition to the mission statement articulated by the previous AFSA board and that board's McKinsey Self-Assessment Responses, participants discussed the Ten Basic Roles and Responsibilities of Nonprofit Boards and the Three Hats of Board Members. These materials — developed by BoardSource, a source of cutting-edge thinking and resources related to nonprofit boards — are all posted on the AFSA Web site in the Governing Board section.

Among the basic responsibilities of boards, perhaps the most important for AFSA are defining mission and purpose, ensuring effective planning, monitoring and strengthening programs and services, ensuring adequate financial resources and enhancing the association's public standing. Our goal is to improve performance in all these areas and to make AFSA membership something to be proud of, just as we are proud of who we are and what we do as the United

States Foreign Service.

Planning teams composed of board members and key staff addressed each priority strategic area. The Strengthening Governance team's shared vision or description of what it hoped to see in place in three to five years was: "a well-structured and defined governance system including board and committees; a diverse, representative and influential governing board; a communicative and collaborative board and staff; and increased member physical and virtual engagement in AFSA activities.

The potential barriers to realizing this vision include: lack of written guidance, lack of staff professional support to the board, insufficient board professional development, outdated bylaws and election procedures, unclear roles and responsibilities (board and staff), and resource and technology constraints.

Some of the practical strategies to overcome these barriers are: upgrade AFSA's database for better knowledge management; assure sufficient trained staff to support the board; revise bylaws and get approval of members; conduct a midyear review of priorities; develop a board training program; define board and staff roles and responsibilities, and get board approval; acquire video conferencing capacity and electronic survey and voting processes; and get board commitment to recruit candidates for election to the next board.

To be continued in next month's column. ■



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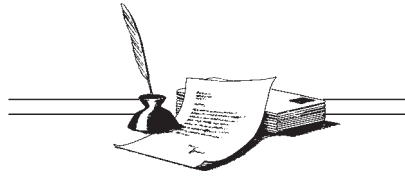
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# LETTERS

## Marking a Career

I was very pleased to read the information regarding progress on the “Foreign Service Memorial Marker Program” in the most recent edition of the *AFSA Newsletter*. As I’m sure you already know, this is a very special initiative. Not unlike preserving hard-won retirement benefits in today’s fiscal crisis, these special memorial markers hold far-reaching morale and esprit de corps potential for helping ensure the dignity, honor and distinction of those who have served in the United States Foreign Service.

At an appropriate time, I would strongly encourage AFSA to further publicize this employment tribute to all active-duty and entry-level Foreign Service officers and specialists serving abroad and in Washington. It will be a reminder of the unique profession they belong to and the very special calling they serve.

AFSA’s efforts and leadership on this front are highly commendable. Keep up the outstanding work.

*Timothy C. Lawson*  
Senior FSO, retired  
Prachuap Khirikhan,  
Thailand

## Kook Kontrol

Larry Lesser’s very amusing account of his service in New Delhi as “Hippie Control Officer” in the September

*Journal* reminded me of a similar experience I had while serving as public affairs counselor in Geneva back in the 1980s.

In anticipation of the first Reagan-Gorbachev summit there, I designated a “Kook Kontrol Officer” (officially known as the NGO Liaison Officer) to deal with the many activists descending on us for the event. All these good people came to demonstrate and plead a cause while the world’s spotlight was on Geneva, with 3,000 media representatives looking for stories (preferably negative or embarrassing, since no real news was leaking out of the summit).

It was the best decision I made. My KKO did an excellent job of meeting with all sorts of visitors to lend them a sympathetic ear, accept petitions and letters addressed to President Reagan, and so forth. He even knelt in a prayer circle with one delegation.

Having a Kook Kontrol Officer enabled me to focus on media arrangements for the summit. I highly recommend it to all Foreign Service colleagues in similar situations.

*Christopher Henze*  
Senior FSO, retired  
Neuilly, France

## The “After 9/11” Exhibition

The cover story in your September issue, “The Foreign Service a Decade after 9/11,” included a contribution

from Michael Gallagher in which he recounted his experience as a newly arrived FSO at Embassy Ottawa — and specifically, the response from the Canadian people to the tragic events of Sept. 11, 2001. He poignantly described the “many flowers, notes and stuffed animals Canadians had left on our fence as an expression of their grief and solidarity with their American cousins.”

This expression of support from our neighbors to the north was but one example of the way the rest of the world embraced the American people in our time of tragedy; expressions of condolence were sent to or left at many other embassies and consulates around the world. It is unfortunate that the American media, for all of their excellent coverage of the 10th anniversary of the 9/11 attacks, did not offer this poignant perspective on how the rest of the world responded.

Fortunately, these heartfelt outpourings were memorialized in 2002 through an exhibit titled “After 9/11: Messages from the World and Images of Ground Zero.” This exhibit was organized by the department’s United States Diplomacy Center and the Museum of the City of New York.

(The USDC is an office in the Bureau of Public Affairs, formed in 2000 to begin planning for the State Department’s interactive museum and vis-

## LETTERS



itors' center to be located at the building's 21st Street entrance in Washington, D.C. I was its director from 2002 to 2005.)

"After 9/11" brought together dramatic photographs from Ground Zero taken by Joel Meyerowitz with messages of condolence sent to embassies and consulates all over the world in various forms — personal notes, books, letters, e-mails, artwork, flags and stuffed animals. In a separate exhibition tour from 2002 to 2005, the Meyerowitz photographs were shown in 75 countries under embassy sponsorship in a total of 185 cities.

The exhibit opened in September 2002, on the first anniversary of the 9/11 attacks, at the Gerald Ford Presidential Museum in Grand Rapids, Mich. Over the next two years, it was shown at the George H.W. Bush Presidential Library in College Station, Texas; the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library and Museum in Atlanta, Ga.; the War Memorial in San Francisco, Calif.; and two venues in Florida. Along with USDC's curator Priscilla Linn, the creative force behind the exhibit, I had the privilege and honor of representing the department at the exhibit's opening in these venues.

At the Florida International Museum in St. Petersburg, where the exhibit opened in September 2003, it served as the centerpiece of the city's commemorative events on the second anniversary of the 9/11 attacks. In San Francisco, the opening of the exhibit was attended by former Secretary of State George Shultz and his wife, Charlotte Shultz, the city's chief of protocol.

At all the venues, the exhibit provided excellent opportunities for outreach to school children and to the broader public, not only related to the impact the 9/11 events had on the

world and the world's embrace of the American people, but also to the overall understanding of the work, sacrifice and contributions of American diplomats, historically and currently.

"After 9/11" recently opened at the Pentagon and is available for future venues after March 2012. Information on the exhibit and on the USDC's continuing role in developing the museum and visitors' center can be found at the USDC Web site: <http://diplomacy.state.gov>.

*Michael A. Boorstein*  
*FSO, retired*  
*Fairfax, Va.*

### Zamora on Target

The USAID VP column by Francisco Zamora ("QDDR: Closing the Experience Gap?") and AFSA President Susan Johnson's column ("Diplomacy after 9/11: More Important than Ever"), both in the September *Journal*, were excellent. My husband (recently introduced to this life) and I couldn't put the issue down. It is by far one of the best I've seen.

Mr. Zamora's column was balanced and highlighted the challenges we now face in our ranks and our policy direction. I wonder why we don't use the CIA system for adding up years toward retirement as a middle ground to allow some more flexibility in the system. I understand that at that agency, employees accrue years toward a 20-year basis when they are overseas, and years toward a 30-year basis when they are here. This would achieve a balance and allow officers to decide when other family needs necessitate home service.

On the issue of compensatory time for USAID employees, I would like to point out that many of us are not eligible for it, and that Department Lead-

ership Initiative hires often do not realize they can get it. (I have always thought we should report the "real" hours we work but have the system pay us the standard salary.)

I completely agree with Mr. Zamora that it is criminal to play games with promotions. He hit the nail on the head: a lot of these people took major pay cuts to join USAID. It should also be noted that our Civil Service suffers from being the minority in a huge union that does not care about the issues in our agency. This does not make for harmonious relationships, least of all with the Bureau of Human Resources, which is mostly staffed by Civil Service employees.

Keep up the good work!

*Anne Dix*  
*FSO, USAID*  
*Washington D.C.*

### Equal Opportunity at USAID?

AFSA USAID Vice President Francisco Zamora's April *FSJ* plea for "diversity" at USAID is enough to force one's resignation from the U.S. Taxpayers' Association! Complaining that there are disproportionately high numbers of Asians, disproportionately low numbers of Hispanics, and few African-Americans in senior positions at the agency, he calls for "better performance in achieving diversity."

At the same time, using his figures, it appears that at USAID African-Americans are vastly over-represented across the employment board. What to make of that? Taxpayers want the most merit they can get for their money, not some hiring reform based on Mr. Zamora's criteria of complexions and cultures.

Even if what Mr. Zamora asserts is true — that 300 million Americans are producing enough qualified citizens to

## LETTERS



fill USAID slots, commensurate with every other group's percentage of the U.S. work force — why is diversity not occurring? I can only think of two reasons: Either the qualified want to work elsewhere, or the agency is not giving the qualified a fair shot because of race and other ethnic-related factors.

In the former case, it seems there isn't much more to be usefully done; otherwise, diversity imbalances would have disappeared long ago. If the latter is the case, is Mr. Zamora's article suggesting that discrimination is trumping diversity at the agency? If so, why does he not come out and say it? Why does he not suggest ways to make USAID's hiring/promotion system more ethnic/race-neutral?

If institutional discrimination is no longer a factor, maybe Mr. Zamora's solution is to reintroduce it in favor of Hispanics and other groups. Does he really believe that installing some diversity-producing employment reform would "more strongly project our values to the world and make us more credible as we help other countries adopt democratic principles"?

For what it's worth, I've always thought it injurious that American values should have color or ethnic content. I believe the hiring process should be free of it — let the chips fall where they may. I don't believe that solving America's credibility problems abroad depends one whit on setting up a diversity regimen at USAID or anywhere else.

Mr. Zamora denies he wants to set up quotas, and calls instead for dismantling the "barriers to equal opportunity." I wish he had identified a few of these barriers at USAID. Had he done so, I might have agreed with him.

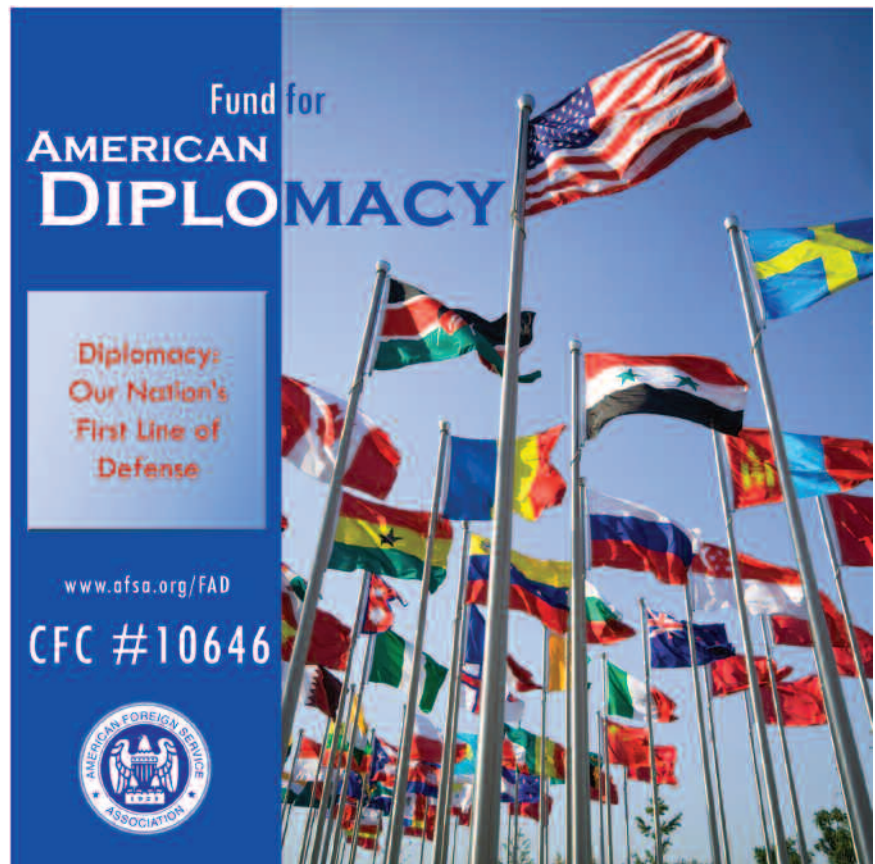
*Richard W. Hoover*  
FSO, retired  
Front Royal, Va. ■



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# CYBERNOTES

## Recognizing Young Leaders in Foreign Policy

*The Diplomatic Courier* ([www.diplomaticcourier.com](http://www.diplomaticcourier.com)) and *Young Professionals in Foreign Policy* ([www.yppf.org](http://www.yppf.org)) released their joint “Top 99 Under 33 Foreign Policy Leaders” list in the Fall 2011 issue of *The Diplomatic Courier*.

This generation, commonly known as the “Millennials,” is old enough to vividly remember 9/11 and young enough to have a fresh outlook on international affairs and appreciate globalization. Many of them have already started nonprofits, organizations or foundations.

Each profile includes excerpts from an interview commenting on issues ranging from poverty in Kenya and South Africa to the crimes committed during the Khmer Rouge era in Cambodia, to name just a few.

Matan Chorev, a stabilization and governance FSO with USAID, made the “top 9” list. Other USAID and Department of State employees on the list of 99 include Andrew Albertson, Courtney Beale, Jane M. Mosbacher, Rob Lalka, Ronan Farrow, Sarah King and Sarah Labowitz.

In his interview, Chorev explains that working at the Kennedy School’s Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs showed him that “by providing analytic rigor, historical context and academic provocation, the research community can have a major

## 50 Years Ago...

The Foreign Service has been gratified to observe that the old cliché — of the Ivy League, striped-trousered FSO — is at last losing currency. It would be pleasant to think that we shall henceforth be viewed as we are. This apparently is not to be.



Another stereotype is spreading and seems likely to become well entrenched unless vigorously combated. This new cliché, worse than the last, identifies the FSO as a cautious traditionalist with a bias toward timidity and conformity. ...

The ascription of “timidity” to FSOs is an outgrowth of the McCarthy era, and the Service itself must accept some of the blame. In outraged reaction to the attacks on the Service at that time, many FSOs complained bitterly that honest and objective reporting would henceforth be impossible. These complaints were widely publicized, and the image of the oppressed and timorous FSO was launched.

— Elbert G. Mathews, “The FSO and High Policy;” *FSJ*, November 1961.

impact on policy.”

He believes that the United States “needs a strong, smart, principled and realistic foreign policy that resists the cynicism of fear, the chimera of power, and the timidity of irresolution.” He identifies the greatest foreign policy issue facing his generation as the threat of nuclear terrorism. And he argues that fellow foreign policy practitioners “need to do a better job of explaining to our fellow citizens why events abroad bear so heavily on their daily lives.”

Also on the Top 99 list is Marisa Cochrane Sullivan, who said the personal contribution to foreign policy she’s most proud of is her “role in building the Institute for the Study of War and the contributions ISW has made in shaping key U.S. policymak-

ers’ and military leaders’ perspectives on the way ahead in Iraq and Afghanistan.”

Rachel Hoff, director of external affairs at the Foreign Policy Initiative, identified the greatest policy issue facing her generation as the question of America’s role in the world. But Josh Rogin, a staff writer for *Foreign Policy*, and Elbridge Colby, a research analyst at the Center for Naval Analyses, both cited the rise of China as the greatest foreign policy issue facing their generation.

Drew Sloan, a retired U.S. Army captain who is now a client solutions associate for Opower, an energy efficiency company, urges foreign policy leaders to “balance a global understanding of culture and context with an increasingly isolationist heartland.”



Other notable leaders on the list include Lara Setrakian, a correspondent for Bloomberg Television/ABC News; Saul Garlick, CEO of ThinkImpact; Dr. Franziska Bratner, Member of the European Parliament; Howard W. Buffett, executive director of The Howard G. Buffett Foundation; and Rye Barcott, author of *It Happened on the Way to War*.

Young Professionals in Foreign Policy is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization committed to fostering the next generation of foreign policy leaders by providing young professionals with the knowledge, skills, exposure and relationships to tackle critical global challenges over the course of their careers.

*The Diplomatic Courier* bills itself as a global affairs magazine that connects the current diplomatic and foreign policy leadership to the next generation of leaders. It publishes quarterly in print and weekly online.

— Laura Pettinelli, *Editorial Intern*

## W(h)ither Public Diplomacy at State?

The July 8 departure of Judith McHale from the position of under secretary of State for public diplomacy and public affairs, after more than two years in the position, prompted surprisingly little commentary. Nor has any successor yet been named; Assistant Secretary for Educational and Cultural Affairs Ann Stock is serving in an acting capacity.

Other than a press release by the United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy ([www.state.gov/pdcommission](http://www.state.gov/pdcommission)) and a brief posting (“R Is for Resignation”) on the *Diplomundit* blog (<http://diplomundit.blogspot.com>), the main analysis of McHale’s tenure came from Philip Seib, director of the University of

The street protesters and the street protest organizers just amaze me for their sheer courage. I don’t think Americans can really get a grasp on how dangerous this is, to go out on these streets with this army and these thugs. . . .

I have asked for permission to visit five cities in the past week and every request has been rejected. So when I go out, and I ignore it, I always get this very stern warning that there will be consequences. [But] at a certain point you just say, I do the best planning me and my security teams can do, and then you go out there and you do it. . . .

I think the technology of modern communication has overruled the government’s capacity to just kill. It doesn’t work. And the protesters, unlike in 1982, are fully aware that the international community is watching them.”

— U.S. Ambassador to Syria Robert Ford, excerpted from a Sept. 22 interview with *The Daily Caller* (<http://dailycaller.com>).

Southern California’s Center on Public Diplomacy (<http://usepublicdiplomacy.org>).

Writing in the *Huffington Post* ([www.huffingtonpost.com](http://www.huffingtonpost.com)), Seib asserts that “McHale’s most valuable contribution may have been to structurally reinforce public diplomacy within the State Department. By overseeing the addition of deputy assistant secretaries responsible for public diplomacy throughout State, she took a big step toward increasing the centrality of public diplomacy in American foreign policy.” But he cautions that much work remains to be done to institutionalize the changes McHale oversaw and build on recent progress, particularly in terms of reaching out to the Middle East following the Arab Spring.

On the larger question of public diplomacy as a profession, a 2009 essay by retired FSOs Patricia Kushlis and Patricia Sharpe, editors of the *Whirled View* blog (<http://whirledview.typepad.com/whirledview>), continues to resonate strongly two years later.

In “Public Diplomacy Today and Tomorrow,” Kushlis and Sharpe set out to “define some of the special charac-

teristics and powers of public diplomacy; examine some of the missteps that have brought American public diplomacy into disrepute and made it ineffectual; look at some demonstrably successful best practices that may form the basis of a rehabilitated public diplomacy capacity; and suggest organizational reforms that would integrate public diplomacy insights into the foreign policy process in ways that would enormously enhance U.S. interactions with the world.”

The essay has five sections: Public Diplomacy — What It Is, Why It’s Needed and How It Could Work Well for America Again; Public Diplomacy — A Profession within a Profession; Deconstructing the Interactive Shibboleth; The Field — Where Foreign Policy Succeeds or Fails; and Public Diplomacy Tomorrow — How to Make It Work, If We Want It to Work.

Let us hope that McHale’s successor will read it before assuming his or her duties.

— Steven Alan Honley, *Editor*

## Welcome, ROSS!

The Republic of South Sudan ([www.goss.org](http://www.goss.org)) achieved its inde-



pendence from Sudan, formerly the largest country on the African continent, on July 9. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton was among the host of dignitaries attending the jubilant ceremony in Juba.

Now that the festivities are over, however, South Sudan must address a host of daunting challenges if it is to become a viable nation-state.

The country struggles with chronic underdevelopment. At least half of the population (estimated at 8.26 million) currently lives below the poverty line. And as the *Sudan Tribune* ([www.sudantribune.com](http://www.sudantribune.com)) reports, the ROSS

is home to “a unique combination of the worst diseases in the world.” Doctors without Borders features the field blogs of Emmett Kearney and Rupert Allan, water sanitation logisticians who recount poignant experiences and challenges they have grappled with in South Sudan (<http://msf.ca/blogs/>).

In September, Oxfam’s Conflicts and Disasters campaign released a briefing paper describing the collaboration of 38 aid agencies to set priorities for action ([www.oxfam.org/en/policy/getting-it-right-start-south-sudan](http://www.oxfam.org/en/policy/getting-it-right-start-south-sudan)). The paper includes an outline for supporting small-scale agricul-

**Site of the Month: [www.skype.com](http://www.skype.com)**

Several contributors to our May focus on work-life balance described in detail the way Internet telephony has transformed communications for Foreign Service members. It allows personnel stationed abroad to make free phone calls “home” to family members and other loved ones, and talk as long as they want, from any place in the world. This innovation would be welcome in any case, but plays an even more vital role in maintaining morale given the growing numbers of Foreign Service employees serving in unaccompanied positions.

Skype is arguably the most popular, user-friendly and reliable of the several hundred Voice over Internet Protocol, or VOIP, services operating today, and its computer-to-computer service is completely free. Just download the software, register and plug in your headset or phone, and you’re ready to talk with another Skype user.

Launched in 2003 by Niklas Zennstrom and Janus Friis, the creators of the peer-to-peer file-sharing service Kazaa, Skype had an average of 145 million connected users per month in the fourth quarter of 2010. Customers utilized the site for 207 billion minutes of voice and video calls in 2010, approximately 42 percent of which was video.

Though its basic service is completely free, Skype makes money because a small fraction of its users purchase additional services, such as the capability to call from the site to the telephone network or vice versa. The charges for these services tend to be quite low compared to standard telephone rates.

Besides excellent voice quality, Skype communication is fully secure, with end-to-end encryption, and does not require users to configure firewalls, routers or any other networking gadget. What’s more, the software operates flawlessly between and among all platforms. It is also free of the legal issues involved in sharing music or videos online.

— Steven Alan Honley, Editor



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## CYBERNOTES



tural production meant to diversify the economy, which currently relies almost entirely on oil revenues. According to the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 97.8 percent of the new nation's revenue in 2010 came from oil — while 78 percent of households depend on crop farming or animal husbandry as their primary source of income ([www.sccse.org](http://www.sccse.org)).

Also active in providing constructive aid has been USAID ([www.usaid.gov](http://www.usaid.gov)). USAID Mission Director Kevin Mullay outlined the challenges facing South Sudan in an August-September update: infrastructure, human capital, management in the petroleum sector, government communication with citizens and a transitional constitution.

The agency's personnel are concentrated in Akobo (Jonglei state), where cattle raiding and conflict over natural resources has been commonplace since the Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed in 2005. Its peace and security program focuses on youth development, attempting to deter them from criminal or violent activities. Other programs run by USAID focus on democracy and governance, investing in people, economic growth and humanitarian assistance.

South Sudan has succeeded in acquiring membership to international organizations such as the United Nations (becoming the 194th General Assembly member) and the African Union, but has yet to establish a permanent capital.

Currently located in Juba, the seat of governance is expected to be moved in the next several years to the planned city of Ramciel, in the Lakes state of the Greater Bahr el Ghazal region ([www.thecitizen.info](http://www.thecitizen.info)).

The move is deemed essential be-

cause of Juba's lack of centrality, poor infrastructure and urban overgrowth. By contrast, Ramciel is located at the geographic center of South Sudan. It is hoped that the move, in which an entire city will need to be built from essentially nothing, will stimulate much-needed investment in the South Sudan economy.

President Salva Kiir Mayardit was simultaneously vice president of Sudan and president of Southern Sudan from 2005 until South Sudan's independence. Since then, he has established a South Sudan Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Commission to reintegrate the estimated 90,000 combatants associated with the Sudan People's Liberation Army and Sudanese Armed Forces ([www.ssddrc.org](http://www.ssddrc.org)) back into civilian society.

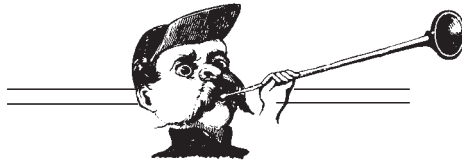
That process will unfold in three phases: dispossession of weapons, discharge from the military and reintegration into civilian life. As of August, about 12,525 of the 90,000 former rebels had been demobilized.

The Republic of South Sudan currently has embassies in Kenya, Egypt, South Africa, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Canada, Belgium and the United Kingdom, in addition to Washington, D.C. ([www.gossmision.org](http://www.gossmision.org)). The U.S. embassy in South Sudan is located in Juba (<http://southsudan.usembassy.gov>), although the ambassador position is currently vacant.

For more information on the world's newest country, please consult the CIA World Factbook ([www.cia.gov](http://www.cia.gov)) or BBC's South Sudan profile ([www.bbc.co.uk](http://www.bbc.co.uk)). The Department of State Background Notes page for South Sudan was added to the site on Sept. 22 ([www.state.gov](http://www.state.gov)). ■

— Laura Pettinelli, Editorial Intern





# SPEAKING OUT

## *Why the Foreign Service Should Be More Like the Army*

BY JON P. DORSCHNER

**M**y father was a colonel in the U.S. Army, so I grew up with the military. However, it wasn't until I was seconded from the Foreign Service to the faculty of the United States Military Academy at West Point that I began to comprehend what the U.S. Army was really about. By that time I had already served as the political/military adviser for South Asia and had been in the Foreign Service for 17 years.

The lessons I learned at West Point were driven home for me when I served on a Provincial Reconstruction Team in Iraq that shared its base with the 82nd Airborne Division. In the course of my duties, I worked side by side with officers and enlisted personnel from the 82nd, and we went on missions together.

These experiences brought home to me the idea that the Foreign Service can learn a lot from the military and should consider adopting some of its attitudes, culture and organization. Of course, every organization has its own culture and attitudes, and the unique values and practices associated with the Foreign Service are a product of its history and the tasks it undertakes. These are very different from those of the armed forces.

However, this should not prevent the Foreign Service from borrowing ideas that are applicable and bring good results. No organization is static,

*Our organization can learn a lot from the military, and should consider adopting some of its attitudes and practices.*

and the most successful ones change and evolve. There is no reason why the Foreign Service cannot do the same.

Here are some basic ideas and concepts I saw applied in the military that could benefit the Foreign Service.

### **Esprit de Corps**

The U.S. Army emphasizes esprit de corps as an essential element. (Indeed, it would not be able to function without it.) That concept centers on a collective identity based on pride and professionalism. Army personnel are taught that they are colleagues and must rely on each other because they share a common identity and profession.

The Army is a middle-class profession. Most of its members do not come from American elites. In that sense, it is a meritocracy.

Military personnel are taught that while they cannot expect large monetary benefits, their profession confers

status in and of itself. This is a non-material reward whose value is incalculable. Army members gain prestige not from what they bring into the organization, but from their performance once they are inside.

Any element that fosters cliques or separation or unduly emphasizes an internal hierarchy, with "in" groups and "out" groups, is discouraged. Religious, regional, political, ethnic and class differences are not part of the work environment.

In Iraq, I served with soldiers from all backgrounds, including recent immigrants, many of whom did not speak English as their mother tongue. And I worked every day with a National Guard unit, the "T for Texas" Division, which was proud to be an almost totally Hispanic unit. Even so, the Army treated everyone the same. The emphasis was on integrating everyone into a cohesive unit.

Similarly, the social base of the Army is broad. Elites are largely absent, and personnel come from a wide variety of social backgrounds. In that sense, the Army is representative of the general American population.

I have never heard esprit de corps mentioned in the Foreign Service context. Instead, the Foreign Service emphasizes individuality over collegiality, exclusivity over inclusiveness. This is a hangover from its earlier history, when its membership was largely



restricted to East Coast elites who were “male, pale and Yale.”

True, the Foreign Service has made a concerted effort to become more representative than in those long-ago days. Yet class prejudices still linger and the Foreign Service often continues to connote elitism. What individual officers bring in the form of social class, elite education and family connections can still play a big role in placement and career advancement.

Despite our best efforts, we are still less representative than the Army. To overcome this historical legacy, the Foreign Service could embrace its own version of *esprit de corps* that mirrors many of the aspects of how the Army promotes collective pride and de-emphasizes individual ego.

### **The Mission Comes First**

In the Army, the activities of every unit and every individual are placed within a context. The reason for the activity is explained. Performance is mission-oriented. The goal comes first and units are told to work cohesively to ensure successful completion of the mission. Individuals who showboat and subordinate the mission to their individual ambition do not do well and are singled out for correction.

By contrast, the Foreign Service spends little or no time explaining to its members why they are doing what they are doing. Instead, duties are often performed mechanically. The mission becomes subordinate to the procedures. This is a common curse of bureaucratic organizations, and State Department bureaucracy is legendary. So much time is spent formatting and clearing paper that officers lose track of what they are actually doing.

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There is also a feeling that the institution does not care whether the individual employees comprehend how their jobs fit within the greater whole. Just as takes place in the Army, Foreign Service personnel should be told how their efforts fit into broader U.S. foreign policy and how their hard work and sacrifice benefit the nation. Otherwise, there is often no sense that a mission has been accomplished.

### **Take Care of Your Troops**

Army officers and non-commissioned officers are evaluated on how well they take care of their troops. This not only includes subordinates but their families, as well. Officers and NCOs so egotistical and wrapped up in their own advancement that they do not show concern for the well-being of their subordinates receive poor evaluations and do not progress in their careers. From the outset, Army personnel are taught this essential component of leadership.

By contrast, concern for subordinates is not part of the State Depart-

ment evaluation process. Nor is there much emphasis on families. Instead, officers are taught to look after themselves and their careers first and foremost.

This can lead, rightly or wrongly, to a perception by subordinates that “successful” Foreign Service officers are those willing to do anything to get ahead, including letting down colleagues and disappointing subordinates.

These allegations arise out of the fact that such self-centered behavior is seldom punished in the Foreign Service. Selfishness and excessive egotism are not viewed as indicators of poor leadership and a lack of *esprit de corps*, but are often seen as the norm.

### **Transparency**

In the Army, personnel are told from the outset of their careers what is required for promotion. The qualities, the classes, the assignments and the performance indicators are clearly laid out and easy to understand.

At the outset, officers are told that only 5 percent of them will become generals. Officers are told to decide early in their career whether they want to compete to become part of that group or whether they would prefer to retire as colonels or lieutenant colonels. Those who eschew the general officer track are not stigmatized or treated as second-class citizens, but rather as professionals pursuing their own career goals.

By contrast, the Foreign Service does not make it clear how and why its members are promoted. Some officers rise rapidly through the ranks, while others do not, and the process for promoting and assigning employees is far from transparent.

Moreover, there is no automatic



promotion for seniority and no reward for exceptionally dedicated service. Foreign Service members who serve repeatedly in hardship posts are not provided a career advantage. Those who demonstrate dedication, hard work and technical expertise are not necessarily rewarded with regular promotions or choice assignments. This vagueness leads to accusations that “it is not what you know but who you know,” and erodes morale.

Likewise, the Foreign Service seems to assume that everyone in the ranks wants to become an ambassador. Officers who do not aspire to enter the Senior Foreign Service are often regarded as slackers, rather than individuals with their own specific career goals and objectives who make a positive contribution. Perhaps a system of equally weighted career tracks could replace the current “fast track” and “slow track.”

### **A Rule Is a Rule**

The Army spells out rules and regulations and enforces them. If the institution faces repeated deployments to war zones, most personnel are expected to go. Those who try to pull strings to avoid deployment know that their career will suffer.

Personnel are told early and often what will benefit their career and what will hurt it. As a result, they can make informed career decisions knowing the full consequences.

In contrast, the State Department issues rules and then almost immediately makes exceptions to them. There are limits on how long personnel can serve in Washington, D.C. Those who do not serve in hardship posts are supposed to face negative consequences. Those who do not fulfill their language requirements are

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***Unlike the Army,  
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supposed to pay the price.

Like the military, we must staff positions in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan that are dangerous and require separation from family. Everyone is supposed to pull their fair share, but for some reason it just doesn't happen.

There always seem to be people who are able to manipulate the system. They stay in Washington longer than they are supposed to and avoid hardship tours, yet continue to be promoted.

Conversely, those who serve hardship tours have no assurance they'll be rewarded for their dedication. The result is a drop in morale, as those that do the right thing feel they are being taken advantage of.

A rule is a rule and must be enforced. Otherwise, the perception grows that the institution is not interested in fairness.

### **Restrain That Ego!**

West Point cadets with large egos, who constantly tell their peers that they

will become generals and who seek as much “face time” as possible with officers, are known as “tools.” Being a tool is not a good thing.

This does not mean that the military does not reward strong personalities, of course. Ambition is the first requirement for anyone aspiring to make the higher grades, after all. But the system teaches such individuals to rein in some of that egoistic behavior.

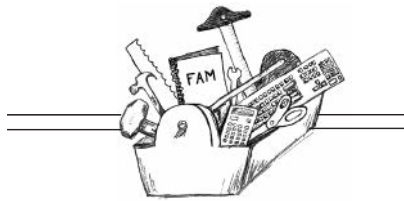
Cadets study the lives and careers of successful commanders and learn that they come in all shapes and sizes. General Robert E. Lee was the ultimate tool, the only cadet in the history of West Point not to earn a single demerit. He was defeated by Ulysses S. Grant, who had a rocky time while at West Point and was often punished for committing infractions.

Unlike Lee, Grant was consumed by self-doubt and was anything but arrogant. In the end, he prevailed because he was a talented general who understood modern war, while Lee did not. From such examples, West Point cadets learn that the most egotistical general is not always the most successful, and that an effective institution must make room for different leadership styles.

Or, to put it another way: A little humility is not a bad thing. Perhaps the Foreign Service could benefit from a similar teaching model. ■

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*Jon P. Dorschner recently retired from the Foreign Service after a 27-year career that included two years on the faculty at West Point, a year with a Provincial Reconstruction Team in Iraq, and a stint as political-military adviser in the Bureau of South Asian Affairs, among many other assignments. His last posting was as an economic officer in Berlin.*



# FS KNOW-HOW

## *Coping with High-Stress Posts*

By JOSEPH ADAMO MUSSOMELI

The Embassy Kabul compound has so many layers of security it would be difficult for any assault to succeed. Reassuring as that is, you don't have to be clinically diagnosed as claustrophobic to feel hemmed in there. The same food, the same faces, the same jokes and even the same "policy" issues permeate every corner of the compound — a droning so persistent and palpable that even little things set you on edge.

On very rare occasions you may be jolted from your bed by a loud rumble and slowly realize there has been an explosion somewhere nearby. Far more often, you may be jolted from bed and quickly realize nothing has happened. Absolute silence and calm reign, except your mind is racing and your heart is beating a little faster than normal.

War, as the old adage goes, is long periods of boredom punctuated by moments of sheer terror. Civilians who choose to serve in war zones can expect to understand this very personally. And the boredom breeds a monstrous hydra of loneliness, fatigue, ennui, depression, self-loathing and insecurity, along with an inclination toward other outlets — alcohol, irritability and anger, working too hard or underperforming, etc. — that temporarily help assuage the tedium.

For sound security reasons, em-

*During my time as assistant chief of mission in Kabul, I gave new arrivals the following advice to help prepare them for the challenges ahead.*



bassy personnel are constrained from performing even the most common pastimes: walking along streets, shopping in stores, going out for meals. And work is often no solace: those same security measures circumscribe how and how well one can perform traditional roles furthering diplomacy and development.

This raises questions about one's personal worth which, in turn, lead to feelings of guilt and futility. Was it really worth leaving my family to come here? Is this really going to help my career? Am I really making any difference at all? And always hovering in the air like the sword of Damocles is the unlikely but real prospect of violence.

### **An Endurance Test**

The stresses inherent in such a potent brew of emotions can overwhelm

even the hardest of spirits. So throughout my time as assistant chief of mission in Kabul (2008-2010), I offered the same advice to every batch of newcomers to help prepare them for their year in as foreign an environment as they were ever likely to experience.

I began by telling them that coping with stress would be a serious challenge, even for those absolutely certain they could handle it. Then, shamelessly plagiarizing Dickens, I would tell them that serving their country in Afghanistan would be "the best of times and the worst of times."

The "best of times" was easy to explain. After years of neglect, we finally got our priorities right when President Barack Obama, shortly after his inauguration, sharply changed our focus to Afghanistan. To be part of that mission, both to help Afghans and protect our own country, is understandably appealing to many of us.

The "worst of times" was a little harder to articulate, however. So I cited authorities as disparate as Pericles, Aristotle, Hadrian, Dostoevsky and Michael Scott (from "The Office") to try to assure our new arrivals that all that stress could be endured, though never fully eradicated.

### **We Ain't Spartans**

The key to happiness always and



anywhere is knowing who you are and what your limits and strengths are. Trying too hard to excel, to do everything, to be self-sacrificing, can be counterproductive anywhere, but especially in a place where working 24/7 is not just the norm, but our *raison d'être*.

After the first battle against the Spartans during the Peloponnesian War, Pericles gave his famous Funeral Oration to honor the Athenian dead. In it, he stressed the fact that the Spartans did nothing but prepare for war, training their young male children from the age of 7 to harden themselves to the vicissitudes of life and warfare. The Athenians on the other hand, he proudly boasted, ate well, drank wine, wrote poetry, danced wildly and philosophized — and their soldiers were every bit as good as Spartans on the field of battle.

Those serving in challenging places like Kabul also need to make time to relax, put work aside and take joy in the small pleasures of days otherwise darkened with overbearing demands and worries.

### **Aristotle vs. Gilgamesh**

But the other extreme is just as bad as making work your life. The boredom and tedium of work, the loneliness and the pent-up energy all lead some to neglect their work. Focusing too much on merriment brings its own dangers.

Sometimes I would look at my colleagues in Kabul and wonder if some had subconsciously decided that the normal rules of human relationships and modes of behavior were not applicable to this abnormal environment. Ensuring normalcy and continuity between one's life before coming to Kabul and existence there is crucial to

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## ***It is tempting to build walls between life at unaccompanied posts and our “real” life back home.***

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maintaining one's sanity and integrity.

Too great a focus on fun is really an expression of despair, such as what Gilgamesh felt when, seeing all the frustrations and sorrows of living, he was told he should just “eat and drink and be merry.” Far better to follow Aristotle's “golden mean” — seek a sane balance between work and fun, between a seriousness of purpose and a serious commitment to relax.

### **Stay Connected**

No alien ever spoke wiser words than E.T. — “Phone home!” Literally and figuratively, it is crucial in these high-stress and geographically and emotionally remote postings to stay connected to family and friends. Nothing defines, reassures and safeguards us more than those enduring ties to others whom we love and are loved by.

I must admit this was probably my worst failing (of many) during my time in Kabul. For me and I suspect others (probably mostly male), building a wall between life in Afghanistan and my “real” life back home seemed the best course.

Skyping with a young child (I would read children's stories over Skype at least once a week to my 5-

year-old) or calling your spouse or a close friend can be as painful as it is therapeutic. I would often try to avoid it altogether. It seemed so masochistic, like tearing a bandage off a wound that was just starting to heal. Why keep picking at the scab? Why keep letting yourself remember what you are missing?

The simple, brutal answer is because they need to feel connected to you, and you — despite efforts to delude yourself — need to miss them and remember how much you miss them.

Being connected to those you love who are far away will also help keep you on an even keel. Unmoored, we tend to become unhinged; our attitude turns from merely being irritated and frustrated to angry and sullen, then despondent and cold.

Often I would remember what Viktor Frankl said, inspired (I think) by concentration camp inmates: “Everything can be taken from a person but one thing: the last of the human freedoms — to choose one's attitude in any given set of circumstances, to choose one's own way.”

### **How Supervisors Can Help**

The story goes that the Roman emperor Hadrian was returning home one evening when an old woman sought him out for an audience about some problem or another. Having spent a grueling day trying to keep the empire functioning, he was on edge and irked by the request. So he responded curtly: “I haven't the time.” Without skipping a beat the old woman shot back: “Don't be emperor, then.” He granted her an audience.

I can't think of a better example of how every supervisor — from lofty



ambassadors and self-impressed deputy chiefs of mission to mid-level officers in their first managerial role — should respond to any call for help or counsel from a subordinate. What is true of ordinary situations in normal environments is a thousandfold more imperative in high-stress environments, where those around you have fewer options and a greater need to talk and seek counsel.

For supervisors, your time is their time. If that is too hard or too unreasonable there are plenty of other jobs to take: car salesman, politician, street sweeper, etc. But not supervisor. As that word's etymology suggests, we supervisors have a duty not just to oversee but to *look out for* those we supervise. Midnight is not too late to meet and talk with them; 5 a.m. is not too early. Being there — always — will help them get through the tour.

But while your time is theirs, the opposite is not true. To the extent possible, don't intrude on their brief, sporadic opportunities to absent themselves from the office and from work. Foreign Service personnel tend to be breathless about everything. We delude ourselves into believing that whatever we are working on is urgent and important and must be attended to right now. This natural tendency is compounded and rendered almost insufferable in a high-stress post.

### **The Boss as Grand Inquisitor**

It used to be said — perhaps it still is — that high-stress posts are full of the “needy, speedy and greedy.” I did detect some of each category in Kabul, but for the most part my colleagues were there because they felt a strong commitment (at least when they first arrived) to serving their country and making a real difference in the lives of

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the Afghan people. Nothing changes that idealism to cynicism faster than a boss focused on his or her own advancement or too concerned with the mundane aspects of bureaucratic life.

Dostoevsky once wisely observed that if you really want to break a person's spirit, the most effective means is simply to take from that person his or her purpose in life. What is true in the ordinary world is, again, even truer in high-stress environments where one's work — indeed, one's whole justification for having sacrificed to be there — is caught up in one's job. Bosses always have an obligation, especially in such an environment, to ensure that their staff are doing useful work and are being appreciated for doing it.

### **Not for Everyone**

There is a wonderfully ridiculous scene in an episode of “The Office” in which Michael Scott has to fire someone by the end of the day. He has put off doing it for months, and prolongs the agony until the very last minute.

Off camera, he is asked if he has ever gone hunting. He responds boastfully: “Yes, I shot a deer once — in the leg.” Then after a lengthy pause he adds: “I had to beat it with a shovel for about an hour. It's hard to watch, though. It's hard to hit another living thing in the face for about an hour. Where's the joy in that? Where's the sport? When you are the one with the shovel and they are just lying there.”

Quizzically, he finally says: “Why do you ask?”

The last thing I told every new arrival in Kabul is that high-stress posts are not for everyone. It doesn't mean you are less patriotic, less a man (or woman), less dedicated or competent, if you decide to leave or if post management decides you need to go. There is no shame in going and there is great honor in having tried.

But it just prolongs the agony and the sense of shame to let these matters drag on. During my tour in Kabul, more than two dozen personnel either voluntarily left post early or were told to leave: quickly, humanely, decisively. Supervisors dragging their feet just exacerbate the situation.

As individuals we also need to not drag our feet. We need to see ourselves clearly and ruthlessly assess whether we can really cope with such an environment.

At one point I almost brought a shovel into my office as a reminder of that insight. But then I thought better of it. ■

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*Joseph Adamo Mussomeli, a Foreign Service officer since 1980, is currently the U.S. ambassador to Slovenia. Prior to that, he was assistant chief of mission in Kabul from 2008 to 2010, and ambassador to Cambodia from 2005 to 2008, among many other assignments.*

# A MIDTERM MANAGEMENT ASSESSMENT OF SECRETARY CLINTON



John Kachik

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HERE ARE HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COUNCIL'S LATEST BIENNIAL EVALUATION OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S MANAGEMENT PERFORMANCE.

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*BY THOMAS D. BOYATT*

his past June the Foreign Affairs Council published and distributed an assessment of the stewardship of Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton as a leader and manager. Titled "Managing Secretary Clinton's State Department: An Independent Assessment," it was the FAC's fifth such biennial "report card" on the performance of the Secretary of State in this dimension of his or her responsibilities.

The Foreign Affairs Council is a nonpartisan umbrella group of 11 organizations, including AFSA, dedicated to sup-

## COVER STORY

porting the processes of diplomacy and development and the people who perform these functions. (See the box on p. 26 for a complete listing of FAC member organizations.) Many individuals and organizations assess the performances of Secretaries of State in their foreign policy role, but only the FAC analyzes them as institutional managers.

Our objective is to focus Secretaries of State on management issues by publicly highlighting their shortcomings, as well as achievements, in this aspect of their work. Now past, current and future Secretaries know that they will be judged by contemporaries and by history on the effectiveness of their management of the nation's foreign affairs institutions.

### The Reinvention Imperative

In the private sector, it is axiomatic that companies must periodically reinvent themselves to deal with new realities — or perish. Among iconic corporations of the 20th century, RCA has disappeared, Kodak and Xerox are struggling to adapt, and IBM has successfully converted itself into a new and thriving enterprise.

After a decade of close observation of the management approaches of Secretaries of State Colin Powell, Condoleezza Rice and Hillary Rodham Clinton, we believe that all three have recognized that the “adapt or disappear” imperative applies to the foreign affairs agencies, and have responded in a variety of positive ways. Sec. Powell established the Reconstruction and Stabilization Bureau and function and its attendant Civilian Reserve Corps. Sec. Rice reorganized the U.S. Agency for International Development and called for “transformational” diplomacy.

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*Thomas D. Boyatt, an FSO from 1959 until 1985, served as ambassador to Colombia and to Upper Volta (now Burkino Faso) and chargé d'affaires in Chile, among many other postings. Currently the treasurer of AFSA's political action committee, AFSA-PAC, he has been in the past been AFSA's president, vice president and treasurer, as well as serving as a retiree representative on the Governing Board. He is currently president of the Foreign Affairs Council, chairs the Academy of American Diplomacy's "Foreign Affairs Budget for the Future" project, and continues to lecture, teach and consult.*

***Our objective is to focus Secretaries of State on management issues by publicly evaluating their performance.***

And Sec. Clinton has emphasized the defense-diplomacy-development triad, which she coupled with publication of the first Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review. These actions and follow-on initiatives should all be seen in the context of reinvention.

The characteristics of the new international environment driving reinvention of the foreign affairs agencies and their operations are, no doubt, all too familiar to readers of the *Foreign Service Journal*. An illustrative list would include dealing with failed states, terrorism as an element of asymmetric warfare, the dark side of globalization (pandemics, international crime, etc.), the growth of non-state actors (both vicious and benign), and new networking and communications media.

We would add another element to this daunting list. Historically, war has meant the suspension of diplomacy between the parties to the conflict. A war was declared (or begun), diplomats were recalled, and the militaries fought it out. After the fighting ended, diplomacy eventually resumed.

Today the United States is conducting wars, engaging in diplomacy and pursuing development, all in the same limited geographic space and at the same time in Iraq and Afghanistan. Some version of this new norm of war (or major violence)-cum-diplomacy-cum-development will likely exist in various locales into the future.

Because the 19th-century Westphalian/Congress of Vienna construct is not geared to deal with this new reality, recent Secretaries of State have had to shape and change foreign affairs agencies to be effective in the new context.

Against the backdrop of institutional reinvention, two fundamental imperatives have absorbed most of the management energies of the last three Secretaries.

First, there is the absolute requirement to have enough appropriately trained personnel to achieve mission objectives. Without adequate diplomatic and development personnel, all else fails. Second, there was (and is) the need to settle how the development-reconstruction-stabilization functions should be organized and managed, either to support U.S. troops in combat or to prevent situations from developing that require a kinetic U.S. response.

With all that in mind, this article is a selective summary of the FAC's assessment of Secretary Clinton's perform-



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ance in these two basic areas over the last two years. It then concludes with a few personal comments on developments over the past few months.

### Resources for Staffing and Training

Between the end of the Cold War 20 years ago and the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks, foreign affairs agencies lost roughly 30 percent of their human and financial resources — even as they staffed 23 new embassies created by the collapse of the Soviet and Yugoslav empires. Similarly, in the decade following the 9/11 terrorist attacks on America, the State Department and USAID faced an unprecedented expansion in the demands placed upon them. Hundreds, then thousands of additional diplomats and development professionals were urgently needed to staff posts in Iraq and Afghanistan, promote peace and stability in other vital regions, fight against terrorism and other transnational threats, manage diplomatic relations and promote a host of American interests all over the world.

An increase of 1,069 State positions during the tenure of Secretary of State Colin Powell (2001-2005) was more than absorbed by the civilian surges in Iraq and Afghanistan. Sec. Rice's first three years (2005-2007) were characterized by inaction on staffing, leaving the five foreign affairs agencies with huge deficits in the human resources needed to do what was asked of them in the post-9/11 landscape.

In her final year, Sec. Rice did propose a robust budget package for Fiscal Year 2009 seeking about 1,000 new positions for State and 500 for USAID. Though she won approval from the Office of Management and Budget for these increases, given that the FY 2009 request was a "lame duck" budget for the Bush administration it did not appear at the time that the proposal would prosper on Capitol Hill.

Consequently, in October 2008, the American Academy of Diplomacy, supported by the Stimson Center, produced a landmark "bottom-up" analysis of resources needed to accomplish foreign affairs missions. The "Foreign Affairs Budget for the Future" (FAB) called for 4,735 additional positions over 2008 levels — 3,485 new positions at the State Department and 1,250 positions for USAID. These numbers included a training complement of 15 percent of core staffing to permit essential professional education and interagency developmental assignments.

The FAB report's recommendations were endorsed by

eight former Secretaries of State. In a bipartisan statement, Henry Kissinger, George Shultz, James Baker, Lawrence Eagleburger, Warren Christopher, Madeleine Albright, Colin Powell and Condoleezza Rice wrote, in part: "Avoiding one war or defusing one major crisis would save many times [the cost of the staffing] increase. Not providing resources for civilians to carry their share of the load will increase the strains on our already badly overstretched military, which has been asked repeatedly to divert personnel to deal with issues from nation-building to agricultural development."

In the fall of 2008, the Academy lobbied for the FAB recommendations for increased personnel with the authorizers and appropriators in both houses of Congress and with both presidential campaigns. The reception was very positive.

Later that fall, the Academy was contacted by a senior international affairs adviser to then-Senator Barack Obama for a briefing on the FAB. This individual informed the Academy representatives that the views of the Obama campaign regarding foreign affairs staffing paralleled the recommendations laid out in that document. We responded that the FAC would strongly support any requests to Congress for added resources for the foreign affairs agencies.

Furthermore, we suggested to our interlocutor that the incoming Obama administration should support Sec. Rice's robust FY 2009 budget request on a bipartisan basis, to get a "running start" on the drive for additional resources. This effort succeeded, and the FY 2009 appropriations bill added 992 new Foreign Service positions at State and 300 at USAID.

### Diplomacy 3.0

Sec. Clinton quickly pledged to employ a "smart power" strategy harnessing the tools of diplomacy and development assistance and seeking the human and financial resources needed to do that. She named this approach "Diplomacy 3.0: Diplomacy, Development and Defense." Using 2008 as the baseline, Secretary Clinton's strategy sought a 25-percent increase in Foreign Service staffing at State by FY 2013 (an increase of 2,997 positions) and a doubling of USAID staffing by FY 2012 (an increase of 1,200 positions) — both close to the numbers called for in the 2008 FAB report. The Obama administration submitted a FY 2010 budget request that added 764 Foreign Service positions at State and 350 positions at USAID.

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The FY 2009 and FY 2010 staffing increases that achieved a 17-percent expansion of the Foreign Service were a remarkable accomplishment for Secretary Clinton, President Obama and Congress. Yet, with most of the new employees being sent out to fill *existing* vacant positions, FS staffing levels still fell far short of what was needed to fully restore America's diplomatic and development capacity.

In an August 2010 report to Congress, the State Department documented the need for 1,250 additional Foreign Service positions. The unmet needs included positions to staff strategic areas including Afghanistan, Pakistan and the Middle East; increase training opportunities in foreign languages and professional education; expand public diplomacy outreach; and promote other vital national interests overseas. Bear in mind that all of this was before the "Arab Spring" and other recent developments.

The Obama administration's FY 2011 budget request (forwarded to Congress in February 2010) sought 410 new Foreign Service positions at State and 200 at USAID. In February 2011 (after the 2010 congressional elections but before its FY 2011 request was acted on), the administration submitted a FY 2012 request for an additional 150 Foreign Service positions at State and 165 at USAID. In April 2011 Congress passed an FY 2011 budget without any funds to hire additional State and USAID personnel above attrition.

Currently, FY 2012 funding operates under a continuing resolution. Accordingly, the unmet request for Foreign Service staffing needs totals 560 at State and 365 at USAID. Additional needs would (in our judgment) increase those numbers further.

The FAC report concludes that "Secretary Clinton has energetically and appropriately pressed for the resources necessary to give the United States the civilian tools it needs for conducting foreign relations in the 21st century."

Personally, I would add that this encomium applies only through the FY 2010 budget. It remains to be seen how successful Sec. Clinton will be in her final two years in the struggle for resources. I see some ominous signs, which I will discuss at the end of this summary.

### **The QDDR and Development, Stabilization and Reconstruction**

In July 2009, Secretary Clinton announced that the State Department and USAID would conduct an inaugural Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review. The review's goals were to: elaborate a strategic manage-

ment plan with a practical and relevant time horizon; elicit clear, hard decisions about priorities; and ensure that these priorities were reflected in the budget's allocation of resources. In short, the goal was to answer the question: How can we do better?

Inevitably, the drafting of the QDDR was ensnared in the 60-year-old debate between development practitioners pursuing an independent USAID freed from foreign policy constraints and "whole of government" proponents advocating development as part of a broad diplomatic effort managed by ambassadors overseas and the Secretary of State in Washington. Whatever individual views on this matter might be, the reality is that the last three Secretaries of State have worked for the integrated approach. It is now hard to visualize a future Secretary of State ceding responsibility for development to others.

Additional factors in favor of the "whole of government" approach include the following:

- **Ambassadorial authorities.** By statute (Public Law 96-465: the Foreign Service Act of 1980) and by presidential directive (the president's letter to chiefs of mission), ambassadors have "full responsibility for the direction, coordination and supervision of all government employees in [the country of assignment]." Such authorities clearly include USAID missions at post.

- **The Mission Strategic Resource Plan.** Annually, every embassy produces, or updates, an MSRP on a country team basis which, of course, includes USAID inputs.

- **The budget process.** These MSRPs are consolidated and regional priorities established in the Office of the Director of Foreign Assistance at State and the Office of Budget and Resource Management at USAID. The regional plans are aggregated for the Deputy Secretary of State for Management and then go to the Secretary of State for final approval. The budget proposal for the 150 Account (International Affairs) then goes to the Office of Management and Budget, where it is consolidated with those of other agencies and submitted to Congress on a "whole of government" basis.

- **The congressional process.** The Secretary of State defends the bulk of the administration's submission of Chapter 150 of the national budget before each house of Congress. The reality of the U.S. debt crisis and the ascendancy of the Republican Party, at least in the House, have changed the political environment significantly. USAID would likely be more vulnerable to program reductions than it already is without the protection of the of-

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office of the Secretary of State and the personal influence on Capitol Hill of Secretary Clinton.

The QDDR was announced in mid-2009 with a target for publication at the end of 2009. However, the release date was repeatedly postponed, so the report was not published until December 2010. The “back story” for the delays is widely believed to be the reopening of the debate between the “whole of government” proponents (the Secretary and her advisers) and some development practitioners (including some USAID personnel) and various supporters.

In the end, the QDDR did what it was supposed to do. It spotlighted the tough issues, leading to decisions that are now being promulgated. In early 2011, there was a lull in the process. Since April, however, 19 separate committees in State and USAID have been working on QDDR implementation.

### Principal QDDR Action Items

- **Enhancing the role of chiefs of mission.** As Sec.

Clinton states in her cover letter for the QDDR report, the reforms begin with the “chiefs of mission in our embassies around the world,” who will be given the tools to serve as “chief executive officers of multiagency missions.” These will include enhancing their training, empowering them to contribute to the evaluation of all post personnel, and engaging them more fully in policymaking back in Washington.

The Foreign Affairs Council strongly supports this initiative and the reforms discussed below and will assist in achieving them, particularly where legislation is required.

• **Development concentrations.** The U.S. government will focus its efforts in six development areas: food security, global health, global climate change, sustainable economic growth, democracy and governance, and humanitarian assistance.

• **Making USAID the premier development agency.** The U.S. Agency for International Development is immediately vested with responsibility for food security programs and will lead global health initiatives pending

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meeting certain requirements at the end of FY 2012. The agency will share responsibility for the Global Climate Change Initiative with State and Treasury and play a major role in economic development, aligning itself with the Millennium Challenge Corporation (which operates only in countries that meet minimum standards of open markets, rule of law, participatory democracy and suppression of corruption). USAID is also given responsibility for humanitarian assistance.

Secretary Clinton commits in the QDDR to building USAID as the premier development agency. The threshold requirement, of course, is adequate personnel resources. Regarding quantity, 550 of the 1,200 necessary additional personnel have been brought on board. As to quality, the intention is to include more experts in evaluation, planning, resource management, contracting and others on staff, significantly reducing dependence on contractors. In addition, the Secretary will seek Senate confir-

### *Secretary Clintons commits in the QDDR to building USAID as the premier development agency.*

mation of the USAID Administrator as the alternate U.S. governor to the Asian, African and Inter-American Development Banks.

USAID has initiated five-year Country Development Coordination Strategies in 25 countries and will expand these to all missions by FY 2013. And a new Office of

Budget and Resource Management has been created to develop USAID's annual budget proposal and oversee budget execution. How this will fit with overall planning is discussed below.

•**The role of the F Bureau.** The QDDR clarifies development budget procedures by designating the F Bureau as the Office of U.S. Foreign Assistance Resources, reporting to the Deputy Secretary for Management and the Secretary of State. This office will integrate all foreign assistance budget proposals, including those in Embassy Mission Strategic Plans as aggregated by State's regional bureaus, and those in USAID's Country Development Co-

### About the Foreign Affairs Council

The Foreign Affairs Council is a nonpartisan umbrella group of 11 organizations concerned about U.S. diplomatic readiness ([www.facouncil.org](http://www.facouncil.org)). Its mailing address is 2101 E St. NW, Washington DC 20037. FAC member organizations are:

- Ambassador Thomas D. Boyatt, FAC Founder and President.
- American Academy of Diplomacy: a private, nonprofit, nonpartisan, elected society of men and women who have held positions of major responsibility in the formulation and implementation of American diplomacy ([www.academyofdiplomacy.org](http://www.academyofdiplomacy.org)).
- American Foreign Service Association: the professional association and union of the career Foreign Service. Founded in 1924, AFSA has more than 16,000 members ([www.afsa.org](http://www.afsa.org)).
- Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide: a nonprofit organization that has been an independent advocate for Foreign Service spouses, employees and retirees since 1960 ([www.aafsw.org](http://www.aafsw.org)).
- Association of Black American Ambassadors: an organization of current and former African-American ambassadors, career and non-career, working to enhance public understanding of foreign affairs, to strengthen the Foreign Service through improved diversity, and to document African-American achievements in diplomacy.
- Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training: a private, nonprofit organization founded in 1986 to advance understanding of American diplomacy and to support training of foreign affairs personnel at the Foreign Service Institute ([www.adst.org](http://www.adst.org)).

• Business Council for International Understanding: founded in 1959 to support U.S. business interests internationally by convening member company executives with senior diplomatic and Cabinet-level officials and foreign heads of state ([www.bciu.org](http://www.bciu.org)).

• Council of American Ambassadors: composed of former and incumbent non-career ambassadors, the Council aims to support the role of the ambassador and the embassy country team in carrying out U.S. foreign policy ([www.americanambassadors.org](http://www.americanambassadors.org)).

• Una Chapman Cox Foundation: dedicated to a strong, professional Foreign Service, its activities seek to enhance State's recruitment, professionalism, retention and constituency ([www.uccoxfoundation.org](http://www.uccoxfoundation.org)).

• Nelson B. Delavan Foundation: a family foundation that supports initiatives to improve the Foreign Service of the United States and the effectiveness of American diplomacy.

• DACOR: an organization of foreign affairs professionals founded in 1952. It fosters interest in foreign affairs, broadens understanding of contemporary foreign affairs issues, and draws together persons with a variety of backgrounds who share an abiding interest in foreign relations, national security and professional service abroad for the United States ([www.dacorbacon.org](http://www.dacorbacon.org)).

• Public Members Association of the Foreign Service, USA: a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization composed of members who have served as public members on Foreign Service promotion boards or inspection teams, or on delegations or commissions.

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ordination Strategies as aggregated by USAID.

The overall budget proposal will then be presented to the Deputy Secretary for Management and the Secretary of State. The Director of Foreign Assistance will also approve uses of appropriated funds and any significant changes in allocations during the fiscal year. The ultimate goal is to ensure that diplomatic and development activities are mutually reinforcing.

•**Crisis response.** The QDDR establishes prevention and response to crises, conflicts and instability as a core mission of the State Department. This mission also includes stabilization and reconstruction as active combat draws to a close (e.g., in Iraq). The QDDR emphasizes: “The State Department will lead operations in response to political and security crises and conflicts,” while “USAID will lead operations in response to humanitarian crises.”

To carry out State’s responsibilities, the QDDR calls for creation of an Under Secretary for Civilian Security, Democracy and Human Rights. The current Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization will be-

come the core bureau under the new under secretary and will coordinate early prevention efforts and any necessary rapid deployment of civilian responders. The current bureaus of International Narcotics; Population, Refugees and Migration; and Democracy, Human Rights and Labor will be united, along with other State Department offices, under the new under secretary’s aegis.

The existing Civilian Response Corps consists of an active segment of 250 immediately deployable officers and a stand-by reserve of up to 2,000 active and retired federal employees trained in various aspects of nation-building and deployable on reasonably short notice. (A Civilian Reserve of private citizens was authorized but never funded by Congress.) The QDDR now proposes to replace this entity with a new Expert Corps. Continuing improvements based on lessons learned will be made in surge capacity.

### Management Improvements

Finally, the QDDR will also produce various management improvements including, inter alia, the following:

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- Producing enhanced training for State and USAID Foreign Service personnel with emphasis on management skills including planning and budgeting, resource management, multiagency operations and “whole of government” solutions. Joint training of diplomatic and development officers will be pursued where feasible.

- Ensuring that personnel levels include positions dedicated to training (the “training float”) so that training and staffing needs do not conflict.

- Providing additional opportunities for State and USAID personnel to take assignments in the other organization at all levels, including the assignment of USAID officers as ambassadors and DCMs, and State officers as USAID mission directors.

- Increasing rotational assignments to other agencies for State and USAID officers.

- Activating the congressionally authorized State-USAID-Department of Defense Advisory Panel to improve coordination among the three agencies and review roles and responsibilities.

- Taking a variety of steps to improve contracting.

- Establishing an Overseas Contingency Operations budget to separate such activities from the regular base budget so that extraordinary, one-off activities do not severely damage regular base budgets. This reform has been achieved with the administration’s FY 2012 budget submission that includes a line item (\$8.7 billion for State and USAID OCO activities) in DOD’s larger OCO budget.

- Completing the process begun in 2007 of consolidating State and USAID administrative support at overseas posts under the International Cooperative Administrative Support Services (ICASS) platform. The consolidation process should give due consideration to incorporating USAID administrative best practices.

### **The QDDR: A Highly Significant Management Initiative**

The Foreign Affairs Council believes that this first Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review, and its reforms and recommendations, together represent the most significant management initiatives in the operation of the Department of State and USAID in many decades.

First, the QDDR as an institutional management tool brings an integrated strategic view for judging the resources necessary for managing the civilian side of America’s challenges abroad.

Second, it recognizes that many of these challenges must be addressed in multiyear time frames.

Third, it enables the Department of State and USAID to deal more effectively with the reality that their most critical resource is people — and people take time to acquire and develop. It takes years to accumulate the professional skills, specialized knowledge and personal relationships that are the keys to success in diplomacy and development. We cannot compensate quickly or easily for the kinds of staff losses incurred in the 1990s.

At this point, of course, the reforms and recommendations of the QDDR are in the stage of declaration (“We will do this”) or exhortation (“That should happen”). Some, perhaps most, of the developments can be implemented immediately by the Secretary. Others will require congressional authorization and additional appropriations. Either way, the Secretary and her team will need to demonstrate the strong leadership and stamina that have characterized her leadership thus far. Her leadership and concern for the institution and its people have won their respect and buttressed their morale.

As the report itself states, “Ultimately, however, the reforms and recommendations presented in the QDDR are only as good as their implementation.”

### **Recommendations for Future Action**

#### **• Resources for Staffing and Training**

1. Secretary Clinton should pursue her budget proposal to strengthen diplomacy and development assistance by securing funding for an additional 1,250 Foreign Service positions at the State Department and 650 at USAID by FY 2014.

2. To achieve the above recommendation, the Secretary should make completion of Development 3.0 the first priority. Small reductions in the various assistance program accounts would fund the personnel increases now pending without damaging the development effort.

3. The Secretary should use a portion of the new positions to complete the staffing of a Foreign Service training complement equal to 15 percent of core staffing to provide the professional education and training needed to raise the overall level of performance of the State Department and USAID.

#### **• The QDDR and Development, Stabilization and Reconstruction**

1. The Department of State should pursue its request that Congress pass legislation requiring a QDDR. The

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process is much too valuable to be left to administrative discretion.

2. The Secretary of State should vigorously implement the reforms and recommendations of the first QDDR that do not require legislation, and with equal vigor pursue any additional authorizations and appropriations that are necessary to proceed.

3. The Secretary should designate a single senior official to be responsible for implementation of the QDDR.

### The Time for Action Is Now

In the months that have passed since the Foreign Affairs Council's assessment, the national budget situation has become more acute. AFSA and the American Academy of Diplomacy have adopted a "people first" strategy. Both organizations are urging the chairs and ranking members on the appropriations committees in both houses of Congress to take any necessary reductions in the 150 Account from programs and not from the personnel side of the budget. There is some support for this

approach, and that should be built upon.

The department appears to be taking a different approach. The new position numbers requested in the FY 2011 and 2012 budgets are pretty anemic, and would not come close to the Secretary's announced goal of a 25-percent increase in Foreign Service positions by FY 2014. In response to the tough line the House of Representatives is taking on further requests for State and USAID personnel increases, the Secretary seems to be pre-emptively capitulating.

Secretary Clinton has only the FY 2013 budget left to sustain her legacy. I strongly urge her to request the 1,250 Foreign Service positions at State and the 650 USAID positions that would complete the original Diplomacy 3.0 goals. It is not certain that this initiative would be totally rejected. But even if it is, it would be better to go down "with all guns blazing" than with a measly pro forma request. At the very least, such a budget request would provide guidance for a future Secretary of State. ■

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# SPECIAL FEATURE

## Classic Picks from the Journal's Past 10 Years

### Editor's Introduction

BY STEVEN ALAN HONLEY



When I began my tenure as editor of the *Foreign Service Journal* on July 1, 2001, it was actually meant to be an interim appointment. I'd joined AFSA as associate editor two years before, in April 1999, not long after leaving the Foreign Service following a 12-year career, and can honestly say I had no ambition to move up the masthead.

Indeed, I wasn't even sure how long I'd stay at AFSA. Still, I enjoyed the work and being part of a team seeking to advance the mission of an organization of which I'd been a member since my A-100 class in January 1985. So when the opportunity came to apply for the editorship in the spring of 2001, I threw my hat into the ring. And in November 2001, I was named permanent editor.

Over the ensuing years, I've frequently delved into the magazine's archives, mainly to conduct research but also for pleasure. On those expeditions, I am always impressed by the quality and breadth of material contained in the *Journal* month after month. True, I must confess that I occasionally see something I wish we hadn't published (or at least had edited more rigorously). But much more often, I smile as I reread previous pieces.

Inspired by those trips down memory lane, I've put together a sort of a mini-*FSJ*, comprised of examples

from each of our departments over the past 10 years. (To keep the length manageable, I haven't included any President's Views columns, letters, Cybernotes items, In Memory notices, Appreciations or anything from *AFSA News*, though many of those deserve a second airing, too.) Let me emphasize that these are not "favorites" or "the best of" — particularly since I've imposed an arbitrary rule on myself: only one example of each genre, and only one selection per year (2001-2008).

#### Blasts from the Past

We begin with a **Speaking Out** column we published exactly six years ago this month: "Leadership at State: A Work in Progress." In it, retired Ambassador Prudence Bushnell reminds us that "leadership is not some touchy-feely, people-related thing that's nice to do if you have time after tending to process and paper. ... Rather, leadership is providing the vision, wherewithal and stewardship to enable others to achieve results; it's leveraging your assets. It's a job in and of itself."

However each of us assesses the degree to which Foreign Service personnel live up to that call today, individually and collectively, there is no doubt that Amb. Bushnell's title still fits.

**FS Know-How** columns are a ve-

hicle through which Foreign Service members can give their colleagues practical tips for coping with the many challenges of living and working overseas. The one I've selected — "Helping a Colleague Cope with the Death of a Loved One," by Joan B. Odean (from our July-August 2007 issue) — offers practical tips on one type of leadership that all of us in the Foreign Service, no matter what our job, rank or location, can apply: reaching out to colleagues (and their family members) who are grieving while cut off from their usual support networks.

As Joan, an Office Management Specialist now serving in Rome, rightly points out, "The impression you might make on a colleague in need of human contact may be far greater than you ever imagined."

We have published hundreds of **focus section** articles and dozens of **cover stories** during my 10 years, so singling one out was the toughest part of putting this compilation together.

In particular, the many in-depth special reports Associate Editor Shawn Dorman has produced for us over the years (in addition to her many other duties) clamor for top billing. The subjects have been wide-ranging and topical, from Iraq service and the surge in unaccompanied FS positions to family member employment, the experiences of post-9/11 entrants into the Foreign Service, the issues facing single em-





ployees, and changes to the Foreign Service examination and hiring process.

I am also proud of our track record on reporting and analyzing how the response to 9/11 and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have shaped the Foreign Service as an institution — and the lives of individual employees and family members.

While such “sexy” topics tend to overshadow our less crisis-driven coverage of regional and functional themes, those issues also contain plenty of enduring material. However, like the special reports, many of them are just too long to reprint, or would be less effective if published without the rest of their focus section for context.

So after a lot of deliberation, I’ve gone with a cover story that remains provocative and hard-hitting a decade after its publication: the late Ambassador Hume Horan’s February 2002 commentary, “The U.S. and Islam in the Modern World.”

The same dilemma of too many choices applied to selecting a single **feature** article to represent the hundreds the *Journal* has published during my tenure. But for whatever reason, I found the decision here easier: retired FSO Donald A. Roberts’ parody, “Human Rights Report for the Hun Empire, A.D. 451.”

One thing I’m particularly pleased about is that although the article actually dates from 1984, we were the first

(and as far as I know, only) place to publish it, in June 2006.

One of our most successful new departments has been **FS Heritage**, which debuted in February 2008 (at the suggestion of former FSJ Editorial Board Chairman Ted Wilkinson). The article I’ve chosen, Kevin H. Siepel’s “Rebel Raider As Diplomat: John Mosby in China,” appeared in the July-August 2004 issue, several years before we’d created that rubric. But particularly since this year marks the 150th anniversary of the start of the Civil War, it seemed an apt choice.

The *Foreign Service Journal* has published **fiction** and poetry almost from its beginning back in 1924. As is inevitable with any creative endeavor, only a small percentage of that output still holds up years later, and determinations about what does and doesn’t are obviously subjective. But the story you’ll find here, David McAuley’s “Nita and the First Noble Eightfold Path” (one of the winning entries in our July-August 2003 summer fiction contest), gave me considerable pleasure when I reread it. I hope the same will be true for you.

I’ve been handling **FSJ book reviews** since May 2000, when I was still associate editor, and once again there was no shortage of worthy candidates in this department. Partly for sentimental reasons, I’ve chosen one from my very first issue as editor (July-Au-

gust 2001): Ajit Joshi’s review of Hank Cohen’s 2000 book, *Intervening in Africa: Superpower Peacemaking in a Troubled Continent*. (Ajit is a Civil Service employee with USAID who has served the agency in many different capacities.)

Last, but certainly not least, comes the **Reflections** department, which used to be known as “Postcard from Abroad” until we renamed it in 2002. The portrait Stephanie Rowlands paints of “Balkan Babas” (from the September 2008 *FSJ*) runs just a few hundred words but is truly indelible.

Journalism is by nature an ephemeral profession, but I hope this trip down memory lane will confirm that such pieces can have enduring value. I trust it will also bring into sharper perspective the depth and richness the *Journal* brings to AFSA’s mission every month.

Let me close by inviting all of you to consider submitting articles, commentaries or letters for publication. Who knows? Your words might just appear in a future edition of this compilation, assembled by whoever is sitting in my chair then.

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*Steven Alan Honley was a Foreign Service officer from 1985 to 1997, serving in Mexico City, Wellington and Washington, D.C. He has been editor of the Foreign Service Journal since 2001.*

# SPEAKING OUT

## *Leadership at State: A Work in Progress*

BY PRUDENCE BUSHNELL

When I left the Foreign Service Institute in 1989 after three years heading up the Executive Development Division, I published an article in the *Foreign Service Journal* titled “Leadership at State: The Neglected Dimension.” That title pretty well summed up my assessment.

Fast forward 16 years. I have recently retired after 24 years of service, the last three spent as the dean of FSI’s Leadership and Management School. My assessment of leadership at State today? A work in progress.

“Take care of your people,” words absent from our vocabulary in 1989 but a mantra over the past few years, still echo for me. Over 4,500 colleagues at the middle and senior ranks have graduated from at least one of the mandatory leadership training courses with a common understanding of how and why leadership works.

The results of the Office of Personnel Management’s 2004 Human Capital Survey show a stunning improvement over the 2002 survey in the opinions State Department employees hold of their supervisors. The ambassadorial and DCM seminars emphasize leadership responsibilities, and participants discuss them seriously.

We can all name hardship posts with wonderful morale because of good leadership from the front office. And grass-roots initiatives are popping up all over — the Leadership Round-

*We have made progress, but the Foreign Service is still not an organization that values leadership across the board.*



table and YPro (Young Professionals) groups are just two that are fostering change.

And yet...

We are still not an organization that values leadership across the board. A boss may demonstrate leadership, or not. He or she may understand what it is, or not. Either way, it’s fine. Clearly, too many people still don’t get it: leadership is not some touchy-feely, people-related thing that’s nice to do if you have time after tending to process and paper. Nor does it mean serving the next person up the ladder exclusively, as if only people at the top can get something accomplished. And it’s not something you delegate to the head of your management team.

Rather, leadership is providing the vision, wherewithal and stewardship to enable others to achieve results — it’s leveraging your assets. It’s a job in and of itself, vital to policy and central to transformational diplomacy.

### **Value Leadership in Washington, Too**

I’ve seen many more examples of leadership overseas than I have in Washington. Of course, there are reasons for that. Overseas, the chief of mission has a letter signed by the president of the United States outlining his or her leadership responsibilities, and the accompanying accountability is clear. People taking ambassadorial and DCM assignments for the first time are obligated to attend preparatory seminars.

At post, security and other concerns force every front office to pay increasing attention to purpose, organization and people. Employees and even “the system” are less tolerant of bad or indifferent leadership overseas and more inclined to take action against it. This has a trickle-down effect. If the top values leadership, others do, too.

The culture in Washington is different. Senior leaders, career and non-career alike, receive no written expectations of performance from the president; their work objectives are closely held. Many are too busy to attend senior-level seminars designed to enhance effectiveness in very complicated jobs. I’m not sure how many in leadership positions even consider themselves accountable for issues beyond those which relate directly to short-term policy goals. As a result, when I look at the department’s organizational chart, I know what the boxes

## Where does the buck stop on ensuring that all employees receive training?

stand for but I have no idea what leadership responsibilities reside in them. This, too, has a trickle-down effect.

Who, for example, is accountable for making sure we never again have to bury colleagues and family members because of insufficient security resources? Where does the buck stop when it comes to ensuring that all employees receive the training and development opportunities they need? Whose hand goes up if we have to ask why we do not have enough people, resources, or physical and technological support systems to do an effective job?

Not long before I retired from State, I heard the Government Accountability Office's comptroller general say that the federal government is going to have to get used to "doing more with less." I remember that refrain from the 1990s. I also remember the consequences.

To whom do we now look to ensure we have the wherewithal to serve the president and the American people effectively and safely? Note that I'm not asking which box on the organizational chart is responsible for that. I'm asking which *person*.

I know that working in Washington is different from working overseas, and I know that we hold different expectations of the people in leadership positions. But I question whether the double standard serves us and the American people well. Opaque, diffused responsibilities and poor accountability have created serious problems, past and present.

Tongues cluck around town these days about the need for better management and leadership across the federal government. The absence of a

resolution to these discussions continues to absolve everyone.

### Let's Change the Culture

This reality impedes the department's transition to an organization that values leadership in all places and at all levels. But it doesn't have to be a showstopper. We have choices.

We can hope that non-career appointees will take charge of our stewardship for us. Or we can complain about career colleagues who don't "get it," assignment and promotion systems that aren't perfect, and resources that will never be sufficient. Or we can wait and hope that one day things will change ... maybe.

Or we can start taking responsibility for our organization ourselves. And I mean all of us, not just the people at the top. We can value leadership and accountability within our spheres of influence and we can ask our bosses to do their part, as well. If we don't get the results we want the first time, we can try again. After all, we're in the business of influencing people.

I leave the department with enormous respect and affection for all my colleagues, but especially my career colleagues. I have seen you put yourselves and your families in difficult and often dangerous places. I have watched you rescue colleagues from the rubble of bombed embassies, and confront natural and manmade disasters that would make contestants on television survival shows run away. And I can attest to the integrity of your work products and the conviction with which you have stood by them in the face of pressure in Washington.

You make a difference. You deserve good leadership. And so do the people who work for you. ■

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*Prudence Bushnell, a Foreign Service officer from 1981 to 2005, served as ambassador to Kenya and Guatemala, principal deputy assistant secretary of State for African affairs, and dean of the Foreign Service Institute's Leadership and Management School, among many other assignments. Before joining the Foreign Service, Ambassador Bushnell enjoyed a successful career in the field of management and leadership training.*

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# FS KNOW-HOW

## *Helping a Colleague Cope with the Death of a Loved One*

By JOAN B. ODEAN

**A**lmost all of us in the Foreign Service have gone through the experience of losing loved ones while living vast distances from home. My father was seriously ill during my tour in Germany and died the day after I arrived at my next post in Tel Aviv. Both my mother and sister passed away while I was living in Oslo. And most recently, my mother-in-law died while I was here in Ottawa.

At some posts, the love and care I received from colleagues carried me through the waves of grief in a cocoon of comfort and security. But at other embassies, barely anyone acknowledged my loss, making a difficult period even more sad and isolating.

I have often said that the Foreign Service is a wonderful career — until a family member gets ill or dies. Then this has to be the worst job in the world. In most cases, the vast geographic distance from a relative who is ill or dying exacerbates our worry, making us almost crazed with concern.

Nearly 15 years later, I can still vividly remember trying to give my mother as much support as I could through daily calls as my father's illness dragged on and on. I would hang up the phone after listening to another report of his slipping away by inches, and sit stunned in emotional exhaustion.

If any of you reading this have not suffered this experience yet, you will

*Don't worry about finding the right words to acknowledge a colleague's loss. Just express your sympathy and say you're there for him or her.*



at some point. Death is a part of life. And so I would like to offer a few pointers from my own experience on what to do when a colleague loses a close friend or family member — especially while serving overseas.

*Acknowledge your colleague's loss.* It is not easy for most people to do this — what are the correct words to use? Fortunately, it doesn't matter. You do not have to be Shakespeare or a trained grief counselor. The important thing is that you explicitly recognize the loss that is causing your colleague pain, and you are there for him or her. Period.

What is the worst thing that can happen? Either the co-worker you are consoling will mumble some acknowledgment in embarrassment and turn away, or might shed a tear or two. Can you handle that? Remember: This is not about you. It is about giving comfort to another human being

who is experiencing the same pain that you have already felt, or will suffer in the future.

Let me add that I am probably one of the most stalwart, businesslike people you could ever encounter. (I don't even keep any personal pictures on my desk.) I believe that we are to focus on professional issues while at work, and personal matters should remain at home. However, I also realize that these lines of distinction blur for those of us in the Foreign Service and living overseas, away from family and friends back home. So it is unavoidable that one must turn to colleagues in a way that would not happen if living in the U.S.

When a relative of mine died and a colleague at post said a simple word of comfort and put a hand on my arm while passing me in the hall, his sincere act of caring brought tears even to my eyes. They were tears of simple gratitude that another human being took the time to acknowledge the pain I was experiencing. Is it so onerous for you to be one of those caring people? The impression you might make on a colleague in need of human contact may be far greater than you ever imagined.

*Notify the community liaison officer at post if you learn that the loved one of a colleague or spouse has died.* The CLO is trained to jump into action for embassy staff in need — by organizing dinners to be delivered to

*The Community Liaison Officer is trained  
to jump into action for staff in need.*

the home of someone who is frantically trying to pack to fly out for an unexpected trip home, helping to handle paperwork to depart post, etc. If nothing else, he or she will put a notice in the post's weekly newsletter about the passing of the loved one. That, hopefully, will explain to colleagues why you are perhaps unusually subdued for a few days at work, and might encourage them to offer you a few words of comfort.

*If a colleague's spouse has suffered a loss, don't just pass a message.* Of course you should express condolences to your colleague at work. But take five minutes to call the spouse at home — or, if that is too uncomfortable for you, at least write a note. The spouse may be suffering even more than you realize because he or she is isolated at home in a strange country without the distractions of work in an embassy and the support of friends from home. A phone call will be all the more welcome under those circumstances.

*Offer your services even if you don't know the person well.* Besides expressing your sympathy, offer to cook a meal (or have one delivered) or help with chores. Or stop by for a chat. It's only 30 minutes or so of your time — surely you can spare that for another human being in need.

*Next time you're on home leave in the U.S., buy a handful of sympathy and get-well cards.* Being old-fashioned, and raised in the South to boot, I find e-mails just one step above doing nothing. They are fine for quickly acknowledging a piece of sad news, but follow up with something

more personal and heartfelt. A greeting card provides a ready-made message when you may not be able to find the words yourself.

*Don't make things complicated.* I'm a firm believer that expressions of condolences are a personal issue. Don't pressure co-workers to give money for flowers or take up a group donation to a charity. But do, for heaven's sake, acknowledge the death of a colleague's loved one — don't ignore it. True, most people in that situation will realize that the oversight is not intended as a personal affront. But trust me when I testify that it will also not go unnoticed by the person experiencing grief.

As I said, I was raised in the South. When my mother passed away unexpectedly, I was on mid-tour home leave from Oslo. She became ill suddenly and was gone in a week. There is no way in the world I could have gotten through that shock without her friends.

To this day, I still recall being lifted up and carried by the helping hands of a large group of comforting women — through the funeral, burial, closing a large house within two weeks and putting it on the market, etc. They knew I could never repay their acts of kindness, but that wasn't the point. Nor was my case an isolated incident — they did these things again and again for others in need.

In this day and age of ever-increasing isolation from other humans, the loss of a loved one — particularly when one is far from home and away from close friends — is definitely a time when business colleagues need

to step up to fill the void.

Remember: It's not about you. It's about the person hurting, who needs the comfort of fellow humans during a difficult period. If ever the Golden Rule applies, it is to situations like this. ■

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*Joan B. Odean, an office management specialist, joined the Foreign Service in 1985 and served for two years. Since re-entry to the Service in 1992, she has served in Geneva, Bonn, Tel Aviv, Oslo, Moscow and Washington, D.C. She is currently in Ottawa.*

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# THE U.S. AND ISLAM IN THE MODERN WORLD



Ben Fishman

**T**HE SOLUTION TO THE CURRENT TRIBULATIONS OF ARAB MUSLIM CIVILIZATION MUST BE FOUND IN THE INNER RESOURCES AND RECUPERATIVE POWERS OF ISLAM ITSELF.

By HUME HORAN

The months that have passed since Sept. 11, 2001, have prompted much reflection among Arabists, like all Americans: "Why have young, male, Arab Muslims figured so prominently in the terrorist annals of the past quarter-century?"

To name but a few incidents, there was the 1970 assassination of Defense Attaché Bob Perry in Amman, that of Ambassador Cleo Noel and his DCM, Curt Moore, in Sudan in 1972, the bombing of the U.S. Marine Barracks in Beirut in 1983, the two separate bombings of Embassy Beirut in 1983 and 1985, the 1985 murder of Leon Klinghoffer aboard the *Achille Lauro*, the 1988 murder of Col. Rich Higgins in Gaza, the 1993 attack on the World Trade Center, the 1998 destruction of our embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, the 2000 attack on the *USS Cole*, then ... the awfulness of

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Sept. 11. And this is by no means all!

There are various reasons for the anger that some young Muslims, raised in the sterile hatcheries of the refugee camps, or the religious schools of Saudi Arabia, feel toward us. Most often mentioned is our support of Israel. But this issue deserves a closer look.

It is sad but true that America has never gotten much credit for what it actually does for the Palestinians. For half a century, we have provided a plurality of the funding to the U.N.'s Relief and Works Agency for Palestinians. For nearly as long, we have led international efforts to advance the Middle East peace process. President Bill Clinton personally oversaw the intensive negotiations that led to the 1993 Oslo agreement and the creation of the Palestinian National Authority. He devoted two weeks, moreover, of his waning presidency to sketching out and attempting to cajole the parties to endorse the outlines of an imaginative agreement — only to have Yasser Arafat refuse even to accept it as a basis for discussion. And we rarely hear of U. S. efforts to succor Muslims in Kuwait, Somalia, Bosnia and Kosovo.

Yet once, when I appealed to Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Saud to give more assistance to UNRWA, he replied only that “You Americans created the refugee problem. You solve it.” In response, I asked if he could imagine, had a catastrophe driven half a million Canadians into North Dakota, Idaho and Minnesota, that three generations later, those populations would still be held in refugee camps? How differently the half-million Jews driven from Arab lands in 1948 were received by Israel, compared to how the half-million Arabs driven from Palestine that same year, were received by their Arab neighbors!

The truth is that for Arab governments, the Palestinian issue is — among other things — a convenient tactic.

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*Hume Horan was an FSO from 1960 to 1998, serving as ambassador in Yaounde, Malabo, Khartoum, Riyadh and Abidjan, as well as deputy chief of mission in Jeddah and principal deputy assistant secretary in the Bureau of Consular Affairs. He is the author of To the Happy Few, a novel about terror and the Sudan (Electric City Press, 1996), and currently serves as a consultant on Middle East affairs for MSNBC, NPR and Fox News.*

***It is sad but true that  
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By “waving the bloody flag,” Arab governments can distract their subjects from misrule, oppression and misery at home. In particular, Palestinians’ grievances against Israel have their match in the half-century of neglect and oppression they’ve endured from supposedly “brother” Arab regimes.

### **The Challenge of Modernity**

In fact, as things stand now, even if the Palestinian-Israeli dispute were quickly solved by exterior diktat, we would still be the target of alienated young Arab Muslims. Why? Because the Arabs’ dispute with Israel is only a symptom of a deeper problem, one that cannot be solved by shuttle diplomacy, special envoys or conferences at Wye Plantation.

This deeper problem exists at two levels. Superficially, it has to do with the failure of Arab political and intellectual institutions to address the needs of their young populations. How can being a citizen of Syria, or Lebanon, or Egypt, or Algeria, or Sudan give young Arabs the sense of patriotic identity that we get from being citizens of the United States? Arab states have little emotional hold on the loyalty of their populations; most Arab regimes are corrupt and morally discredited.

This particularly applies to Saudi Arabia, which has shored itself up externally through its ties to the U.S., while at home, it both has placated and suppressed opposition by giving “power of attorney” for social affairs to reactionary, xenophobic Muslim clerics (ulama). What personal attachment can Saudi Arabians — 60 percent of whom are under 18 — feel to their rulers? The king and many of the leading princes are in their seventies, and must seem more remote from most Saudis than, say, George Washington is from us.

Young Arabs, moreover, are failed by their intellectual leaders. Where are the Arab Reinhold Neibuhrs, Christopher Dawsons, Karl Barths, Martin Bubers? Where are the politically engaged intellectuals who can help a young Arab make coherent, responsible sense of a troubling modern world? They scarcely exist in the Arab world. The few that even try are threatened, jailed or flee to exile — or worse.

In January 1985, I contacted the Sudanese Presidency to plead for the life of a free-thinking Islamic reformer, Dr. Mahmoud Muhammad Taha. During his trial for

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heresy under Muslim canon law (Sharià), Dr. Taha had refused to recant his liberal views, and was condemned to death. I was told that the president would not speak to me and that no appeal was possible from the ruling of the religious tribunal. Dr. Taha was publicly hanged.

Accordingly, many young and sensitive Arabs — especially members of the educated elite — are deprived of moral and intellectual leadership from their own religious institutions. Bereft of meaningful guidance, they use violence to fill the void, to provide some sort of an answer — even a negative one — to “Who am I?” Jellyfishes, many of them are drawn to the rocks of Osama bin Laden’s Luddite worldview.

More fundamentally, though, all Arab Muslims — and not just young, educated males — are challenged cosmologically by the modern world. From the start, Islamic society was seen by its members as a “City of God” upon earth. Islamic society was built upon the perfect teachings of God’s own revealed word, dictated and unalterable: the Koran. In a spirit reminiscent of Leviticus and Deuteronomy, instructions for even the minutiae of everyday life were divinely vouchsafed therein. Conveniently, Islam’s immediate rapid expansion, its political and cultural triumphs, represented incontrovertible evidence to Muslims that God had provided mankind with His perfect and final instruction, for the present and evermore. And God’s having revealed the Koran to the Arabs and in Arabic was seen by Arabs as a mark of special divine preference.

From a Muslim’s standpoint, the challenges before Mohammed were of a magnitude that, indeed, could only have been overcome by divine guidance and inspiration. He was the Prophet, the bearer of God’s final revelation — but given Arabia’s political anarchy, its social and intellectual disorder, and the proximity of the Sassanid (Persian) and Byzantine empires, he also had to found the Islamic state. He needed to establish the political and legal institutions that could protect and give lasting expression to his teachings.

As a religious figure, Mohammed was more a Moses than a Christ. Yet in Sunni Islam, both the secular and religious sides of Mohammed’s mission came to be equally sanctified and immutable — and in theory have remained so to the present. Muslims were supreme in worldly affairs

*Even if the dispute  
were quickly solved,  
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young Arab Muslims.*

because they were right, and they were right because vice versa. Only in the 18th century did this comforting, complacent alliance between revelation and power begin to break up. That breakup has continued — and accelerated — ever since.

Under Christianity, on the other hand, the relationship of politics to revelation was very different. The Christian revelation came to pass under the Roman imperium, and Rome’s established legal and political institutions. Early Christianity tended to accept them as givens. It expected an early return of the Messiah, and sought its center in the spiritual, other-worldly aspects of Christ’s revelation. Christianity’s development, accordingly, was not much constrained by divine prescriptions for the practical organization of man’s life upon earth.

### **Making Sense of God’s Will**

So how should a young Arab Muslim today answer the great question, “How then should I live?” and its corollaries: “How to reconcile the Koran’s assurance of divine favor and worldly power with daily proofs that we Muslims are falling behind? And falling behind not just to the United States and Western Europe, but even to its despised ‘step-child’ Israel? Where today are the happy, successful and, above all, *powerful* states of Islam? How can God allow His people to be so confounded? Are our tribulations a punishment for our flawed practice of His teachings?” An increasingly common answer to all these doubts is: “I should resolve to become ever-more-and-more intensely and rigorously observant.”

Alas! This prescription will never bring relief to the sense of political or moral abandonment of many young Arabs. They are trapped, so to speak, at the bottom of a well, and try to escape by excavating downward — to China. The solution only makes the problem worse. Their anger and frustration at the West grow, and particularly toward its standard-bearer, the U.S. Our worldly success — our mere existence — threatens to refute those beliefs and traditions that give meaning to the lives of Arab youths.

What is to be done? The longer-term solution to the tribulations of Arab Muslim civilization must be found in the inner resources and recuperative powers of Islam itself. But here we encounter another problem: the passive, rigid, uncreative way in which Islamic culture has been



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transmitted since the Islamic Middle Ages.

Modern Arab societies lack a tradition of self-criticism, of rational analysis. Without the ability to analyze successfully the doings of the world around them, or even of their own societies, the Arab public ego has experienced many reverses. It has become defensive and insecure. Public discourse is dominated by a zeitgeist that attributes any bad news to the workings of various exterior, malevolent powers: British intelligence, the Zionist conspiracy, the CIA — never to one's own shortcomings. Such an alibi absolves Arab egos from any blame or responsibility for every setback.

Take one fairly recent example: the Egyptian government's refusal even to consider the possibility that on Oct. 31, 1999, the pilot of Egypt Air Flight 990 deliberately flew his plane into the ocean, killing himself, the other crew

*The politically engaged intellectuals who could help a young Arab make sense of the modern world scarcely exist in the Arab world.*

members and the 271 passengers aboard. To investigators at the National Transportation Safety Board, the cause of the crash was obvious: the pilot had intentionally pushed the aircraft to its doom. But to this day, the Egyptian government uncritically pursues ever more ingenious and far-fetched strategies of denial. Multiplied across any number of similar instances, however, Arabs come to feel themselves to be impotent, the playthings of unseen but always hostile forces.

It is hard for us Westerners, even "speaking as a friend," to help heal the uncomprehending, wounded pride of a great civilization. We will not be listened to. There is no ecumenical tradition in Islam. There are mosques all over America — there is even one in Rome — but Christians may not bring so much as a Bible into Saudi Arabia. It is inconceivable that anywhere in the Islamic world, the head



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of a divinity school would establish professorships in Buddhism, women's studies, and the role of religion in international conflict, as Father Bryan Hehir did at Harvard. In Islamic cultures, the foreigner's extended hand receives no response; indeed, the gesture is likely to be rebuffed or misconstrued.

Similarly, a Muslim might try to proselytize a Christian or a Jew. But for him to engage in a genuine dialogue with them would suggest that their faiths contained some fraction of truth not found in the Koran, and from which Muslims might benefit for the more perfect worship and understanding of God. And such a possibility is literally inconceivable to a true Islamic believer.

I'll never forget King Faisal's polite but frosty dismissal of my naive suggestion — as a young *chargé d'affaires* in Jeddah in 1973 — that much benefit might accrue to both the West and to the Arab world, were Saudi Arabia to send some young Islamic scholars to divinity schools in the United States. A royal adviser afterwards reproached me for raising the question: "You were asking His Majesty to mingle truth with falsehood!"

### Terms of Engagement

What could Muslims themselves do to rejoin the modern world on terms consistent with our times and with Islamic revelation? Some thoughts follow.

First and foremost, Muslims must try to escape from the flies-in-amber position in which history has placed them. What was revealed ever so long ago as canonical for Islam's secular and spiritual life has become its prison. Islam, like other religions dazzled and overwhelmed by the Deity's transcendent force, has elaborately sought to tame and to confine it so that it may be safely observed, or even put to useful work, by mortals. Or to put it another way: not unlike the clerical class of other faiths, the Islamic ulama has made of religion a sort of divine "containment vessel" — a rule book, a mechanical code that promises power and salvation to true believers.

The various Muslim clerics and their supporters throughout the Arab world will naturally fight any challenge to the lucrative monopoly of interpreting the Koran they have enjoyed for well over a millennium. But meanwhile, the world is changing ever faster about them; it is leaving them, and the societies they purport to guide, further and further behind. The latest catastrophic failure of militant, political Islam may represent the death throes of a crusade that went badly astray. After Sept. 11, and after

the Taliban's destruction in Afghanistan, will many young Muslims still want to emulate Osama bin Ladin? Who now remembers the Mahdi, defeated at Omdurman by Kitchener in 1898, or the much-feared Assassins of Alamut, destroyed by Hulagu Khan in 1256?

One may hope that the Taliban's destruction, in particular, will clear the way for Muslims to look again at where they are headed. At the "macro" level, young Muslims may begin to see the heretical nature of aggressive, "political" Islam, which diverts its followers from the worship of God, and the pursuit of social justice, to a distracting crusade for power in this world. There is an idolatrous quality to political Islam that makes earthly power the principal object of Muslim aspiration. One thinks of Livy's denunciation of any religion "in which the will of the gods is offered as a pretext for crimes."

And at the "micro" level, one sees young Muslims not refuting, but simply ignoring, the dysfunctional aspects of their tradition. Many sincere, pious Muslim men and women, are making their own "right reason" accommodations to modernity. They are acting as many Catholics do, following their own consciences on birth control and other social issues — despite papal claims to infallibility in faith and morals.

With the Koran widely accessible to more-or-less educated Muslims, Sunni Islam may be ready for its own "Protestant Reformation." God in Islam has always had a personal, direct relationship with His believers: "I am closer to you even than the artery of your neck," says the Koran. Might Muslims — from the ground up — be ready to break from the orthodoxy fastened upon them so long ago? The present moment may be right for the appearance of a chastened, realistic, more flexible Muslim approach to the 21st century.

If individual Muslims can strike out for themselves and, if necessary, reopen the "Gates of Ijtihad" to legitimize new interpretations by contemporary scholars, there may be hope for their community's reconciliation with our time. In Islam's Arab heartland — Egypt, Syria and Jordan — such an initiative might creatively be led by educated, assertive, Arab professional women. Elsewhere, such an effort might occur in the Muslim diaspora — in Indonesia, or India, or even the United States. And what about the Shiite branch of Islam? It would be ironic if Shiites, who accord great interpretive authority to their juriconsults, the Great Ayatollahs, should lead the Islamic world to a more relevant and better adapted form of Islam.

## U.S. - ISLAM RELATIONS

There may be hope. But as our distinguished late ambassador to Saudi Arabia, William Porter, used to say, "Hope is a good companion, but a poor guide." As fellow monotheists, as admirers of Islam's contributions to civilization, we may hope that Islam will not let itself be trapped in an obscurantist cul-de-sac. History, however, is unsparingly Darwinian toward societies disfavored by natural selection. History serves up winners and losers. Where now is classical civilization? In our cultural genes, in our museums. Byzantium? It survives as a truncated, disputatious fraction of "that which once was great."

The tempo of the modern world is accelerating. It is harder and harder for non-performing societies to keep up, much less catch up. And imagine the violence, the pain, the awful grinding, if Islamic civilization, half-brother

*So how should a young Arab Muslim today answer the great question, "How then should I live?"*

to the West, were to be drawn into history's rock crusher!

As friends of Islam, we can stand watch by the bedside ... and hope and pray.

### **How The West Can Help**

But there are a few other things we could do. I'd propose first, that when speaking or writing in English, we all stop using "Allah" when we mean "God." A reader or listener might conclude that the God of Muslims is horrific, a Moloch, or something drawn from Aztec mythology. If we can't agree that we worship the same God, and that He listens equally to all our prayers — the prayers of Jews, Christians, and Muslims — we'll never agree on the smaller issues ... such as the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Second, the United States, with its never-equaled political and economic and military might, should peremptorily

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# U.S. - ISLAM RELATIONS

put a stop to that perennial dispute. It has already wasted too many lives, taken up too much of our attention, and consumed resources that could have helped move the area forward. It has been too much of a distraction.

The expression “confidence-building measures” has a fantastical, even cynical air of unreality to it, at least as applied in the Middle East. The so-called “peace process,” has proven to be little more than a diplomatic perpetual-motion machine. It provides excuses for all to keep things on hold. Between Arab anti-Semitism, and Jewish fear of Arab revanchism, no agreement is likely to be reached or to hold unless we take a strong hand.

To us and to many other friends of the region, the outlines of a settlement are pretty clear: they would resemble the Camp David proto-accords. There would be a Palestinian state committed to living in peace with Israel; Israel’s West Bank settlements — a bone in the throat to any peace

***Our foreign policy  
should more forcefully  
and consistently reflect  
America’s ideals.***

effort — would be dismantled. There would be security guarantees for both Israel and the Palestinians. As a corollary to any agreement, there should be measures in place to monitor the sort of Palestinian state that would emerge; one Taliban-dominated state has been enough.

We should work hard to enlist the association and support of our Western allies in this effort. But we should not get bogged down in details. We should ignore and bypass those who would slow our peace efforts by reviving objections drawn from over 50 years of failed peacemaking. It has been my experience that when the United States makes it clear to all the world that we are utterly determined that something must be done, reality tends to rearrange itself in a complaisant pattern. Once we do, Arab and Israeli leaders could turn to their populations, and say with a shrug, “What could I do against the might and desire of the United States?”

Third, our foreign policy should more forcefully and consistently reflect America’s ideals. When Secretary of State Colin Powell eloquently denounced the Taliban’s oppression of women, was I the only listener to think he would have made just as much sense if he’d said “Saudi,” whenever “Afghan” was mentioned? Our government wants, it says, to reach Muslims’ hearts and minds, to reach “the Street.” But how to do it?

There is a lesson for us in the political landscape of the Middle East. Where governments are friendly to us, we are often unpopular with “the Street.” And vice versa. The reason may be that in one case we are seen as a government, as an accomplice to the unpopular local power, while in the other we are viewed as a liberating civilization.

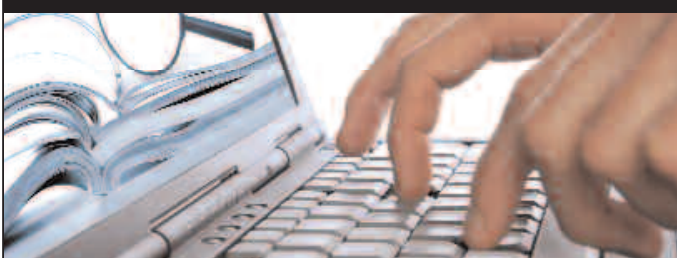
American “exceptionalism” has never been more clearly demonstrated than after the events of Sept. 11, and our victory in Afghanistan. We stand unique in world history, virtually unconstrained by traditional considerations of the balance of power. For the moment, we face no credible adversary. We are therefore free to make fuller use of the source of our strength and our appeal.

Yet, in Reinhold Niebuhr’s words, “We should be humble hawks.” We should seize this millenarian moment, and work for an international community that better reflects our ideals, which are neither of the East nor of the West, and whose appeal transcends most cultures. ■

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## FEATURE

# HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT FOR THE HUN EMPIRE, A.D. 451

THE FOLLOWING REPORT IS SUBMITTED  
A MERE 15 CENTURIES AFTER THE EVENTS IT DESCRIBES . . .

BY DONALD A. ROBERTS

I wrote the original version of the following piece back in 1984, when I was working in the Human Rights Office of the Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, as it was then known. Among other responsibilities, I was editing the annual human rights report for the Philippines, part of the department's annual compilation of worldwide country human rights reports. This was a particularly delicate task, for while the situation there was egregious, our embassy in Manila did not want to upset then-dictator Ferdinand Marcos by saying so.

In fact, the U.S. ambassador had recently returned to Washington for the express purpose, we were told, of keeping the Philippines human rights report

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*Donald A. Roberts, a Foreign Service officer from 1971 to 1998, served in Islamabad, Ankara, Bogota, Bamako, Abu Dhabi, Doha, Manama and Washington, D.C. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, he served with USAID in Morocco and was a Peace Corps Volunteer in the Philippines. He recently completed a When Actually Employed posting on the Africa Bureau's Economic Policy Staff, where he was responsible for trade issues, and is currently on the NEA/SA roster for WAE assignments.*

“under control.” (As it turned out, the embassy's defense of the Marcos dictatorship was rendered moot only a few months later, when popular reaction to the assassination of Benigno Aquino caused the collapse of the regime.)

***Attila the Hun has  
repeatedly stated his  
firm and principled  
opposition to all  
excessive torture.***

While I was editing the umpteenth weaselly-worded redraft of the Philippines report late one night, something snapped inside me. I put aside the document and dashed off a human rights report on Attila the Hun's regime, as it would have been submitted by an overprotective embassy circa 451 A.D. However, I do not really consider myself its author, for the parody is really a composite plagiarism of over a hundred similarly euphemistic reports actually submitted to the department by posts from around the world in the early 1980s. I should also note that most of the particulars on Attila and his empire are historical facts, not my own inventions.

The parody immediately began making the rounds as a sort of samizdat text. More than two decades later, I am pleased to have it published in the *Journal*.

Although the report covers the year 451, it follows the standard format used by HA for the 1983 reports. Like the typical country human rights report of the early 1980s, it has been submitted late — although 1,500-plus years late is at the extreme end of the scale.

The Empire of the Hun Horde is a benevolent monarchy under the enlightened and farseeing rule of Attila the Hun. Regarded as a Beloved Father by his people, Attila has been sole ruler of the Empire since 451, when his brother and co-ruler was executed for reasons of state necessity. The Empire of the Hun Horde, in keeping with the treasured traditions of the Hun Horde, operates under a simplified system of government in which the encumbrances of constitution, law, courts, legislature and other impedimenta of Western liberal democracy, which are considered unsuitable by the Hun people, are replaced by the efficient and infallible decisions of Attila, the Great Leader.

Although forming only 2 percent of the Empire's population, the Hun people have been unanimously chosen by the other peoples of the Empire – largely Germans and Slavs, but also including captured Romans – to serve as the vanguard of the masses and the transmitters of the words of the Great Leader, the benevolent Attila. In order to more efficiently carry out these essential functions, the Huns maintain a high standard of living, and consequently of health, on the basis of the willing contributions of the subject peoples. These contributions, in addition to the tributes paid by the Eastern and Western Roman Empires, have enabled the Hun people to maintain the highest standard of living in Europe. The subject people have also prospered, with some of them even surpassing the subsistence level before taxes.

As in previous years, the Hun Empire in 451 maintained an exemplary human rights record, with no credible allegations of violations of rights by the Great Leader or any of his people. There were egregious cases, however, of serious injuries and even deaths caused by Thracians and Gauls obstructing the rescue missions undertaken in their respective territories by the Hun hordes. While the possibility remains of similar human rights violations against the Huns in future rescue missions in other territories, the outlook in Gaul and Thrace has been greatly improved by the elimination of three million terrorists of all ages.

There were no political prisoners.

#### RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Section 1 Respect for the Integrity of the Person, Including Freedom from:

##### a. Unlawful or Arbitrary Deprivation of Life

There were no cases of unnecessary killing by the followers of the Great Leader. Several miscreants unlawfully attempted armed defense against benevolent Hun actions, causing some loss of life; fortunately, justice was served in all cases, and the offenders – along with their families and neighbors – were executed in fashions designed to encourage others to be more cooperative. As of the end of 451, peace reigned supreme throughout the Empire.

##### b. Disappearance

There were no cases of disappearance in the Empire of the Hun Horde in 451. Dissidents and other miscreants were invariably publicly impaled within 24 hours after their arrest or, in cases of other types of disposition, their heads were publicly displayed for ready identification.

##### c. Torture and Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

Attila the Hun has repeatedly stated his firm and principled opposition to all excessive torture, and there were no credible reports of such cases in 451.

In contrast to barbaric Roman practices whereby persons may be imprisoned for years, the Huns do not keep prisoners and consequently have no prisons. Detainees are maintained in healthful fresh air and sunshine during interrogations – except when properly located anthills are unavailable. Interrogation materials are used at a temperature which ensures their sterility.

There were no credible reports of cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment.

##### d. Arbitrary Arrest, Detention or Exile

There were no credible reports of arbitrary arrest. All arrests of dissidents and other miscreants were fully justified. Detentions are normally brief, with no detainee known to have survived more than five days; less than 24 hours is more normal. There has never been a need to exile anyone, and no credible cases

were reported during 451.

e. Denial of Fair Public Trial

Hun customs make trials unnecessary; however, all sentences are just, with miscreants and their families and neighbors receiving exactly the punishment they deserve.

f. Arbitrary Interference with Privacy, Family, Home or Correspondence

The sanctity of the home and family is universally respected under Hunnish tradition, except for cases of suspected opposition to the Great Leader. The subject and slave peoples of the Empire enjoy similar freedom from intrusion, except for the obvious necessity of entry into homes for the purpose of suppressing miscreants, collecting tributes and satisfying the bodily needs of the beloved Huns. Great care is taken to maintain family unity, and all known relatives are normally executed along with a miscreant. Slaves are not sold separately from their families except where the practice will lead to revenue enhancement.

Section 2 Respect for Civil Rights, Including:

a. Freedom of Speech and Press

The Great Leader, Attila the Hun, has proclaimed freedom of speech to be a fundamental principle of the Empire, and no one made any contrary statement. Freedom of the press is totally unrestricted in the Empire; however, since the example of the Great Leader has demonstrated the desirability of illiteracy, there was no legal publication of any sort in 451 and no readership for foreign publications.

b. Freedom of Peaceful Assembly and Association

The people joyfully assemble when convoked by the Great Leader, Attila the Hun. There is no need for other forms of assembly or association.

c. Freedom of Religion

There are absolutely no restrictions or hindrances on correct religious beliefs and practices in the Hun Empire. The Sky God religion

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of Attila the Hun is the chosen faith of all people of the Empire.

d. Freedom of Movement within  
the Country, Foreign Travel,  
Emigration and Repatriation

There is complete freedom of all permissible movement within the Empire for all Huns. Serfs, slaves and other subject peoples may move as necessary when sold. Because of the idyllic conditions within the country, there is no foreign travel (other than rescue missions led by the Great Leader) and, aside from persons returning from such missions, there is no repatriation. Over 800,000 Thracian and Gaulish slaves were welcomed into the Hun Empire for resettlement in connection with rescue missions in 451.

Section 3 Respect for Political Rights:  
The Right of Citizens to Change  
Their Government

The Hunnish system of streamlined government consists of the Great Leader, Attila the Hun, who makes all necessary decisions and issues the necessary directives. Hindrances such as constitutions, laws, legislatures and courts are dispensed with. The rule of Attila the Hun enjoys the unanimous support of the population of the Hun Empire, with no complaints reported in 451. Complaints in the earlier years of the Great Leader's rule were invariably dealt with in a timely and efficient fashion, and there have been no credible repetitions in recent years.

Local administration is carried out by Huns known as "picked men" who are freely chosen by Attila the Hun and are assigned specific tribes of subject people as their responsibility.

Section 4 Governmental Attitude Regarding International and Nongovernmental Investigations of Alleged Violations of Human Rights

The Empire of the Hun Horde does not require any governmental or private bodies for the investigation or defense of human rights.

While investigating commissions from two foreign human rights organizations were permitted to enter the Empire during 451, these commissions, like previous ones, have not emerged to file their reports. In any case, no criticism of human rights practices was necessary.

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL SITUATION

The remarkable political stability achieved under the enlightened leadership of Attila the Hun has enabled the Empire of the Hun Horde to enjoy equally remarkable economic growth and prosperity. The Great Leader's farsighted economic development plans give absolute priority to private property and individual ownership. All wealth and means of production are the private property of Attila the Hun, including ownership of all individuals acquired during the Empire's expansion projects. The veritable paradise created by the Great Leader has brought universal contentment to all of the Empire's inhabitants.

The economy of the Hun Empire is essentially agrarian. The high tax rate on commerce and industry (100 percent) has discouraged business growth, but tributes from the Eastern and Western Roman Empires supply all of the Huns' needs for manufactured or imported goods. All land is privately owned by Attila the Hun; agricultural products are, however, allotted to the other Huns, who collect them from the subject peoples after harvest. The natural fertility of the soil and the industriousness of the subject peoples have ensured the Huns the highest standard of living in the known world. The annual per capita income of the Huns (analyzed separately from the distorting effects of the large subject population) was over 1,000 gold talents. Income per capita of the subject peoples was somewhat less, perhaps 65 cents. This high standard of living, with some members of the subject population surpassing the subsistence level before taxes, has led to correspondingly high levels of health, with the life expectancy at birth estimated at over 20 years.

The Empire of the Hun Horde, which stretches from the depths of Central Asia to the borders of Gaul, is relatively underpopulated, with a population of approximately 10 million. The population is essentially stable, with immigration of slaves balanced by executions of miscreant groups.

Because the example of Attila the Hun and his forebears has demonstrated the in necessity of education or literacy, the Hun Empire has no school system and the literacy rate was close to 0, other than among certain slaves. Social mobility does not depend on education nor, for that matter, is it known to exist. ■



## FS HERITAGE

# REBEL RAIDER AS DIPLOMAT: JOHN MOSBY IN CHINA

AS U.S. CONSUL IN HONG KONG, THE COLORFUL CONFEDERATE GUERRILLA LEADER GREATLY IMPROVED THE UNITED STATES' REPUTATION IN CHINA.

By KEVIN H. SIEPEL

Among those who have studied American history, the name of Colonel John S. Mosby conjures up an image of "Mosby's Rangers," a Confederate guerrilla band known for its highly effective harassment of Union troops during the American Civil War. Operating frequently by night behind enemy lines, these rugged Southern horsemen, led by a young Virginian lawyer-turned-soldier, stole acres of federal livestock, ambushed cavalry columns, derailed trains, sent hundreds of prisoners to Richmond — even plucked a Union general from his bed — and generally gave fits to commanders of regular troops operating in northern Virginia. Their leader was a favorite of Lee, who once exclaimed, "I wish I had a hundred like Mosby!"

Not so well known, but equally colorful, is Col. Mosby's subsequent diplomatic career as U.S. consul in Hong Kong from 1878 to 1885. The result of machinations by Mosby's friends in the Rutherford B. Hayes administration, who wished to put their often uncomfortably forthright and outspoken colleague at a distance from the day-to-day politicking of Washington, Mosby's appointment plunged the lawyer-soldier into a different kind of warfare. Mosby proved

as effective in this engagement as in his earlier battles, and the result was a consular housecleaning that greatly improved the United States' reputation in China.

### An Irregular in War and Peace

By the end of the Civil War, John Mosby had become well known in the North — the subject of frequent, if ill-informed, newspaper articles — and was on the road to becoming a Southern icon. But the decisiveness that had enabled him to exert his will so forcefully during the war did not serve him well in the war's immediate aftermath. Following the surrender at Appomattox, Mosby proclaimed that the war was over, the cause was lost, and national life must go on. He would, he announced, help heal the nation, not contribute to its continuing division.

Settling in Warrenton, Va., where he resumed the practice of law, Mosby was not shy about making public this unpopular view. By 1872 he had kindled a friendship with Ulysses S. Grant, and soon thereafter turned Republican. His embrace of the party of Lincoln, and his outspoken insistence that, for the South to advance, the past must be forgotten, caused many of his former compatriots to seethe. By the mid-1870s, his young wife having recently passed away and Southern hostility boiling around him, Mosby closed up his law practice in Warrenton and moved his now-motherless family to Washington.

To help ease his distress (and doubtless to distance themselves from a fellow who, uncomfortably for all, marched to a different drummer), some of Mosby's Republican friends — notably President Hayes and Representative (and future

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*Kevin H. Siepel is the author of Rebel: the Life and Times of John Singleton Mosby (St. Martin's Press, 1983; DaCapo Press, 1997). His writings have appeared in Wild West, Civil War, Virginia Cavalcade, Notre Dame University Magazine, The Christian Science Monitor, Reader's Digest, Chicken Soup for the Soul, and elsewhere.*

president) James A. Garfield — conspired to arrange an appointment overseas. In December 1878, therefore, the 45-year-old widower, having placed his children with family and friends, found himself in San Francisco en route to Hong Kong, where he would become the new U.S. consul.

If both his friends and his enemies thought they were rid of him for a while, they soon found themselves mistaken. By the following April his name had begun to pop up in stateside newspapers. The story line: “Mosby charges consular corruption.”

One of the first things Mosby had done on arrival was to examine the consular books, and it did not take him long to detect a bad odor. His predecessor, David H. Bailey, had apparently been bilking the government of many thousands of dollars annually. Just how he had been doing it became clear from conversations with American ship captains and dock workers.

In his shipboard examination of emigrants to the United States (to ascertain that their emigration was voluntary, and not part of the nefarious

---

***“I am in for the war,  
and intend either to  
purge the public service  
of these scoundrels  
or go out myself.”***

— *John Mosby*

---

“coolie traffic”), Bailey had been charging large fees for his service, then declaring expenses equal to the fees, and remitting nothing to the government. By this time Mosby knew that a whole shipload of emigrants could be examined very quickly, and that absolutely no expenses were involved.

Another of the former consul’s lucrative practices had been the certification of opium shipments from Macao to the United States. While the certification was perfectly routine and legal, Bailey’s fee — \$10,000 per year

for one shipper — was not. Mosby astonished a Macao shipper by charging him \$2.50 for the same service.

### **An Augean Stable**

Mosby’s immediate superior at the State Department was Assistant Secretary of State Frederick W. Seward, son of William Seward, President Abraham Lincoln’s renowned Secretary of State. Mosby wrote to Seward about his discoveries. He did so nervously, because former consul Bailey was a crony of Fred Seward’s cousin (and U.S. minister to China), George F. Seward. Complicating the situation was George Seward’s alleged involvement in shady speculative transactions in China — in violation of the Burlingame Treaty of 1868, under which Americans pledged not to meddle in Chinese affairs.

Seward was, in fact, so strongly suspected of illegal activities that a congressional committee had recently recommended his impeachment, and Bailey, who had been nominated to the consul generalship in China following his departure from Hong Kong, was in Washington as a witness in his behalf.



*A painting of Hong Kong Harbor, c. 1870, by an unknown Chinese artist.*

Photograph courtesy Peabody Essex Museum.

It was not a good time for Bailey's honesty to be brought into question and, as Mosby knew, it was never a good time to tangle with the Swards.

Other U.S. diplomats in the Orient had taken the Swards on and not survived. John C. Myers, sent to China in 1876 as consul general, had noticed that George Seward lived above his means, and communicated his suspicions to State. He was promptly sent home. G. Wiley Wells, an ex-congressman from Mississippi, had met a similar fate when he demonstrated excessive zeal in matters pertaining to George Seward.

While Mosby awaited a reply to his letter to Fred Seward, he began to look harder at his fellow consuls in the Orient. Among ship captains, the name of David B. Sickels, U.S. consul at Bangkok, was often mentioned pejoratively. Sickels, in fact, no longer even lived in Bangkok: he had moved to Singapore, leaving the consulate under the charge

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***Other U.S.  
diplomats in the  
Orient had taken  
the Swards on and  
not survived.***

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of a former Hong Kong vagrant named J.W. Torrey.

In March 1879, Mosby wrote to General T.C.H. Smith, a Hayes intimate, urging the president to act on the matter. "Nearly all the American consulates out here have a horrible reputation," he explained. The American consuls, he said, were a "scaly set," and a "disgrace to the country." He felt "humiliated every day," he wrote,

at being obliged to deal with them.

"If the president does not clean out this Augean stable," Mosby told Smith, "it will be the subject of congressional investigation. Better let his administration get the credit of it than the Democratic Party."

Apparently Fred Seward ignored Mosby's letter. Bailey was confirmed as consul general in China and George Seward escaped impeachment. Mosby confided to G. Wiley Wells, according to the *New York Sun* of Oct. 7, 1879: "I am in for the war, and intend either to purge the public service of these scoundrels or go out myself."

Mosby was unlikely to be removed from his post, being far more dangerous prowling about congressional corridors than bottled up on Hong Kong Island. But efforts were made to silence him, and this brought the press out. "The [new] consul," noted the *China Mail* in July 1879, "has evidently made up his mind to place things con-

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sular upon an entirely new platform." Colonel Mosby, said the *Mail*, was "a man amongst men," and a "consul among consuls."

### The Press Turns Up the Pressure

Back home, the press had begun to run with the story of consular corruption and Mosby's efforts to stop it. The *National Republican* noted in September 1879: "The latest revelations in the matter of Bailey ... only emphasize the unfortunate position in which the State Department is placed by its efforts to shield Seward and Bailey." The *Republican* added pointedly: "It is very strongly charged that the department shields Bailey because Minister Seward must stand or fall by the former."

The *Hartford Evening Post* of Sept. 29, 1879, suggested that the State Department would have to ease up on Mosby. It had come to light that the ex-guerrilla was being censured less for the substance of his charges than for his refusal to observe channels of authority, and especially for his new insistence upon writing directly to Pres. Hayes. Mosby, argued the *Post*, could not be dismissed for such infractions.

"If Mosby should be turned out because of his activity in the matter," said the paper, "it would incline people to think that he was sacrificed because of his zeal in pursuit of a corrupt official. ... People would honor Mosby for the course he has taken, and, coming home with a fistful of facts, he would become an exceedingly troublesome customer for the Seward family."

Not all of Mosby's growing press coverage was supportive. He was ridiculed in a letter published in the *National Republican* for having "organized himself into a widespread smelling committee," to sniff through



John Singleton Mosby during his service in Hong Kong.

all the consular corners of the East. He was accused of trying to make a reputation out of a "cloud of fragrant scandal." It was alleged, according to the *Cincinnati Commercial* of Oct. 2, 1879, that he had annoyed the president to the point that Hayes had told him he was "no longer engaged in the partisan ranger business."

He was also accused of violating "official etiquette" and of behaving "just as he would in a Virginia barroom," just as he had earlier been accused of bringing the "manners of the saddle into the salons of the diplomats" (in *The Press* of April 8, 1879).

But George Seward remained under a cloud, and editorial sentiment came down largely on Mosby's side. "It is probable," declared the *Philadelphia Times* on Sept. 26, 1879, "that the case against [Seward] would have been dropped sure enough but for the accident of our getting one honest man into a Chinese consulate. Col. Mosby is that man."

At this time Fred Seward decided

to press Mosby on the Bangkok issue, asking him to make the charges against the men at Bangkok more specific. Mosby answered serenely that he personally had preferred no charges against Sickels or Torrey. The charges, he explained in a dispatch to Seward on Oct. 18, 1879, were being brought by the master of the *Alice C. Dickerman*, an American merchant vessel.

He had, however, expressed an opinion of these men, Mosby told Seward, and would gladly repeat it. "I believe," he told Seward, "that I said Sickles [sic] was an idiot and ... Torrey ... was about as fit to be in the consular service as ... Capt. Kidd. I have no apologies to make for having expressed this opinion."

At the end of October 1879, pleading overwork and poor health, Fred Seward turned in his resignation. "The friends of Mr. Seward," wrote the *Cincinnati Gazette*, "indignantly repel the insinuation thrown out ... that the charges pending against his cousin, the minister to China, influenced his resignation."

Mosby had a different take on it, writing to his Virginia friend E.M. Spilman in January 1880 that he had finally had to "turn" on Fred Seward, and "expose him along with the others whom he was trying to protect." Explained Mosby: "If he had remained in office until Congress met, I would have had him impeached. He saw what was coming, and got out of the way."

Years later Mosby related that after he had discovered Fred Seward trying to "shield the rascals," he had written privately to Hayes. "Hayes," he asserted in a May 1902 letter to John W. Daniel, "discharged him [Seward] from the State Department."

### Outreforming the Reformers

Mosby continued his agitation for reform, now through one of his most powerful patrons, Ohio Rep. James A. Garfield. He pressed Garfield to have

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Pres. Hayes act immediately on Bangkok. "I regret," he told the former Union general in a letter dated March 18, 1880, "that the president did not take the advice I gave him when I first came here as all the scandal would have been avoided and he would have got great credit for reforming the service."

Fred Seward's successor was John Hay, a man who would one day write a memorable chapter in American diplomacy, but who would prove no friend to Mosby. The official attitude toward Mosby remained unchanged. He continued to be treated as a crackpot, and to be harassed in subtle ways, such as by denial of funds for chair or boat hire, or by ignoring his requests for furlough. Petitions for money to purchase law books fell upon deaf ears, despite similar allowances made to his predecessor. Mosby wrote to Garfield that Secretary of the Treasury John Sherman, in a move smacking of petty

*[Mosby] seems to be  
one of those restless,  
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things, and get at their  
true inwardness.*

— San Francisco Chronicle,  
April 1880

revenge, even removed one of Mosby's sisters from a Civil Service position.

Garfield assured the Virginian that, despite what he had been hearing, the

president found no fault with Mosby's conduct. Newspapers all over the country, smelling the blood of a second Seward in the offing, were, in fact, stirring on his behalf.

Note was taken of a reported disagreement between Hayes and Secretary of State William M. Evarts over how George Seward's inevitable resignation should be handled. Evarts allegedly wanted to hold Seward's resignation until his impeachment should again become imminent, while Hayes wanted to install a new man in Peking at once.

"Mr. Evarts," commented the *Washington Post* in March 1880, "seems infatuated with the idea of being the special defender ... of all the legally unconvicted violators of law that disgrace his department, especially those bearing the name of Seward."

In the event, the president had his way, and it was shortly announced that George F. Seward, after many years of

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meritorious service, etc., etc., had resigned his post in Peking. Mosby again set his sights on the Bangkok consulate, where, in the words of a U.S. Navy ship captain quoted in a dispatch from Mosby to John Hay, things were going on “that would disgrace a Modoc Indian.”

Mosby was by now being depicted as a man who outreformed the reformers. “Col. Mosby,” remarked the *San Francisco Chronicle* in April 1880, “seems just now to be a particularly sharp thorn in the side of our mild and virtuous ‘Civil Service reform’ administration. ... [He] seems to be one of those restless, inquisitive spirits who feel that they have a mission to look into things, and get at their true inwardness. Instead of being content to draw his pay, take things easily, and shut his eyes and ears, ... he keeps a bright lookout, and is always wanting to understand the working of the machinery.”

By that spring, Bailey and Sickels had resigned. President Hayes had, as Mosby told Garfield in May, “at last swept the China coast.” A crop of respectable men now took up station in the East. “The president’s new appointments in China,” Mosby wrote to Garfield in October, “are all first-rate men.”

His immediate objectives accomplished, Mosby began to press President-elect Garfield for more widespread reform. “The State Department needs overhauling and renovating,” he wrote to Garfield in November 1880. “It above all needs an able law officer — some of its decisions on law questions would ‘make the angels weep.’”

He hoped to resign shortly, he added, and enlisted the president-elect’s aid in regaining a “foothold at the bar.” In particular, he wrote to Garfield, “I shall ask you to give me the position of assistant attorney-general for which many friends urged my appointment.”

### **Irony and Fulfillment**

The following summer (1881), Mosby’s long-term hopes were dashed by an assassin’s bullet in Washington. After Garfield’s death, he stayed on in the Orient, immersing himself over the next four years in the boiling issues of Chinese immigration to America and the opium trade.

He sallied forth from time to time on other Far East issues that he felt merited attention, from the perceived arrogance of Spanish authorities at Manila to perceived weaknesses in the distribution of U.S. naval forces in the Pacific. And he pushed for an increased American involvement in China, arguing (not unlike George Seward before him) for a ground-floor American role in Chinese railroad-building and other internal projects.

In late 1881, Ulysses S. Grant appears to have prodded President Chester A. Arthur to name Mosby consul general at Shanghai. But Mosby, according to papers in the National Archives, got wind of the plan and balked, replying through a state-side spokesman that he would prefer something at home, or a first-class post in Europe.

In 1884, he received what he considered an even greater honor: the powerful Chinese viceroy Li Hungchang offered him command of an army in the field. But because he did not wish to fight against the French, Mosby also turned down this opportunity, according to a subsequent article in the *Brooklyn Eagle*.

In 1885, Democrat Grover Cleveland entered the White House, and Republican Mosby was soon advised of his pending replacement. He dashed off a letter to Grant, requesting assistance in getting started back home. But in late July, just as he was about to embark for San Francisco, a cable arrived announcing Grant’s death. The 51-year-old Mosby sailed for the United States with a heavy heart and without a prospect in the world.

Mosby didn’t know it, but his request for assistance had reached Grant literally on his deathbed. And the dying man had, in his last days, dictated a telegram to be sent at once to Grant’s friend Leland Stanford, California’s new senator and president of the Southern Pacific Railroad. Grant’s plea for the ex-Confederate partisan fighter was not refused, and Mosby, when he stepped onto the pier at San Francisco, found a job awaiting him in the legal department of the Southern Pacific. He would spend the next 16 years as a railroad lawyer — not the sort of salvation he’d envisioned, but, as he later put it, his poverty dictated his circumstances, not his will.

Disappointed, Mosby had at least landed on his feet, and would spring into action again. At the age of 64 he was drilling a light cavalry unit in Oakland, Calif., for service against Spain. (As it turned out, “Mosby’s Hussars” never saw action.) A little later he again burst into print as a Land Office special agent and personal emissary of President Theodore Roosevelt, wading into the volatile range-fencing crisis in Colorado and Nebraska.

And, in perhaps the greatest irony of his life, the one-time ravager of Union supply trains and rustler of Union mules capped his career with six years as an attorney in the Department of Justice.

In his retirement years Mosby received a medal from the University of Virginia (from which he had been expelled years before for shooting a fellow student in self-defense) and, subsequently, an invitation to speak on campus. He was deeply moved, feeling that the greatest injustice of his life had been righted. “I now feel that I am a rich man,” he told a friend, Mrs. Charles W. Kent, years later, with “something more valuable than gold.”

John Mosby died in Washington, D.C., at the age of 82, on Memorial Day 1916. He is buried in Warrenton, Va. ■

# NITA AND THE FIRST NOBLE EIGHTFOLD PATH

**T**he Buddha never met an ambassador's wife, yet he comprehended that life is rooted in suffering. This is only one example of his perspicacity.

Before narrating the unfortunate incident of the 150 Cats of Labor and the All-Night Full

Moon Residence Rave, I feel obligated to inform my honored reader about the circumstances of my humble narrative. My name is Nita, and I am a cook at the residence of the U.S. ambassador. As such, I am situated far from the ambassador's office, which means that the gossip and other news of importance are often intolerably late. Still, I am an important link in the chain of humble laborers of this embassy, and equally dedicated to the attempt to control our well-meaning if headstrong American masters and their families and prevent them from losing face.

I am mindful of the many contributions of those fortunate and brave enough to have preceded me into the homes of the American diplomats. During my long apprenticeship in the ambassador's kitchen under my aunt, my ears were filled with chronicles, exploration and analysis of our Americans' lamentable ignorance of certain truths as revealed by the Buddha.

Especially memorable was the

assessment of the Honorable Tontai, beloved to all for his twin achievements as a plumber and a Buddhist social theologian. Tontai pointed out that the concept of Right Speech, perhaps the most important of the Buddha's Noble Eightfold Paths, with its emphasis on abstinence from telling lies, harsh and abusive language, idle gossip, and backbiting, is essentially at odds with the job of a modern diplomat as practiced in our world. May I suggest that we do not give them sufficient credit for the difficulty of their situation?

This is particularly the case with our Mrs. Ambassador. I feel she has her heart in the right place. I found her master's thesis in art history (which I had an opportunity to examine in the cleaning process resulting from the decision to pack it for shipment in the same box as Mr. Ambassador's beloved maple syrup) to show an active and inquisitive mind. However, experts in pre-Raphaelite line drawing are sadly underappreciated here, and it is therefore somewhat natural that she should get herself mixed up in an inauspicious, if well-intentioned, scheme with untoward consequences.

His Excellency, the ambassador, by contrast, is apparently lacking in cultural refinement: he puts ketchup on his eggs and has an unfortunate aversion to our national cuisine when it is prepared with the appropriate amount of chili peppers. Yet the gardeners, maids, security staff and I grow fond of him, as his unprepossessing presence in-



MRS. AMBASSADOR  
GETS MIXED UP IN A  
WELL-INTENTIONED  
SCHEME WITH BIZARRE  
CONSEQUENCES.

BY DAVID MCAULEY

## F S F I C T I O N

---

explicitly keeps his family under control. So it was with apprehension that we heard the news one sultry morning in May of his imminent two-month departure to attend to his duties as president of the American Fly-Fishing Enthusiasts' Association.

Events moved with the speed of a Peace Corps Volunteer to a buffet table. The day after Mr. Ambassador's departure, Mrs. Ambassador was in the small receiving room with Mrs. Williamson. Sixteen-year-old Fawn and her 12-year-old brother Cassidy were at school, and I had settled in for a morning of contemplative papaya-chopping when Mrs. Ambassador came into the kitchen.

"Nita, please," she said, holding up two fingers. "Two ... coffee ... cups. Understand?"

To be honest, I have not shown Mrs. Ambassador the true level of my mastery of English.

I nodded my head with the socially appropriate level of servitude.

"One cup ... black ... you know black?" she asked.

"Yah, ..." I said. "Black ... coffee."

"O.K.," she said. "One ... cup ... black ... and ... one ... cup ... with milk. O.K., understand?"

"Uhhh," I said, affirmatively. She returned to Mrs. Williamson.

It only takes a moment to set up a coffee maker, so I was able to quickly get into position near the small receiving room door to document their remarks.

"They just have one terrible problem and all," Mrs. Williamson said. "I mean, there are some perfectly nice young men trying to get an eco-tourism operation started and all. They are doing the whole thing out of bamboo, I mean, bamboo everything, walls, floors, dining rooms. They'd do bamboo pillows and all if they could, I mean. It's very charming, really."

"So what is this problem?" Mrs. Ambassador asked.

"I mean, the rats and all," Mrs. Williamson said. "Just so many. I mean, everywhere. I saw a young German lady leap the bamboo counter top and hurl an entire set of darling bamboo beer steins off the back of the bar at a family of them. They're everywhere. And poison is so

expensive and all, and using poison would really be against their principles; I mean, eco-tourism is all natural, right?"

I could hear the ghostly sigh of the coffee maker completing its duty, so I had to retreat. I arranged the second-best cups, poured, and walked into the room to serve.

"I don't understand," Mrs. Ambassador said. "Why do you need to bring cats to them? Why don't they have their own cats already? Thank you, Nita: black for Mrs. Williamson."

"Because they've used them already and all. For food, I mean," Mrs. Williamson said.

"Eeeewww," Mrs. Ambassador said, not unreasonably.

"Don't be that way," Mrs. Williamson said. "They're poor, very poor, after all. It's heartbreaking just to see the children sometimes. That's why they need this eco-tourism project to work. And that's why I need you."

Thus did Mrs. Williamson entangle Mrs. Ambassador in the plan of the 150 Cats of Labor. It was Mrs. Williamson's plan to take in as many strays as she could, rent a truck and driver, and deliver her feline cargo to her friends in the eco-tourism business. On its face, the plan was levelheaded enough, as our capital is overburdened with pitiful strays and the cost of renting a truck is minimal for a group of wealthy foreigners.

But the difficulties were also obvious, as Mrs. Williamson knew. Trapping even the leanest and hungriest cat is a time- and labor-intensive process. Trapping 150, especially if you are a foreign guest in our society and eager to escape unfavorable attention, takes time. While you search for your 50th cat, your 100th cat, or your 150th cat, you need a place to put your first, second, and etc., cats. The place must be isolated and free from prying eyes and wagging tongues. It must be well secured and well guarded. The ambassador's residence, she calculated, was the ideal spot.

But for Mrs. Williamson, there was one drawback to the residence: Mr. Ambassador already lived there. Now, although the ambassador tolerates Mrs. Williamson's presence, he still remembers the incident in the large reception room with the string quartet, when Mrs. Williamson interrupted a violin solo to announce that the embassy's money would be better spent on condoms for local teenagers. She later apologized to the ambassador, but certain things, once said, cannot be unsaid. Thus we see one of the advantages of Right Speech.

So, when Mrs. Williamson saw the photo in the newspaper of the ambassador boarding the flight to the United States with fishing rods strapped to his briefcase, she felt

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*David McAuley, an English teacher and husband of Vientiane deputy chief of mission Susan M. Sutton, has worked for the State Department in London, Bucharest, Chisinau and Washington. No ambassadors' wives were harmed in the making of this story.*



## FS FICTION

that the heavens had come into alignment in order to favor her plan. It is at moments like these that one should be on keenest lookout for disaster.

Although the classic definition of Right Speech is “speaking truthfully,” that is, calling a green thing green, and not purple, it has also been observed that silence is a paradoxical component of Right Speech. In this case, Mrs. Ambassador, by keeping silent, failed to participate in Right Speech.

She kept silent about the 150 Cats of Labor when Mr. Ambassador called to see how Mrs. Ambassador was doing in his absence. She kept silent to the regional security officer when he called the next day to schedule the installation of new security lighting, and to the general services officer when she came the following day to inventory the crested glassware.

She kept silent to the local employees as well, of course,

*I felt Mrs. Ambassador's enthusiasm for this complicated act of charity grow.*

but our vigilant network sprang into action, alerting all sections about this imminent threat to the embassy's tranquility. Mrs. Williamson's plan called for the cats to reside in the large reception room, which all agreed was inappropriate. Therefore, suitable cages were hastily procured and “aged” by rubbing dirt in them and hitting them with shovels. They then were placed in the rear shed by the night security team, so as to be “found” the next day by the gardener. (They were later invoiced as smoke detectors.) This, too, was a violation of the precept of Right Speech, but one feels it is for our Americans' own good that we act this way.

I felt Mrs. Ambassador's enthusiasm for this complicated act of charity grow as she enjoyed both the suddenly clandestine element in her life and the sense of using privileged surroundings to serve a worthy goal. Mrs. Ambassador and her willful daughter Fawn even declared a truce in their ongoing battle over how much

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midriff it is seemly for a teenage girl to expose for public consideration at school. A brief but memorable period of domestic harmony reigned over the residence, which was broken when Mrs. Williamson, carried away by her own enthusiasm, added a new wrinkle to the plan.

"It will be a great adventure," Mrs. Williamson said one day, inspecting the rows of cages with the relaxed panache of a contented commander-in-chief. "I mean, you *must* come. I found this very nice man and all, and his truck is very reasonable, but I just decided that I had to follow the truck myself in my car to make sure that it was done right. One has to think of the poor kitties and all."

Mrs. Ambassador did not require much convincing. A departure was set for the next Saturday morning, and Mrs. Ambassador and Fawn happily discussed appropriate attire for an ambassador's wife on such an outing.

Many of us are blinded by love. Mrs. Ambassador did not notice that Fawn's enthusiasm for her mother's trip was not motivated by an interest in promoting ecotourism. While promising to spend a quiet evening baby-sitting Cassidy, Fawn — in the most extreme abuse of Right Speech in this narrative — put out the word at the International High School that an All-Night Full Moon Residence Rave would take place on Saturday, blissfully bereft of parental supervision.

We waved good-bye that Saturday morning to Mrs. Ambassador and Mrs. Williamson, following the aged Chinese truck in Mrs. Williamson's Ultra-Destroyer 6000 Sport Utility Vehicle. We feigned cheerfulness, but the gardeners, maids, security staff and I were uneasy. We knew that young amateur chemists at the International High School were harvesting local plants and mixing them with various compounds to make a potent new substance, which improved their popularity with their peers. Fawn exercised her charms on one young chemist and, inspired, he came up with a new mood-altering substance, based on the species *Valeriana officinalis*. Fawn gained face amongst her peers by announcing that this new substance would debut at the All-Night Full Moon Residence Rave. This ensured attendance by many, because the substance was both novel and not yet, technically, illegal.

*I cooked my specialties  
for the assembled youth,  
who perhaps lack  
discernment but  
not appetite.*

In such circumstances, a cook can take refuge in her art. I cooked my specialties for the assembled youth, who perhaps lack discernment but not appetite. I endured the hours of loud repetitive music from the back yard, unpleasant smells, mock-outraged screams of young ladies being thrown into the pool, and the occasional interruption of my kitchen solitude by trysting youth in search

of privacy.

The party was entering an especially fevered state when Soh, the security guard at the front gate, came running in, his eyes betraying panic. "They're here!" he hissed.

"Who?" I asked.

"Mrs. Ambassador and Mrs. Williamson! And the truck! Outside! They came back! I had to pretend to break the key in the lock on the gate to keep her out!" Soh said. "What should I do?"

"I'll come outside," I said.

Soh informed me of further details as we walked to the front gate. Mrs. Ambassador and Mrs. Williamson said that the driver had gotten partway to the destination. He had stopped the truck for a snack at Long Ning Village. After he was finished, the driver announced that the truck was broken, and he would go no further. After some disagreement, the driver agreed to drive back to the capital, even though the truck was "broken."

Mrs. Ambassador and Mrs. Williamson were deep in an argument about what to do next, so I was able to make my way to the driver unnoticed.

"Look here," I said. "What's all this about? Do you want more money?"

"I wouldn't drive this truck there for all the money in the world," the driver said.

"Why not?" I asked.

"Spirits. The people at Long Ning Village told me that the previous driver of this same truck had died right there in the parking lot, at the wheel, after a meal of Peppered Ants' Eggs in Spicy River Weed. Clearly the truck must be cleansed of spirits before we proceed," he said grimly.

Mrs. Ambassador was at my shoulder. "What's going on here? Can you ask him what's the matter?" she said.

"He ... say ... brake ... no ... good," I said.

At this point, the driver turned off the motor of his Chinese truck, which idles with the sound of a disabled jet

landing in a thunderstorm. In the comparative quiet that followed, the noise of the All-Night Full Moon Residence Rave was painfully clear.

“What on earth is that?” said Mrs. Ambassador.

As successive expressions of bewilderment, comprehension, and rage crossed her face, Soh opened the gates. The vehicles rumbled onto the grounds. Mrs. Ambassador seemed to rumble herself as she strode toward the epicenter of the noise. Then, she turned around and came back to us.

“Not a single one of our ... *guests* leaves this place until I say so, understand?” she said. “Anyone disobeying me will be looking for a new job.”

The guards locked the gates as Mrs. Ambassador strode off into the darkness along the side of the house, and let herself in the back door. A moment later, the music burped to a stop, followed a moment later by thin and anguished shrieks. A phalanx of expatriate youth ran toward us, only to find an embarrassed yet determined guard force blocking their departure. Mrs. Williamson came and announced Mrs. Ambassador’s intention to call the parents of all in attendance. One pale and sullen boy, whom I recognized as Fawn’s amateur chemist, pulled several similar-looking creatures into a tight conspiratorial circle. Then they ambled off with studied casualness.

Mrs. Ambassador stalked out of the front door in a towering rage. She glared for quite some time.

Young people sometimes have a gift for low cunning. It seems that the mild mood-altering effect of *Valeriana officinalis* on humans is achieved only by chemical alteration, whereas the plant has a much stronger effect on cats even before being artificially intensified. So, while Mrs. Ambassador seethed, the son of the embassy’s engineering security officer — the best friend of the young chemist — silently picked the flimsy lock on the Chinese truck. The chemist then dosed the caged cats with modified *Valeriana officinalis* and released them.

“You people are in big trouble! Big trouble! You’ll be collecting Social Security by the time your parents are done punishing you. ...” Mrs. Ambassador began.

Her speech was interrupted by the howl of a single cat, drunken and wild, followed by a second, then two more in duet, and finally by dozens more. A gray tabby shot

*Her speech was  
interrupted by the  
howl of a single cat,  
drunken and wild,  
followed by dozens more.*

past a crowd of girls and mounted Mrs. Williamson’s trouser leg as if it were a teak tree. Mrs. Williamson shrieked and batted the cat away. It fell limply to the ground and lay there, serenely content. Other cats appeared running, walking, waddling, howling, alternating between placid happiness and manic agitation.

“My God,” Mrs. Williamson said. “My cats, they’re out! They ...”

Cassidy came running from the house. “Mom, Mom, Mom!” he said.

“Not now, Cassidy,” Mrs. Ambassador said.

“But Mom, Dad’s on the phone from the U.S.,” Cassidy said.

Cassidy suddenly had Mrs. Ambassador’s attention.

“And Fawn’s talking to him!” Cassidy said. “She says to tell you to let her friends go right now or she’ll tell him all about Mrs. Williamson and the cats. She says if I’m not back in 60 seconds she’s gonna tell him anyway!”

At this moment, many emotions ranged over Mrs. Ambassador’s face. I even thought I saw, for a brief moment, as she sighed and turned toward the house to take Mr. Ambassador’s call, a comprehension of the importance of Right Speech.

I am happy to report that a suitable shaman was found to cast out the spirit of the dead man from the truck (later invoiced to the embassy as “consultant fees”). The cats, mostly in a drowsy, drugged stupor in the upper limbs of various trees on the residence grounds, were recovered and recaged. Mrs. Ambassador and Mrs. Williamson followed the truck to the eco-tourism site a few days later.

Unfortunately, news of the arrival of the cats had spread, and too many people showed up for their distribution. Discord followed. Residents of the south side of the village accused residents of the north side of taking all the cats for themselves. In the resulting riot, the entire village, including the eco-tourism site, was consumed in a bamboo conflagration, which also eliminated most of the rats.

However, the eco-tourism site was insured separately for 800 percent of its actual value by both the World Bank and the Regional International Bank development authorities, so the village is being rebuilt. In concrete. ■

# BOOKS

## TRYING TO HELP

### **Intervening in Africa: Superpower Peacemaking in a Troubled Continent**

*Herman J. Cohen, St. Martin's Press,  
2000, \$65, hardcover, 228 pages*

REVIEWED BY AJIT JOSHI

Ambassador Herman J. Cohen's *Intervening in Africa: Superpower Peacemaking in a Troubled Continent* offers seven case studies of conflicts he attempted to resolve while serving as assistant secretary for African affairs from 1989 to 1993. (See also "Waging Peace in Africa" by Cohen in the May 2000 *FSJ*.)

In organizing the discussion, Cohen draws a helpful distinction between "mature" wars, primarily those preceding the Bush administration (Angola, Ethiopia, Sudan, Mozambique), and those that fired up during his tenure (Liberia, Rwanda, Somalia). Institutional history was especially important in analyzing appropriate U.S. policy toward the former group of countries, while the other conflicts primarily required what was then a relatively new type of intervention: crisis management.

As his case study of Angola reveals, the U.S. focused on high-level negotiations even though they produced little but frustration and wrangling over details. Yet in Mozambique, a country with a broadly similar history, the U.S. enjoyed success precisely because it did not try to work out every

single detail of the transition ahead of time but concentrated instead on completing the disarmament and encampment of the warriors. Of course, as Cohen notes, it also helped that Washington and Moscow worked together to bring about a peaceful resolution to that conflict.

*Obtaining assent is  
just the beginning  
of the process.*



Sadly, Mozambique proved to be an exception. In Rwanda, State's Bureau of African Affairs determined that the U.S. should not take a leading role even as the situation worsened dramatically and the French failed to intervene. Cohen also acknowledges that the myopic focus on drafting a peace agreement (known as the Arusha Accords after the location where negotiations began in 1994 and continued thereafter) ignored what lay beneath the violence both in Rwanda and neighboring Burundi.

In discussing Somalia and Sudan, Cohen usefully broadens his analysis to consider the root causes of the conflicts (e.g., clan loyalty and competition for water and land) and the involvement of both superpowers and other regional players. He also reveals how disagreements within the U.S. government over the best way to coordinate assistance hampered the

American response to the resulting humanitarian emergencies.

In Somalia, it would take President Bush's personal intervention before Operation Provide Relief could get going in 1992. As for Sudan, even today there still is no clear consensus about how vigorously Washington should intervene.

From those experiences, Cohen draws seven lessons for those dealing with conflict in Africa: (1) Decision-making and willpower at the working level can make a difference. (2) The network of U.S. embassies in Africa and Europe is a vital element in an activist approach. (3) Coopting the U.S. national security community is essential. (4) Starting early is better than late. (5) Talk to everybody. (6) Bring in the multilaterals early. (7) Beware of "signature obsession" (i.e., obtaining the parties' assent is really only the beginning, not the end, of the peace process).

Yet he warns that even these principles only work when there is political will and cooperation within the U.S. government (e.g., among State, USAID and DOD), and when the available information about the situation on the ground and the positions of the various parties to the conflict are clear enough to deal with a volatile environment.

And sometimes, as this candid account shows us, nothing works. ■

*Ajit Joshi, the Africa Bureau team leader on conflict, has been with USAID since 1998.*

# REFLECTIONS

## *Balkan Babas*

BY STEPHANIE ROWLANDS

As I left the house with my 18-month-old daughter, Haley, one morning, my neighbor, Baba Florika, was out pruning her rosemary bush. She opened her gate to get a better look at Haley in the stroller.

"Oh no, no, no," she asked. Leaning over, she took off my daughter's shoes. "The feet need to air," she said. "It's better for the baby. It's much too warm to be out walking with a baby like that."

I smiled, nodded, and bit my tongue. Haley and I continued walking down the street. Not half a block down, Baba Danche was out sweeping the sidewalk.

"Oh, Stephanie," she crowed. "Isn't Haley cold? You must cover her feet." She leaned over and put the shoes back on.

I coughed heartily to cover my laughter, but then had to listen to how to prepare mountain tea that would help my cough.

I might be 36 years old, have an advanced degree, two healthy, happy children and a somewhat sane household — but here in Skopje, the advice never stops flowing. I receive helpful hints every day. On every outing some well-meaning person will suggest a better way to live my life — from child care, husband care and personal care to gardening and cooking. Inevitably, someone or something is either too hot or too cold, too wet or too dry.

Babas — grandmothers — don't have a corner on the advice market, to

*Here I am, thousands  
of miles from my  
parents, with a whole  
neighborhood  
watching my back!*



be sure. My 40-year-old single neighbor, Toni, frets about Haley's "exposed" back. He is certain that because she's not in a onesie, some sort of terrible malady will consume her. And an older gentleman on the bus scolded me for not making my sweating son, Kai, wear a jacket.

On one particularly trying day, after at least 10 people had pointed out some fault in my parenting, I ruefully bemoaned what appeared to me as my obvious look of inadequacy to another neighbor, a Macedonian mother with a 14-year-old and a 3-year-old.

"Oh, they do that to everyone," she assured me. "It's their way of showing you they like you."

Her comment gave me pause. I remembered the time Nada cut the last rose of the season from her garden and gave it to me to adorn my table for a work-related reception I hosted at my house. And the time Florika rang my doorbell at 7:30 a.m. with a plate full of warm bread, fresh from the oven, for our breakfast. And the time Danche ushered me into her house for homemade burek, a Macedonian savory pastry.

I also recalled the time Toni walked me over to the outdoor market, instead of just telling me the directions. And often at the market I've heard "Dobra Majka" (good mother) in hushed approval from the babas and vegetable salesmen as I walk by, pushing my stroller with one hand and Kai's trike with the other.

Today Baba Nada calls to me from her gate as I walk up to my house.

"How are you feeling?" she asks.

"Better, thanks," I croak. I actually sound worse than I feel.

"Tsst. Tsst, you must drink lots of tea, the mountain tea," she shakes her finger at me.

"I am, I am. It's perfect for this cough," I nod.

"And put your head over a steaming pot of water, like this," she holds her hands to the side of her face and bends forward, almost bumping her head on the fence.

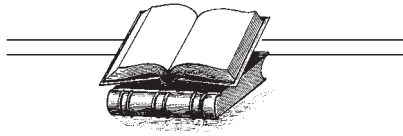
"Yes, yes, I will, right away."

"Good, good," she nods. "Then you will feel better."

I smile. Here I am, thousands of miles from my parents, with a whole neighborhood watching my back! No wonder I feel so safe here.

My mother can rest easy knowing that the Balkan babas will look out for me. ■

*Stephanie Rowlands teaches English to preschoolers and is a freelance writer. She and her FSO husband and their two children currently live in Skopje. They previously lived in Mexico and Guatemala.*



# BOOKS

## When in Rome...

### **America and the Vatican: Trading Information after World War II**

Robert F. Illing, *History Publishing  
Comp*, 2011, \$25.95, hardcover,  
260 pages.

REVIEWED BY DAMIAN LEADER

Service at the U.S. Embassy to the Holy See is a remarkable stimulus for memoir writing. Three of our recent ambassadors have published accounts of their time in Rome, a fourth manuscript awaits publication, and one even squeezed a (ghostwritten) novel out of his tour. In addition, our World War II chargé d'affaires, Harold Tittmann, wrote a fascinating account from the unique perspective of living inside Vatican City under German occupation.

This literary productivity presumably comes from the extraordinary experience of serving at a tiny mission in an ancient city accredited to a political entity — the Holy See — unlike any other. Robert F. Illing's *America and the Vatican: Trading Information after World War II* is an important contribution to this growing bookshelf.

Notwithstanding the rather misleading subtitle, Illing's book focuses on his service from 1970 to 1975 as the FSO singlehandedly running the Rome office that supported Henry Cabot Lodge as special envoy to the Vatican. (This was a decade before the U.S. for-

*This book is a useful  
corrective for those  
who question the  
value of diplomatic  
relations with  
the Vatican.*



mally re-established diplomatic relations with the Holy See.) Thus, Illing's office was "Embassy Vatican" in all but name (and he was its chargé d'affaires).

Lodge was a fascinating, intelligent man who knew everyone in Washington. He had access and influence at the Vatican because of his experience and, equally importantly, his access to the White House. As is the case today, the White House was far more interested in the Vatican mission than State was, and Illing dealt directly with many of the key Washington players during the years of Vietnam and Watergate.

Lodge visited Rome periodically for a week or two at a time, but otherwise Illing promoted U.S. interests without much supervision. He took full advantage of that freedom and flexibility to listen, learn and advocate. His principal interlocutor was Agostino Casaroli, who shaped Vatican relations with Eastern Europe in the years before the fall of the Berlin Wall. Illing also met many of the actors who would play key roles in developments a decade later, including the young Cardinal Wojtyła

(later Pope John Paul II) of Krakow.

Although Illing writes that the "core function of any diplomatic mission is reporting back to Washington" and describes his role as primarily information gathering, his account shows that he did far more important work. As is the case with any embassy today, he worked to convince his host government to support (or at the very least, not oppose) U.S. policies.

Since the Vatican influences issues as disparate as Congolese politics and policy on genetically modified organisms, Embassy Vatican stays busy. Illing describes his mission's interventions on problems like treatment of prisoners of war in Vietnam, refugees and relations with China before U.S. recognition of Beijing. He cites several instances where his work dissuaded the Vatican from openly criticizing a U.S. action.

In addition to his own diplomatic experiences, the book is filled out with accounts of Vatican history and U.S.-Vatican relations. Some of this is very good — he is excellent on Ben Franklin's successful promotion of his friend John Carroll to lead the U.S. Catholic Church after independence (not bad work for a deist!). Other material is of less interest; if you have only five pages to describe the history of the papacy, it's probably best not to try.

Despite those small reservations, this is an important, firsthand account of a largely unrecorded chapter in modern U.S. diplomacy. It is also a



useful corrective for those who question the value of Washington dealing directly with the Vatican.

*Damian Leader, a Foreign Service officer since 1985, is the chief arms control delegate at the U.S. Mission to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. Among his earlier assignments, he served as deputy chief of mission in Vilnius and a political officer (and sometime chargé d'affaires) at the U.S. Embassy to the Holy See, among many other assignments.*

## Not So Pacific

### **Pacific Gibraltar: U.S.-Japanese Rivalry over the Annexation of Hawaii, 1885-1898**

*William Michael Morgan, Naval Institute Press, 2011, \$34.95, hardcover, 384 pages.*

REVIEWED BY DAVID T. JONES

*Pacific Gibraltar*, part of the ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy Series, is neither “Hawaii Five-O” nor a comprehensive history of the state. Rather, it supplies painstakingly thorough documentation of an early rivalry between two rising naval powers, each seeking to expand its own sphere of influence into the Pacific.

Author William M. Morgan, a 30-year veteran of the Foreign Service who is now a professor of strategic studies at the Marine Corps War College in Quantico, Va., charts the course of American involvement in Hawaii from the establishment of whaling and sugar enterprises in the 1850s and 1860s to the eventual annexation of the archipelago in 1898.

He clarifies the complex interplay

of commercial assets, long-term strategic concerns and ethno-political tensions among native Hawaiians, white oligarchs and the burgeoning population of Asian immigrants, largely Japanese, that led the U.S. ultimately to annex the islands just as the Spanish-American War was heating up.

Because sugar plantation owners preferred Japanese labor to Chinese, Tokyo’s privatization of the labor supply system caused major problems in Hawaii, where the political system was quite unstable. A pivot point came in 1891 when the easygoing King Kalakaua died abruptly and was succeeded by his sister, Queen Liliuokalani — who was neither easygoing nor flexible.

In early 1893, she moved to reclaim full powers for the monarchy, promulgating a new constitution placing extensive restrictions on non-native residents of Hawaii — essentially the white community. When they revolted, the queen appealed to Washington for redress, giving the U.S. an opening to intervene.

The last decade of the 19th century saw powerful new states emerging in the Far East and elsewhere, intent on doing some imperialist colony-building of their own. As part of this trend, Tokyo began ratcheting up pressure on the feeble Hawaiian government to increase its influence. By 1897 Japanese naval visits and diplomatic notes had escalated to the point of threatening American interests.

For its part, the United States had recently begun to view itself as a Pacific as well as an Atlantic power, a stance that entailed securing west coast approaches and anticipating the construction of an Isthmus of Panama/Nicaragua canal. In this re-

gard, Morgan aptly cites the profound influence of Alfred Thayer Mahan, who spelled out Hawaii’s strategic position for defense of the mainland and American power projection.

Morgan’s documentation of the maneuvers McKinley administration officials orchestrated throughout 1898 to gain congressional approval for annexation of Hawaii is “inside the Beltway” reporting at its finest. For the appreciative political junkie historian, not even the passage of a century reduces its appeal; in fact, the countervailing arguments for and against annexation are all too reminiscent of congressional maneuvering today.

Although it is an excellent diplomatic history, *Pacific Gibraltar* does have shortcomings. The extended chapter on Mahan and sea power theory could have been significantly condensed. In addition, Morgan only includes two maps; a few more would have clarified his points. Finally, he draws numerous, engaging thumbnail sketches of Hawaiian, American and Japanese personalities, but supplies nary a photograph of them to add a human dimension.

These omissions presumably reflect Naval Institute Press funding constraints, but they still detract unnecessarily from an otherwise engaging historical and diplomatic analysis. Even so, this book should interest many Foreign Service readers, particularly those who specialize in Asia-Pacific or political-military affairs. ■

*David T. Jones, a retired Senior FSO, is a frequent contributor to the Journal. He is the co-author of Uneasy Neighbor(s): Canada, the USA and the Dynamics of State, Industry and Culture (Wiley, 2007), a study of U.S.-Canadian relations.*



## IN MEMORY

**Virginia T. Babin**, 76, a retired Foreign Service officer and the wife of retired FSO Joe (Anthony J.) Babin, died peacefully on Sept. 2 in Alexandria, Va.

Mrs. Babin joined the Foreign Service in 1961 and served in Rome and Aden before meeting and marrying her husband in 1967. After resigning in accordance with regulations at the time, she accompanied her husband to Lahore, where their daughter Catherine was born (with a cat in the delivery room at United Christian Hospital), and Aden (again). At the couple's next posting, Kuwait City, their daughter Susan was born in a private clinic. They were then assigned to Palo Alto, Calif., for a school year, thereafter serving in Prague, Cairo, Tegucigalpa and Beijing.

Following her husband's retirement in 1986, Mrs. Babin rejoined the Foreign Service and served in Dhahran and Guatemala City before retiring. Following her retirement, she volunteered at the Capitol Caring Thrift Store.

Virginia Babin is survived by her husband of 44 years, Joe, of Alexandria; and her daughters, Susan, a Foreign Service specialist serving in Istanbul, and Catherine, who resides in Munich with her husband, Michael Tierney, and son, Aidan. She is also survived by sisters Eleanor and Martha Ann and by sister-in-law Teddy Tanksley, as well as

by numerous loving friends and family in the Washington, D.C., area and throughout the world.

Condolences may be sent to the family at 501 Slaters Lane, #1103, Alexandria VA 22314. In lieu of flowers, donations may be made to Capital Caring, 4715 15th St N, Arlington VA 22205.



**Constance Alling Hoffacker**, 85, the former wife of retired FSO and former ambassador Lewis Hoffacker, died on Sept. 15 at Hospice Atlanta.

Mrs. Hoffacker was born in Beirut in 1926, the daughter of the late Foreign Service officer and former ambassador Paul Alling and Mrs. Alling. She accompanied her parents to Baghdad, Tangier, Washington, D.C., and Karachi, where her father was the first U.S. ambassador to the newly independent Pakistan. A graduate of Wellesley College, she was a collector and marketer of antiques.

In 1951, she married FSO Lewis Hoffacker, and accompanied him on overseas postings to Tehran, Istanbul, Oxford University, Paris, Elisabethville, Leopoldville, Algiers and Yaounde. The couple also spent time in Washington, D.C., when Mr. Hoffacker attended the National War College and during several assignments at the State

Department. The couple later divorced.

Mrs. Hoffacker leaves her former husband, Lewis, of Austin, Texas; two daughters, Anne Bradley of Boise, Idaho, and Rebekah Hoffacker of Tucker, Ga.; and a sister, Anne Long of Myersville, Md.



**Lewis Renz Macfarlane**, 72, a retired Foreign Service officer, died April 24 in Seattle, Wash., of acute leukemia.

Lewis Macfarlane was born on Sept. 10, 1938, in Seattle. In high school he was co-discoverer of a comet and was featured in a *Time* magazine article about the discovery. After graduating from Stanford University in 1960 with a degree in political science, he joined the Foreign Service.

During Mr. Macfarlane's first assignment overseas, to the Congo, he and three colleagues were shot out of their jeep by militants of the Simba Rebellion. Their disappearance became a focus of national concern, but his Swahili skills and local expertise helped bring all safely back to post. The Department of State presented Mr. Macfarlane with the Award for Heroism "for bravery in the face of rebel attack in Bukavu, Democratic Republic of the Congo, August 19-22, 1964."

Mr. Macfarlane served four tours in



## IN MEMORY



Africa (Bukavu and Stanleyville, Zanzibar, Lubumbashi and Dar es Salaam) and two tours in Vietnam (Chau Duc Province and Saigon). In 1975 he spent 10 weeks in western Tanzania working full time on a hostage case that resulted in the safe release of four students who had been kidnapped while studying with Jane Goodall at Gombe.

In Washington, Mr. Macfarlane served in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, on the Board of Examiners and in the Bureau of African Affairs (as Rhodesia desk officer and in the Office of Inter-African Affairs and Office of Southern African Affairs).

During a tour as a Senior Watch Officer in the Operations Center, he met Ann Griffin, the first female FSO to serve as a staff assistant in the Near Eastern Affairs Bureau. They married in 1978.

After attending the National War College from 1984 to 1985, Mr. Macfarlane concluded his career as deputy chief of mission and chargé d'affaires in Kathmandu, receiving the Superior Honor Award for his service.

Following retirement in 1988, he moved back to Seattle, where he began a second career as a trade consultant, instructor and public speaker, with an emphasis on disaster response technology and improving international aid. He served as interim executive director of the World Affairs Council and of the Snow Leopard Trust, and facilitated 17 discussion groups on current events and foreign affairs at local retirement communities.

Mr. Macfarlane was a talented pianist, a dedicated gardener, a fan of the Seattle Mariners, and a devoted husband and father. He is survived by his wife, Ann, of Seattle; their sons, Matthew of Seattle and Andrew and Stephen, both of New York City; his

brother, Alan of Seattle; and nephews, nieces and in-laws.



**Karen Gerlach Malinowski**, 63, a social activist and the wife of retired FSO and former ambassador Michael E. Malinowski, died of adenocarcinoma cancer in Washington, D.C., on Sept. 3.

Karen Gerlach was born in Alma, Mich., on Jan. 23, 1948, and grew up in Wyandotte, a suburb of Detroit. After graduating from the University of Michigan with degrees in dramatic arts and anthropology, she worked as a social worker for Cook County and the state of Illinois in the inner city of Chicago. She married her husband in 1975 and, upon his entry into the Foreign Service the next year, moved to Washington, D.C. She accompanied him on 14 tours of duty, including three at the Department of State.

Their tours began in Mexico City, where Mrs. Malinowski worked in the consular section. For their next two tours, she was among the first community liaison officers, serving at a very dangerous time in Kabul in 1979 and in Colombo from 1980 to 1983. In Peshawar from 1987 to 1989, she taught English at an American Rescue Committee-sponsored high school for Afghan girls. The school was the only one of its kind in Peshawar and, unfortunately, a target of radical elements in Pakistan and from Afghanistan. She showed considerable courage in her commitment to provide education opportunities to young Afghan women.

During two tours in Nepal, from 1991 to 1994 and from 2001 to 2004, when her husband served as ambassador, Mrs. Malinowski led the American Women of Nepal, later Active Women

of Nepal. Then the largest nongovernmental organization in Nepal, AWON provided health care to the impoverished, maintained a free English-language lending library, fostered self-employment of women through creation and sale of handicrafts, ran a nationwide literacy program, and managed a scholarship program in conjunction with the U.S. Peace Corps.

Mrs. Malinowski was president of the U.S. Embassy Club in Manila and also served with her husband in Venezuela and Swaziland, and at the U.S. Army War College in Carlisle, Pa., and the National Defense Intelligence College in Washington, D.C. Following his retirement from the Foreign Service in 2009, she resided in American University Park in Washington, D.C.

She is survived by her husband of 36 years, Michael of Washington, D.C.; four sisters, Susan Anderson (and her husband Mark) of Pentwater, Mich., Jeanne Lewis (and her husband, Steven) of Fort Wayne, Ind., Patricia De Proto (and her husband, Michael) of Guerneville, Calif., and Deborah Gerlach (and her husband, John Forman) of Allen Park, Mich.; two brothers, Charles Gerlach (and his wife, Nancy) of Birmingham, Mich., and John Gerlach of Wyandotte, Mich.; and by many nieces and nephews and grand-nieces and grand-nephews.



**Peter N. Synodis**, 83, a retired Foreign Service officer, died peacefully, surrounded by his loving family, on June 8 in San Diego, Calif. He suffered from heart complications.

Mr. Synodis was born in East Pittsburgh, Pa., on July 3, 1927. He was the youngest of three children born to Nicholas and Marianne, Greek immi-

## IN MEMORY



grants from the island of Marmara. Soon after his birth, the family moved to New York City where, from a very early age, he developed a fascination with travel and foreign cultures.

He served in the U.S. Coast Guard during World War II and then moved to California to work on the Muroc Flight Test Unit with the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, the National Aeronautical and Space Administration's predecessor.

Eventually he decided to enroll in journalism school at the University of Southern California. He became editor-in-chief of the *Daily Trojan*, a member of Sigma Delta Chi and the national honor fraternities, and was voted USC's Man of the Year by his peers. His first job on graduation was

reporting for the *San Diego Union-Tribune*.

In 1957 Mr. Synodis joined the Foreign Service and embarked on an exciting 29-year career. His overseas postings included Madrid, Caracas, Luluabourg, Mexico City, Casablanca, Niamey, Santiago and Athens, with two postings in Washington, D.C. While stationed in Mexico City, he met the love of his life, Trudy, with whom he enjoyed 43 years of marriage. Aside from English and Greek, Mr. Synodis became fluent in Spanish and French.

During the course of his career he played key roles in a wide variety of assignments which included: coordinating President John F. Kennedy's visit to Venezuela in 1961; establishing an effective U.S. Information Service post in

Luluabourg (now Kananga) in the Democratic Republic of the Congo; and orchestrating U.S. press operations at the Mexico Olympics of 1968. In recognition of his work, he received a Meritorious Honor Award in 1966.

Mr. Synodis retired from the Foreign Service in 1986 and moved his family to Solana Beach, Calif., where he enthusiastically took up tennis, the guitar, painting and photography. Family members and friends recall Mr. Synodis as a true gentleman in every sense, a doting husband and father, and a man whose integrity and exemplary character will never be forgotten.

He is survived by his wife, Trudy; two daughters Paulette Bohrer (and her husband, Robert) of Encinitas, Calif., and Marietta Synodis of New York, N.Y.; and two grandsons.

Donations in Mr. Synodis' memory may be sent to the Solana Beach Civic and Historical Society, Fletcher Cove Community Center, P.O. Box 504, Solana Beach CA 92075. ■

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### Corrections

The obituary for **Richard E. Johnson** (In Memory, September) contains a factual error. Mr. Johnson served with the U.S. Navy as lieutenant commander on the USS *Bagley* during World War II, not as an NCO.

The career history for **J. Clagett Taylor** (In Memory, September) was inaccurate. Following his assignment to Lusaka (1972-1974), Mr. Taylor was posted to Caracas (1974-1977). He then returned to Washington, D.C., where he worked on the South Africa desk until 1979, when he retired to care for his ailing father and the family citrus business.

We regret the errors.

# AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • November 2011

## CALL FOR NOMINATIONS

### AFSA Awards: Keeping It Honest, Keeping It Real

BY PERRI GREEN, SPECIAL AWARDS AND OUTREACH COORDINATOR

ASGEIR SIGFUSSON, OUTREACH AND MARKETING MANAGER

#### CONSTRUCTIVE DISSENT AWARDS

Since 1968, AFSA's constructive dissent awards program has recognized individuals who have demonstrated professional courage and integrity by challenging the system from within, asking the tough questions and offering alternative solutions. Many Foreign Service luminaries — including Ambassadors Jeffrey Feltman, James Warlick, Ryan Crocker, John W. Limbert, Michael Guest and Carol Rodley — have received an AFSA dissent award.

By singling out a policy or management/personnel issue they deem to be detrimental to the Service or at odds with U.S. policy, FS employees who present their opposition in a principled and constructive way engage in one of the most important traditions in the Foreign Service: dissent.

To honor the next generation of dissenters, AFSA is now seeking nominations from the field. Recent years have seen an alarming decline in the number of nominations. We hope this isn't an indication of people choosing not to dissent, but is perhaps indicative of the need to raise awareness that the awards exist. The AFSA awards build on a very long tradition of dissent in the Foreign Service.

We urge you to join AFSA's efforts to honor independent thinking and creative dissent by nominating a colleague. Please note that dissent must be made through an authorized channel, including meetings, e-mails to superiors, memoranda or telegrams/cables. Nominations for dissent that has been carried out through social

media or blogs, or dissent that has been conducted anonymously, will be disqualified.

The dissent awards are: The **F. Allen "Tex" Harris Award** for a Foreign Service specialist; the **W. Averell Harriman Award** for an entry-level Foreign Service officer (FS 6-4); the **William R. Rivkin Award** for a mid-career officer (FS 3-1); and the **Christian A. Herter Award** for a senior officer.

Awards will be presented to the winners at AFSA's annual award ceremony, held in the Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room in June 2012. The deadline for nominations is Feb. 29, 2012.

#### EXEMPLARY PERFORMANCE

AFSA also offers three annual awards for exemplary performance of assigned or voluntary duties at an overseas post that constitutes an extraordinary contribution to effectiveness, professionalism and morale. The award categories are: The **Nelson B. Delavan Award**, for a Foreign Service Office Management Specialist who has made a significant contribution to post or office effectiveness and morale beyond the framework of his or her job responsibilities; the **M. Juanita Guess Award**, for a Community Liaison Officer who has demonstrated out-

Continued on page 71

## The Chautauqua Institution: An AFSA Partner for 15 Years

BY ASGEIR SIGFUSSON

Waking up early on an October morning at the Chautauqua Institution is a bit of an otherworldly experience. A gentle fog shrouds the forested hills on the east side of Chautauqua Lake, the rising sun strikes a golden glow on the lake's surface, and the absolute quiet — unfamiliar to city dwellers — is broken only by the chirping of birds.

All of these qualities, in addition to the Institution's 137-year history, make Chautauqua an ideal learning environment for the thousands of people who flock there each year for educational programs covering such diverse subjects as global health, Iran, the

U.S. civil war and the intelligence infrastructure.

The same reasons explain why AFSA has partnered with Chautauqua since 1996, allowing us to develop the Road Scholar program (formerly Elderhostel) into one of the association's most successful national outreach efforts.

#### Focus on Foreign Policy and Development

The program, open to the public, offers perspectives on foreign policy issues through the eyes of Foreign Service personnel.

Continued on page 72

# AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



## Now Available—College Scholarship Application for FS Students

On Nov. 15, high school seniors and college undergraduates of Foreign Service employees (active-duty, retired and deceased) are eligible to apply for one-time-only AFSA Academic/Art Merit Awards and renewable, need-based AFSA Financial Aid Scholarships for the 2011-2012 school year. Academic and Art Merit awards are \$2,000, and Financial Aid Scholarships range from \$1,500 to \$4,500. The submission deadline is Feb. 6, 2012.

For complete details and to download forms, please visit [www.afsa.org/scholar](http://www.afsa.org/scholar), or contact Lori Dec at [dec@afsa.org](mailto:dec@afsa.org) or (202) 944-5504.

## MAKE A CFC PLEDGE TO # 11759 AND SUPPORT THE AFSA SCHOLARSHIP FUND

Designate “Foreign Service Youth Scholarships – AFSA” (CFC # 11759) in the 2011 Combined Federal Campaign. With your help, the AFSA Scholarship Fund provides more than \$40,000 in academic and art merit awards to high school seniors and \$180,000 to undergraduate college students in need-based aid scholarships to as many as 95 children of Foreign Service employees annually. Keep your support in the Foreign Service community.

Go to [www.afsa.org/scholar](http://www.afsa.org/scholar) to watch our video.

## AFSA HOSTS FALL INTERNS

Each semester, AFSA is proud to host a group of talented interns, whose contributions to our programs and projects are always significant. This fall semester, we have the pleasure of welcoming three new students:

- **Liron Feldman** is the communications, marketing and outreach intern. A senior at the University of California, Davis, Liron assists with AFSA events, outreach programs, Web and social media projects, and the awards program. Liron can be reached at [commintern@afsa.org](mailto:commintern@afsa.org).

- **Laura Pettinelli** is the *Foreign Service Journal* editorial intern. Laura is a senior at George Washington University’s Elliott School of International Affairs, double majoring in Latin American and hemispheric studies and Middle Eastern studies, and minoring in Spanish. Laura assists with production of the *FSJ*. She can be reached at [fsjedit@afsa.org](mailto:fsjedit@afsa.org).

- **Harsh Govil** is the legislative affairs intern. Harsh is a sophomore at Stanford University, where he is studying economics and public policy. He works with Director of Policy Ed Dickens and Legislative Assistant Clint Lohse on implementing AFSA’s legislative priorities. Harsh can be reached at [laintern@afsa.org](mailto:laintern@afsa.org).

We would also like to thank our departing interns for all of their efforts and hard work on behalf of AFSA: Asa Maclay Horner, Rebekah Yurco, Jamie Long and Danielle Derbes.

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## It's All About Communication and Negotiation

Every member of the Foreign Service, to a greater or lesser degree, engages in the fine art of persuading other people to do what we want them to do — it's called negotiation. For some, this form of communication is a component of their daily duties; for others, an occasional necessity. We are all aware of the importance of tact, timing, strategy and, often, discretion, in the success of any negotiation.

Strategy is particularly important for AFSA's lobbying efforts, especially with regard to issues like overseas comparability pay, where success is not assured, and failure would be calamitous to a large segment of our membership. Despite such obvious "selling points" as its value for recruitment and retention, basic issues of fairness and a 20-year history of similar pay for all other non-DOD civilian employees, OCP is a politically charged issue that has already been repeatedly mischaracterized by those who oppose the State Department or Foreign Service generally.

It is a fiscal issue in a climate in which cutting government expenditures — regardless of the consequences — is a rallying cry for many. It is a government salary issue in an era in which some politicians would portray all federal employees as overpaid. It affects only a tiny number of Americans, representing a comparatively small number of voters from any politician's district. It is esoteric and poorly understood, even by some in our own Service. In short, there are many aspects of the issue that are beyond AFSA's control, making this particular battle a difficult one. Strategy, in this case, is particularly important.

Devising that strategy and communicating it to our members has been frustrating. We are acutely aware that AFSA is a membership organization, and that we represent our members. Our goals, priorities and strategies must represent your views and incorporate your input. We are aware that our members have diverse views, and that there are different levels of understanding and prioritizing of the issues involved. We follow discussions in the Secretary's Sounding Board and other venues with interest. At the same time, we are limited in what we can share and how we can share it.

AFSA does not use the Secretary's Sounding Board, and is reluctant to utilize any medium primarily designed as a conduit for employee communications with management. While I am often tempted to jump into a Sounding Board discussion, or reply to a listserv posting, the principle of separation between manage-

ment and AFSA — reinforced in law and regulation — must be respected.

Electronic communication in all forms involves additional concerns. An e-mail, telegram or Web posting can easily be shared, making secure communication with our members difficult. Many who cooperate with AFSA and support OCP do so quietly — sharing information in confidence and, occasionally, at political risk. In the current climate, even longtime friends of the Foreign Service don't always want to be named, and newer supporters may want to choose the terms of their support. In politics, discussions can assume a meaning or go in directions that nobody ever imagined they would, and supporters or opponents can change with the circumstances. An e-mail, which finds its way into the press, or simply onto the wrong desk, can damage our efforts.

Our recent AFSA Governing Board retreat confirmed that improving communication with our members is among our highest priorities. Many of you already communicate with us by e-mail or through our Web site. Others simply walk into our offices for an impromptu chat. We pay close attention to sentiments and opinions expressed by members — as well as from the formal State Standing Committee and the informal advisory committees, each of which inform the State VP's positions.

In addition, we have started involving AFSA post reps more closely in member outreach, and intend to increase post rep responsibilities and inclusion in our member communication efforts. I would like to encourage each of you, if you have not done so, to consider participating in these efforts.

One of the primary motivations behind the recent upgrade to our Web site was communication. We will continue to explore ways to use the Web site more effectively, for both open and controlled dialogue with our members.

We will be making better, and different, use of surveys — possibly moving away from the longer, annual variety to shorter, more focused and more frequent polls.

OCP is not, of course, our only lobbying focus. We are looking at security overseas, larger budget issues, family leave, retirement issues, and residency-related waivers and exemptions while deployed overseas, among others. In all of these issues, we try to act in accordance with member wishes and input.

Please keep communicating with AFSA, even as we refine the ways we are communicating with you. □

V.P. VOICE: **USAID** ■ BY FRANCISCO ZAMORA

## The New Labor-Management Forum Executive Order



On Dec. 9, 2009, President George W. Bush signed Executive Order 13522, creating labor-management forums aimed at improving cooperation between labor and management and increasing the productivity and effectiveness of the federal government. The forums, meant to be non-adversarial, provide unions with opportunities to become essential sources of ideas and information, resulting in better services to the American people. On Jan. 19, 2011, USAID received specific guidance from the Office of Personnel Management on how to implement this order. By April 15, AFSA, on behalf of Foreign Service personnel, and AFGE, representing General Service employees, agreed with USAID management to launch this forum at our agency.

This long process is now at the implementation stage, and we at AFSA look forward to positive results. While our respective labor-management agreements establish mechanisms for resolving disputes, the new executive order mandates that even non-negotiable matters be discussed with the unions through a “predecisional involvement to the fullest extent practicable.” This means that “Management should discuss workplace challenges and problems with labor and endeavor to develop solutions jointly, rather than advise representatives of predetermined solutions to problems and then engage in bargaining over the impact and implementation of the predetermined solutions.”

In other words, tell us what you are thinking of doing before it is a done deal. Nothing could be clearer than that. We will endeavor to hold the agency to this requirement. The National Council on Labor-Management Relations, also established under the executive order, will be monitoring the progress of all federal agencies, including USAID.

Our first forum at USAID took place in September and, as mandated by the executive order, included top management officials. During the meeting we established the parameters under which we will work — such as defining team members, frequency of meetings and types of topics to be discussed. It was also made clear that the forum is not for discussion of individual employee grievances or matters covered under the normal union agreements.

Since metrics are an important component of the initiative, we are relying on several existing employee questionnaires to provide feedback on employee concerns, including the yearly AFSA member survey, which we negotiated into the process. We plan to communicate your concerns on topics ranging from staff morale and compensation and benefits among Foreign Service agencies, to work practices, safety issues, hiring practices, assignments and USAID’s relationship to the State Department, to name just a few.

Given the importance of this forum and the commitment of the agency to engage more closely with AFSA, we ask for your participation in completing this year’s annual survey. Also, please feel free to e-mail me your ideas on topics you wish management to address.

We are very hopeful that this new mechanism will receive high-level attention and result in better services for you and the American people. □

## November Book Notes: Kalb & Kalb

We invite our members and the public-at-large to join us at AFSA headquarters for what promises to be an exciting AFSA Book Notes program scheduled for November.

On Thursday, Nov. 3, at 10 a.m., veteran journalist Marvin Kalb and his daughter Deborah Kalb will discuss their new book, *Haunting Legacy: Vietnam and the American Presidency from Ford to Obama*.

The authors will present an important history of presidential decision-making on one crucial issue: In light of the Vietnam debacle, under what circumstances should the United States go to war? The sobering lesson of Vietnam is that the United States is not invincible — it can lose a war — and, therefore, must be more discriminating about the use of American power.

The authors spent five years interviewing hundreds of U.S. officials from every post-Vietnam War administration. They also conducted extensive research in presidential libraries and archives, resulting in new information and insights.

Marvin Kalb is the Edward R. Murrow Professor of Practice (Emeritus) at Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government and founding director of the Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy. His distinguished journalism career covers 30 years of award-winning reporting and commentary for CBS and NBC News, including stints as bureau chief in Moscow and host of “Meet the Press.”

Deborah Kalb, a freelance writer and editor, worked as a journalist in Washington for two decades, including writing for the Gannett News Service, *Congressional Quarterly*, *U.S. News & World Report* and *The Hill*.

The event will take place at AFSA headquarters, 2101 E Street, NW, Washington, D.C. Books will be available for purchase and signing. We request that RSVPs be sent to [events@afsa.org](mailto:events@afsa.org). □

## Diplomacy After 9/11: Kojo Nnamdi Radio Show Features AFSA

BY TOM SWITZER, DIRECTOR OF COMMUNICATIONS

On Thursday, Sept. 22, Kojo Nnamdi's radio show on WAMU (88.5 FM) in Washington, D.C., featured AFSA President Susan Johnson, FSO and AFSA Governing Board member Matthew Asada and U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan Cameron Munter (via telephone from New York). The topic was: "How have U.S. diplomacy and life in the Foreign Service changed since 9/11?"

Nnamdi opened the show by asking how life has changed for FSOs since 9/11, and can they overcome and manage the increased security risks and still carry out their missions in this new era of "expeditionary diplomacy"?

Johnson and Munter both responded by pointing out that security remains a critical factor at many posts. They noted that many FS personnel feel constraints on their ability to move freely, which, in turn, minimizes their interactions with host-country nationals at all levels — a hindrance to accurate reporting and outreach. This tension between security demands and mission goals requires field personnel to find smart, creative ways of adapting to the challenge.

When Nnamdi asked whether State and other Foreign Service agencies have been able to adapt to the harsh new realities by selecting more creative and experienced people, Johnson replied, "State employs an open assignment process, whereby all FSOs can bid for the posts they prefer. And despite the dangers, we've been able to fill all the positions in Iraq, Pakistan and Afghanistan."

One challenge of particular interest to AFSA is how to determine who is better suited to serve in a high-stress, danger post. Asada commented that increased training and the right kind of leadership at posts have been essential in enabling FS personnel to respond to greater field risks. He also pointed out that many danger posts are designated "unaccompanied," which means that staff assigned there face the additional hardship of leaving families behind while serving abroad for one or two years.

Johnson stressed the importance of enhancing language skills to enable FS personnel to communicate effectively while living

and working overseas. To ensure that they receive the necessary instruction before going to post, additional resources are needed to preserve a "training float," so that anyone, at any time can be in training without really crippling the normal operations at other "non-danger" posts.

As to how diplomats and the military relate today, Munter pointed out that we increasingly face situations where diplomacy needs to be backed up by the military; and so they both must work more closely and better understand each other's procedures to assure U.S. mission success going forward.

Johnson added that AFSA is very supportive of Secretary Clinton's request for a 25-percent increase in department staffing by 2013 — a five-year increase of some 3,000 positions. AFSA also supports a 50-percent increase in USAID's capacity. She pointed

out that we have achieved about 17-percent of the target for the department, adding, "We hope — in the face of the current budget crisis — we can keep that trend going in the right direction. It is critically important to national security."

Johnson noted that the Foreign Commercial Service currently has about 250 FS officers; the Foreign Agricultural Service has approximately 175; and the International Broadcasting Bureau, about 25.

The panelists responded to several thoughtful questions

from callers — including one from an active-duty FS officer and two from FS family members — on a range of issues, including the FS recruitment process, security, spousal concerns, gender equality and qualifications for ambassadorial nominees.

All three speakers emphasized that the Foreign Service is a career professional service. Its members continue to demonstrate an exceptional commitment to serve and to accomplish their missions' goals, despite the daunting obstacles that confront them and their family members. Johnson noted that, remarkably, the attrition rate in the Foreign Service is extremely low.

In concluding, Munter observed, "The Foreign Service is not broken! Rather, it is rapidly adjusting to the tough assignments that must be done. Foreign Service personnel are totally dedicated and will make it work, despite the odds." □



(left to right) Tom Switzer, director of communications; Ian Houston, executive director; Susan Johnson, AFSA president; Kojo Nnamdi, WAMU host; and Matthew Asada, AFSA Governing Board member and FS officer in WAMU studios to discuss life in the Foreign Service since 9/11.

DIANE VOGEL

## On the Road with *Inside a U.S. Embassy*

BY DANIELLE DERBES, PUBLISHING AND MARKETING ASSISTANT

AFSA's book publishing division, Foreign Service Books, has expanded its outreach program in conjunction with the April publication of the third edition of *Inside a U.S. Embassy: Diplomacy at Work*. The program aims to increase awareness of the work of the Foreign Service and of AFSA. Like the previous editions, this all-new, expanded volume of *Inside a U.S. Embassy* is addressed to four main audiences: students, FS candidates, military personnel and embassies (for outreach).

Among the first to get a glimpse of the newest edition was a group of students from the University of Pittsburgh's Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, who visited AFSA in April on the day the final proofs were sent to the printer. Having read the second edition for their course on diplomacy, the students showed an impressive understanding of, and interest in, the Foreign Service, and asked detailed questions.

### Introducing the FS

During 2010 and 2011, *Inside a U.S. Embassy* editor Shawn Dorman conducted a seminar on the Foreign Service career as part of the Foreign Policy Association's "Foreign Policy University" program in New York City.

The program was then expanded to Washington, D.C., where AFSA partnered with FPA for the spring 2011 semester, hosting not only the FS seminar, but presentations on careers in international development and the United Nations. These programs introduced the Foreign Service to hundreds of students and professionals looking for a new career path.

As part of our outreach to the local community, Ms. Dorman appeared at the Arlington Central Library in Arlington, Va., on May 26. Approximately 50 members of the public, whose backgrounds and familiarity with the Foreign Service were diverse, attended the talk and engaged in a lively question-and-answer session.

Later in the summer, while on a personal visit to Indonesia and East Timor, Ms. Dorman held book talks at both Embassy Jakarta and Embassy Dili.

During the annual conference of

State Department foreign policy advisers to the U.S. military, held in late May in Washington, D.C., AFSA presented the book to almost every current adviser. Many were already familiar with it and expressed appreciation for the user-friendly introduction to the Foreign Service.

### Addressing Students

On June 3, AFSA was represented at the National Conference for College Women Student Leaders at the University of Maryland with an information table highlighting AFSA's *Foreign Service Journal* and *Inside a U.S. Embassy*, as well as State Department recruitment materials (internship brochure and hiring guide). Ambassador Eunice Reddick, State Department diplomat-in-residence for the Washington area, gave a well-attended talk on the FS career at the conference, an annual gathering of more than 500 young female leaders.

Meanwhile, Potomac Books, distributor for the new edition, took *Inside a U.S. Embassy* to Book Expo America in New York City in May, as well as to the conference of the Society for Historians of International Relations in Alexandria, Va., in June.

On Sept. 21, Ms. Dorman, joined by AFSA Membership Representative Kristy Pomes, led a lively discussion about the Foreign Service career with a group of students from The Johns Hopkins School of International Studies. While SAIS students tend to know quite a bit about the Foreign Service, they still had many interesting questions. AFSA Governing Board member Matthew Asada joined the group for the final part of the hour-and-a-half event.

Ms. Dorman also spoke at Georgetown University and George Washington University on Oct. 4, with excellent attendance at both events. *Inside a U.S. Embassy* has long been popular among university career centers, and has been adopted for more than 45 courses at universities and military institutions.

Outreach events are planned for Nov. 2 at Boston University and the Fletcher School of International Affairs at Tufts University. Visit AFSA's Web site for more information at [www.afsa.org/inside](http://www.afsa.org/inside). □



SHAWN DORMAN

*Inside a U.S. Embassy* hot off the press. Inset, Shawn Dorman signing a book at the launch event on May 5.



## Award Nominations • Continued from page 65

standing leadership, dedication, initiative or imagination in assisting FS personnel and their family members serving at an overseas post; and the **Avis Bohlen Award**, for a Foreign Service Eligible Family Member whose relations with American and host-country communities at post have advanced the interests of the United States.

All dissent and performance winners will be honored at AFSA's award ceremony in June 2012.

As with AFSA's dissent awards, all performance winners will receive a cash prize of \$2,500 and will be honored at AFSA's award ceremony in June 2012.

### AFSA POST REPRESENTATIVE OF THE YEAR

AFSA also seeks nominations for the **AFSA Post Representative of the Year**. The award singles out a volunteer post rep who has contributed to AFSA's effectiveness by disseminating pertinent information to FS personnel at post and by remaining actively engaged with post management. The winner receives a \$1,000 award and will also be honored at the June ceremony.

### NOMINATION PROCEDURES

The AFSA Awards and Plaque Committee, chaired by Ambassador John Limbert, acknowledges, reviews and vets all nominations. Submissions that do not meet the stated criteria will not be considered.

For further guidance, information on nomination procedures and past winners, please visit the AFSA Web site at [www.afsa.org/awards](http://www.afsa.org/awards). All nominations must be submitted by Feb. 29, 2012.

Please contact Perri Green, Special Awards and Outreach Coordinator, by e-mail at [green@afsa.org](mailto:green@afsa.org), tel. (202) 719-9700 or fax (202) 338-6820, for additional details. □

## September Book Notes: *Farishta*

BY DONNA AYERST

On Tuesday, Sept. 27, AFSA's Book Notes program hosted Patricia McArdle—retired Foreign Service officer, AFSA member, proponent of solar cooking and author—speaking about her first novel, *Farishta*. The event at AFSA headquarters marks the 11th book presented in the Book Notes series, and the first time a novel was featured.

Drawn from her experiences while serving as the Department of State's senior representative on a British Army Provincial Reconstruction Team in Mazar-e-Sharif from December 2004 to December 2005, the story reflects the challenges faced by civilians and soldiers throughout the country.

Keeping detailed journals throughout her FS career came in handy when McArdle started to toy with the idea of writing a book. The time she spent in Afghanistan compelled her to pull the details together. "I was so moved by what I had seen, what I had experienced," she told the group. "I felt that a novel would give me greater latitude to relay what people had to go through." She wove stories from other diplomats, soldiers and news media reports into the narrative, which took three years to complete.

A couple of common threads run through many of the stories: insufficient training before deploying to Afghanistan and virtually no support on return. McArdle was surprised that, apart from language instruction, the only other training she received before she left the United States was a first-aid course. And even more surprising, there was no debriefing when she returned.

"I wanted to make Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder an issue in my book, so my heroine, Foreign Service officer Angela Morgan, suffers from PTSD when she returns home," she explained. Though she did not know it at the time, McArdle herself expe-



Patricia McArdle discusses her debut novel, *Farishta*, at AFSA on Sept. 27.

rienced PTSD. At that time, neither State nor the Defense Department had acknowledged the problem.

McArdle's path to becoming a published author was highly unusual. After sending her manuscript to several publishers, who rejected it, she entered it in Amazon's Breakthrough Novel of the Year contest—and won. The prize? A publishing contract with Penguin Books! Issued earlier this year by Penguin's Riverhead Books division, *Farishta* has received numerous positive reviews—from the *Huffington Post* all the way to the *Washington Times*, laughed McArdle.

Keeping detailed journals throughout her FS career came in handy when McArdle started to toy with the idea of writing a book.

As a result of her Afghanistan experience, she also became an impassioned environmentalist and, in particular, a proponent of solar cooking. "Everywhere I traveled, I saw small children being sent out of their villages to pull up bushes for their

mothers' cooking fires—children who should have been in school," she recalled.

McArdle said she remembered building a solar oven as a Girl Scout. That memory led to researching solar cooking on the Internet, which led to introducing solar cooking to Afghans. Today she serves on the boards of directors of Solar Household Energy and Solar Cookers International, and lectures on the topic around the world.

Following her presentation, McArdle fielded questions from the enthusiastic audience, then signed copies of her novel. *Farishta* is available at AFSA's online bookstore at [www.afsa.org/PublicationsResources/FSReadingList/BookstoreFictionandPoetry.aspx](http://www.afsa.org/PublicationsResources/FSReadingList/BookstoreFictionandPoetry.aspx). □

**Chautauqua • Continued from page 65**

Ambassador Willard De Pree served as the prime mover until 2010, when he organized his final Chautauqua program. Well over a hundred Foreign Service employees — active-duty and retired — have made presentations, sharing their insights and bringing to life the role diplomats and development professionals play.

For many in the audience, it may be their first exposure to the Foreign Service and how U.S. foreign policy and development is managed. An estimated 2,500 people have participated since AFSA began offering courses there.

Located in southwestern New York, about 15 miles from the shores of Lake Erie, Chautauqua has a rich and fascinating history. Lewis Miller and John Heyl Vincent founded the Institution — then called the Chautauqua Lake Sunday School Assembly — as an experimental, out-of-school learning environment in 1874. Four years later, the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle was founded with the mission of providing the basics of a college education to those who could not afford traditional schooling; it was one of the very first correspondence course opportunities in the U.S.

Its success gave rise to the “Chautauqua Movement,” which saw the creation of smaller versions of the Institution across the country. Eventually,



Festive fall décor greets visitors at the Athenaem Hotel.

these “circuits,” as they were known, gave rise to important national fora, where people could discuss literature, international relations, science and other issues.

Chautauqua eventually developed its own cultural institutions, and now has a symphony orchestra, an opera company, a conservatory theater and a ballet company. Each year, thousands of people enjoy the educational and cultural programs offered from June through September.

### Unique Experience

Visiting Chautauqua is a unique experience. Upon arrival, you are informed that car traffic is restricted to maintain the integrity and tranquility of the area, which closely resembles a Victorian village. A majority of the houses are cottages dating back to the 1890s, most of which are beautifully restored and meticulously maintained.

The architectural crown jewel is the Athenaem Hotel — where all AFSA Road Scholar participants stay — that was

opened in 1881 and is now on the National Register of Historic Places. As the first U.S. hotel to have a working elevator and to be electrified, the Athenaem is practically alive with history.

AFSA’s Road Scholar programs are offered in the “shoulder seasons” — immediately prior to and following the official Chautauqua sum-

mer season. Our first program generally takes place in early June, followed by one or two programs in mid-October. The subject of each program focuses on U.S. foreign policy in the 21st century. Six U.S. diplomats lecture during the weeklong program and provide opportunities for informal discussion with participants. Recent topics have included India, U.S. energy policy, the Korean Peninsula and international war crimes.

This year’s Oct. 2-7 program included Ambassadors Herman J. Cohen, Linda Jewell and Al La Porta, Molly Williamson, and James Pierce. The diplomats spent six days not only lecturing, but enjoying meals and other activities with the participants, providing them with an in-depth and personal introduction to the world of the Foreign Service.

### Sense of Community

“These programs are thematically similar to the programs we offer in Washington, D.C., and Florida, but there is no denying that being at Chautauqua is a marvelous experience,” explains Bernie Alter, the administrator of AFSA’s Road Scholar program.

“As a former Foreign Service officer, I am convinced that the Chautauqua programs are one of the most successful outreach and constituency-creating vehicles we have for the Foreign Service,” says Alter. “They tell our story in a very personal and comprehensive way in a very special location.

“The fact that AFSA offers these programs and continues to nurture the collaboration deserves high praise and speaks to the association’s approach in educating the public about the important role the Foreign Service and diplomacy play in protecting our national security.”

AFSA looks forward to continuing its collaboration with Chautauqua, and we encourage our members to plan a visit to the Institution. Information on Chautauqua — its history, courses and events — is available online at [www.ciweb.org](http://www.ciweb.org). To learn more about AFSA’s Road Scholar programs and course offerings, please visit [www.afsa.org/roadscholar](http://www.afsa.org/roadscholar). □



October program speakers and their spouses. Left to right: John Walsh, Amb. Linda Jewell, Amb. Hank Cohen, Suzanne Cohen, Amb. Al La Porta, Molly Williamson and James Pierce.

ASGER SIGFUSSON

## Win AFSA's Essay Contest and Sail Around the World!

BY PERRI GREEN, SPECIAL AWARDS COORDINATOR

This year, AFSA is thrilled to report that for the first time, the National High School Essay contest will receive generous sponsorship from two prestigious donors, Booz Allen Hamilton and the Institute for Shipboard Education.

ISE is providing the winner with a "Semester at Sea," a 105-day voyage of discovery aboard the *M.V. Explorer*. The academic program — sponsored by the University of Virginia — offers college-level course work and in-port field studies. To learn more about this exceptional program, please go to [www.semesteratsea.org](http://www.semesteratsea.org). See also the article on Semester At Sea in the September *AFSA News*.

Booz Allen's substantial support will cover funding for the \$2,500 prize; travel to Washington, D.C., for the winner and his or her parents to meet with the Secretary of State; and publicity for the contest.

This year's contest asks students to assume the role of U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan, Cuba, Egypt, Japan, South Sudan or the United Nations. Their essay must outline how they would address major concerns involving the U.S. and their chosen nation or the U.N. Through independent research, students must determine the foreign policy issues and define the resources available to them at post.

The essay contest, open to non-Foreign Service high school students from across the United States, was inaugurated in 1999 to commemorate the 75th anniversary of AFSA and plays an important role in the association's national outreach efforts. The goals of the contest are to raise the profile of the Foreign Service, identify outstanding students and promote the Foreign Service as a career choice.

Essays will be accepted from Nov. 15 to

The goals of the contest are to raise the profile of the Foreign Service, identify outstanding students and promote the Foreign Service as a career choice.

April 15, 2012. The essay winner will be announced in early summer 2012. Please note that children of Foreign Service employees are ineligible.

For more information, please visit [www.afsa.org/essaycontest](http://www.afsa.org/essaycontest) or contact Perri Green, AFSA's Coordinator for Special Awards and Outreach at [green@afsa.org](mailto:green@afsa.org) or (202) 719-9700. □

## New Governing Board Holds Planning Retreat

BY PATRICK BRADLEY, EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT

On Saturday, Sept. 17, the 2011-2013 AFSA Governing Board met at headquarters for a much-anticipated strategic planning retreat. The board identified a number of priority issues, with protecting overseas comparability pay and benefits at the top of their list.

Additional challenges, such as working to suspend or eliminate When Actually Employed hour and salary caps, were discussed. Members noted that a number of goals set by the previous Governing Board at the 2009-2011 retreat have been met, including the upgrade of the AFSA Web site and improvements to internal/external communication capabilities.

Under the guidance of facilitator Carole Rylander of Rylander Associates, the strategic planning session focused on AFSA's broad goals and organizational mission and vision. The board, joined by some AFSA staff, broke into teams, each team charged with one of five facets of the



(Left to right) AFSA USAID Rep. Iris Young and State Reps. Elise Mellinger, William Bent and David Zwach contribute to defining AFSA's strategy for 2011 to 2013 during the Sept. 17 GB retreat.

organization: core advocacy; professionalism and effectiveness; governance; image and outreach; and membership and development. Board members engaged in a lively discussion following the reports by each team.

AFSA's Governing Board is unique because the association serves as both a professional organization and a union. Board members are elected from the asso-

ciation's constituencies, and continue to be paid by the agencies they work for. While AFSA's president and some vice presidents work full-time on behalf of the association, the remaining board members continue to serve full-time in their Washington, D.C., assignments.

"The retreat provided us with an opportunity to review AFSA's strategic road map — leading us to a plan that will provide deeper

services to our members and further our mission goals as the voice of the Foreign Service," commented Ian Houston, AFSA's executive director.

In closing, the board defined further topics to consider and actions to take as they move forward with the 2011-2013 agenda. For more information on the retreat, please see the President's Views column on p. 5. □

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Nov. 30	MQ801	Maintaining Long-Distance Relationships
Dec. 1-2	MQ104	Regulations, Allowances & Finances
Dec. 3	MQ116	Protocol
Dec. 5-8	RV101	Retirement Planning Seminar
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To register or for further information, e-mail the FSI Transition Center at [FSITCTraining@state.gov](mailto:FSITCTraining@state.gov).

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### SUPPORT THE FUND FOR AMERICAN DIPLOMACY WITH A CFC DONATION TO #10646

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### FSYF SPONSORS COLLEGE WORKSHOP

On Saturday, Nov. 5, from 4 to 7:30 p.m., the Foreign Service Youth Foundation will present a workshop for college-bound high school students and their parents. Experts in the field of education will discuss how to select a college, how to translate a globe-trotting childhood into a memorable essay and outstanding application, and how to find scholarship money. The workshop will take place at the Oakwood Apartments in Falls Church, Va. Cost: \$10 for FSYF members; \$30 for nonmembers (dinner included). RSVP to [fsyf@fsyf.org](mailto:fsyf@fsyf.org) by Nov. 1.

FSYF will announce the details of its 2012 Scholarship Merit Award at the workshop. This award is only open to FSYF members; a three-year family membership is \$30. To join, please visit their Web site at [www.fsyf.org](http://www.fsyf.org). □

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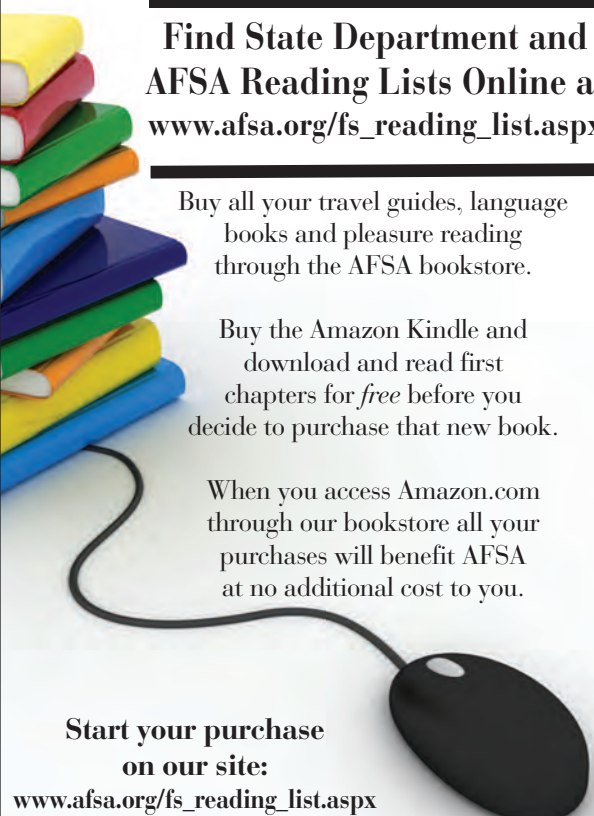
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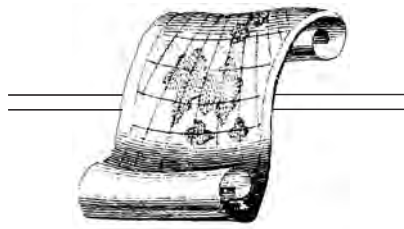


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# REFLECTIONS

## *The Bright Lights of Hefei*

BY MATTHEW MURRAY

I admired my driver's competitive spirit as our taxi hurtled through the streets of Hefei in central China. He gesticulated, waved angrily and honked aggressively at anyone who dared get in the way. There was money to be made, and dashing one more anonymous foreigner from the airport to a hotel was not going to be the end of his night.

As we sped along roads full of construction cranes and half-finished buildings, I felt awash in the rising affluence flashing by the window that is increasingly evident in China's second-tier cities — not least the growing traffic volume, which included a fair share of BMW and Mercedes sedans.

Luxury cars in Hefei, China. Who knew?

I had certainly known nothing about Hefei, a municipality with approximately five million residents, or any of China's other large cities — for instance, Zhengzhou, Changsha, Nanchang and Taiyuan — when I first arrived in Beijing in 2004. As I depart China this summer following back-to-back assignments in Beijing and Shanghai, I continue to be astounded by the sheer enormity of everything here.

It's not just the economic prosperity in cities I had never heard of, or the sheer number of these cities. Rather, it's the individual recognition by people like my taxi driver that now is their window of opportunity to make better lives for themselves and their families. And they are all doing so at precisely the same moment in China's history.

*Despite an economy growing by 14 percent a year, the dark clouds of an unsustainable development model loom on the horizon.*

As my driver raced through Hefei on that summer night in 2010, I contemplated how they're seizing that opportunity with both hands.

In more than 50 trips to Chinese provinces during my tenure, I have reflected quite a bit on the hopes and dreams of the 300-400 million people living in central China. They have rising expectations, and more freedom to pursue their dreams than ever before. It's not overstating the case to say that this sizable chunk of China's population has the power to change the world.

However, when asked by visitors if I'm somehow worried about "China's rise," my answer — based primarily on those trips — is always no. My taxi driver and others like him are the first to recognize that their window of opportunity is narrower than people in the United States might think.

The race through Hefei also represents, among other things, a race against time, as the millions of people

in China's growing middle class hurry to get rich before they get old — a quest which is likely to fail.

Environmental, health, education, pension and demographic realities will all catch up with central China. Even as this up-and-coming region tries to close its wealth gap with the more affluent coastal regions, it will need to overcome a host of socioeconomic challenges — of which environmental degradation may be the most critical.

Hefei, the capital of Anhui province, for example, is a Missouri-sized area with more than 60 million people and two of the five most-polluted rivers in the world. Even as the streets of Hefei tell the story of an economy growing by 14 percent a year, the dark clouds of an unsustainable development model loom on the horizon.

Given these challenges, it is very important that the United States — through both official and people-to-people exchanges — engage with this segment of China's population. Visitors and students need to travel outside Beijing and Shanghai to China's second- and third-tier cities, because it is there that future chapters of the country's history and relationship with the rest of the world will be written.

And if anyone needs a driver to get you where you want to go, give me a call. I know a guy in Hefei. ■

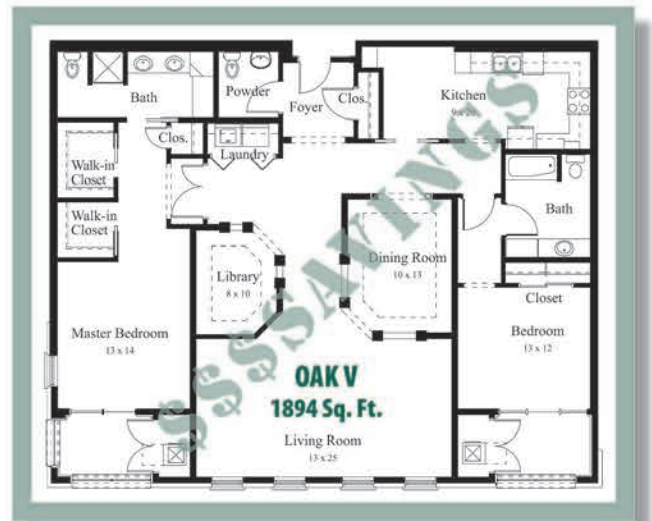
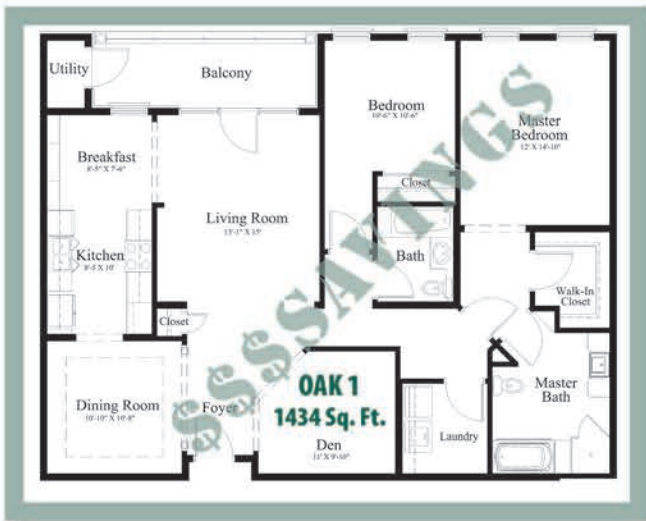
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