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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Ideology, Greed and the Future of the Foreign Service

By J. ANTHONY HOLMES

As I write this column in mid-September, the House International Relations Committee has just approved a mini-authorization bill. This is an important step in achieving AFSA's highest priority, but several hurdles remain. By the time you read this in early October, we likely will know if our Herculean efforts the past eight months and the quid pro quo deal we accepted earlier this year, agreeing to a conversion of the entire FS to a pay-for-performance personnel system in return for Bush administration support for Overseas Locality Pay, have succeeded. Given the pitfalls that remain, I estimate our chances are not much higher than 50/50.

When the State Department publicly revealed in February the package deal dictated by the White House, it assured us that it would avoid the morass that had befallen the new pay-for-performance systems created for civilian employees of DOD and DHS. These are mired in controversy, judged illegal in significant part by a federal court, and detested as "anti-employee" by the other federal employees unions. We were assured repeatedly that the new State PFP system for FS-1s and below would be identical to what has worked well the past two years for the Senior Foreign Service. Win/win all around, we were told.

Unfortunately, 11 weeks later, when we finally received the administration's draft bill to amend the Foreign Service



J. Anthony Holmes is the president of the American Foreign Service Association.

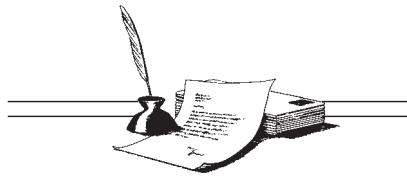
Act to provide OCP and create a PFP system, it contained two egregious flaws. Incomprehensibly, the bill sought to delink the award of future PFP salary increases from the selection boards. How can a PFP system work, we asked, if it isn't based on performance evaluations? We got no response, but the answer was clearly through a combination of political factors and personal favoritism. The other flaw was, in direct contradiction to the department's public assurances, the bill sought to emasculate the employees' exclusive representative (i.e., AFSA). In fact, it duplicated precisely the most controversial, ideological element of the DOD/DHS systems that the courts have since ruled illegal. These poison pills not only made the proposed system unacceptable to us; they also made it dead on arrival on Capital Hill in the views of key members of both political parties. "If it isn't acceptable to AFSA," we were told, "it isn't acceptable to us." I understand that key administration officials responsible for these broken promises were astonished that we stood on principle and didn't simply take the money and run.

Sorting this mess out took several months and, in the process, revealed two weaknesses in the way some other FS agencies are operating their PFP systems for seniors that also had to be fixed. USAID and IBB did not provide any performance-based increases this year to their seniors, claiming that Congress hadn't provided sufficient funds. In addition, we understand that

USAID has manipulated selection board recommendations, shifting certain individuals to lower salary increase categories and boosting other favored employees. The draft bill the House International Relations Committee just passed contains guarantees that this abuse will not occur again. But the months lost having to negotiate remedies to all these problems meant that precious little time remained in the tightly packed post-Labor Day legislative calendar. Moreover, because there are 15 other State-supported provisions in this bill, at least one of which is a show-stopper for the Senate, the risks have multiplied.

Whatever its outcome, this saga has starkly revealed a few things. The Foreign Service is held in extremely high regard on Capital Hill by the people who know us best and who oversee us. AFSA's views and input are actively solicited and we have a real ability to influence provisions that affect the Service. However, there are some in this administration who are decidedly unhappy with the statutory independence and autonomy of the FS and who want to make it more politically subservient. They are clearly willing to sacrifice for short-term political expediency what a bipartisan Congress has constructed for the long-term good of our national security.

AFSA will continue to defend the oath that all Foreign Service officers take on receiving their commission, to uphold the constitution of the United States, by preserving our ability to put our country's long-term interests above political considerations. ■



LETTERS

Missing the Point

Speaking as a former ambassador to Bulgaria and Indonesia, and a former coordinator of U.S. assistance to Eastern Europe, I found the discussion of transformational diplomacy in your July-August cover story surprisingly shallow (Shawn Zeller, "Transformational Diplomacy: A Work in Progress"). By concentrating on the question of how the program is to be carried out rather than whether it is feasible or desirable, your commentator missed the point.

Transformational diplomacy is not about where we put our people or how they are paid and protected. It is about what they do and what the organizing principle of U.S. diplomacy is to be, at least for the remainder of this administration.

President Bush defined that goal in his second inaugural address: "It is the policy of the United States to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world." The goal of U.S. diplomacy is democratic reform. And transformational diplomacy, in the words of Secretary Rice, "seeks to change the world itself."

Democratic reform is not about elections. That should be clear as a result of recent elections in Iraq, Afghanistan, the Palestinian Authority, Haiti, etc. Instead, what is required is institutional reform — the long slog of nationbuilding, for which the U.S. has little appetite. Nationbuilding demands both plentiful resources and a long attention span. I

know something about this because I was head of the OSCE Mission to Bosnia and chair of its provisional election commission from 1998 to 2001. Today Bosnia is on the eve of another election, which will leave the country divided and ungovernable even after we worked for more than a decade within a 55-nation coalition willing to spend money and put boots on the ground.

I am afraid that we are not seeing the birth pangs of a new Middle East in Lebanon today, but rather the death throes of the old order. Democracy, or elections, may be the midwife of change, but at least in the short run it looks like change in the wrong direction — Islamism. Having used the leverage of democracy to get Syria out of Lebanon, we are denied the option of bringing them back in to curb Hezbollah. Given current views of the U.S. in the Middle East, sending our diplomats out to promote democratic reform would be counterproductive for U.S. policy and dangerous to them personally.

In my experience, FSOs need little encouragement to get out from behind their desks and promote change and reform. But it is not a given that democratic transformation will be a source of stability in today's world.

*Robert L. Barry
Ambassador, retired
Washington, D.C.*

A Role Model

I applaud AFSA for honoring Mort Abramowitz with its Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy Award. There can be no more deserv-

ing honoree. The write-up on Mort was also very well done (July-August *FSJ*).

Mort was my ambassador when I was first posted overseas. He continued to be a role model and mentor throughout my career, which ended in 2004 after three ambassadorial tours.

I would like to share two stories in which Mort profoundly affected me as a man of extraordinary integrity and humanity. The first was when we were in Thailand, and he (along with Dick Holbrooke, then-Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian Affairs) took on powerful forces in Washington to ensure the U.S. did the right thing in saving and then granting entry to hundreds of thousands of Indochinese refugees. Many of them would have perished without Mort's intervention.

The second event happened years later, when I was the U.S. ambassador to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mort — already long retired from State, but still active in the Balkans — advised me to reconsider the course the majority of my diplomatic colleagues were taking, one which would have been safe, prudent ... and absolutely wrong. As a result of his advice, I reversed course to pay due respect to the widows and children of the Srebrenica massacre and got my diplomatic colleagues to go along.

Mort is smart, hard-working and inspirational, but what made him so special to me and so many others was (and remains) his integrity and humanity.

*Tom Miller
Ambassador, retired
Woking, U.K.*



Dancing on the Titanic


I just read David T. Jones' Speaking Out column, "Run, Lemmings, Run" (July-August *FSJ*). I say, "Hear, hear!" for some of the clearest thinking on this topic in quite a while. I've seen a lot of changes in the Foreign Service since joining in 1981, with an increasing flood of them since 2001. So many of the latest changes, though, are encouraging the Service to turn into a scrambling heap of self-focused, short-term opportunists — almost to the point that the outsourcing of the whole institution to some yet-to-be-established subsidiary of some yet-to-be-named corporation wouldn't come as a great surprise. At least such a move would be consistent with current trends.

Mr. Jones' comparison of the way cultural evolution is handled in the Defense Department as opposed to State reminds me of a conversation I overheard in the 1980s. I was at a small embassy in the Middle East that had just gone through a traumatic three years under an atrocious political ambassador (who'd had no prior government or corporate management experience). An FSO was explaining to a Navy officer from a visiting ship why the career Foreign Service has difficulty with political ambassadors.

The FSO put it rather adroitly: "Look at it this way: You've been in the Navy for 15 years and are on the verge of becoming captain of your first ship. Instead of getting the nod, however, the Navy sends in a political donor or friend of the administration to be captain. You become the executive officer instead, and have to try and make the political captain look good. Wouldn't you have a problem with that? Plus, you're serving under someone who is learning on the job." The Navy officer nodded.

To stay with the maritime analogy, Mr. Jones' insightful observations

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LETTERS

might be just like a tune played by the *Titanic's* dance band.

Steve Flora
FS Information
Program Officer
Consulate Dubai, UAE

Fuzzy Intelligence

Intelligence is always based on imperfect knowledge and the judgment of analysts — in effect, reading straws in the wind. Your June Cybernotes article, “Intelligence Estimates: Fuzzy Math?” reminds me of another time when the Bureau of Intelligence and Research clearly outshone the competition.

Back in 1973, when I was deputy director of the Office of Economic Research and Analysis, our team produced a report cautioning that the Arab oil producers were moving toward the creation of an oil cartel. As a result, the U.S. might expect an oil embargo within the next few months as a tool for raising oil prices significantly, thus enriching the coffers of the oil-producing countries. Exercising his “discretion,” the assistant secretary for INR refused to approve the paper for distribution because he regarded it as “alarmist,” declaring that “any economist knows that cartels don’t work.”

Three weeks later came the public announcement from OPEC and long lines at gas stations across the country. I immediately got a call from the assistant secretary asking if I still had the paper. We were the first agency in government to come out with an analysis of the probable effects of OPEC and the cost to the American economy. I’ve always wondered whether being first in the field with an accurate prediction would have made any difference. Intelligence is always imperfect. And I wonder whether more accurate information from the CIA would have been any more believed than its misplaced confi-

dence that Iraq actually had weapons of mass destruction, not merely the technology to produce them.

But the real problem with regard to Saddam Hussein was that he was engaged in a deliberate attempt to convince his neighbors (and the world), as a means of intimidation, that he was actually developing WMDs. That prompted us to take pre-emptive measures to protect ourselves.

Like any bluffing poker player, he paid the price for bluffing. So let’s quit blaming President Bush for doing what was necessary to protect the U.S. The residual problem is that our action has, like the boy crying wolf, effectively disarmed us in calling on the world to take measures to confront Iran and North Korea’s efforts to, as you also noted, develop WMDs.

Based on my experience working with DIA and CIA officers, I think *Washington Post* commentator David Ignatius’ assessment that INR is the best of the pack, as you also noted, is right on target. I have fond memories of my two years in INR and the colleagues I worked with. It is an example of how an assignment often disdained by regular FSOs can prove highly rewarding, even career-enhancing.

David Timmins
FSO, retired
Professor of Economics,
Brigham Young
University
Salt Lake City, Utah

Notes for the Secretary

I would like to share with *FSJ* readers my view of the significance of the Secretary of State’s responsibilities. My conception of the job is that the Secretary of State holds the most important position in the U.S. Cabinet. He (or she) is not only the president’s supreme adviser on foreign relations, but also CEO of an organi-

LETTERS

zation of some 25,000 people and a multibillion-dollar budget. I would love to see the next candidate for Secretary of State ask the president to make the following changes as a condition to accepting the job.

First, ensure that State has clear primacy in foreign relations over the National Security Council, Defense Department and the Department of Naval Intelligence.

Second, give the Secretary of State the ability to veto all senior appointments in the department. He or she cannot be held responsible for State's role in the conduct of foreign affairs if nominal subordinates answer directly to the president, vice president, members of Congress or others.

Third, the Department of State must be a serious instrument for conducting foreign relations, not a pool of ambassadorships and other prestigious jobs for friends, party faithful and major campaign contributors. With some notable exceptions, non-career appointees do not possess the qualifications of foreign affairs professionals who have been rigorously selected, trained, assigned and promoted purely on merit during long careers in a keenly competitive up-or-out system. The best analogy is the armed services.

Finally, our few "safe" embassies ought not to be reserved for political appointees. Such posts must instead be regarded as relief assignments for career professionals coming off the firing line of hardship posts, whose numbers continue to grow.

*Richard Dawson Jr.
FSO, retired
Uzes, France* ■

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CYBERNOTES

State IG Finds BBG Head Violated Rules

On Aug. 29, the State Department Inspector General's office sent the results of its yearlong investigation of the Broadcasting Board of Governors Chairman, Kenneth Tomlinson, to Congress. The report, covered in major newspapers (www.washingtonpost.com/wpdyn/content/article/2006/08/29/AR2006082901492.html), states that Tomlinson improperly used his office and violated rules as head of the agency that oversees the Voice of America and other government broadcasting operations. In particular, he put a friend on the payroll and ran a "horse-racing operation" with government resources.

The State Department also sent the report to the Department of Justice, which has declined to bring criminal charges against Tomlinson. An allegation involving a contractor is, however, pending with the DOJ.

Last November, the BBG governor resigned his position as chairman of the Corporation for Public Broad-

casting when the CPB's inspector general found that he had employed contractors without documentation, tried to tamper with CPB's programming and appeared to show political favoritism in selecting CPB's president while he was chairman.

Diplomats Urge Dialogue with Syria and Iran

In an Aug. 15 statement, members of the American Academy of Diplomacy urged the Bush administration to widen the dialogue on the Lebanese crisis to include Syria and Iran (www.commongroundcommonsense.org/forums/lofiversion/index.php/t61149.htm).

In releasing the statement, Academy Chairman Thomas R. Pickering acknowledged the essential contribution made by the U.S. armed forces, as well as the fact that the country's diplomats have proved their mettle in the "new and dangerous world afflicted by terrorism." Pickering added: "We need have no fear that talking with other governments of whatever stripe somehow demonstrates weak-

ness. Discussion is not defeat; conversation is not concession. Backed up by our strong military position, these are the essential first steps of intelligent diplomatic dialogue designed to promote the vital national interests of the U.S."

AAD supports the efforts led by Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice to end the fighting in Lebanon and stop attacks on Israel, and applauds U.N. Security Council Resolution 1701. However, it specifies that "discussions must now continue, both to ensure that it is faithfully implemented by all parties and to address the underlying problems of the region."

In concluding, the Academy states: "We urge the administration to intensify and broaden diplomatic efforts to include influential state stakeholders Syria and Iran in a fully coordinated approach to the region and its interrelated problems which, if successful, could have important beneficial effects on all the areas of conflict."

In an interview in the July edition of *The Washington Diplomat* (www.washingtondiplomat.org), Academy President Brandon Grove underlined the unique perspective and authority of the organization, whose members have held positions of major responsibility in formulating and implementing U.S. foreign policy. "We are a very different and distinct organization in Washington with possibilities that are unique," he said. "Our greatest asset is our membership, which is an amazing group of people. This is probably the most

50 Years Ago...

Diplomacy exists to serve better understanding among peoples. Yet probably one-half of the members of the U.S. Foreign Service are unable to speak any language but English to any useful degree. This is the shocking situation uncovered by a recent departmental survey of language skills in the Foreign Service.

— Editorial: "A Tongue-Tied Foreign Service?", *FSJ*, October 1956.





CYBERNOTES

distinguished group of American diplomats brought together since the days of the Founding Fathers.”

Grove, a retired FSO and former ambassador who took over from Ambassador Bruce Laingen as president in April, intends to lead a “fundamental reassessment” of the Academy’s mission to determine the best way it can enhance American diplomacy to meet the demands of a volatile and complicated world.

“We are at a crossroads in history. The world is changing quickly around us,” Grove said. “There are new things to understand about diplomacy itself. We have got to move forward and share that understanding. The world is not ordered in any discernible way today. The U.S.’s purposes are not as clearly and consistently defined as they should be. The Academy is looking for ways to help American diplomacy in a changed environment.”

A No-Nonsense Look at State’s Staffing Crisis

On Aug. 4, the Government Accountability Office delivered a 65-page report on the State Department’s staffing and foreign language shortfalls to the chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations (www.goa.gov). GAO’s aim was to evaluate State’s progress in addressing these problems since the 2002 implementation of the Diplomatic Readiness Initiative. With characteristic thoroughness, the GAO sets forth the scope of the crisis in black and white.

The report, GAO-06-894, states repeatedly that the DRI has been overtaken by demands for staffing and expertise from Iraq and Afghanistan. The initiative enabled State to hire more than 1,000 employees above attrition, but “most of this increase was absorbed by the demand for personnel in Iraq and Afghanistan, and thus the desired crises and training reserve was not achieved.” And: “Although the DRI brought in a large number of new FSOs, it made minimal impact in addressing the staffing gaps at hardship posts, largely because of new staffing demands in Iraq and Afghanistan.”

Elsewhere, it notes: “DRI’s goals became quickly outdated as new pressures resulted from staffing demands for Iraq and Afghanistan. For example, the department has currently levied what it calls an ‘Iraq tax’ on all its bureaus in order to support its operations in Iraq and Afghanistan.” In the past two years, the Iraq tax has claimed a total of 280 mid-level generalist and specialist positions, and another such tax is expected for 2007.

The most severe staffing gaps continue to be at the mid-level, concentrated in the consular and public diplomacy cones. Citing a recent survey of FS spouses and members of household, the report identifies family issues and the lack of locality pay as the greatest obstacles to meeting the requirement for mid-level officers at hardship posts.

The staffing shortfall directly affects the ability to implement poli-

cy in many areas. For instance, due to staffing shortages in consular sections around the world, there are fewer officers to implement the new interview requirements and screening procedures for visas, resulting in extensive wait times for applicants for visa interviews at consular posts overseas. Other functions, such as regional security, are also compromised.

On the issue of increasing language capabilities, despite efforts by State, progress has been halting. As of October 2005, nearly 30 percent of language-designated positions were held by individuals who did not meet the requirements. In the Middle East this proportion is at 37 percent. Moreover, GAO found that State has not yet put in place a system for evaluating the effectiveness of its initiatives.

GAO made five broad recommendations to solve these problems including using directed assignments as necessary to fill vital positions at critical-needs posts; systematically evaluating the effectiveness of the incentive programs for hardship post assignments, and adjusting the incentives on that basis; altering the assignment system to enhance language capability; systematically evaluating incentive programs for language-proficiency improvement; and, conducting a risk assessment of critical-language needs in regions and countries of strategic importance, including requirements for staff and training, and targeting limited resources accordingly.

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CYBERNOTES

Because we are rich [and] we are strong we have sometimes been insensitive to the weak and to the claims of people who couldn't get high enough on our agenda. So if we want to exhort people and persuade them as well as prevent them from engaging in terror, we have to act like we believe our common humanity is more important.

— Former President
William J. Clinton, Aug. 16,
www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice

Canadian FSOs Face Budget Constraints, Changing Priorities

Canada has the lowest proportion of diplomats posted abroad of any G-8 country — about 25 percent — according to a briefing report for Foreign Affairs Minister Peter MacKay that was brought to light in the Aug. 23 issue of Canada's foreign policy newsweekly, *Embassy* (www.embassymag.ca/html/index.php?display=story&full_path=/2006/august/23/foreignservices/).

A decade of "financial restraint" is cited as the reason why more than half of Canada's Foreign Service officers never leave the Department of Foreign Affairs on Sussex Drive in Ottawa. According to the briefing, each additional diplomat posted abroad costs up to \$300,000 per year. Further, many of the country's missions need millions of dollars worth of security upgrades, and programs, public diplomacy and advocacy have been pushed aside.

According to *Embassy* correspondent Lee Berthiaume, the problem was highlighted in July when the gov-

ernment had to scramble to get diplomats and staff members to Lebanon, Cyprus and Turkey to help evacuate thousands of Canadian and dual-national citizens who were trying to flee the region.

From 1995 to 2005, Canada opened 31 new missions, and between 1999 and 2004 there has been a 50-percent increase in consular demands. But some missions, such as Beirut, have only one or two trained diplomats — so host-country nationals and locally-hired Canadians who are not part of the Foreign Service are doing much of the work.

In the view of one retired Canadian ambassador, the problem is only partly financial: the real problem is a shortage of trained diplomats. "I think [Canada's international presence] has been damaged," he says. "My belief, my conviction, is for Canada to be served well abroad, it needs to be served by Foreign Service officers."

The Cost of Secrecy

The annual financial costs attributable to the national security classification system reached a record high of \$9.2 billion in 2005, up \$1.2 billion from 2004, according to a new report from the Information Security Oversight Office (www.archives.gov/isoo/reports/2005-cost-report.pdf).

That figure does not, however, include spending by the Central Intelligence Agency, which classifies its cost data. Otherwise, the government share of this expenditure is estimated to be \$7.7 billion. An additional \$1.5 billion was spent by government contractors in the private sector. Classification-related costs include not merely the direct costs of classifying information, which are modest, but also the derivative costs of the personnel security clearance system,



physical security for classified material, classified computer security, and more. In recent years, spending on physical security has climbed sharply, according to the report.

The ISOO, established by executive order, reports directly to the president on national security classification policy (www.archives.gov/isoo).

In congressional testimony a year ago, ISOO Director William Leonard argued that overclassification is a barrier to critical information-sharing. "There's over 50 percent of the information that, while it may meet the criteria for classification, really should not be classified in terms of what we lose," Leonard told the House Government Reform Committee. "The price we pay for classification outweighs any advantage we perceive we gain" (www.fas.org/sgp/congress/2004/082404transcript.html).

This and other developments in the area of classification policy can be found in *Secrecy News*, an online publication of the Federation of American Scientists' Project on Government Secrecy (<http://fas.org/sgp/news/secrecy/>).

New Index Grades Countries on Environmental Stewardship

Scientists are finding increasingly useful ways to evaluate and rank the environmental health of countries. Two promising new indices — the Environmental Sustainability Index and the Environmental Performance Index — have been launched at the past two annual World Economic Forum meetings in Davos, Switzerland. Available online, both the ESI and EPI are products of a joint initiative between the Yale Center for Environmental Law and Policy and the Center for International Earth Science Information Network of Columbia University, in collaboration with the World Economic Forum and

Site of the Month: www.eDiplomat.com

Need to review the latest foreign policy statement from the U.K. Foreign Ministry, or get an official biography from the Cambodian Ministry of External Affairs? How about consulting the staff directory of Singapore's mission in Canberra? And, wouldn't it be nice to get a post report with nothing but the click of the mouse?

eDiplomat.com is a global portal for diplomats that offers links to the official foreign ministry Web sites of 130 countries, and the Web sites of missions around the world for 26 of those countries. It also provides links to the State Department's Post Reports, and to the Web sites of diplomatic clubs and associations around the world.

The site also offers quick links to such things as "World's 50 Best Restaurants" and "International Job Vacancies."

An independent, nonprofit organization that is not affiliated with any government, *eDiplomat* was launched by a group of diplomats who recognized the potential of the Internet to serve as a platform for connecting diplomats and those interested in diplomacy. Its self-declared mission is to "raise awareness of and increase interaction among diplomats across the globe."

the Joint Research Centre of the European Commission (<http://sed.ac.ciesin.columbia.edu/es/esi/>).

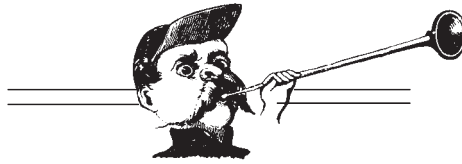
"Our ultimate aim is to make our work policy-relevant," Daniel Esty, Hillhouse Professor of Environmental Law and Policy at Yale's School of Forestry and Environmental Studies and a member of the ESI-EPI research team, explains in the spring 2006 issue of *Environment Yale*. Though the two indices are complementary, the EPI, introduced in January, is focused on current performance and is more concerned with results.

EPI ranks 133 countries based on their performance within six policy categories: environmental health, air quality, water resources, biodiversity and habitat, productive natural resources (e.g., farmland, forests, fisheries) and sustainable energy. Each category, in turn, is measured by two to five indicators, or data sets. Each indicator measures the distance a country is from an established policy target, based on goals set by treaties, by international organizations or, sim-

ply, by the best available science. (For instance, the optimum target for sustainable energy is 100 percent; and that for childhood mortality due to environmental factors is 0.)

New Zealand was ranked first in the 2006 EPI, followed by Sweden, Finland, the Czech Republic and the U.K. The U.S. ranked 28th, with a strong performance on some issues and a weak one on others. In particular, the U.S. lags its peers on water conservation, sustainable energy and managing productive natural resources.

While the EPI spotlights pollution control and resource management efforts for which governments can be held accountable, the ESI presents a more complete, long-term picture of environmental sustainability as it includes a host of factors over which the current government has no control. For instance, the U.K., which ranks fifth on the EPI, is 66th on the ESI. Though the country "is now managing well what it has to work with," Esty notes, it has "300 years of industrialization to live down." ■



SPEAKING OUT

Reaching Out to Muslims

BY RICHARD S. SACKS

Our national response to al-Qaida must reflect our awareness that to isolate our enemies, we also need to reach out to Muslims around the world. Regrettably, that message is not always reflected in the welcome we give to Muslims when they visit our country.

The jihadists who attacked us five years ago on 9/11 caused the biggest loss of American lives in a single day since the Civil War. One of their aims was to spread fear. But their main goal was to provoke the West into a war with Islam.

Terror is the tool of the weak. The Islamic miscreants responsible for the atrocity of 9/11 were weak and they were few. Without an over-reaction from us, they had practically no means to unite the world's Muslims under the banner of their unpopular and discredited cause. In fact, ordinary Muslims — in Egypt, Algeria, Sudan, Bosnia, Turkey, Pakistan and Afghanistan, even in Iran — already had rejected the Islamic dictatorships those fanatics wanted to impose.

For five years, like it or not, we have been engaged in a global ideological struggle, with strong military and political overtones, similar to the Cold War. That struggle — the War on Terror — is being played out through argument, example and perception, as well as through economic aid and development. It is a war for globalization, for individual liberty and human and political rights. It is a war for hearts and minds. Security and politics are important parts of this fight, but the main struggle is ideological.

As the greatest nation in the world, the strongest weapon in our arsenal is the power to persuade.

The United States and the West have much at stake. Our enemies want to expel the West from Muslim lands, impose backward-looking Salafist regimes, like that of the Taliban, that yearn for an imaginary, seventh-century utopia, and impose a permanent state of “neither war nor peace” between Islam and the West. Such regimes naturally will be inimical to our interests. Our task in the global contest for ideological supremacy is to minimize the number of new recruits for the jihadist cause. Avoiding missteps in the war on terror is crucial, lest our mistakes become valuable recruiting tools for the enemy.

Naturally, after 9/11 Americans became more concerned about their security. And as the attackers were all Arab Muslims, the idea that a “War of Civilizations” was at hand surfaced. But that is not what we are facing, and it is imperative that we avoid the perception that we are at war with Islam. Today confusion on this point is rampant. Just listen to the talk shows and you'll hear average Americans say, “Since we're at war with the Muslims...”

Because the principal fight in the

war on terror is in the realm of ideas, U.S. national strategy must not permit security concerns to overpower or undermine our chances for success in that realm. Ultimately, our security will depend on our success in the struggle for hearts and minds. The last thing we want to do is to turn the Muslim world against us.

The United States was in a strong position to win a global ideological contest with Islamic extremism. The outpouring of global support and sympathy for the United States after the 9/11 attacks was instantaneous, genuine and deeply felt. I was in Seoul at the time. I still remember how hard it was to get to the front gate of the embassy through the mass of flower bouquets on the sidewalk.

Horror Stories

In Panama, where I was stationed for the past three years, there are around 10,000 Muslims, mostly second-generation Lebanese and Gujaratis. Not long after I arrived, we started getting increasingly dire reports from Muslim travelers. They told us chilling stories about their treatment at U.S. ports of entry.

People who had been traveling to the United States on business for many years, some of them rather large investors, who had gone to school or who had children in school in the United States, were being stopped at our airports, forced to miss their onward flights and interrogated for hours. They told us that U.S. port-of-entry officials had accused them of being terrorists or terrorist supporters,

SPEAKING OUT



Avoiding missteps in the war on terror is crucial, lest our mistakes become valuable recruiting tools for the enemy.

humiliated them in front of their wives and children, and sometimes informed them that “our embassy in Panama told us to cancel your visa” or “our embassy in Panama told us that you are a terrorist.”

Some were chained and shackled hand and foot and sent to overnight lockups, sometimes in dreadful conditions, sometimes deprived of food and drink for more than a day. Then, given the choice between voluntary deportation and having their visas canceled, or appearing before an immigration judge, they chose deportation.

One Panamanian told us that throughout his ordeal he kept expecting someone to jump out and say, “It’s all a joke. You’re on ‘Candid Camera!’” Alas, that did not happen.

Granted, the al-Qaida attackers were brutal killers, and we have a right — a duty — to protect ourselves. But why turn friends into enemies in the process? The cases I came to know about convinced me that we were on the wrong track. We must be clear and avoid doing exactly what will profit al-Qaida.

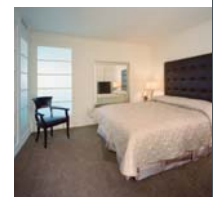
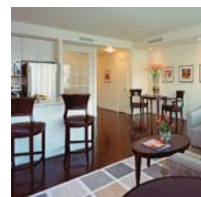
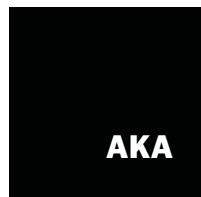
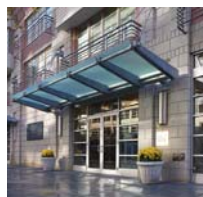
Unfortunately, solving the problem involves confronting some unsettling attitudes and practices that we have adopted. For example, an emphasis on risk avoidance above all else may be making us less secure. We have filled sensitive positions with untrained personnel who often act as if our security

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*We have a right —
a duty — to protect
ourselves. But why turn
friends into enemies in
the process?*



increases each time they deny a Muslim entry. There are many instances where Muslims selected by our embassies for the International Visitor Program have encountered similar rejections upon arrival in the U.S. Do we really want to give the impression that adherents to that faith are no longer welcome here?

In addition, our use of raw intelligence data to screen visitors is a good example of "garbage in, garbage out." We are throwing unsubstantiated reports containing thousands of names into a computerized hopper called the National Tracking Center. Once a name is in the system, we are reluctant to remove it. Our officials also seem to be making little effort to vet reports on individuals.

Further, our ports of entry apparently have made no real provision for handling detained passengers who have committed no crime.

In response, more and more Panamanians — not just Muslims, either — are changing their plans to avoid coming to the United States. Instead, they are traveling directly to Europe or China, whether for business, tourism, exchanges or education. Yes, it's more expensive for them, but who wants to risk going to Houston or Miami anymore? Even the real estate boom in Panama is partly due to the ease of getting there and the difficulty of getting to Miami. And the same is

SPEAKING OUT



true of many other countries around the world. Panama, after all, has a relatively tiny Muslim population.

Taking Corrective Action

Beginning in 2005, Embassy Panama took some important steps to correct a perceived imbalance in relations with local Muslims. The ambassador hosted Iftar breakfasts marking the end of the Ramadan fasting period, and other meals on religious holidays, for the local Muslim communities. These simple acts of kindness generated a large amount of good will, as participants noted that no U.S. ambassador had ever before invited them to the official residence. Woody Allen once remarked that 90 percent of life is just showing up. Well, sometimes 90 percent of diplomacy is just being polite.

*Sometimes 90 percent
of diplomacy is
just being polite.*

The embassy has been focusing attention on individual cases of Muslims turned back at the border to discover what remedies, if any, can be found. It also began a series of frank discussions with local Muslim groups to explain the complexities of visa issuance, in close consultation with State and DHS. More attention is being placed on evaluating information in the National Tracking Center database.

The public affairs section has augmented its speakers program; for instance, the ambassador has made a point of meeting frequently with members of Muslim communities in Panama. The embassy is also playing an important part in the mission's outreach by donating books to local mosques and seeking Muslim participants in the International Visitors Program.

I am sure that Embassy Panama is taking additional steps, for several months have passed since I left post.

As the greatest nation in the world, our power does not come from instilling fear. Rather, the strongest weapon in our arsenal is the power to persuade. And we have that power because people admire our values as a nation: because we are champions of human rights, because of our sense of



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fair play and justice, our freedom, and our respect for the freedom of others.

Let me close by saying that American officials sometimes tell foreign travelers that having a U.S. visa only allows them to “knock on the door.”

As Americans, we should make sure that what happens after the door opens reflects our ideals. Nothing less will improve our security, enhance the image of the U.S. abroad or increase the odds that we will win the struggle against Islamic terrorism. ■

Richard Sacks is this year's winner of AFSA's William R. Rivkin Award for constructive dissent by a mid-level Foreign Service officer. Since joining the Service in 1989, he has served in Panama (where he was political counselor), Seoul, Hanoi, Casablanca, Mexico City and Washington, D.C. He

***As Americans, we should
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currently is deputy director of the Pakistan and Bangladesh office. Prior to joining the Service, he worked as an Associated Press newsman, daily newspaper reporter, and as a World Bank publications editor. He also co-authored Paraguay: The Personalist Legacy (Westview Press, 1991) with Riordan Roett.

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“W

A YEAR INTO HER TENURE, IS HUGHES MAKING EFFECTIVE USE OF FOREIGN SERVICE EXPERTISE?

BY SHAWN ZELLER

hy do they hate us?” There is no shortage of possible explanations. Waging war on Iraq seems to be one of the least popular policy decisions in the modern history of the United States, both at home and abroad. Then factor in the widespread perception, strengthened by the latest round of fighting in Lebanon, that Washington favors Israel in its conflict with the Palestinians, and it’s fairly easy to understand why America’s popularity around the world — especially in the Middle East — is at a low ebb.

But given the fact that the Bush administration, even in the face of flagging domestic support for the war, is sticking to its guns (so to speak), the more important question for the Foreign Service, particularly State Department public diplomacy officers, is: Can we help them understand us, or at least temper the damage, when U.S. policy is at fundamental odds with foreign public opinion?

“We’ve made the assumption for five years now that everyone wants Western-style democracy and capitalism,” says Anthony Quainton, a former director general of the Foreign Service and ambassador to Peru, Nicaragua, Kuwait and the Central African Republic. “Well, the reality is that that assumption may be wrong, and then you are really swimming upstream.”

Still, for the first time since the 9/11 terrorist attacks put public diplomacy back on the State Department radar, America’s front lines of public relations have a well-placed, and serious, political leader: Under Secretary Karen Hughes, a former Texas television reporter who has worked for President Bush since he was governor of Texas and is, by all accounts, one of his closest and most trusted advisers.

Her task is a huge one: To turn the tide of public opinion in the Muslim world, public opinion that is now so negative that millions of people there empathize more with Osama bin Laden than with the United States.

A year into her tenure, Hughes is getting better reviews than either of her short-lived Bush administration predecessors: Madison Avenue advertising executive Charlotte Beers and Republican public relations operative Margaret Tutwiler. But Foreign Service officers remain deeply skeptical of whether Hughes is doing enough to tap the expertise around her. They fear that she is trying to run the public diplomacy apparatus as she would a political campaign.

The criticisms primarily come on two fronts. First, Hughes remains wary of the Foreign Service, and has largely surrounded herself with political appointees. Second, she’s focused overwhelmingly on media outreach — a tactic that might work in a political campaign, but

***Millions of people in the
Muslim world empathize
more with Osama bin
Laden than America.***

one that public diplomacy officers see as just a single piece of the puzzle in turning around anti-American attitudes abroad.

Part of the tension comes from the less-than-perfect fit between public affairs and public diplomacy, which State has combined into one bureau. Most public diplomacy

officers would define public affairs as aimed at domestic audiences, getting messages out to American decision-makers and the American public at large. *Public diplomacy* is conducted overseas, reaching audiences in different countries using a variety of informational, educational and cultural tools.

Hughes, according to her critics, is placing a disproportionate amount of attention on news media outreach, and too little attention on the types of long-term outreach efforts — such as foreign exchanges and educational programs — that public diplomacy experts say are equally important. The payoff for those efforts, of course, will only be felt in years to come, when foreigners who come to America on exchanges in their youth become influential figures in their own countries as adults.

No matter what the mix of public diplomacy tactics, though, it remains unclear whether PD alone can make a significant difference in foreign attitudes when U.S. policy decisions are so unpopular abroad — an unfortunate result, some say, of the Bush administration’s failure to listen to the Foreign Service’s public diplomacy experts in the first place. If there is to be success, it will be evident in years, not months.

Hughes faces three main challenges. First is the content of U.S. public diplomacy. Hughes is a master at framing a political message. She, second only to Karl Rove, is credited with engineering Bush’s presidential election wins. But can she sell not only American policies, but also our values, in regions where it’s unclear if they are shared?

Second, Hughes must rebuild the State Department’s public diplomacy apparatus, which was dismantled in 1999 when Congress merged the highly regarded United States Information Agency into State, on the ill-fated assumption that public diplomacy wouldn’t be a crucial skill after the demise of the Soviet Union. It’s clear from interviews with PD officers that this is where Hughes’ performance has been weakest. One PD specialist says

Shawn Zeller is a senior staff writer for Congressional Quarterly and a frequent contributor to the Journal.

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that Hughes has, in fact, shown “outright hostility” to career staff, surrounding herself with deputy assistant secretaries “who don’t know or care about the Foreign Service.”

Third, Hughes needs to coordinate the public diplomacy mission with other agencies that share responsibility for carrying it out — most prominently the Broadcasting Board of Governors, which oversees the United States’ foreign broadcasting, but also the U.S. Agency for International Development, as well as other Cabinet departments such as Defense and Commerce.

Three Goals and Five Es

By all accounts, Hughes’ tenure at State got off to an inauspicious start. Her visits to Saudi Arabia and Indonesia in the fall of 2005 were pilloried in the foreign and U.S. press. The most memorable, and demoralizing moments, came in Saudi Arabia — where a group of local women took issue with Hughes’ criticisms of Saudi culture, insisting that they were happy, despite the Saudi rules that bar women from driving and require strict separation of the sexes — and in front of Indonesian students, where Hughes was challenged repeatedly about U.S. policy in the Muslim world.

“I think it was maybe the case of mixed expectations as opposed to reviews,” Hughes said earlier this year, reflecting on the trip. “I mean, I remember talking with the reporters. The idea that I’m going to sit down with a group of people who are adamantly opposed to the war in Iraq and, because I am there to listen to them, that somehow I’m going to change their minds, I don’t think anyone in this room would expect that that’s a very realistic expectation.”

But unfortunately for Hughes, that was where she made her biggest headlines during her first year at State. And the reports of the trips still linger in the minds of many Foreign Service officers, continuing to inform attitudes about her competency. “She started out not just badly, but horrifyingly, shockingly, embarrassingly badly,” says one Washington-based officer who has done 10 overseas tours.

For many State officers, those encounters showed that Hughes was out of her depth. She walked into an impos-

By all accounts, Hughes’ tenure at State got off to an inauspicious start. But there is also agreement that she has learned from her mistakes.

sible situation, sounded trite as she described herself repeatedly as “a mom” and recited clichés about U.S. democratic values. To her foreign audiences, she came off as insincere and condescending. And back at State, such encounters confirmed concerns that Hughes was a public diplomacy lightweight, with no experience working abroad,

appointed to a vitally important post simply because she was a friend of the president.

But other FSOs, even some who are sharply critical of her in other areas, say that the trips were a welcome wake-up call for Hughes. “She seems to be really smart, flexible and adaptable, and willing to change her tactics to accommodate the facts,” says one longtime PD officer. “She seems to be capable of learning from her mistakes.”

Since the trips, she has recast her role by defining a clear mission and setting three overarching goals. The first, she says, is that the United States must “continue to offer the world a positive vision of hope and opportunity that’s rooted in our values, our belief in freedom, our commitment to human rights, our belief in the worth and dignity and equality and value of every single person in the world.” Second, the United States must work with allies and friends to isolate and marginalize violent extremists. Finally, the U.S. must encourage recognition of the “common interests and common values between Americans and people of different countries and cultures and faiths across the world.”

To accomplish those goals, Hughes has laid out tactics that she dubs the “five Es,” which are “engage, exchange, educate, empower and evaluate.” Many officers admit that they can’t help rolling their eyes when they hear Hughes try to boil down the public diplomacy message into pithy talking points. But her effort to define the mission does square with the recent recommendations of the Government Accountability Office, as well as the influential 2003 Advisory Group on Public Diplomacy for the Arab and Muslim World. The latter was chaired by Edward Djerejian, director of the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy at Rice University and a former ambassador to Israel and Syria. Both studies argued that U.S. public diplomacy lacks the clear message and forceful, coordinated delivery that define a good private-sector

public relations campaign.

Furthermore, Hughes has backed up her PR talk with several substantive program and policy changes. In Foggy Bottom, a new “Rapid Response Unit” in the Bureau of Public Affairs monitors foreign broadcasts and blogs, and produces a daily one-page report on the stories foreign journalists are

covering along with the U.S. position on those issues. The report is then delivered to top political appointees, ambassadors and public affairs officers around the world.

Hughes has also set up what she calls “an echo chamber,” in which policy statements are posted on State’s Intranet in an effort to unify the department’s message on key issues attracting attention in the international media. Those statements are also used to draft editorials that air on Voice of America broadcasts.

Hughes has also freed ambassadors to be interviewed by the foreign press without advance permission from Washington. She has herself conducted interviews with Al-Jazeera and other Arab media on the grounds that they have wide viewership in the Muslim world, even though they were once unwelcome at State because of their perceived hostility to U.S. policy. And out of concern that too many previous media relations efforts have focused on bilateral relations, she’s set up regional public diplomacy hubs in Dubai and Brussels. The public affairs officers there focus on regional media outlets such as Al-Jazeera.

“The purpose of our ambassadors and our Foreign Service officers is to be out interacting with the media, to be communicating with the public about America’s policies and values and actions,” Hughes told the Associated Press in June. “We are working to try to change the entire culture of the State Department.”

The changes have won positive reviews. Officers on Hughes’ staff indicate that they are impressed with her energy and her access to the White House. And some express admiration for her skills as a public relations operative. The Bush administration’s message “may be hard to believe,” says one veteran officer. “But she excels at choreographing the ways to get it out there.”

Many in the field say Hughes’ public relations-style approach to public diplomacy reflects the kind of top-down thinking that works better in politics than foreign

***A new “Rapid Response Unit”
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affairs. Many of Hughes’ initiatives, in other words, start with a dictate from Washington that the field must then follow, with little receptivity to ideas coming from the other direction, they say.

Earlier this year the Government Accountability Office credited Hughes with taking the first steps toward a professional

public relations campaign, but continued to criticize the department for its slowness in distributing guidance to the field.

Hughes has made much of the increased number of interviews Foreign Service officers have conducted in Arabic — a number that doubled from 2004 to 2005 to about 100 total interviews, and is slated to rise again this year — but, as the GAO notes, there is still a long way to go. Its study found that 37 percent of the language-designated posts in the Muslim world are filled by officers without the requisite language skills.

In January, President Bush launched the National Security Language Initiative to help cut into that deficit. Under the program, State is slated to receive \$27 million to boost the language skills of FSOs. At the same time, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice has changed promotion criteria at State to require more advanced language mastery. These efforts may well improve the situation, but it will clearly take years before State can respond to the foreign media in the Muslim world as readily as Hughes and others would like.

Describing Hughes’ efforts, Steven Johnson, a former State public affairs officer now at the conservative Heritage Foundation, a Washington think-tank, says it’s about “what you’d expect a former journalist to do, which is focus on the media.” But, he adds, “I’m not sure she has focused enough on the other parts that make up two-thirds of the public diplomacy mission: building bridges of understanding through academic and cultural exchanges, as well as foreign broadcasting, and coordinating the foreign public affairs efforts of other government agencies. In that [respect], she’s still getting her sea legs.”

Critics within the department say that Hughes also needs to focus more on the development of her Foreign Service staff. Hughes has not taken it upon herself, they say, to commend career staff when they do a good job, or

give them assurances that hard work and training in the public diplomacy arena will lead to career advancement.

USIA: Gone but Not Forgotten

Among public diplomacy officers, current and past, there is still great nostalgia for the United States Information Agency, an independent agency that guided the United States' communications efforts overseas for nearly 50 years with great success. Seven years after USIA became part of State in 1999, PD officers say that they still feel like outsiders in the department.

When the Public Diplomacy Council — a group of top diplomats organized by The George Washington University — issued a “Call for Action on Public Diplomacy” in January 2005, its first recommendation was essentially to reconstitute USIA as a new U.S. Agency for Public Diplomacy. The unintended result of the merger of USIA and State, the report said, had been “to weaken strategic communication as an effective foreign policy tool.”

However, the report argued, simply creating a new public diplomacy bureaucracy within State would not work: “Without direct control of public diplomacy personnel and financial resources, an under secretary will continue to be held responsible for, yet have no real authority over, public diplomacy — a prescription for failure. A new structure ... must be built.”

Not everyone agrees with that argument. Edward Djerejian himself calls the dismantling of USIA a “strategic lapse in judgment.” But he adds that it would be very difficult to resurrect another government institution. Instead, he believes the challenge is: “How do you reinvent public diplomacy *within* the Foreign Service?”

Quanton, who is vice president of the Public Diplomacy Council, says that there's a strong argument to be made that it would be more efficient if State could be made to carry out the public diplomacy mission. “They've been groping for a structural solution to integration, which I think is still far from perfect,” he says. “It's turned out to be very, very difficult.”

Djerejian points out that Hughes has taken steps to boost the profile of the public diplomacy mission by, for

Many FSOs fear Hughes is trying to run the PD apparatus as she would a political campaign, from the top.

example, shifting rating standards for ambassadors to include an evaluation of their success in speaking out on behalf of the United States, and encouraging their missions to do the same. In addition, he notes, Hughes has succeeded in having a deputy assistant secretary for public diplomacy placed in each of State's six regional bureaus.

Quanton worries that promotion opportunities are still not as bright for public diplomacy officers as they were during the days of USIA. “There are no senior jobs guaranteed to public diplomacy diplomats now,” he says. “That's a distinct downgrading of career opportunities from what existed before.” PD officers have a greater opportunity, of course, to seek ambassadorships; but that, as Quanton notes, is not a purely public diplomacy function.

The bottom line, says Djerejian, is that “To change [the] culture you have to lead a campaign and get it done, and I think more work needs to be done on that. Foreign Service officers have to understand they are on the front lines of public diplomacy no matter what their function may be.”

The Broadcasting Piece of the Puzzle

If reshaping State's culture weren't enough of a challenge, an equally daunting task may be integrating State's public diplomacy efforts with those of other government agencies and, in particular, the Broadcasting Board of Governors. The BBG oversees myriad, disjointed foreign broadcast networks that have both a responsibility to coordinate with State and a mission that requires journalistic independence.

At a House Appropriations Committee hearing in May, Rep. Alan B. Mollohan, D-W.Va., laid out the problem: “We've had the Coalition Information Center and the White House Office of Global Communications, Strategic Communication Policy Coordinating Committee, and the Muslim World Outreach Policy Coordination Committee. And the DOD's had the Office of Strategic Influence,” he said, touching on some of the previous efforts to coordinate. “To what extent can we realistically think that we're going to coordinate all of the agencies in a unified message?”

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Responding to Mollohan, Hughes acknowledged the problem. “As I travel the world, people almost everywhere tell me, you all don’t speak as one government. You speak as a bunch of different governments,” she said. It’s “hard,” she added, “because a story breaks somewhere and it involves one agency. And you don’t know the answer, and yet different agencies are asked about it. And so, it appears that no one wants to talk about it. Yet it’s really just a matter that the State Department shouldn’t be answering questions about what the CIA is doing — or should it?” As yet, no one has managed to resolve those thorny questions.

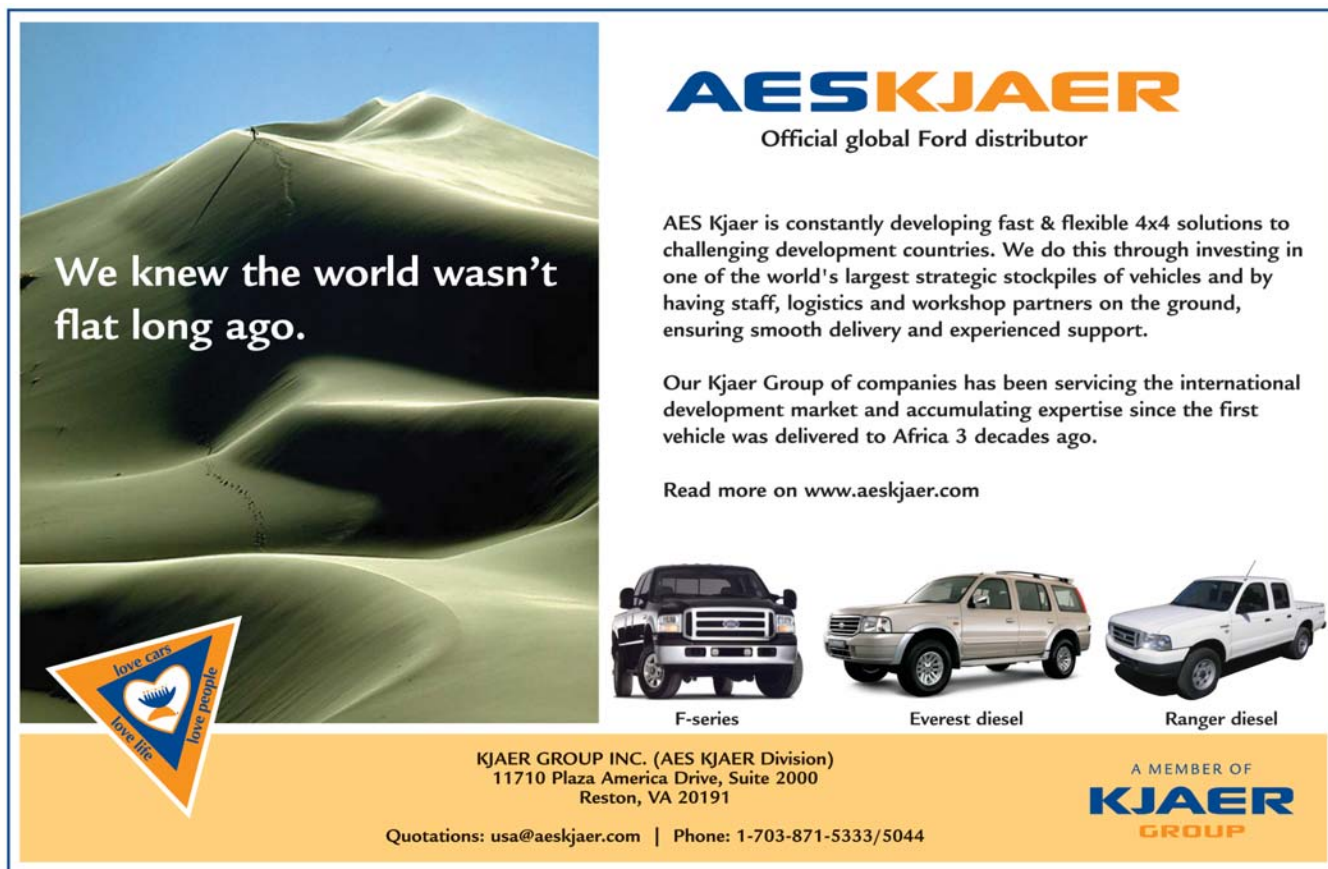
Also frustrating for Hughes is the independence afforded the BBC, which has a \$645 million annual budget to broadcast independent journalism focusing on U.S. policy to countries where press freedom is restricted. The BBC oversees such venerable radio and television entities as the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe/Radio Free Liberty, as well as new media outlets in the Middle East such as Radio Sawa and the Alhurra satellite televi-

sion network in Arabic-speaking countries, and Radio Farda in Iran.

The level of independence of the broadcasters — among themselves and from State — has been a source of longstanding debate. “There have been some differences of opinion as to what exactly, where the firewall is,” Hughes said at the May House hearing. “For example,” she said, “it seems to me that it would make sense for our broadcasting entities to cover our exchange programs. Why shouldn’t our broadcasting do a documentary about a group of clerics who come to America, or a group of young people who come to America?”

Djerejian agrees that State should have more editorial influence over the broadcasters. “You’re trying to put someone in a suit that doesn’t fit them” by creating a firewall, he says. “I believe that if you are going to have a Voice of America, you should *make* it a voice of America. It is seen as that, and people will listen to it as that.”

To facilitate closer cooperation, in April President Bush established yet another interagency panel that



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Hughes leads: the Policy Coordinating Committee on Public Diplomacy and Strategic Communication.

But it will be an uphill fight to convince the broadcasters, who closely guard their independence, of the need for closer coordination. Indeed, veteran employees of the U.S. broadcasting entities say that any hint of State Department control will undermine their credibility.

“I believe international broadcasting and public diplomacy should be two different activities,” says Kim Andrew Elliott, an audience research analyst for the International Broadcasting Bureau, who noted that he was speaking only on his own behalf. “Public diplomacy is really public relations on an international scale. It has a persuasive purpose, an advocacy purpose. Broadcasting has a different purpose. People tune in to get information that is more credible than what they get in their own state-controlled media. Credibility is the be-all and end-all.”

But is U.S. broadcasting effective under the current, sometimes tense arrangement with State? That’s the million-dollar question. The GAO has reported that in many cases the broadcasts have suffered from poor audience attention, and limited transmission capabilities. As yet, no comprehensive study has been conducted on how much U.S. broadcasting affects foreign public opinion.

Judging from the limited data that are available, many of the findings are not good. A recent survey of university communications students in the Arab world, conducted by a researcher at Queens University of Charlotte, N.C., found that young people who listened to Radio Sawa or watched Alhurra Television actually grew *less* sympathetic toward U.S. foreign policy. The BBG has dismissed the study as unscientific, because respondents were not selected at random and the total sample size was small. But the results are still disquieting.

The Role of Management

State’s public diplomacy team has also suffered from poor attention to evaluation of existing programs and

If reshaping State’s culture weren’t enough of a challenge, an equally daunting task may be integrating its PD efforts with those of other agencies.

limited ability to interact directly with target populations because of security concerns, according to the GAO. Most embassies are now, by necessity, hardened facilities with little or no public access. Initiatives such as the American Corners program, which sets up American reading rooms and computer access in cooperation with

local partners, are still only in the beginning stages.

The budget for international exchanges, meanwhile, is up 11.3 percent this year from 2005. Spending could hit \$474 million in 2007, but it is still inadequate, according to many analysts. State has received an influx of cash for public diplomacy, with the budget hitting \$630 million in 2006 from \$520 million in 2004. But, as the GAO has noted, State hasn’t been able to fill even all of its existing public diplomacy positions with qualified applicants. Approximately 15 percent of PD positions overseas are currently vacant.

Better management, exercised consistently, will help alleviate these problems. But Michael Schneider, a former USIA deputy associate director for policy and programs, argues it’s unlikely that even that will solve the public diplomacy dilemma once and for all. Even very effective selling of policies that are objectionable overseas can only take you so far, he says. And that may be a challenge that even a very effective public diplomacy operation — one that provides a serious advisory role for PD officers — cannot overcome, because, as the war continues to boil in Iraq, it just may be too late.

“The missing ingredient in U.S. national security policy is the lack of a strong, consistent, advisory role for public diplomacy,” says Schneider, who is now a professor at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University. “People who know the culture, languages and societies should not just have been asked, but been *required* to play a stronger role in policy development. What we hear from our leaders is that we need a stronger voice, but we can’t be effective if our policies don’t benefit from the people who deal with public opinion and social and cultural concerns. We need to craft those policies with a more consistent and a more clear-cut view of what are the possible results.” ■

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY MATTERS MORE THAN EVER

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LIKE INTELLIGENCE ANALYSIS, PD MUST BE PROTECTED FROM POLITICAL STRONG-ARMING, GENEROUSLY FUNDED AND HEADED AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL.

BY PATRICIA H. KUSHLIS AND PATRICIA LEE SHARPE

ublic diplomacy was vitally important during the Cold War, a contest the U.S. could not afford to lose on any level. So it is perhaps understandable that the euphoria that followed our victory led otherwise sober analysts to entertain thoughts of the “end of history.” Contrary to the expectations of the policymakers who abolished the U.S. Information Agency in a fit of hubris and parsimony, however, we find ourselves in a dangerous, shape-shifting era. More and more governments play the nuclear card, once-poor nations throw their economic clout around and even longstanding allies must be cajoled for support.

In some ways, we are the victim of our own success. Ex-client states have outgrown U.S. tutelage and economic support; political empowerment has produced intellectual independence; and the U.S. is no longer seen as the “indispensable force” or beloved uncle whose warts and missteps can be overlooked. Instead, the U.S. must explain itself even to its old friends and, too often, finds itself on the defensive. The swagger that inspired confidence during the Cold War now generates more resentment than admiration.

Nor is bigger always more powerful today. Some of today’s most virulent threats come from supranational universalistic ideologies and non-state actors perpetrating massive cross-border (or intrastate) violence. And a

single, freelance blogger reaches even more people than did the BBC and the Voice of America combined a few decades ago. Enterprising geeks can undermine electronic security systems and government censors’ Internet blocking.

There’s more. Satellite television outlets with deeply appealing, competing perspectives have multiplied. The Internet allows rapid, low-investment access to global audiences by anyone, anywhere, and bloggers pounce gleefully on ill-considered official statements. Misrepresentations are exposed, counterarguments are generated, and silence is filled by alternative ideas. To succeed in this decentralized, democratized, even anarchic environment, diplomacy requires ever-greater contextual sophistication, flexibility and nimbleness, and two-way communication skills, meaning dialogue — not hectoring.

Contemporary Contexts for Public Diplomacy

Given this dangerous and complex world, the exercise of public diplomacy offers distinct advantages. It’s far cheaper than war and its results are long-lasting. Public diplomacy isn’t about coercion, bluster or manipulation, but persuasion. It’s about communication so relevant and so well conceived that allies are reinforced, neutrals

become supportive and opponents are defeated or undermined by doubt. The violently defeated usually vow to undo the damage as soon as possible, and those blindsided by the elite-to-elite aspects of secret or traditional diplomacy may feel less than bound by agreements that seem unfair. But it's hard to repudiate a deal to which you're a knowing and willing party.

Even friends take persuading, as the present Bush administration discovered in seeking allies for the second Iraq War. In several instances, governments were inclined to join the coalition of the willing, but their publics were less happy about going to war. A robust public diplomacy effort conducted by a seasoned corps of respected and self-respecting Foreign Service profes-

***Public diplomacy
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but persuasion.***

sionals (not advertising whiz kids, not PR people, not MBAs), with cutting-edge tools and carefully cultivated communications networks, might have generated more enthusiasm for the cause, but we'll never know. America's public diplomacy agency had already been dismantled, its professionals disdained and

dispersed.

Public diplomacy plays a yet more critical role in gaining support for American interests in countries whose leaders are suspicious, hostile or simply indifferent to U.S. interests. A nudge from below can have beneficial results even in undemocratic states. Outreach provides the opposition with intellectual ammunition, and when action is dangerous or impossible, it keeps ideas and hope alive.

And finally, there's the challenge of being prepared for change. Public diplomacy allows for continuity of contact when revolutions, coups or upsets of one kind or another displace valued contacts at the top of the hierarchy. What happens? A ready and waiting set of friends assumes responsibility.

In short, America's public diplomacy must reflect the vitality of political, social, economic, intellectual and cultural debate in such a way as to support current policy, yes, but also to provide a basis for America's continuing influence in an unpredictable, multipolar world, whatever the ideology of the party in power.

Though many of our examples in this article are drawn from the USIA era, we do not argue here for the agency's reincarnation. We *do* advocate an effective PD presence around the world. We also contend that public diplomacy, like trustworthy intelligence gathering, must be protected from short-sighted political strong-arming, must be generously funded and must be factored in at the highest levels.

Keeping Allies Cooperative

Although the U.S. is powerful today — absolutely and comparatively — we still need friends and allies. The truth is that even old friends do not always see things the way we do. To gain and retain their support, America must convince them, not once but continuously, that U.S. interests are also theirs. Friends, personal or international, must never be taken for granted.

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*Patricia Lee Sharpe was an FSO with USIA and State from 1978 to 2001. A former Fulbright lecturer in Pakistan, she has a Ph.D. in American literature and has worked in journalism, advertising/public relations and academia. Since retiring to Santa Fe in 2001, she has devoted herself to writing fiction and poetry, publishing two books: *The Deadmen and Other Poems (Writer's Workshop, Calcutta, 2003)* and *Four Walls and a Veil (Oxford, 2004)*, her translations from the Urdu of the poems of Pakistani feminist Fahmida Riaz. She is currently preparing a volume of short stories entitled *The Natalie Tales for publication*. In addition to addressing current affairs through the WhirledView blog, she has been an occasional visiting lecturer on South Asia at the University of New Mexico.*

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Yet as part of her call for “transformational diplomacy,” Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice is pursuing a global repositioning initiative that *reduces* the U.S. presence in Europe, in order to beef up embassies elsewhere in the world. Improving U.S. representation in India or Indonesia is an excellent idea. But drawing down in Europe to do so is a mistake. A political shakeup is on the horizon in the U.K. Romano Prodi has considered pulling the Italian contingent out of Iraq. Poland is changing. Putin’s Russia is flexing its petroleum-funded muscle in worrisome ways. Even on good days, interests are seldom identical and no one wants to pay the piper. Our foreign affairs friends are not clones of America or of one another.

The bedrock for American security, we often think, is shared democratic values and perceptions of what is

*The swagger that
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than admiration.*

good or important and what is not. But genuine democracies differ in culture and habits of mind. They disagree about priorities. They are frequently at odds about economic issues, the World Trade Organization negotiations being a case in point. Even minor gaps in understanding can be fatal when time is of the essence.

Consider a demarche, an urgent request for another government’s support or statement of support, often presented at the highest level. The U.S. needs a quick response: “Yes, we support you!” or “No, forget about it!” With no time for discussion or negotiation, the response may be an unwelcome negative if a government fears its public is insufficiently prepared.

This need not happen. Sustained public diplomacy can ease the way for a demarche. Given today’s hyper-



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communicative, democratizing world, successful foreign policy cannot be made in secret by a tight group of trusted confidants. In stable democracies and even in autocratic situations, support for (or opposition to) a government's foreign policy comes from many directions: the media, educational establishments, opposition parties, other parts of the bureaucracy, the business community, labor unions, NGOs, students and religious leaders. To ensure support when we need it, the U.S. must be laying the groundwork for a whole range of contingencies day in, day out, through public diplomacy.

During the Cold War, the U.S. worked hard to convince friends and allies of our shared political and moral compass. Even in London and Paris there were well-staffed PD missions. USIA was continually updating computers and communications technology to back up the fast-reacting, intricately coordinated, highly specialized and professionally skilled person-to-person efforts of America's public diplomacy corps. Until very recently these officers proudly accepted (and were allowed to accept) the risk of operating out of buildings that weren't fortresses for the frightened. America's PD efforts emanated from cultural centers, libraries and English-teaching institutes where people were warmly welcomed to share the excitement of an open society. USIA librarians served high school and college kids, which is to say future as well as current leaders: legislators, presidential aides, journalists, academics, businesspeople. Educational and professional exchange programs gave people from around the world firsthand experience of the U.S. With very rare exceptions, they returned with a keen appreciation for Americans and their institutions.

Similar exchange programs made it possible for Americans to learn about the world. U.S. teenagers studied in German high schools and lived with German families. Fulbright professors taught American studies to Russians, even during the Cold War. Many foreign area and language specialists who later joined USIA or the State Department began their international careers as Fulbright researchers in Japan, India, Brazil, you name it. Profoundly experienced in the cultural con-

***Effective PD programs
do not presume that the
U.S. can democratize
tyrannized societies
overnight, or is the
only model for them.***

text of the countries to which they would eventually be posted, they were able to shape America's message in ways that resonated with radically different audiences.

Today many exchange programs are underfunded and, for political and budgetary reasons, aimed largely at one geographic region. Further, by de-emphasizing the need to educate Americans abroad in favor of bringing foreigners here, the State Department has forgotten

that the very meaning of "exchange" is *two-way*.

Similarly, USIA's press and information experts played a dual role. They kept accurate and relevant information on current U.S. policy flowing to foreign opinion-shapers, policymakers and media people who, however well disposed toward the West, might be uninformed or susceptible to misinformation and disinformation. The Voice of America was a trusted daily source of reliable news, admired for its accuracy and because it occasionally aired news items that were not wholly favorable to the U.S., thus incarnating the virtues of a free press.

In addition to supporting systematic polling efforts to keep tabs on public opinion, information officers monitored the local press for anti-American stories, editorials and commentaries, then crafted culturally-appropriate, rapid, on-the-spot responses that got a thoughtful reception because these PD pros had been making friends and doing their homework all along. USIA officers didn't put out vicious propaganda, didn't conceal authorship, didn't manipulate, didn't lie. The truth usually made America look good — but the way USIA handled PD made America look even better.

The Bush administration might have garnered stronger support for its foreign policy if the public diplomacy resources developed over decades hadn't been squandered and the very need for a PD profession hadn't been so radically disputed. Uncritical devotion to the market model and to the private sector led to filling PD leadership positions with advertising and public relations executives whose miscalculations resulted in ridicule.

Their ineptness, in turn, encouraged the Pentagon to fill the information gap in ways that have under-

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mined trust in America's veracity. Despite the firestorm of criticism that broke out when the public learned that the Pentagon-funded Lincoln Group was paying Iraqi journalists to plant American-written pieces favorable to the U.S. under their own bylines, such psy-ops continue to eat away at our credibility. Under these circumstances the people who would be our natural allies have no reason to trust us. We thereby lose the friends that honest PD would garner.

Making Friends in Tough Neighborhoods

The Cold War showed the U.S. how to make hay when the sun wasn't shining. Working smart, working indirectly and by example as much as exhortation in Iron Curtain countries, the U.S. was able to influence and strengthen the resolve of people seeking democracy and its corresponding freedom of speech, thought and religion. As a result, much to Russia's dismay, most of the old Eastern Bloc is joining the European Union.

The equivalent miracle is possible in Islamic countries, where a majority seldom supports oppressive fanaticism, if U.S. representatives are prepared to function in ways that are subtle, well informed and respectful. That means PD officers taking the time to sip sweet tea, talk poetry and discuss theology on the same day they've lectured on the virtues of a limited executive and shown the younger crowd how to find hot political blogs or download pop songs legally.

The choice of diplomatic tools is always situation-specific, so PD people at each post need the freedom to pick and choose among the high- and the very low-tech. For example, during the 1980s, the U.S. Information Service library in Helsinki kept a box with copies of the *International Herald Tribune* and other printed material that representatives of the fledgling Estonian independence movement picked up and hand-carried across the Gulf of Finland each month. The recently deceased Lennart Meri, who became Estonia's president after independence, said that what he valued most about the

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U.S. presence in Finland was the American Center. He urged the U.S. to establish one in Tallinn. We did, but it lasted less than a decade before succumbing to budget cuts and security concerns.

During the 1990s a critical PD tool in Sierra Leone was a “Women in Development” group. Encouraged by USIS, the women sparked an indigenous peace movement that eventually brought down a nasty military junta. The future president of the country was also a carefully cultivated PD contact and frequent dinner guest at the ambassador’s residence.

Speaker programs also support change. They not only explain U.S. policy, but embody democratic debate. PD officers and political officers have often argued vehemently over whether official speakers should stick to a party line or whether they can incorporate opposing ideas as well. In our experience, when foreign audiences heard U.S. officials discussing policy, they were attentive. When USIA-sponsored academics respectfully differed with current policy, however, the result was unalloyed admiration for the courage of the U.S. in showcasing free and open discussion. It was a win-win situation, but we’re told that this richness of opinion is no longer tolerated. That’s a major loss to U.S. credibility.

Effective PD programs do not presume that the U.S. can democratize tyrannized societies overnight or from the outside, or that every democracy has to follow the U.S. model in detail. But in Eastern Europe and elsewhere, USIA programs overseen by skilled PD officers helped to equip the personalities and prepare the ground from which sturdy indigenous democracies are growing. Vaclav Havel and Charter 77 were well-known to PD officers at Embassy Prague.

Ensuring Readiness for Big Changes

Even when governments shun official contact with American diplomats or when top American officials refuse to deal directly with their counterparts, PD practitioners may be in productive contact with respected members of civil society and the opposition.

After all, governments change. They fall overnight;

***Cultural programs
are crucial PD tools in
countries where normal
political activity has
been driven underground
— not frills.***

they are thrown out in elections; they lose, so to speak, the mandate of heaven. Suddenly PD contacts are in control of the government! When the Berlin Wall fell in November 1989, the U.S. knew the opposition in Poland and Hungary as well as Czechoslovakia. When Labor gave way to a Conservative government in the United Kingdom in 1979, the new prime minister, Margaret Thatcher, had experienced America on a U.S. govern-

ment-sponsored International Visitor program.

Dance and cultural programs are not frills. They are crucial PD tools in countries where normal political activity has been driven underground. While American musicians perform during a concert at a public affairs officer’s house, invitees are free to talk to their host and often provide useful information. During a 1998 concert in Karachi, for instance, a Pakistani Muslim leader revealed that he was deeply unhappy with trends in his Saudi-backed organization. So, nearly a decade ago we realized that Islamist politics had become important, and we had connections.

Or take an incident from 1972. The military junta in Thailand earned an abrupt downfall by cold-bloodedly firing upon student demonstrations. The king appointed judges to run the country and prepare for elections. A USIA officer in the cultural section was the only person in the U.S. embassy community who knew these judges personally. He had entertained them at his home. They trusted him. The U.S. was off on the right foot with the new regime.

Whatever the context, however, integrity is imperative. Having earlier suggested that public diplomacy is more durable than duress, we insist that blatant propaganda is not only counterproductive, but increasingly futile. In today’s speed-of-light communications environment, the right message will resonate globally as never before. The folly of a poorly conceived message will be exposed just as rapidly. A U.S. government spokesperson has a reasonable chance of influencing news and commentary in the mainstream media at home, but the Wild West cacophony of the Internet is only controllable if U.S. spokespeople are honest and make sense. We know. We’re bloggers now. ■

NEITHER MADISON AVENUE NOR HOLLYWOOD

How

IF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY HAS FAILED, AS MANY CRITICS NOW CLAIM, IT HAS NOT BEEN DUE TO AN INABILITY TO FIND THE SECRET SLOGAN OR MAGIC MESSAGE.

BY ROBERT J. CALLAHAN

How is it possible, a congressman mused publicly a few years ago, that “the country that invented Hollywood and Madison Avenue” could not sell itself overseas? He seemed to suggest that if we just hit on a pithy, persuasive slogan, we could convince others of our good intentions. He appeared to argue that, delivered with the right panache, our message would be welcomed and embraced by the world.

But public diplomacy is neither advertising nor movie-making. Nor is it public relations or political campaigning. It may be related to those disciplines, as baseball is distantly related to cricket, but it is most assuredly not close kin. For while all these occupations, including public diplomacy, must communicate a message to large groups of people, the difference is in the complexity of the product.

Advertisers sell an item — beer or shoes or cars —

Bob Callahan, a Foreign Service officer since 1979, has been a public affairs officer in Rome, Athens and La Paz. He has also served in San Jose, Tegucigalpa and London. His most recent overseas assignment was as press attaché and spokesman in Baghdad from June 2004 to May 2005. He is currently a public diplomacy fellow at The George Washington University.

that is specific and self-defining. Movie-makers want to entertain and, when good, provoke. Their product appeals to the senses as well as the mind. Political strategists work in a familiar domestic milieu where communication is rapid and emotional, an environment where the sound bite and arresting image produce results. Public-relations agents burnish the reputations of individuals or businesses, rarely going beyond clichés and superficial explanations. When their clients do well, they tout it. When they behave badly or perform poorly, they make excuses for them.

We public diplomacy practitioners, in contradiction, work in foreign countries and usually in foreign languages. We seek to explain and promote foreign policy issues, which are by their nature complicated and multifaceted. We must also describe American society, culture, history and values, a task that is, if anything, even more challenging. Yet we cannot reduce our arguments to slogans or images, no matter how appealing. We have to provide context and nuance, explain our motives and goals, and describe those many factors, domestic and international, that shape the policy. Although the policies we are pursuing, and why we are pursuing them, may be self-evident to Americans, that’s rarely the case for a foreign audience.

Pressing the Flesh

To do public diplomacy properly requires time, preparation and patience. As we assess ways to improve our image, we must consider new technologies, novel methods and clever approaches. We embraced quickly, and used to good purpose, the Internet. Some of our offices now employ text messaging and other tools popular among the young and tech-savvy to enlarge our audience. No doubt other instruments will soon become available that will help us in our work. We should also explore what those other related disciplines, such as advertising and public relations, can teach us about effective communication.

But we have to accept that public diplomacy, like every diplomatic enterprise, is labor-intensive. It ultimately comes down to talking to people, often repeat-

*To do public
diplomacy properly
requires time, preparation
and patience —
and personal contact.*

edly and usually individually or in small groups.

These personal encounters are essential for a couple of reasons. Through them we can describe and defend American policies, positions and motives to make our actions clear and understandable. In addition, we can use them to identify individuals who would profit from an

academic exchange or international visitor grant and, in the fullness of time, share their deeper knowledge of America with others.

To be sure, an interview that reaches large numbers through television, radio or newspapers may enlighten and sway people. A performance featuring an American jazz trio, string quartet, dance company or theater troupe will show our diversity and artistic talents to good effect. Film festivals, seminars, photo exhibits, lecture series and



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other activities attract large numbers and expose them to different aspects of American history and culture. Such offerings can instruct and gratify foreign audiences, contributing to getting our message out. Still, effective public diplomacy depends on personal contact. Otherwise, how do we invite the right people to the exhibit and find a respected co-sponsor? How do we understand a journalist's biases or know an academic's political leanings? How do we choose the right newspaper, magazine or broadcasting program for an interview?

Personal contact, of course, requires officers, and officers cost a lot of money. Yet there is little prospect that future budgets will allow for dramatically increasing our programs or our ranks. So what measures can the department take to ensure that public diplomacy gets done and done well?

***Foreign Service officers
are among our most
valuable, but underused,
public diplomacy assets.***

There are several ways to do this, all of them quite basic and relatively inexpensive. First, we need more officers who speak languages at a professional level. Then, all Foreign Service officers, and not just those specializing in public diplomacy, must use their enhanced language skills to engage foreign publics. In order for officers to do this well and confidently, we need to provide more training in the theory and practice of public diplomacy. And, most important, we need to recognize and reward those officers who do all these things. This has all begun to happen, but too slowly.

The Importance of Speaking Fluently

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duties. I can think of no other skill more essential to our work. Yet too often we get to the 3/3 speaking/reading level, and stop there. I speak — perhaps spoke is more precise — Spanish and Italian at the 4-level and Greek at a 3. The practical gap between those grades is gargantuan. In the first two languages, I could do television and radio interviews, talk from notes and answer questions in seminars and conferences, and skim the papers for relevant articles. But in Greek, I could only carry on a simple conversation and get through newspaper editorials with a dictionary at hand. I may have been able to answer most questions, but I could not shade my meaning or convey subtlety in my responses. I certainly would not have dared to do live interviews for radio or attempted to exchange serious opinions with an informed audience in the language.

The fault was mine, not FSI's. I left language training with a 3/3 and the expectation that I would get better in Greek through regular use. But I quickly learned in Athens that my FSN staff and the journalists, politicians and academicians I regularly talked to spoke English far better than I spoke Greek. Although I used it with people in stores and restaurants and on official calls in the provinces, and even though I was dutiful in attempting to read the local papers, Greek was hard and the demands of the job were many. I got lazy. When I left the country after three years I had barely improved at all. A few of my colleagues did better, but most resembled me more than a fluent speaker. I have discussed this with many other officers who have studied Arabic, Korean, Japanese and Chinese, and again, many of them simply never got much beyond their FSI score.

Perhaps it is now time for the department, which pays a bonus to those who speak a hard language at the 3/3 level, to test officers annually. If someone slips below a 3, he or she loses the additional income. As a further inducement, the pay differential between 3 and 4 should be increased. This would encourage officers to use the language and improve their facility in it. It might also persuade them to return for repeat tours. As

***Should anyone be
sent abroad to represent
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discuss Puritanism, Mark
Twain and the civil
rights movement?***

it stands now, too often the department spends two years educating officers in a language — Korean comes especially to mind — yet after spending three years in the country, they never go back.

***... And Having Something
to Say***

State might also want to reconsider its requirement that officers have two geographic areas of expertise. If someone makes the effort to learn Arabic to the 4-level, then that person should be able to serve exclusively in the Arab world. After all, it is the lingua franca, so to speak, in almost 20 diverse countries, from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean. Similarly, learning one Slavic language helps with another, and each Slavic country offers different challenges, so why shouldn't an officer spend a career in Central and Eastern Europe?

Just speaking the language, of course, is not enough. As Alaister Cooke once said, he had a friend who spoke six languages perfectly but never uttered an intelligent word in any of them. No one would accuse our officers of that, but we could all use some help. Yes, several sessions dedicated to giving an interview, responding to the press, writing a speech and speaking in public should be mandatory for all officers, but FSI should go beyond training to education. It should also offer a version of area studies focusing on the United States. We might like to think it's otherwise, but many officers have forgotten much of what they learned in college about American culture, law, history, literature and art. Public diplomacy must address these subjects as well as foreign policy.

Most of us would welcome a refresher course on America's seminal documents — the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution — and the Supreme Court decisions that changed our history. I would think that many of us would seize the opportunity to study again, even briefly, the great speeches of Washington, Lincoln, Roosevelt, Kennedy and King and their implications for our country. And should anyone be sent abroad to represent America who cannot discuss Puritanism, Mark Twain and the civil rights movement?

F O C U S

The Foreign Service Institute has developed many new and innovative courses. Some last for only a few days, others for weeks or even months. But most of these address specific skills, such as economic reporting, information work and contracting. Why not add some on American history, culture, society, music and film? The greater Washington area is home to 10 or so fine universities. They all have professors with the experience to design and lead the courses. FSI has also embarked on distance learning and now offers courses by computer to officers serving abroad. It could easily add these others to that inventory.


Foreign Service officers are among our most valuable, but underused, public diplomacy assets. When I was in Greece, we organized a 10-part series in English (alas) on American history for a university, which gave academic credit to those who attended. We enlisted only Americans from the embassy to give the lectures. The general services officer, a former high school history teacher, talked about our founding documents.

Our cultural affairs officer addressed civil rights, and the political counselor spoke about religion in America. The economic counselor offered a lecture on American capitalism, and the information officer gave one on American film. The DCM talked about the various domestic influences on American foreign policy, and the ambassador concluded the series with a talk on America's foreign policy since World War II. Most of us had to do some research and all of us had to prepare our lectures, but the results were gratifying. Not only were we able to convey something of our history and culture, but we also had an opportunity to exchange ideas with young, skeptical Greeks.


The very presence of an American officer at a university or high school can have a salutary effect on our image. When we show we care about the students and their opinions, when they see that American diplomats are accessible and reasonable, it makes a positive difference, whether they agree with what we have to say or not. The same holds true when we speak to a Rotary

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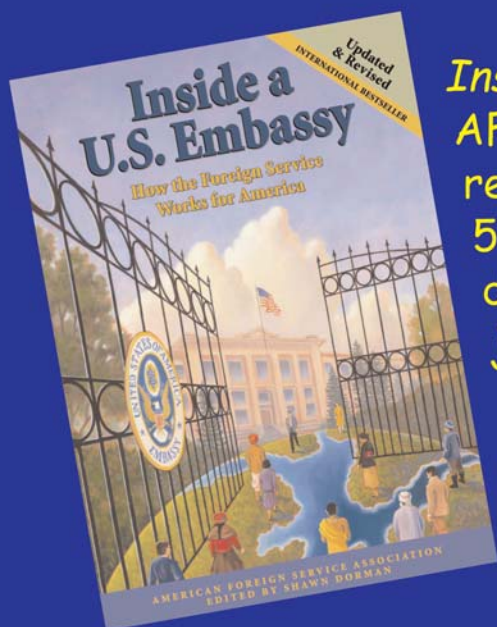
Of course, it takes time to go out and meet people, especially in a large country. And there is always something to keep us in our offices — a demarche or cable or meeting or management issue — and success in these duties largely determines the trajectory of an officer's career. When I sat on a performance-pay board in August 2005, I was pleased to note that many senior officers mentioned their efforts in public affairs. If promotion panels accorded the same importance to contributions in this field as in others, more officers would get out and do it.

Congress could also help. It should mandate fewer reports and make those still required shorter. It strikes many of us as ludicrous, for example, that our small

***We build successful
public diplomacy on
sound foreign policies
and personal
contact.***

embassy staff in Reykjavik has to devote many hours to preparing an annual human rights report. Instead of repeating, year after year, that the government of Iceland respects in every important particular the liberties of its citizens, they could be out talking to Icelanders about America.

If public diplomacy has failed, as many critics now claim, it has not been due to an inability to find the secret slogan or magic message. These things are wills-o'-the-wisp. We build successful public diplomacy on sound foreign policies and personal contact, on taking the message, in Edward R. Murrow's ubiquitous phrase, "the last three feet." It's time-consuming and labor-intensive. But that — not dazzling special effects or catchy sound bites — makes for effective communication. ■



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REBUILDING AMERICA'S CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

C

SINCE THE END OF THE COLD WAR, THE U.S. HAS UNWISELY LEFT CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL DIPLOMACY TO THE TOUGH MERCIES OF THE MARKETPLACE.

BY RICHARD T. ARNDT

urrent memory tends to attribute the creation of formal government cultural relations to counter-propaganda aimed at Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Imperial Japan. In fact it originated as outreach to Latin America, implementing FDR's Good Neighbor Policy, and was designed to reverse decades of a paternalist U.S. stance toward the Southern Hemisphere.

In 1938, Latin Americanist Sumner Welles, deputy to Secretary of State Cordell Hull, convinced the Department of State and President Roosevelt to open a Division of Cultural Relations in State, later tagged CU for the first two letters of "culture." To reassure fellow

Dr. Richard T. Arndt spent 24 years with USIA and State as a cultural diplomat, with overseas postings in Lebanon, Sri Lanka, Iran, Italy and France. Since retirement in 1985, he has taught at the University of Virginia and The George Washington University and chaired the American Fulbright Association of alumni, the National Peace Foundation, the citizen-support group Americans for UNESCO and an endowment honoring FSO Lois W. Roth. His book The First Resort of Kings: American Cultural Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century (Potomac, 2005), now in paperback, is a critical and comparative history of U.S. cultural outreach since World War I.

diplomats and Congress, he and Secretary Hull insisted that the division would do only 5 percent of the work, leaving the rest to the private and academic sector. Over the six preceding years, internal grousing by Foreign Service veterans had ranged from Loy Henderson and Ellis Briggs to Dean Acheson and future-participant George V. Allen.

In the debate about the division, no subject was more controversial than the idea of outsider field representatives — cultural attachés — in embassies. Some argued that American embassy cultural offices would be perceived as cover for intelligence, tainting the idea beyond repair. Speaking for the spit-and-polish traditionalists, Assistant Secretary George Messersmith insisted that the Foreign Service already represented the best in American culture, and hence needed no specialists. Posted later to Mexico, Messersmith admitted underestimating the time demands a decent cultural diplomacy entails.

The first field specialists, virtually all from the academic world, were not deployed until 1942, when the war took hold. The decision was carried out swiftly, at a high level of quality. To Chungking went future Harvard Sinologist John King Fairbank; and to Tehran, future Princeton Middle East scholar T. Cuyler Young. In Lima, the nod went to Albert Giesecke, longtime Ameri-

can rector of the university in Cuzco (and then-director of Peruvian education). He joined the embassy in 1931, the first de facto U.S. cultural attaché (1931-1958) after George Creel's half-hearted experiments with his Committee on Public Information in 1917-1918.

By 1943, campus-recruited cultural officers graced every U.S. embassy in Latin America and worked in a dozen other nations not yet overrun by war. In the rare cases where embassy officers, like W. Tapley Bennett in the Dominican Republic, added cultural duties to their other tasks, conflicting priorities and overwork set in. The new academic cultural officers and their staffs were funded by any available source: Nelson Rockefeller as Coordinator for Latin America, Elmer Davis and his Office of War Information, William Donovan and his Office of Strategic Services, State itself and local American business.

The Semantics of Public Diplomacy

Today, after two centuries of informal practice and six decades of formal U.S. cultural diplomacy, even close American observers have forgotten what was once in place, so faded has it become. The libraries have been closed; fine-arts and performing-arts traffic has all but ceased; direct English-teaching has been dropped; and U.S. and foreign field cultural staffs have been dismantled. With few exceptions, our cultural diplomacy has gone mute and deaf. To foreign audiences, it seems as though the U.S., having exploited culture for Cold War purposes, has left cultural and educational diplomacy to the tough mercies of the marketplace and to others who find it useful.

After 9/11, Americans noticed the loss. Since that sad date, well over 30 studies of public diplomacy have been tracked by the office of Under Secretary Karen Hughes, as well as quieter statements on the diplomacy of cultures, attracting less attention. These studies involved media experts and communications theorists; if they mention culture at all, it is as a PD tool. Meanwhile, scholars like Samuel Huntington and Joseph Nye have been warning for 15 years that the deep issues in today's world are cultural in nature.

The creation of formal U.S. government cultural relations originated in 1938 as outreach to Latin America, implementing FDR's Good Neighbor Policy.

Four decades as a cultural diplomat teach skepticism about the claims of public diplomacy practitioners, just as Americans learn to mistrust the self-promotions of advertising and PR. Most of the recent PD studies concur in nostalgia for good old USIA. The PD practitioners, focused on answers, seem to have overlooked the hard questions of function and definition.

Understandably, the meaning of "public diplomacy" has been opaque, even among its practitioners. Only in 1967 did ex-diplomat Edmund Gullion, dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, coin the term as a name for his new Edward R. Murrow Center. It was a polite euphemism for "propaganda," replacing "information" — which Creel had chosen for the CPI, Woodrow Wilson's acknowledged World War I propaganda agency.

The studies overlook definitions but agree that PD is indispensable. For the general public, PD at its very best is public relations or advertising, lightly dusted with Wilson's idea of open covenants. Those nostalgic for USIA wave the PD banner in the battle to restore it.

PD becomes a bit clearer if analyzed as a set of functions, distinct actions that State and USIA carried out in the last half-century — an approach I have undertaken elsewhere. From that angle, it looks like an all-too-American mix of informational and cultural diplomacy, run by the info-prop specialists — an odd merger of the *New York Times* and Harvard, managed by a small-time ad agency.

Culture's Poor Cousins

While cultural officers created U.S. cultural diplomatic practice and did much of USIA's field work, they were second-class citizens within both USIA and State. For one thing, they were overworked; for another, few saw the political relevance of their work; and they had responsibilities to other masters, like the universities. Until 1977, even after 24 years of USIA supervision, cultural affairs — including the flagship Fulbright exchanges — were administered by a separate and sometimes adversarial office, State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. USIA hired, assigned and managed the

F O C U S

cultural officers, but most of the important programs were funded and directed by CU.

In the field, CU-funded exchanges and cultural programs took up at least two-thirds of the daily labors of a U.S. Information Service post, depending on the country. Cultural channels provided the substance that fed the reorientation of postwar Germany and Japan; light focused through cultural lenses finally ignited the Soviet implosion.

From the outset, U.S. cultural diplomacy carried its own propaganda, the less trumpeted the better. Firewalls of academic integrity were put in place between 1938 and 1947 by Welles, Laurence Duggan, Ben Cherrington, Archibald MacLeish, Fulbright and the U.S. universities, but they slowly eroded.

After the birth of USIA in 1953, educational and cultural exchanges were dubbed one of USIA's "media" by its theoreticians and planners. With the 1977 merger of CU into USIA, the decline of vestigial cultural independence accelerated and staff quality slumped. In 1999,

the haphazard absorption of USIA by State further diminished education and culture, both in terms of program output and field staff. As in 1977, the long-expected reorganization of 1999 added up to considerably less than the sum of its parts.

Refilling the Reservoirs

After World War II, the U.S. could count on tapping "reservoirs of good will" filled over a century and a half by mythic diplomats like Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, articulate activists like Tom Paine, authors like James Fenimore Cooper and Harriet Beecher Stowe, intellectual citizen-diplomats, missionary-educators, enlightened military leaders, far-seeing merchants, philanthropists and humanitarians. Water for the reservoirs came from individuals and all sorts of institutions: those who extended the U.S. university beyond America's shores; the wise legislators who allowed the U.S. to import and maintain a level of over half a million resident foreign students a year; educators

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reaching out through private programs like the Rockefeller and Ford foundations; and government efforts like Fulbright, the Marshall Plan, USAID, the Peace Corps, the International Visitor Program and others.

Today, the reservoirs have run dry and, clearly, they cannot be refilled overnight. Despite the pleas of the PD studies, better public relations can do little to fill the gap. Info-prop is no magic wand: spin, focus, staying on message and rebranding are feeble tactical tools. But the strategic problem of sweetening a sour policy when the audience has lost faith in the messenger can take decades to solve.

During her initial listening tour in the Near East last fall, and later in Afghanistan where 20 preselected English-speaking students helped her grasp the extent of the damage, Under Secretary Hughes must have learned that rebuilding lost trust is a slow process. Trust depends less on words than on actions, carried on over time. Diplomats call it foreign policy.

A Culture-Sensitive Foreign Policy

The PD studies repeatedly admit to being stymied by policy, explaining that it falls outside their mandate. But policy is not just *a* factor; it is the *only* factor. A decent foreign policy must keep education near its core if it is to be sensitive to managing the irreducible cultural issues which plague us today, when the world sees overwhelming American power as a threat.

To confront the example of today's thorniest cultural problem, Iraq was a recognized diplomatic conundrum, with a history extending back at least a century. It was the classic tough-nut case calling for a long-term *cultural* approach. Today, having jettisoned applied wisdom, it is no surprise that U.S. actions have triggered the very inferno promised by Saddam Hussein.

I have little doubt that a cultural approach to U.S.-Iraq relations begun six decades ago would have produced different results — by now, properly funded, it might have produced an alumni body of a thousand or more exchangees. From that pool, we might have drawn a discreet, self-administered, revolving panel of Iraq experts, mingling statesmen young and old with the scholars generated by the investments of Rocke-

Trust depends less on words than on actions, carried on over time — a process diplomats call foreign policy.

feller, Ford, Fulbright, USAID, the National Defense and Education Act and the Peace Corps. An Iraq watch group might have anticipated problems, pressed for more university centers in Near East languages and area studies and warned under-informed policymakers — and their over-informed advisers — about U.S. skills deficits. The military poses a

special opportunity, given its impressive record in education extending back two centuries and its cultural preservation in the European and Pacific theatres in 1943-1945. Today its “cultural” dimension is fragmented, reports Thomas Ricks in *Fiasco*, parceled out to specialists in psy-ops, in counter-insurgency operations and in civil affairs, but enriched by the contributions of thoughtful reservists like Matthew Bogdanos (see his *Thieves of Baghdad*). A strong Iraq panel might have persuaded DOD, at little cost, to deploy more soft power; e.g., in heeding the advice delivered to the White House months before the invasion by archeologists and museum directors about minimizing damage to Iraq's monuments, museums, libraries and historic sites.

At the base, a permanent advisory panel might have reminded us of the irreducible obduracy of the tribal communities cobbled together by the British in the 1920s; the predictable reactions from neighbors like Iran, Syria and Turkey; the difficulty of drafting constitutions when participants prefer independence; the irony of U.S. forces using torture and “extraordinary rendition”; and the inevitable reaction to Crusader analogies and a campaign named Shock and Awe. A respected advisory body would surely have underscored the unbridgable differences between Muslim and Christian; Shia and Sunni; Wahhabi-Salafi and moderate Muslims; Kurd and Arab; Hashemite and Saudi; Third World and First; North and South; tribal and sedentary societies; and high-tech and low-tech cultures. It might even have sorted out the truths to be found among the stony grievances for which Arabs and their Islamic cousins have blamed the U.S. for six decades.

It is time for a mature nation to ponder the meaning of the empty reservoirs. To begin refilling them will require change reaching across government and the civil sector. As the flagship agency, State will have to persuade

Congress to restore funding to permit cultural chief Dina Powell to expand exchanges, export fine and performing arts, reopen libraries and cultural centers, rebuild English teaching, foster high-quality book translations, showcase feature films, nurture inter-university relations and enhance two-way student flows. Without these time-honored building-blocks of the U.S. cultural presence, today's world has come to see the U.S. doing precisely what the Wahhabi-Salafis and their terrorist friends want us to do: leave culture and education to them.

For a cultural diplomat, the PD debate thus far falls well short of relevance. The real issues lie beyond alternative PD rhetoric, "telling America's story to the world," or better spin and focus. Welles and MacLeish saw one

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core issue in 1940 and it has not changed: the U.S. role in the world of tomorrow. American citizens need to understand that, without their advice or consent, government has taken on the responsibilities of global hegemony. If Americans in fact want this, then what kind of hegemon do they want America to be? And is our citizenry prepared, in accepting that role, to bear the visible and invisible costs of empire.

Only public and private intellectual and executive leadership can help Americans deal with these questions. Thoughtful guidance can help Americans understand how government and civil society might work together to create a true American public diplomacy — and, surely more important, a decent, affordable and effective U.S. cultural diplomacy. ■

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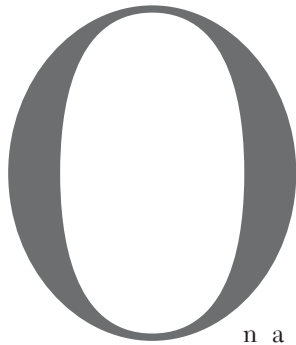
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HOW DOES PUBLIC DIPLOMACY MEASURE UP?



HERE'S A LOOK AT WHAT POLICY IMPERATIVES
AND TECHNOLOGY TRENDS MEAN FOR
PROGRAMS IN THE FIELD.

BY JOE JOHNSON

On a typical day, former FSO John Brown's blog from the University of Southern California's Center on Public Diplomacy summarizing comment about the United States' global image contains more than 50 articles, many of them decrying a "failed" U.S. public diplomacy effort. Public diplomacy, which used to attract little media attention, has in recent years been the subject of scores of blue-ribbon studies — a sure sign that it's the Sick Man of U.S. statecraft.

The blogs, op-ed pieces and articles on Brown's compendium offer no consensus on what's wrong (see <http://www.uscpublicdiplomacy.com/index/php/newsroom/>). U.S. and European observers, Arab commentators, Israelis and Indians and other pundits all take shots at U.S. policies using public diplomacy as a foil. Advocates of broadcasting or the arts urge more funding for their favorite PD activity.

Because there is no agreement about what public

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diplomacy should be expected to deliver for the taxpayers who fund it, it is tempting to rely on measures of public opinion as the standard. But opinion polls by themselves set a standard that cannot be met, because those numbers go up and down for all kinds of reasons.

And that is a problem for the practitioners. If you cannot define success, you'll never succeed. As a former public diplomacy officer, I know exactly how my colleagues in the field are advancing American interests, often working under very difficult conditions. Concrete examples of progress abound, and PD officers deserve credit for their accomplishments. That's why measurement and evaluation of results in terms of a coherent strategy is the single most important element in successful public diplomacy. Yet to date, the PD community has not been able to offer its own independent benchmarks of effectiveness, or even a fully accepted strategy.

This is a point that the Government Accountability Office has made in several analyses of the public diplomacy apparatus over the past few years. GAO's most recent report, issued on May 3, focused on resources, programs and strategy for the Muslim world — an arc of 58 countries with a population of 680 million. The report (GAO-06-535) found posts in the region were operating without guidance on how to implement the strategic framework established this past year by Under

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Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Karen Hughes.

The Office of Management and Budget is more blunt. Evaluating eight informational, cultural and foreign broadcasting programs, it rates public diplomacy field operations as “not performing — results not demonstrated” (www.whitehouse.gov/omb/expectmore). OMB stresses that the programs have had difficulty measuring their impact, if they have been evaluated at all; that few of the State Department PD programs link budget to performance; and that there is no broad overarching U.S. government public diplomacy strategy. Cultural exchange programs and foreign broadcasting programs get “effective” or “moderately effective” ratings from OMB, with cautionary notes about the lack of a master strategy. It finds that the exchange and broadcasting programs have measurable indicators of success.

Strategy and management get short shrift in some corners of the State Department, but they are fundamental to any communication program. In commercial public relations, practitioners are obsessed with proving “return on investment,” fearful that unless they demonstrate their utility they will lose their jobs.

Under Secretary Hughes appears to get the message. The GAO acknowledges the “strategic framework” for public diplomacy that she laid out in a May 10 speech to the Council on Foreign Relations (see <http://www.state.gov/r/us/66098.htm>). There she identified three broad objectives and spoke of “fundamentally changing the way we do business” in six specific areas.

In her written response to the GAO study, Hughes promised an “integrated strategic communication plan,” including tools for individual embassies such as model country-level planning formats and a “best practices” Web site to improve tradecraft.

But even if the PD community is now heading in the right direction, it will not be easy to build a coherent global program. Technology and changing communication patterns around the world pose both opportunities and challenges. Let’s look at their implications for information diplomacy, cultural and educational exchanges, international broadcasting and, finally, for embassy field operations themselves — where it all comes together.

Information Diplomacy: Technology Makes It Harder

On balance, technology is making public affairs and

public communication harder, not easier. The Internet spreads rumors faster than authorities can set the record straight. This is a major worry, for example, for those who are planning to respond to an avian influenza pandemic. Media reports of hospital admissions will appear weeks before epidemiological evidence confirms that a virus is spreading. Using information to control rumors will be a major issue.

Moreover, individuals are taking over a slice of news and commentary. Bloggers uninhibited by professional news ethics can now frame an issue for the public. The widespread riots and demonstrations earlier this year over Danish cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad spread over the Internet before authorities could react, causing notable damage to East-West dialogue. Under Secretary Hughes’ rapid reaction team and associated public affairs improvements and the Bureau of International Information Programs’ modest “misinformation” Web page have not reported major success in countering such developments.

I recently had occasion to review Washington’s major sources of public information for foreign audiences: the Web sites of the State Department’s Public Affairs and International Information Programs bureaus, the U.S. Agency for International Development, and the foreign broadcasting organizations under the Broadcasting Board of Governors. Nearly all use up-to-date Web technology to disseminate information; a few offer promising interactive programs as well.

PA and IIP both offer moderated online discussions and Really Simple Syndication feeds. IIP’s Web site (<http://usinfo.state.gov>), which is meant for use by foreign audiences only, contains broader content and is much more easily searchable than the Public Affairs Web site. PA’s site, www.state.gov, has blossomed with photos, features and online discussions in recent years. Both sites offer Web chats with U.S. officials and experts. A list of “Major Public Diplomacy Accomplishments,” distributed by Hughes’ office, describes some of the new Web-based information tools as “an enhanced technology initiative.”

But information media habits are the most rapidly changing part of the global dialogue. Few people read Web sites in the same way as a newspaper or magazine. New media — Web broadcasters, social networking sites and computer games — link millions worldwide in dialogue and collaboration. People are connecting to each

other as much as they are connecting to information on the Web. Putting your message out there offers no guarantee that the audience will receive it.

On the other hand, Internet search technology, blogs and syndication have greatly simplified communication with people who *are* receptive to your message. Religious extremists are an excellent example of the phenomenon. Al-Qaida exploits the Internet to market its ideology as well as to operate.

It is difficult to find impartial evaluation of public diplomacy's success with online media; full evaluation is probably not possible without active data collection at the embassy level, where IIP articles, journals and other products are promoted and distributed to local embassy contacts. The Web chats may be fine things to do, but they are mere tactics; they mean nothing until their effect can be evaluated. USAID's low-tech repository of foreign assistance success stories (www.usaid.gov/stories/) might even claim more cost-effective results.

ECA: Technological Advantage Can Threaten Bureaucracy

The Educational and Cultural Affairs Bureau is in some respects the leader in the intelligent use of technology. The bureau has developed multiple databases to hold information about exchanges alumni, and it is working to integrate those databases so as to evaluate exchange programs. The bureau has been conducting program evaluation for more than 10 years using data processing, and the results are beginning to show. The Office of Management and Budget describes its programs as "effective," its highest rating, explaining: "[The Bureau of] Educational and Cultural Affairs at the State Department use performance data and tools to make management decisions. They are now focused on meeting with staff regularly and have adapted tracking systems to better monitor and evaluate ongoing activities."

At a tactical level, the bureau has established a Web site for former exchange participants at <https://alumni.state.gov/>, where ex-Fulbrighters and others can network. The site is private, but its description speaks of "a global community." The CultureConnect arts program (<http://cultureconnect.state.gov/>) aims to link aspiring artists around the globe with U.S.-sponsored artistic ambas-

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sadors. It is surprising that we're not hearing more about initiatives like those. Both are in sync with current media consumption trends (think of Facebook.com) and both magnify other PD programs.

The spread of access to the Internet is enabling distance learning and collaborative academic research, which will be a windfall for international education. To examine in detail what emerging technologies may offer, it is worth consulting the New Media Consortium's annual Horizon Report, which describes six areas of emerging technology that will have significant impact in higher education over the next one to five years (see www.nmc.org/pdf/2006_Horizon_Report.pdf).

However, to exploit these trends intelligently, ECA will have to streamline its own bureaucracy. The bureau took a first step when it conducted a review of its information architecture two years ago. (Information architecture describes how information is managed within an organization and how that affects needs for computing.)

To understand why this is a critical issue, visit www.exchanges.state.gov, which lists 29 separate programs for Americans and foreigners — several of them named after members of Congress. That complexity is matched by the numerous IT systems supporting the programs, each tweaked to match a different set of procedures. The perennial squeeze on ECA's administrative overhead places a premium on standardizing paperwork. Tedious though they are, tasks like business-process modernization can save significant resources.

Broadcasting: Are They Really Listening?

Since the U.S. government began radio broadcasts to foreign audiences during World War II, government-paid newsmen have jealously guarded their editorial freedom from interference by diplomats. Today, the Broadcasting Board of Governors oversees seven different radio and television organizations. The Secretary of State holds one seat on a board of private-sector members from both major parties. The board's Web site speaks of its "fire-wall" function to insulate foreign broadcasters from political interference. Yet no other element of public diplomacy experiences as much political conflict as the broadcasting board, which often winds up on the pages of the

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Washington Times and opinion magazines. At present, only seven of the nine seats on the bipartisan board are filled. Complicating matters, the board's bylaws do not allow for a chief operating officer.

For decades, the United States has sponsored a two-pronged approach to broadcasting: the Voice of America, giving news and information as a U.S. media outlet for the rest of the world; and "surrogate broadcasters" like Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and, later, Radio-TV Marti. The surrogates acted as if they were indigenous broadcasters, focusing on news in their target regions and employing exiles and local correspondents.

In a reorganization act of 1998, Congress aggregated VOA and most television assets along with RFE/RL under the Broadcasting Board of Governors. To invigorate programs, reach new audiences and attract younger viewers, the board added new, regionally-focused stations to the mix: Radio Free Asia; Radio Sawa and Alhurra Television in Arabic; and Radio Farda for Iran. Like RFE/RL, the new stations are grantee organizations

funded entirely by the government but accountable only to the BBG. The administration's FY 07 request for the BBG comes to \$672 million. That is larger than the line items for either PD operations or educational and cultural affairs.

In terms of measuring success, the broadcasters have an advantage over public diplomacy: clear metrics. Using Neilson and other professional rating services, they regularly publish listener statistics. Overall, more than 100 million people access U.S. international broadcasting programs in some form every week. (You can read about these numbers as well as other performance goals in the BBG's annual report at www.bbg.gov.) On that basis, the OMB judges that the programs are demonstrating performance.

Critics and commentators, however, offer more subjective judgments about whether the listener numbers are making any difference with hearts and minds. Each critique tends to reflect the politics of the observer. A review by an organizational consultant is said to exist in

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draft form, but has been held up by the board. The State Department's Office of the Inspector General issued a critical report on Aug. 13.

The administration's current budget request eliminates VOA's flagship English-language broadcasting service for the new fiscal year. Alan J. Heil Jr., a former deputy director of VOA, attacks this economy measure as a disastrous move that ignores the role of English as a world language. He cites several foreign organizations that are opening English-language services. Moreover, RFE/RL and Radio Free Asia continue to broadcast and publish copious amounts of news in English on *their* Web sites. The cut occurs despite steadily rising appropriations for broadcasting since 2001, and prompts the question: could greater management efficiency free up resources to continue VOA English?

When the new Middle East services were established in 2003, they set up separate studio and associated technical services, contracting hastily under pressing deadlines. Resentful personnel in the services wing of government broadcasting — the International Bureau of Broadcasting, seen as a VOA entity — were probably not eager to make exceptional efforts. Three years on, however, the do-it-yourself approach is showing some wear. While not challenging the concept of independent services focused on regions and a single Voice of America, the Government Accountability Office challenged their separate arrangements for support services in a 2004 report (GAO-04-7111). It said: "Organizationally, the existence of five separate broadcast entities has led to overlapping language services, duplication of program content, redundant newsgathering and support services, and difficulties coordinating broadcast efforts."

Two Strategic Challenges

Broadcasting faces two strategic challenges: how to adapt to the rapidly changing global media environment; and how to connect to the global dialogue sponsored by all the other public diplomacy efforts.

New technology abounds. Digital television broadcasting will become mandatory in a few years, posing high investment costs. Digital shortwave broadcasting

How long can the individual stations continue to upgrade technology without consolidating their IT infrastructure and services?

offers expanded options for short-wave listeners. Meanwhile, young people in the developed world are abandoning terrestrial broadcasts to watch and listen on satellite and, increasingly, on computing devices. Recent studies show more than a billion Internet users. English, Chinese and Japanese dominate the language mix. "In fact, professionals in their 20s and 30s — the demographic that advertisers covet — are just as

likely to spend time in front of a computer as in front of a TV set," said a recent report from China. In the U.S., a bellwether for digital media, 19 percent of young people are listening to Internet radio each week, a number which has increased 50 percent over the past year.

All the U.S. government's foreign broadcasters have a Web presence, and all of them except Alhurra Television stream their programs — offering everyone the ability to listen and watch on a personal computer. That brings broadcast products to the desktop in digital form, where they can be combined as the user sees fit. If you wish to explore the possibilities, go to www.voanews.com (not .gov) and sign up for a Podcast or an RSS news feed.

As the various government-sponsored broadcasters move toward complete Internet service, VOA seems to be in the lead. Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty also hosts a lively multimedia program mix at www.rferl.org. Radio Sawa offers digital versions of its eight playlists, each selected for a subregion of the Middle East through modern audience-sampling techniques. Alhurra Television so far offers only snippets of streaming video on its Web site, which is essentially a program guide.

But the question is: how long can the individual stations continue to upgrade technology without consolidating their IT infrastructure and services?

The second problem is that U.S. foreign broadcasts have rarely been plugged into embassies' public diplomacy effort, in deference to the so-called "firewall" protecting them from political interference. When VOA was part of USIA, embassies assisted occasionally in marketing broadcast products. That doesn't happen very much any more. The newest broadcasters' business model relies on leasing local AM and FM transmitters. It eschews efforts to get independent local stations to carry

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programs — a major dissemination tool for the VOA.

When one considers the limited assets available for public diplomacy and the power of voice and image, one begins to question the rationale for their separation. Surely public diplomacy can find ways to integrate and magnify broadcasting while protecting independent news programs. It could start on the Web, through cross-promotion links and activities outside the newscasts and news pages. As it stands, that firewall is sealing off an asset costing half a billion dollars per year.

Where It All Comes Together: Field Operations

Broadcasting, educational exchange and information programs all come together in each embassy's public affairs section. This is where most dialogue and persuasion happen. This is also where accountability rests: in order to make the public diplomacy apparatus accountable to Congress and the taxpayer, the 180-plus public affairs sections must account for their contribution to the

overall strategic objectives, as well as to their ambassadors. And it is here — not in the realm of dissemination of information, but in the realm of internal management and missing links at the field level — that public diplomacy's real technology gap lies.

Using technology strategically would promote a more unified global effort and would enable measurement so as to evaluate success. The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation presents an example of how to do this. In addition to supporting scientific studies and experiments on HIV/AIDS, the Gates program offers grants for the creation of standard criteria to measure success or failure, and for the establishment of a new secure Web site to share all data resulting from the research in real time. Measurement and shared expertise are the two fundamentals.

Today, Washington cannot quantify even the most basic outputs of its embassies. Let's say the Africa Bureau wants to build support in key regional capitals for a multinational force deployment. One public affairs objective

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might be to disseminate persuasive arguments for committing troops to key audiences in each potential contributing country. But it would be a major production for the bureau's PD office director to say whom the public affairs sections actually contacted.

It doesn't have to be that way. As embassies move to electronic distribution of press releases, event lists and information resource center packets, they generate data in digital form. Even where Internet access still limits digital dissemination, embassy staff have the computer tools and broadband connectivity to State's networks. What they lack is a mandate and standards for reporting.

The foundation of the record-keeping has to be the individual foreign audience member, yet contact lists are presently unstructured and fragmented. A study by State's Office of eDiplomacy published in July 2004 found that several embassies were hard-pressed even to compose an invitation list for the annual Independence Day reception. The surveyed embassies used a variety of tracking tools from business-quality customer relationship management software to the proverbial shoebox full of business cards. Only one or two had integrated, embassywide systems. No single data standard exists.

Until embassies can report consistently on output and basic audience responses (how many attended the speaker program last night?), more significant performance measures are not likely to stand up under scrutiny. That's a problem for the Office of Policy, Planning and Resources, established during Secretary Powell's tenure and continued under Secretary Rice. Commercial public relations experts say that most businesses spend between 4 and 7 percent of their annual program budget on measuring effectiveness, utilizing relevant surveys and tools from other parts of the enterprise where possible.

Some elements of a solution for PD are already there. The most important token of success is also the simplest and cheapest: the anecdotes identifying significant changes in the host government or society made possible or abetted by public diplomacy. The department already records thousands of such small victories in a database called RESULTS. Here are a couple of examples: "The local courts have liberalized their procedures after a

*It would not be too
hard to build the
RESULTS approach into
a full-scope system
of measurement.*

senior judge returned from an international visitor grant"; or, "The government introduced a bill to protect intellectual property after a series of American speakers."

USIA developed standards to sort such results by rough order of magnitude, but that discipline flagged after entry into State. It should not be too hard to build the "results" approach into a full-scope system of measurement.

The Gap in Expertise

Since the incorporation of USIA into State, public diplomacy personnel have experienced massive turnover as senior officers retired or moved up to DCM slots and even ambassadorships. New recruits flooded in under Secretary Powell's Diplomatic Readiness Initiative. The USIA-State consolidation also allowed officers from other cones to take assignments in public diplomacy. That is surely a good thing. The function is everyone's job, and the public affairs section's role is to steer and supplement the bilateral dialogue. PD is an ensemble, not a solo.

However, the churn in overseas staffing raises the question of whether the new public affairs officers possess sufficient command of their tradecraft. The GAO's May report on public diplomacy in the Muslim world found a notable all-round shortage in PD expertise: "One senior State official said that administrative duties, such as budget, personnel and internal reporting, compete with officers' public diplomacy responsibilities. Another official in Egypt told us that there was rarely enough time to strategize, plan or evaluate her programs." State officials in Washington acknowledged that "additional requirements for posts to improve strategic planning and evaluation of their public diplomacy programs would need to be accompanied by additional staff with relevant expertise."

The Foreign Service Institute rebuilt and expanded PD training in 2003-2004. However, the need for professional development is still daunting. Anyone who thinks training is not important should consider a few qualifications that I think an ambassador has a right to expect of his or her PAO:

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- Knowledge of journalism practice, writing and editing;
- Public affairs practice and process within the State Department;
- Knowledge of higher education institutions;
- Familiarity with the broad range of popular and high culture;
- Communication and media law and ethics;
- Behavioral science principles, including communication models;
- Research techniques including polls, media trend studies and focus groups; and, above all,
- The ability to define a communication problem and work up a plan to address it.

All those requirements come on top of basic abilities like language fluency and sensitivity to the local culture.

Improving the skill set of field officers will clearly do as much as anything to afford each ambassador sound advice as well as to account to Washington for host-country public diplomacy. Distance education and on-the-job training may be as necessary to the peripatetic

PD workforce as the formal FSI courses. These techniques will pay even greater dividends for the Foreign Service Nationals who operate the public diplomacy sections.

The “Best Practices” Web site mentioned above speaks to this need, but it doesn’t go nearly far enough. Large global organizations now offer a range of options for their members to share knowledge, from online manuals and approved instruction to informal messaging centers, where one member can post a question and others who have worked the same problem can offer advice. State needs not just a Web site for “Best Practices,” but an integrated, searchable portal inside the enterprise network.

The most critical challenge for State’s PD leadership is not to get more appropriations for new programs. It is to develop a well-trained field component and to impose baseline standards and processes to measure results. Those are the keys to building confidence in our nation’s public diplomacy.

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A settlement has been reached with the Federal Government on behalf of former employees of the 17 Federal agencies listed above creating a Settlement Fund of \$ 7,458,950.08 and providing for the payment of back pay and interest to qualified eligible claimants according to a remedial methodology that was approved by the Court on June 1, 2006. The settlement involves three factual situations as follows: (1) after you retired or separated, an annual pay increase went into effect during the period of your unused annual leave if you project forward the number of days of unused annual leave, BUT the lump-sum payment did not include the pay increase that you would have earned if you had remained a Federal employee for the period of your unused annual leave instead of retiring (or separating) when you did; and/or (2) you regularly worked at least one Sunday in each of four consecutive pay periods immediately before you retired or separated, BUT the lump-sum payment did not include the Sunday premium pay you would have earned if you had remained a Federal employee for the period of your unused annual leave instead of retiring (or separating) when you did; and/or (3) you received a Foreign Post Allowance for housing immediately before you retired (or separated) AND you retired or separated while employed in a foreign country.

The Court approved the settlement on June 1, 2006.

The Settlement Administrator, Poorman-Douglas Corporation, will mail Claim Forms to all RETIRED potential Class Members whose names and addresses were supplied by OPM, but SEPARATED potential Class Members must request a Claim Form by doing one of the following: Request a Claim Form by visiting the settlement website at www.mylumpsumpayment.com; Request a Claim Form by calling toll free 1-866-833-7924; or Request a Claim Form in writing by mailing your request to the following address: or Request a Claim Form in writing by mailing your request to the following address: Archuleta Settlement Administrator, P.O. Box 4540, Portland, OR 97208-4540

This notice is only a summary. More information about the settlement and how to obtain and to file a claim form is posted on the internet at www.mylumpsumpayment.com, or you can write the Settlement Administrator, P.O. Box 4540, Portland, OR 97208-4540.

PLEASE DO NOT TELEPHONE THE COURT OR CLERK’S OFFICE FOR INFORMATION.

www.mylumpsumpayment.com

Settlement Administrator, P.O. Box 4540, Portland, OR 97208-4540

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**PATRICK PAPPANO
FINANCIAL ADVISOR**



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A Caveat

Under Secretary Hughes has the stature to set realistic expectations for public diplomacy. But, contrary to the implication of so many pundits, public diplomacy alone cannot turn around the present hostility toward the United States. Our military presence in Iraq, the treatment of illegal combatants and suspected terrorists, and associated security policies affecting travelers to the U.S. are going to generate negative polls and attitude studies regardless of the PD effort. At a recent panel discussion, the experienced Washington correspondent for *O Estado de Sao Paulo* told U.S. policymakers: "Don't spend a single cent on public diplomacy as long as you're conflicted about torture being appropriate." Only major alterations to U.S. foreign policy will change a broad perception like that.

Contrary to the implication of so many pundits, public diplomacy cannot turn around the present hostility toward the United States.

But change is inevitable, and not all factors are against the United States. For example, "Billanthropy" (as *The Economist* terms the activities of the expanded Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation) is likely to generate significant international good will over the coming decade. On the other side, radical Islamists feed off public

anger now, but they offer no positive vision and no hope of prosperity. Their momentum will eventually flag and they will fail.

At some point down the road, these and other factors will carry the U.S. ship of state into more favorable waters. In the meantime, our public diplomacy needs a sound strategy and smart methodology to help regenerate a positive dialogue between America and the world. ■

The Middle East Journal



Since 1947, *The Middle East Journal* has been the most widely read and circulated scholarly quarterly available on the ever crucial Middle East region, with foreign service officers and other policy experts regularly turning to its pages for original thinking and objective analysis. The *Journal* provides source material on the area from Western Sahara to Pakistan and the new countries of Central Asia and the Caucasus. It contains the background and current information necessary for an understanding and appreciation of the region's political and economic development, cultural heritage, and ethnic and religious diversity.

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KEEPING SCORE IN THE CONGRESSIONAL GAME

S

ince 1996, AFSA has sought to educate and inform its members about the way their elected representatives vote on a variety of foreign affairs issues. In this, our fifth scorecard in the *Foreign Service Journal*, we have maintained a format implemented for the first time in 2002.

This year, we have assembled a set of votes — eight from the Senate and 10 from the House of Representatives — covering a variety of issues, from international organizations and trade to Iraq and human rights. These votes, listed beginning on p. 56, were selected from over 100 amendments and proposed bills offered on the floor of the House or Senate. Many of those votes passed with near-unanimity (e.g., H. Res. 673, urging Belarus to establish fair, transparent and democratic electoral processes), but we have sought

Ken Nakamura is AFSA's director of legislative affairs.

AFSA PROFILES HOW YOUR SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES SUPPORTED AMERICAN ENGAGEMENT IN WORLD AFFAIRS.

BY KEN NAKAMURA

out particularly controversial ones in order to provide as nuanced and informative a scorecard as possible. In addition, we have once more decided to give the “yeas and nays” on each vote, in order to provide clear and impartial information. We hope you will find this helpful in forming your voting decisions.

We are compelled to observe also that the issues selected serve only as a glimpse of each member's work and views as they relate to foreign affairs. Each of the selected votes occurred on the floor of the full Senate or House, when the bills in question had already passed through the fine-tuning processes of subcommittees and committees. Much of the controversial and important decisionmaking occurs in committee or subcommittee, or before the bill is even introduced. Though any senator or representative may serve on a relevant committee, sponsor legislation or write a letter that significantly promotes or obstructs legislation important to AFSA, not all

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members participate in this part of the legislative process. The scorecard, then, should only serve to provide a general impression of an individual's engagement and views.

In addition, most votes, including many of those we have selected, are complex and subject to a variety of factors. A vote against funding for contributions to international organizations, for example, may be due to principled objections to that organization, or to a desire simply to reduce government spending, or even to principled support coupled with a desire to preserve the legislative process by placing such funding only in annual appropriations, rather than in an emergency supplemental. We encourage you, then, to visit your representative and senators' Web sites, if possible, or write them and ask why they voted a certain way and what their motivating principles of action truly are. Ideally, the AFSA scorecard should be influential, but not decisive, as you determine for whom you will cast your ballot.

The scorecard for the 109th Congress is the result of significant work on the part of three legislative affairs interns: Laura Aylward (AFSA, spring 2006), Chris Aresu (COLEAD, summer 2006) and Andrew Rohrbach (AFSA, summer 2006). Their timely and valuable effort on this report is much appreciated.

In conclusion, we strongly encourage all eligible members of AFSA and their families to vote this November.

AFSA'S 109TH CONGRESS VOTING PROFILE

SENATE

1. FAMILY PLANNING

FY06 & 07 Foreign Relations Authorization/Family Planning (S. 600): Amendment to overturn a regulation preventing personnel at clinics that receive USAID funding from discussing or providing abortions. VOTE: 52-46, 04/05/05 (R: 8-46; D: 43-0; I: 1-0).

2. CUBA BROADCASTING

FY06 & 07 Foreign Relations Authorization/Cuba Broadcasting (S. 600): Motion to table (kill) an amend-

ment to end TV broadcasting to Cuba (TV Marti). VOTE: 65-35, 04/06/05 (R: 53-2; D: 12-32; I: 0-1).

3. U.N. PEACEKEEPING

FY06 & 07 Foreign Relations Authorization/U.N. Peacekeeping (S. 600): Amendment to freeze for two years the level of U.S. contributions to U.N. peacekeeping missions at 27.1 percent of aggregate international contributions, rather than allow it to automatically decrease to 25 percent. VOTE: 40-57, 04/06/05 (R: 0-54; D: 39-3; I: 1-0).

4. TRADE LAWS

FY06 Commerce, Justice and State Appropriations/Trade Laws (H.R. 2862): Amendment to prohibit U.S. trade negotiators from agreeing to any deal which would alter certain U.S. trade laws that act as economic safeguards, including those which prevent foreign companies from flooding American markets with artificially-priced goods. VOTE: 39-60, 09/15/05 (R: 8-47; D: 31-12; I: 0-1).

5. STATE DEPARTMENT AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATION

FY06 Commerce, Justice and State Appropriations/Conference Report (H.R. 2862): Appropriation of approximately \$9.7 billion for the Department of State. VOTE: 94-5, 11/16/05 (R: 53-2; D: 40-3; I: 1-0).

6. HUMAN RIGHTS

FY07 Budget Resolution/Human Rights (S. Con. Res. 83): Amendment to transfer \$4 million to border security from support for the U.N. Human Rights Council. VOTE: 50-50, 03/16/06 (R: 48-7; D: 2-42; I: 0-1).

7. FOREIGN-HELD U.S. DEBT

Debt Ceiling Increase/Foreign-Held Debt (H. J. Res. 47): Amendment to require the Secretary of the Treasury to study the effect of foreign entities holding U.S. debt. VOTE: 44-55, 03/16/06 (R: 0-55; D: 43-0; I: 1-0).

8. IRAQ

FY07 Defense Authorization/Iraq (S. 2766): Amendment to require the beginning of withdrawals of U.S.

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forces from Iraq in 2006, and to require that the president submit a plan by the end of 2006 estimating a timetable for full withdrawal. VOTE: 39-60, 06/22/06 (R: 1-54; D: 37-6; I: 1-0).

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

1. SAUDI ARABIA

FY05 Supplemental Appropriation/Saudi Arabia (H.R. 1268): Amendment to prohibit money from the FY05 supplemental from being used for assistance to Saudi Arabia. VOTE: 196-231, 03/15/05 (R: 39-187; D: 156-44; I: 1-0).

2. U.N. POPULATION FUND

FY06 Commerce, Justice and State Appropriations/U.N. Population Fund (H.R. 2862): Amendment to overturn any provisions of law that prohibit funding for the U.N. Population Fund, despite any involvement it may have in China and/or regarding abortions. VOTE: 192-233, 06/16/05 (R: 19-209; D: 172-24; I: 1-0).

3. U.N. REFORM

Henry J. Hyde U.N. Reform Act (H.R. 2745): Act which, among other things, preserves a cap of 22 percent of budget for U.S. contributions to the U.N.; declares U.S. support for weighted voting for all budgetary questions and against the addition of vetoes to the Security Council; and outlines several dozen other reforms which, if not met, will trigger a 50-percent withholding of U.S. dues. VOTE: 221-184, 06/17/05 (R: 213-7; D: 8-176; I: 0-1).

4. DARFUR

FY06 Supplemental Appropriation/Darfur (H.R. 4939): Amendment to increase by \$50 million the appropriation for the African Union peacekeeping force in Darfur. (Opponents thought increasing funding for the A.U. force would contradict U.S. support for a U.N. force.) VOTE: 213-208, 03/16/06 (R: 25-210; D: 187-7; I: 1-0).

5. SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION

FY06 Supplemental Appropriation (H.R. 4939): Emergency supplemental appropriation for FY06 (including

funding for the War on Terror and Hurricane Katrina recovery), with roughly \$4 billion earmarked for the State Department and related agencies, above the request. VOTE: 348-71, 03/16/06 (R: 204-19; D: 143-52; I: 1-0).

6. EGYPT

FY07 Foreign Operations Appropriations/Egypt (H.R. 5522): Amendment to add \$50 million for refugees in Darfur and \$50 million for HIV/AIDS assistance, taken specifically from the account for assistance to Egypt. VOTE: 198-225, 06/08/06 (R: 45-179; D: 152-46; I: 1-0).

7. SPENDING CUT

FY07 Foreign Operations Appropriations/Spending Cut (H.R. 5522): Amendment to cut 1 percent from all discretionary appropriations in the bill. VOTE: 107-300, 06/09/06 (R: 99-116; D: 8-183; I: 0-1).

8. ASSISTANCE PRIORITIES

FY07 Foreign Operations Appropriations/Assistance Priorities (H.R. 5522): Amendment to shift \$250 million from the Foreign Military Financing Program to the Development Assistance Account, for clean drinking water and anti-poverty programs. VOTE: 184-224, 06/09/06 (R: 23-191; D: 158-33; I: 1-0).

9. IRAQ

Iraq Resolution (H. Res. 861): Debated without possibility of amendment, the resolution states: "The House of Representatives ... declares that it is not in the national security interest of the United States to set an arbitrary date for the withdrawal or redeployment of United States Armed Forces from Iraq." VOTE: 256-153, 06/16/06 (R: 214-3, D: 42-149; I: 0-1).

10. DOMESTIC vs. INTERNATIONAL PRIORITIES

FY07 Commerce, Justice and State Appropriations/Priorities (H.R. 5672): Amendment to transfer \$500,000 from the International Organizations Contributions Account (targeting in intent the U.N. Human Rights Council) to the federal prison system. VOTE: 163-257, 06/27/06 (R: 124-99; D: 39-157; I: 0-1). ■

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U.S. Senate

State	Senator	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
AK	Lisa Murkowski	R	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
AK	Ted Stevens	R	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
AL	Jeff Sessions	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
AL	Richard Shelby	R	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
AR	Blanche Lincoln	D	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
AR	Mark Pryor	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
AZ	John McCain	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
AZ	Jon Kyl	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
CA	Barbara Boxer	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
CA	Diane Feinstein	D	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
CO	Ken Salazar	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
CO	Wayne Allard	R	N/V	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
CT	Christopher J. Dodd	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
CT	Joseph Lieberman	D	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
DE	Joseph Biden Jr.	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N/V	Y
DE	Thomas Carper	D	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
FL	Bill Nelson	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
FL	Mel Martinez	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
GA	Johnny Isakson	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
GA	Saxby Chambliss	R	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
HI	Daniel Akaka	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
HI	Daniel Inouye	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
IA	Charles Grassley	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
IA	Tom Harkin	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
ID	Larry Craig	R	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
ID	Mike Crapo	R	N	Y	N/V	N	Y	Y	N	N
IL	Barack Obama	D	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
IL	Richard Durbin	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
IN	Evan Bayh	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
IN	Richard Lugar	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
KS	Pat Roberts	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
KS	Sam Brownback	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
KY	Jim Bunning	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
KY	Mitch McConnell	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
LA	David Vitter	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
LA	Mary Landrieu	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MA	Edward Kennedy	D	N/V	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MA	John Kerry	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MD	Barbara Mikulski	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y

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Senate

State	Senator	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
MD	Paul Sarbanes	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
ME	Olympia Snowe	R	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
ME	Susan Collins	R	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
MI	Carl Levin	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MI	Debbie Stabenow	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MN	Mark Dayton	D	Y	N	N/V	Y	N	N	Y	N
MN	Norm Coleman	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
MO	Christopher Bond	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
MO	James Talent	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
MS	Thad Cochran	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
MS	Trent Lott	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
MT	Conrad Burns	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
MT	Max Baucus	D	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
NC	Elizabeth Dole	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
NC	Richard Burr	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
ND	Byron Dorgan	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
ND	Kent Conrad	D	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NE	Ben Nelson	D	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NE	Chuck Hagel	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
NH	John Sununu	R	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
NH	Judd Gregg	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
NJ	Frank Lautenberg	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NJ	Jon Corzine	D	Y	N	Y	N/V	N/V	*	*	*
NJ	Robert Menendez	D	*	*	*	*	*	N	Y	Y
NM	Jeff Bingaman	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NM	Pete Domenici	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
NV	Harry Reid	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NV	John Ensign	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
NY	Charles Schumer	D	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NY	Hillary Rodham Clinton	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
OH	George Voinovich	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
OH	Mike DeWine	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
OK	James Inhofe	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
OK	Tom Coburn	R	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
OR	Gordon Smith	R	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
OR	Ron Wyden	D	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
PA	Arlen Specter	R	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N

Y - Yea, N - Nay, N/V - Not Voting

*Sen. Corzine became governor of New Jersey in 2006, and he appointed Rep. Menendez as his replacement.

SCORECARD

Senate

State	Senator	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
PA	Rick Santorum	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
RI	Jack Reed	D	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
RI	Lincoln Chafee	R	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
SC	Lindsey Graham	R	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
SC	Jim DeMint	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
SD	John Thune	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
SD	Tim Johnson	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
TN	Bill Frist	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
TN	Lamar Alexander	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
TX	John Cornyn	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
TX	Kay Bailey Hutchison	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
UT	Orrin Hatch	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
UT	Robert Bennett	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
VA	George Allen	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
VA	John Warner	R	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
VT	James Jeffords	I	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
VT	Patrick Leahy	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WA	Marie Cantwell	D	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
WA	Patty Murray	D	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
WI	Herb Kohl	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WI	Russell Feingold	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WV	John Rockefeller IV	D	Y	N	N/V	Y	Y	N	Y	N/V
WV	Robert Byrd	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WY	Craig Thomas	R	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
WY	Michael Enzi	R	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N

U.S. House of Representatives

State	Representative	District	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
AK	Don Young	At Large	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
AL	Jo Bonner	1	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
AL	Terry Everett	2	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
AL	Mike Rogers	3	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
AL	Robert Aderholt	4	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
AL	Robert E. "Bud" Cramer	5	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N/V	N	N	N	Y	N

Y - Yea, N - Nay, N/V - Not Voting, P - Present

* In August 2005, Rep. Cox resigned his seat to become SEC commissioner. Rep. Campbell was elected to fill his seat.

** In June 2006, Rep. Bilbray filled the vacated seat of Rep. Randy "Duke" Cunningham, who had resigned earlier.

*** Except in special cases, Rep. Hastert, as the Speaker of the House, does not cast a vote.

In August 2005, Rep. Schmidt filled the vacant seat of Rep. Rob Portman, who was appointed as the U.S. Trade Representative.

In June 2006, Rep. Delay resigned.

SCORECARD

House of Representatives

State	Representative	District	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
AL	Spencer Bachus	6	R	N/V	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N/V	Y
AL	Artur Davis	7	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
AR	Marion Berry	1	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
AR	Vic Snyder	2	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
AR	John Boozman	3	R	N	N	Y	N/V	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
AR	Mike Ross	4	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
AZ	Rick Renzi	1	R	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
AZ	Trent Franks	2	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
AZ	John Shadegg	3	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
AZ	Ed Pastor	4	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
AZ	J.D. Hayworth	5	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
AZ	Jeff Flake	6	R	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
AZ	Raul Grijalva	7	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
AZ	Jim Kolbe	8	R	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
CA	Mike Thompson	1	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
CA	Wally Herger	2	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N/V
CA	Daniel E. Lungren	3	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
CA	John Doolittle	4	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
CA	Doris O. Matsui	5	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
CA	Lynn Woolsey	6	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
CA	George Miller	7	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
CA	Nancy Pelosi	8	D	Y	Y	N/V	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
CA	Barbara Lee	9	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
CA	Ellen Tauscher	10	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
CA	Richard Pombo	11	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Tom Lantos	12	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
CA	Fortney Pete Stark	13	D	N	Y	N/V	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
CA	Anna G. Eshoo	14	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
CA	Mike Honda	15	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
CA	Zoe Lofgren	16	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
CA	Sam Farr	17	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
CA	Dennis Cardoza	18	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
CA	George P. Radanovich	19	R	N	N	Y	Y	N/V	N	N	N	Y	N/V
CA	Jim Costa	20	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
CA	Devin Nunes	21	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Bill Thomas	22	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
CA	Lois Capps	23	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
CA	Elton Gallegly	24	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
CA	Buck McKeon	25	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N/V	N/V	Y	N
CA	David Dreier	26	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N

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House of Representatives

State	Representative	District	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
CA	Brad Sherman	27	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	P	Y
CA	Howard Berman	28	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
CA	Adam Schiff	29	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
CA	Henry Waxman	30	D	Y	Y	N/V	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N/V	N
CA	Xavier Becerra	31	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N/V	N/V	N	N
CA	Hilda Solis	32	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
CA	Diane E. Watson	33	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N/V	N/V	N	N
CA	Lucille Roybal-Allard	34	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
CA	Maxine Waters	35	D	N/V	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
CA	Jane Harman	36	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
CA	Juanita Millender-McDonald	37	D	Y	Y	N/V	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
CA	Grace Napolitano	38	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
CA	Linda Sánchez	39	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
CA	Ed Royce	40	R	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
CA	Jerry Lewis	41	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N/V	N
CA	Gary Miller	42	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
CA	Joe Baca	43	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N/V	N/V	N	N
CA	Ken Calvert	44	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
CA	Mary Bono	45	R	N	N/V	N/V	N	Y	N/V	N/V	N/V	Y	N
CA	Dana Rohrabacher	46	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
CA	Loretta Sanchez	47	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
CA	John Campbell	48	R	*	*	*	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
CA	Christopher Cox	48	R	Y	N	Y	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
CA	Darrell Issa	49	R	N	N	N/V	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
CA	Randy "Duke" Cunningham	50	R	N	N	Y	**	**	**	**	**	**	**
CA	Brian P. Bilbray	50	R	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	Y	Y
CA	Bob Filner	51	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
CA	Duncan Hunter	52	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
CA	Susan Davis	53	D	Y	Y	N	N/V	N/V	Y	N	Y	N	N
CO	Diana DeGette	1	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
CO	Mark Udall	2	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
CO	John T. Salazar	3	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
CO	Marilyn Musgrave	4	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CO	Joel Hefley	5	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
CO	Tom Tancredo	6	R	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
CO	Bob Beauprez	7	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
CT	John B. Larson	1	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
CT	Rob Simmons	2	R	Y	Y	N/V	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
CT	Rosa L. DeLauro	3	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N/V	Y	N	Y	N	N
CT	Christopher Shays	4	R	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N

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State	Representative	District	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
CT	Nancy L. Johnson	5	R	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
DE	Michael N. Castle	At Large	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
FL	Jeff Miller	1	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
FL	Allen Boyd	2	D	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	P	Y
FL	Corrine Brown	3	D	Y	Y	N/V	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
FL	Ander Crenshaw	4	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
FL	Virginia Brown-Waite	5	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
FL	Cliff Stearns	6	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
FL	John Mica	7	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
FL	Ric Keller	8	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
FL	Michael Bilirakis	9	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
FL	C.W. Bill Young	10	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
FL	Jim Davis	11	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N/V	N/V	N/V	N	N
FL	Adam Putnam	12	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
FL	Katherine Harris	13	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
FL	Connie Mack	14	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
FL	Dave Weldon	15	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
FL	Mark Foley	16	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
FL	Kendrick Meek	17	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
FL	Ileana Ros-Lehtinen	18	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
FL	Robert Wexler	19	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
FL	Debbie Wasserman Schultz	20	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
FL	Lincoln Diaz-Balart	21	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
FL	E. Clay Shaw Jr.	22	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
FL	Alcee L. Hastings	23	D	Y	Y	N	N/V	N/V	Y	N	N	N	N
FL	Tom Feeney	24	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
FL	Mario Diaz-Balart	25	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
GA	Jack Kingston	1	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N/V	N/V	N/V	Y	Y
GA	Sanford D. Bishop Jr.	2	D	N	Y	N/V	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
GA	Jim Marshall	3	D	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
GA	Cynthia McKinney	4	D	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
GA	John Lewis	5	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
GA	Tom Price	6	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
GA	John Linder	7	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
GA	Lynn A. Westmoreland	8	R	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
GA	Charlie Norwood	9	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
GA	Nathan Deal	10	R	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
GA	Phil Gingrey	11	R	N	N	N/V	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
GA	John Barrow	12	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
GA	David Scott	13	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N

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State	Representative	District	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
HI	Neil Abercrombie	1	D	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	
HI	Ed Case	2	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	
IA	Jim Nussle	1	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N/V	N/V	N/V	N/V	N	
IA	Jim Leach	2	R	N/V	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	
IA	Leonard Boswell	3	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	
IA	Tom Latham	4	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	
IA	Steve King	5	R	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	
ID	Butch Otter	1	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	
ID	Mike Simpson	2	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	
IL	Bobby L. Rush	1	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	
IL	Jesse L. Jackson Jr.	2	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	
IL	Daniel Lipinski	3	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	
IL	Luis Gutierrez	4	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N/V	N/V	N/V	N	
IL	Rahm Emanuel	5	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	
IL	Henry Hyde	6	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N/V	
IL	Danny K. Davis	7	D	Y	Y	N	N/V	N/V	Y	N	Y	N	N	
IL	Melissa L. Bean	8	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
IL	Jan Schakowsky	9	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	
IL	Mark Kirk	10	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	
IL	Jerry Weller	11	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	
IL	Jerry Costello	12	D	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N/V	N/V	Y	N	
IL	Judy Biggert	13	R	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	
IL	Denny Hastert	14	R	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	Y	***
IL	Timothy V. Johnson	15	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	
IL	Donald Manzullo	16	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N/V	N/V	N/V	Y	N	
IL	Lane Evans	17	D	Y	Y	N	N/V	N/V	N/V	N/V	N/V	N/V	N/V	
IL	Ray Lahood	18	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	
IL	John Shimkus	19	R	N	N	Y	N	N/V	N	Y	N	Y	Y	
IN	Peter Visclosky	1	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	
IN	Chris Chocola	2	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	
IN	Mark E. Souder	3	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	
IN	Steve Buyer	4	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N/V	Y	Y	
IN	Dan Burton	5	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N/V	Y	
IN	Mike Pence	6	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	
IN	Julia Carson	7	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N/V	
IN	John N. Hostettler	8	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
IN	Michael E. Sodrel	9	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	
KS	Jerry Moran	1	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
KS	Jim Ryun	2	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	
KS	Dennis Moore	3	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	

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State	Representative	District	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
KS	Todd Tiaht	4	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
KY	Ed Whitfield	1	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N/V
KY	Ron Lewis	2	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
KY	Anne Northup	3	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
KY	Geoff Davis	4	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
KY	Harold Rogers	5	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
KY	Ben Chandler	6	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
LA	Bobby Jindal	1	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
LA	William J. Jefferson	2	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
LA	Charlie Melancon	3	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
LA	Jim McCrery	4	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
LA	Rodney Alexander	5	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
LA	Richard Baker	6	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N/V	N/V	Y	N
LA	Charles W. Boustany Jr.	7	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
MA	John Olver	1	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
MA	Richard E. Neal	2	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
MA	James McGovern	3	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
MA	Barney Frank	4	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
MA	Marty Meehan	5	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
MA	John Tierney	6	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
MA	Ed Markey	7	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MA	Michael E. Capuano	8	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
MA	Stephen F. Lynch	9	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
MA	William Delahunt	10	D	Y	N/V	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
MD	Wayne Gilchrest	1	R	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
MD	Dutch Ruppersberger	2	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
MD	Benjamin L. Cardin	3	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
MD	Albert Wynn	4	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
MD	Steny H. Hoyer	5	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
MD	Roscoe Bartlett	6	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MD	Elijah Cummings	7	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
MD	Chris Van Hollen	8	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
ME	Tom Allen	1	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
ME	Michael Michaud	2	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
MI	Bart Stupak	1	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MI	Pete Hoekstra	2	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
MI	Vernon J. Ehlers	3	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
MI	Dave Camp	4	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
MI	Dale Kildee	5	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
MI	Fred Upton	6	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N

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State	Representative	District	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
MI	John J.H. "Joe" Schwarz	7	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
MI	Mike Rogers	8	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MI	Joseph Knollenberg	9	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
MI	Candice Miller	10	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MI	Thaddeus McCotter	11	R	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	P	Y
MI	Sander Levin	12	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
MI	Carolyn Kilpatrick	13	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N/V	N
MI	John Conyers Jr.	14	D	Y	N/V	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
MI	John Dingell	15	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N/V	N
MN	Gil Gutknecht	1	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MN	John Kline	2	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
MN	Jim Ramstad	3	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MN	Betty McCollum	4	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
MN	Martin Olav Sabo	5	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
MN	Mark Kennedy	6	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MN	Collin C. Peterson	7	D	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
MN	James L. Oberstar	8	D	Y	N/V	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MO	William "Lacy" Clay Jr.	1	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
MO	Todd Akin	2	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MO	Russ Carnahan	3	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
MO	Ike Skelton	4	D	N	N	N/V	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
MO	Emanuel Cleaver	5	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N/V	N
MO	Sam Graves	6	R	Y	N	N/V	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MO	Roy Blunt	7	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N/V	N/V	Y	N
MO	Jo Ann Emerson	8	R	N	N	Y	N	N/V	N	N	N	Y	N
MO	Kenny Hulshof	9	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
MS	Roger Wicker	1	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
MS	Bennie G. Thompson	2	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
MS	Charles W. "Chip" Pickering	3	R	N	N	Y	N	N/V	N	N	N	Y	N
MS	Gene Taylor	4	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MT	Dennis Rehberg	At Large	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
NC	G.K. Butterfield	1	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
NC	Bob Etheridge	2	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NC	Walter B. Jones	3	R	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	P	Y
NC	David Price	4	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
NC	Virginia Foxx	5	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NC	Howard Coble	6	R	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NC	Mike McIntyre	7	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NC	Robin Hayes	8	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
NC	Sue Myrick	9	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y

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State	Representative	District	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
NC	Patrick T. McHenry	10	R	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NC	Charles H. Taylor	11	R	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
NC	Mel Watt	12	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
NC	Brad Miller	13	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	P	N
ND	Earl Pomeroy	At Large	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
NE	Jeff Fortenberry	1	R	N	N	Y	N/V	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
NE	Lee Terry	2	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NE	Tom Osborne	3	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
NH	Jeb Bradley	1	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
NH	Charles Bass	2	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
NJ	Robert E. Andrews	1	D	Y	Y	N/V	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
NJ	Frank LoBiondo	2	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NJ	Jim Saxton	3	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
NJ	Chris Smith	4	R	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NJ	Scott Garrett	5	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NJ	Frank Pallone Jr.	6	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
NJ	Michael Ferguson	7	R	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
NJ	Bill Pascrell Jr.	8	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
NJ	Steven Rothman	9	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
NJ	Donald M. Payne	10	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
NJ	Rodney Frelinghuysen	11	R	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
NJ	Rush Holt	12	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
NJ	Bob Menendez	13th – Vacancy	R	Y	Y	N	****	****	****	****	*****	****	
NM	Heather Wilson	1	R	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N/V	N
NM	Steve Pearce	2	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
NM	Tom Udall	3	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
NV	Shelley Berkley	1	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	N/V	Y	N	N	N	Y
NV	Jim Gibbons	2	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N/V	N/V	N/V	Y	Y
NV	Jon Porter	3	R	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
NY	Timothy Bishop	1	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N/V	N
NY	Steve Israel	2	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
NY	Pete King	3	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
NY	Carolyn McCarthy	4	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NY	Gary Ackerman	5	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
NY	Gregory W. Meeks	6	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
NY	Joseph Crowley	7	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
NY	Jerrold Nadler	8	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
NY	Anthony D. Weiner	9	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
NY	Edolphus Towns	10	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N

SCORECARD

House of Representatives

State	Representative	District	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
NY	Major Owens	11	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
NY	Nydia M. Velázquez	12	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
NY	Vito Fossella	13	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NY	Carolyn Maloney	14	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
NY	Charles B. Rangel	15	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
NY	José E. Serrano	16	R	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
NY	Eliot Engel	17	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
NY	Nita Lowey	18	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
NY	Sue Kelly	19	R	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
NY	John E. Sweeney	20	R	N/V	N	Y	N/V	N/V	N	N	N	Y	N
NY	Michael R. McNulty	21	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
NY	Maurice Hinchey	22	D	Y	N/V	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
NY	John M. McHugh	23	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N/V	N/V	Y	N
NY	Sherwood L. Boehlert	24	R	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N/V	N/V	Y	N
NY	Jim Walsh	25	R	N/V	N	N/V	N	Y	N	N/V	N/V	Y	N
NY	Thomas M. Reynolds	26	R	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
NY	Brian Higgins	27	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
NY	Louise Slaughter	28	D	Y	Y	N/V	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
NY	John R. "Randy" Kuhl Jr.	29	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
OH	Steve Chabot	1	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
OH	Jean Schmidt	2	R	#	#	#	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
OH	Michael Turner	3	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
OH	Michael G. Oxley	4	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N/V	N/V	Y	N
OH	Paul Gillmor	5	R	N	N	N/V	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
OH	Ted Strickland	6	D	Y	Y	N	N/V	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N/V
OH	David Hobson	7	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
OH	John A. Boehner	8	R	N	N	N/V	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
OH	Marcy Kaptur	9	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N/V	N/V	N	N
OH	Dennis J. Kucinich	10	D	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
OH	Stephanie Tubbs Jones	11	D	Y	Y	N	N/V	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
OH	Pat Tiberi	12	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
OH	Sherrod Brown	13	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
OH	Steven C. LaTourette	14	R	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
OH	Deborah Pryce	15	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
OH	Ralph Regula	16	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
OH	Tim Ryan	17	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
OH	Robert W. Ney	18	R	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
OK	John Sullivan	1	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
OK	Dan Boren	2	D	Y	N	N	N/V	N/V	N	N	N	Y	Y

SCORECARD

House of Representatives

State	Representative	District	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
OK	Frank Lucas	3	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
OK	Tom Cole	4	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
OK	Ernest J. Istook Jr.	5	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
OR	David Wu	1	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
OR	Greg Walden	2	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
OR	Earl Blumenauer	3	D	Y	Y	N/V	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
OR	Peter DeFazio	4	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
OR	Darlene Hooley	5	D	Y	Y	N/V	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
PA	Robert Brady	1	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N/V	N/V	N	N/V
PA	Chaka Fattah	2	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
PA	Phil English	3	R	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
PA	Melissa Hart	4	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
PA	John E. Peterson	5	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N/V	N/V	N/V	Y	Y
PA	Jim Gerlach	6	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
PA	Curt Weldon	7	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
PA	Michael G. Fitzpatrick	8	R	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
PA	Bill Shuster	9	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
PA	Don Sherwood	10	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
PA	Paul E. Kanjorski	11	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
PA	John Murtha	12	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
PA	Allyson Y. Schwartz	13	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
PA	Mike Doyle	14	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
PA	Charles W. Dent	15	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
PA	Joseph R. Pitts	16	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
PA	Tim Holden	17	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
PA	Tim Murphy	18	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
PA	Todd Platts	19	R	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
RI	Patrick Kennedy	1	D	Y	Y	N/V	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
RI	Jim Langevin	2	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
SC	Henry Brown	1	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
SC	Joe Wilson	2	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
SC	J. Gresham Barrett	3	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
SC	Bob Inglis	4	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
SC	John Spratt	5	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
SC	James E. Clyburn	6	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
SD	Stephanie Herseth	At Large	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
TN	William L. Jenkins	1	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
TN	John J. Duncan Jr.	2	R	N	N	Y	N/V	N/V	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
TN	Zach Wamp	3	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y

SCORECARD

House of Representatives

State	Representative	District	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
TN	Lincoln Davis	4	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TN	Jim Cooper	5	D	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
TN	Bart Gordon	6	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
TN	Marsha Blackburn	7	R	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
TN	John Tanner	8	D	N	Y	N/V	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
TN	Harold Ford	9	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
TX	Louie Gohmert	1	R	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TX	Ted Poe	2	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
TX	Sam Johnson	3	R	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N/V	N/V
TX	Ralph M. Hall	4	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
TX	Jeb Hensarling	5	R	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
TX	Joe Barton	6	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
TX	John Culberson	7	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N/V
TX	Kevin Brady	8	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
TX	Al Green	9	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
TX	Michael T. McCaul	10	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
TX	K. Michael Conaway	11	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N/V	N/V	Y	Y
TX	Kay Granger	12	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
TX	Mac Thornberry	13	R	N/V	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
TX	Ron Paul	14	R	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
TX	Rubén Hinojosa	15	D	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
TX	Silvestre Reyes	16	D	Y	Y	N/V	Y	Y	N/V	N/V	N/V	N	N
TX	Chet Edwards	17	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
TX	Sheila Jackson-Lee	18	D	N	N/V	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
TX	Randy Neugebauer	19	R	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
TX	Charlie A. Gonzalez	20	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
TX	Lamar Smith	21	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
TX	Henry Bonilla	23	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
TX	Kenny Marchant	24	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
TX	Lloyd Doggett	25	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
TX	Michael Burgess	26	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
TX	Solomon P. Ortiz	27	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N/V
TX	Henry Cuellar	28	D	N	N/V	N/V	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
TX	Gene Green	29	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
TX	Eddie Bernice Johnson	30	D	Y	Y	N/V	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
TX	John Carter	31	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N/V	N
TX	Pete Sessions	32	D	N	N/V	N/V	N	Y	N	Y	N	N/V	Y
TX	Tom DeLay	22nd – Vacancy	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	##	##
UT	Rob Bishop	1	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N/V	Y

SCORECARD

House of Representatives

State	Representative	District	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
UT	Jim Matheson	2	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
UT	Chris Cannon	3	R	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N/V	N/V	N/V	N/V
VA	Jo Ann S. Davis	1	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
VA	Thelma D. Drake	2	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
VA	Robert C. "Bobby" Scott	3	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
VA	J. Randy Forbes	4	R	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
VA	Virgil H Goode Jr.	5	R	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
VA	Bob Goodlatte	6	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
VA	Eric Cantor	7	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
VA	Jim Moran	8	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
VA	Rick Boucher	9	D	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
VA	Frank Wolf	10	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
VA	Tom Davis	11	R	N	N	N/V	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
VT	Bernie Sanders	At Large	I	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
WA	Jay Inslee	1	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
WA	Rick Larsen	2	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
WA	Brian Baird	3	D	Y	Y	N/V	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
WA	Doc Hastings	4	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
WA	Cathy McMorris	5	R	N	N	Y	N	N/V	N	Y	N	Y	Y
WA	Norman D. Dicks	6	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
WA	Jim McDermott	7	D	Y	Y	N/V	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
WA	David G. Reichert	8	R	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N/V	N
WA	Adam Smith	9	D	N/V	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
WI	Paul Ryan	1	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
WI	Tammy Baldwin	2	D	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
WI	Ron Kind	3	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WI	Gwen Moore	4	D	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
WI	F. James Sensenbrenner	5	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N/V	Y
WI	Thomas Petri	6	R	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WI	David R. Obey	7	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
WI	Mark Green	8	R	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
WV	Alan B. Mollohan	1	D	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
WV	Shelley Moore Capito	2	R	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
WV	Nick Rahall	3	D	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
WY	Barbara Cubin	At Large	R	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	n/	Y



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What Will Your Legacy Be?

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • October 2006

WALKING THE TIGHTROPE

AFSA Offers Qualified Support for Assignment System Changes

BY SHAWN DORMAN

The summer months at Foggy Bottom brought many changes to the Foreign Service assignment system. They apply to the current bidding season that began in August. The State Department is under tremendous pressure to fill up to 800 unaccompanied positions each summer, and changes were proposed and implemented by management to facilitate staffing these positions. AFSA understands the department's need to fill the positions, and is working with management to ensure the best possible outcome.

Both AFSA and State Department management share a strong desire to maintain the present system of staffing all positions for tenured personnel on a voluntary basis. AFSA recognizes the Secretary's authority to move to directed assignments if she chooses. Employees obviously prefer to have a say in where they serve, and AFSA believes the Service benefits from having people in positions they choose rather than those to which they may be directed. AFSA believes the best course is to work closely and constructively with the department to support its assignment objectives, while preserving an assignment system that lives up to the department's publicly articulated priorities of being employee- and family-friendly. It was with this in mind that AFSA agreed to most of the department's proposed changes to the assignment system announced in mid-August.

Staffing Unaccompanied Positions

Recent efforts by the State Department to encourage bids on unaccompanied positions, especially for staffing of the Iraq Provincial Reconstruction Teams, include the expanded incentives for Iraq PRT service (State 088092, sent May 31, detailed in *AFSA News* July/August, p. 80), followed by the time-in-class extension for people at certain designated hardship posts and a new ban on fourth-year extensions (State 121681, sent July 25, posted at www.afsa.org/State121681.cfm).

In an Aug. 15 message titled "Foreign Service Assignments: The Future Is Now" (State 133247), the director general laid out additional far-reaching changes, including the following: a proposal to restructure the various "seasons" of the assignment cycle to include a "pre-season" to facilitate early assignments to unaccompanied posts; a proposal to tighten up and limit the use of "handshakes" (the system by which bureaus offer positions to selected bidders prior to the official paneling of the candidate to the job); a proposal to strengthen the role of career development officers; a proposal to require fair-share bids to be for posts with a 15-percent or greater differential and a proposal to scale back the 6/8 rule to 5/6 (representing the maximum number of years an employee can serve in Washington, D.C. without/with a waiver). The DG requested feedback from employees, but the

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AFSA APPLAUDS DECISION IN SUPPORT OF CONSUL GENERAL

The CG Is on Duty 24/7: Court Agrees

BY SHARON PAPP,
AFSA GENERAL COUNSEL

AFSA is extremely pleased to inform our members that on Aug. 10, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit ruled in favor of Foreign Service officer Douglas Kent, who was sued in his individual capacity in the United States as a result of a 1998 car accident that occurred while he was the consul general in Vladivostok. Kent was represented by attorney J. Michael Hannon. The accident, in which the Russian driver of the second vehicle was injured, occurred while Kent was driving home from work, after stopping at the gym, in his personal vehicle. The Department of Justice, with State Department concurrence, refused to certify that Kent was acting within the scope of his employment when the accident occurred.

The district court in California, Kent's state of domicile, accepted the DOJ's

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AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



Concerns about Credit Union Services

In July, responding to members' inquiries and concerns about new fees and other issues, AFSA met with two officials from the State Department Credit Union, Chair of the Board Marlene Schwartz and CEO Jan Roche.

AFSA asked for clarification of what appeared to be a new "International Service Assessment" fee being charged when a member uses bank cards and credit cards overseas. Roche explained that, in fact, credit card companies have

always imposed this fee; now, following several court decisions, the companies have been mandated to show this fee separately. She added that some banks pass on an additional fee to the customer, but the SDFCU does not.

Some members had reported difficulties trying to use SDFCU credit cards overseas recently. Schwartz and Roche explained that many companies require telephone approval when an overseas charge is processed. Credit card companies monitor card activity and react when it departs from a member's previous spending patterns and when approval requests arrive from areas of the world where there is high fraud activity. This can lead to a rejection of the card.

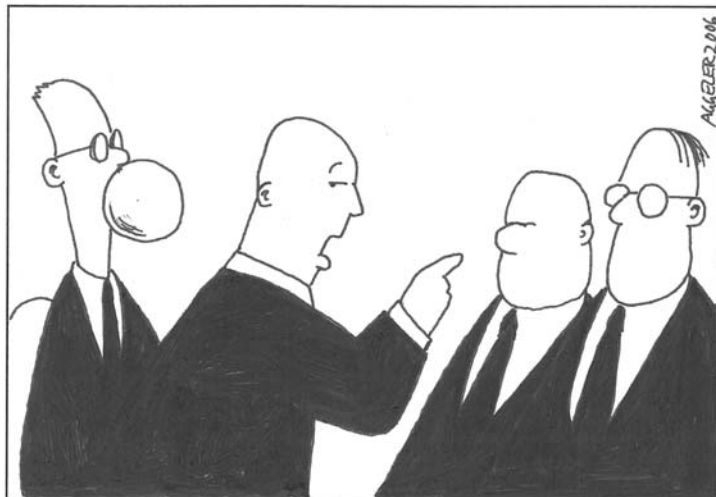
You can avoid most problems by contacting the SDFCU before you travel. Call 1 (800) 296-8882 or (703) 706-5000 to speak to a credit union representative, or fax a request to SDFCU Card Services at least 24 hours before your departure. The fax number is (703) 706-5117. Include the destination(s), time frames for travel and your signature. If an overseas transaction is blocked, you can get help by calling the 24-hour assistance line at 1 (800) 266-9569 or (703) 706-5000.

Another concern AFSA raised with SDFCU management was reported problems using the credit union Web site overseas. They assured us that the SDFCU site (www.sdfcu.org) allows any properly authenticated visitor, in the U.S. or outside, access to all online services. There are, however, many factors that can make online banking activities difficult overseas. Local Internet service providers may not have up-to-date systems, bandwidth may be insufficient or high-speed access may not be available.

More information is at www.sdfcu.org/news/overseastrip.html.

Life in the Foreign Service

BY BRIAN AGGELER



Just as Ambassador Bingle was coming to the crux of his demarche, he was disconcerted by the unmistakable smell of Bubblicious.

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Baldyga, Roger Dankert, Larry Lesser and

Gilbert Sheinbaum

The Elephant in the Room

The Foreign Service is struggling to adapt to the new world of increasingly dangerous conditions and unaccompanied postings. The Secretary wants us to concentrate on “transformational” diplomacy in difficult places and hot spots. The director general has implemented a series of far-reaching measures to refocus our assignment system on hardship service overseas. We have all participated in endless discussions, debates and negotiations over these changes. But there is a reluctance to talk openly about what is looming behind all this: the threat of directed assignments.

Of course, we all joined the Foreign Service on the assumption of “worldwide availability,” and we all understand that the department has the power, in theory, to order us to take any assignment anywhere. But, in practice, this is a solution of last resort that the State Department has very rarely had to employ. In the more than 30 years since the end of the Vietnam War, the combination of incentives, career development requirements and a deeply ingrained sense of duty among FS members have produced candidates for even the most unpleasant assignments. While some people may have needed a bit of extra encouragement or arm-twisting, our voluntary bidding system has always worked.

The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the growing terrorist threats in places like Pakistan and Saudi Arabia and the deepening hostility toward Americans at many other posts have changed that. In just a few short years, we have gone from a few dozen unaccompanied positions worldwide to nearly 800, almost half of which are in the two active war zones. For a Foreign Service of about 11,000, it is a challenge to produce a new crop of 800 volunteers to go unarmed to dangerous postings away from their families every summer.

The department is now starting to acknowledge the elephant in the room. The director general and other senior officials are openly warning that directed assignments might be on the horizon, particularly for the Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Iraq. I disagree with those who think this could be good for the Foreign Service, making us more like the military. We are *not* the military either by background, temperament, training or skill sets — nor is any other country’s diplomatic corps. Directing people against their will into assignments in war zones would be disastrous for the Foreign Service.

Any system for determining which Foreign Service members get tapped for ordered assignments to Iraq would have serious drawbacks, particularly if the objective is to get our best, most qualified people to serve there. Here are some of the choices that

have been bandied about in the corridors of State and overseas:

Fair-share candidates: Identifying employees who have not served in a hardship post in recent years would primarily target people whose personal situations make them least suited for the most dangerous, extreme hardship duty, and it would in no way guarantee that people with any particular qualifications for Iraq would be chosen.

Arabic speakers: Concentrating on Foreign Service members who possess Arabic language and regional experience would put pressure on the very segment of the Foreign Service that has already served in Iraq in the greatest proportion. As we have heard from many of these people, that would strain the staffing at many of our other vitally important posts in the Middle East.

Employees without families: Taking family situations into account when making assignments to a war zone would be unfair to unmarried employees, discriminatory, and quite possibly illegal.

Random lottery: Selecting those for directed assignments based on a purely random process would ignore all of the above criteria and would be the least sensible approach to getting our most qualified members to serve in Iraq.

Moreover, any directed assignment scheme would inevitably lead to the “Why Me?” phenomenon among the targeted employees, resulting in bitterness, a sense of unfairness and an endless series of formal grievances. Those who end up serving against their will are more likely to do so with a less healthy attitude and lower morale and personal motivation than someone who made a choice to volunteer. Many senior managers in the Foreign Service have confided to AFSA that the last thing they would want at our most difficult, most dangerous, most stressful posts is an employee who was ordered to go. If the department decides it needs to take the extreme step of directing people into assignments in dangerous places, we at AFSA look forward to being consulted and involved in a process of developing fair, objective and transparent criteria by which the targeted employees will be identified.

There is no escaping the conclusion that encouraging volunteers — by any means necessary — is far better than directing people to serve unarmed in war zones. Ultimately, this is the lens through which we should all view the many proposed new incentives, career development requirements and changes to our assignment system. □

There is no escaping the conclusion that encouraging volunteers — by any means necessary — is far better than directing people to serve unarmed in war zones.



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

To MTB or Not to MTB – That Is the Question!

Some of you are experts on the Manage-to-Budget concept, known as MTB. Some of you have heard of MTB and know the basics, while others may know nothing about it. Wherever you fall on this scale, MTB is likely to affect your life in one way or another, for it is our new administrator's solution to improve our agency.

Coming from a private sector position as chairman and chief executive officer of the pharmaceutical giant Eli Lilly, Ambassador Randall Tobias is serious about reforming our agency. During his five-year tenure in that position, the market value of Eli Lilly jumped from \$14 billion to well over \$70 billion. Quite an accomplishment, for sure. So, now, is it USAID's turn? But wait: USAID doesn't generate revenue or sell products or services. Well, the next best thing is to become a more efficient, mean and lean development machine. No one can be against that, right?

Let's look at this more carefully. The main idea behind the MTB process is to look for efficiencies by reducing waste through an incentive system. To do that, authorities and budget control have to devolve to the lowest operational unit possible; in our case, the USAID mission. The theory is that if managers have the ability to plan and design their workforce composition and other operational expense items based on a given budget, there will be a more efficient use of budget resources. The missions already manage a large part of their operating expenses budget for such things as FSN salaries, maintenance, rents, supplies, travel, motor pool, IT costs and local contracting. One budget item they do not yet manage is U.S. direct-hire salaries. The idea behind the MTB, ultimately, would be to give missions this authority.

Here is where good intentions go bad. In the private sector, an operating unit, such as the field office of a large pharmaceutical company, can determine its staffing requirements. If a position or employee is not needed, the next logical step is to eliminate the job and use the "savings" to increase profitability by either not filling it or downgrading it with a lower-cost employee. Under our current system, Washington manages FSO salaries directly, in addition to hiring and firing personnel. While a mission director may decide that an FSO position is not needed, he or she does not have the authority to remove the FSO from the Service or hire a replacement. So, even if the mission director eliminates the position, there will be no "savings" for him or her to use for other purposes. The FSO simply goes on to another assignment elsewhere. For MTB to make sense and be truly implemented,

the mission director would have to have the authority to hire and fire. Congress would have to approve that. Fortunately, at this point, there are no immediate plans to decentralize financial and personnel management to the mission level.

But why change the system at all? FSOs are actually only passing through a mission for a few years, much like military personnel. MTB makes more sense under a Civil Service system at

headquarters, where positions are intended to be stationary and long-term. While salary control is only one aspect of a real MTB system, another major component is an incentive system to entice managers to be more efficient. As of this writing, the latter system, which is separate from our normal awards procedures, was still being designed and under discussion. Again, the concept is simple — but like many other

proposals, the devil is in the details.

Given enough incentives, some managers may elect to negotiate cheaper and less desirable housing for their staff, cut down on necessary travel expenses, reduce training opportunities, dilute benefits, eliminate staff and choose FSOs with the fewest number of dependents. The rewards for doing this could be substantial and quite tempting. There is even a suggestion to give managers a percentage of the savings as personal or "corporate" rewards. That sounds dangerous to me, and full of opportunities for abuse, not to mention morale problems.

Does MTB work? Of course it does — in the private sector, where the bottom line is the profit-and-loss statement and substantial raises are a possibility. No one should be against saving money or being more efficient. But in the public sector, our profit is the knowledge that we have done something good for our country and the world.

The real issue is that we are not in the private sector. We don't have total control of our budget due to congressional earmarks and tight budgets. We have even had to resort to using program funds to subsidize operational expenses. International development is not a profit-making venture. We don't need to pretend that our missions are business franchises because we are not selling widgets or drugs. We are providing an essential public service. USAID staff are already dutifully working beyond their paid 40 hours a week here and in many inhospitable parts of the world. They deserve better treatment than this.

MTB should be called GMB (as in, Give Me a Break). □



In the public sector, our profit is the knowledge that we have done something good for our country and the world.

CG on Duty • Continued from page 71

interpretation and concluded that Kent was not acting within the scope of his job. AFSA had repeatedly and unsuccessfully urged the Department of State to support Kent's interpretation of governing law and regulation conveying that employees and, in particular, chiefs of missions and principal officers, are on duty 24/7 while stationed overseas. Had Kent been certified as acting within the "scope of employment," he would have been dismissed from the lawsuit and, because the federal government generally cannot be sued for torts that occurred overseas, the case would have been dismissed in its entirety.

Kent appealed to the 9th Circuit. Because AFSA viewed this case as establishing an important precedent to the extreme jeopardy of our members, the Governing Board voted unanimously to provide \$5,000 toward Kent's legal defense. (See *Foreign Service Journal*, "FS Know-How," January 2005). We submitted a declaration in support of Kent at the district court level and filed an amicus brief.

AFSA repeatedly implored the department to request that the U.S. Attorney's Office reconsider its position that Kent was not acting within the scope of his job, in light of the unique circumstances of employment for Foreign Service employees and its implications for all department personnel overseas. This case's implications in the context of a "more expeditious" Foreign Service are clear.

In reversing the District Court's failure to certify Kent, the 9th Circuit applied District of Columbia law and found that under the circumstances of the case Kent was acting within the scope of his employment when the car accident occurred. The court stated that "Although the determination of scope of employment is dependent upon the facts and circumstances of each case ... the District of Columbia Court of Appeals has announced a general rule: (W)hatever is done by the employee in virtue of his employment and in furtherance of its ends is deemed by the law to be an act done within the scope of his employment, and ... in determining whether the servant's conduct was within the scope of

his employment, it is proper to inquire whether he was at the time engaged in serving his master." The court ruled in Kent's favor because it found that he was 1) engaged in a business act (the FAM authorized him to use a government vehicle and driver 24/7); 2) under the control of the Department of State; 3) acting in furtherance of the Department of State's interest (by driving himself to save money for the government); and 4) subjectively believed he was acting within the scope of his employment.

**"We conclude that Kent
was acting within the scope
of employment."**

— The 9th Circuit Court of Appeals

In a conclusion that was particularly revealing of the judges' opinion of the government's position, the court stated: "Now that Kent has been sued in the United States, the Department of State has not only stopped fighting for a consul general — who has served the Department of State in places such as Panama, Albania, Kosovo, Tajikistan and Liberia — but it has joined the other team and is litigating for the benefit of the plaintiff. Although we cannot

answer why the Department of State and the United States Attorney spent their precious and scarce resources opposing this petition for certification ... we do answer the legal questions involved. Applying District of Columbia law, we conclude that Kent was acting within the scope of employment." The 9th Circuit Court of Appeals decision can be found at <http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/data2/circs/9th/0456703p.pdf>.

The government may request that the 9th Circuit review the case en banc or petition the Supreme Court for certiorari; i.e., the government can decide to appeal this decision. AFSA joins the court in its sincere hope that the government will stop spending "its precious and scarce resources" fighting against a loyal employee. We also hope that the Department of State and the U.S. Attorney's Office will recognize the unique nature of the Foreign Service and take these factors into consideration in determining future scope-of-employment issues.

All that said, AFSA reiterates the department's warning that all employees overseas need to ensure that they have adequate personal/automobile liability insurance coverage. In many instances this will require significantly more coverage than the minimum required by regulation or post policy. No one should have to experience what Doug Kent has gone through. □

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

Tribute to Victims of 1998 East Africa Bombings

On Aug. 7, the eighth anniversary of the East Africa embassy bombings, AFSA President Tony Holmes attended a memorial ceremony at the State Department. Holmes spoke during the ceremony, as did Under Secretary of State for Management Henrietta Fore, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Nicholas Burns and Ambassadors Prudence Bushnell and John Lange.

The Aug. 7 attack killed 224 people, including 12 American employees of Embassy Nairobi, and injured more than 5,000. In his remarks, Holmes highlighted and paid tribute to the critical role played by local employees in Kenya and Tanzania, as well as all other U.S. embassies worldwide.



AUSTIN TRACY

Assignment Changes • Continued from page 71

short (10-day) turnaround time to go from proposals to policies indicated that decisions were intended to be final when the proposals went out to the field. The proposals were incorporated into the “Instructions on Bidding and Assignments” for the 2007 open assignments cycle, posted on Aug. 28.

AFSA offered support for the general thrust of the proposed changes aimed at improving the overall fairness and transparency of the assignment system. AFSA reluctantly agreed to the department’s changes to the rules relating to extensions. But AFSA believes that the department needs to show some flexibility and consideration of personal circumstances, particularly as they relate to family and educational issues, and to implement some transition rules that will permit exceptions for such family and educational issues for those who were assigned to posts under the old extension rules. AFSA believes that the department should modify this new policy to exempt all hard-language-designated positions.

The association accepted the proposed new requirement that “handshakes” not be registered by Human Resources until the start of the applicable assignment season (with special arrangements made for those coming out of Iraq PRTs who have been guaranteed one of their top five onward assignments); and the strengthening of the role of HR/CDA in the assignment process.

AFSA had questions about the proposed changes to the “fair share” bidding requirement, which would restrict fair-share bids to those at 15-percent-or-greater hardship posts, but after consultations with management, accepted this proposal, as well. AFSA rejected the proposal to change the 6/8-year rule to 5/6, because it would effectively limit Foreign Service members to two regular domestic assignments in a row, even for those who have just completed multiple overseas hardship postings or have personal reasons to stay longer in Washington. The department was not able to substantiate its claim that this change would make it easier to fill its priority jobs.

AFSA met several times with department management to discuss the propos-

als. AFSA has tried to ensure that management considers all the implications of these changes and that unintended consequences are minimized. AFSA also encouraged Foreign Service members to send input to AFSA and to the director general. Hundreds did so.

On Aug. 31, AFSA sent out the following message to membership to clarify its position on the new assignment rules:

AFSANET MESSAGE TO
THE MEMBERSHIP

Straight Talk on the New Assignment Rules

As previewed in the Director General’s “The Future Is Now” cable and AFSA’s companion piece (State 133427), the 2007 Bidding Instructions have now been published with a number of changes over last year’s version. No one can doubt the intent of these changes, which were designed to increase the incentives and pressure on Foreign Service members to bid on the growing number of extreme-hardship, danger-pay and unaccompanied positions that now need to be filled every summer. This shift in emphasis from non-hardship to hardship posts is a reality of the more challenging and sometimes more hostile world in which many of our embassies and consulates must operate, but it is also an inescapable byproduct of the Secretary’s transformational diplomacy agenda.

Hundreds of AFSA members have sent us feedback in response to these two cables. This extensive feedback illustrates the diverse, multifaceted and often contradictory range of opinions that exist among our worldwide membership. Most respondents clearly understand the imperative to staff our most difficult posts and support a tightening up of the fair-share bidding rules. A strong majority heartily endorse a crack-down on the backroom “handshake” system that has often allowed bureaus to cut special deals for their insiders. Foreign Service members across the board approve of any measures to clamp down on “needs of the Service” exceptions that benefit certain senior officers and a select few others who have good connections on the

7th floor or in the front offices of geographic bureaus.

At the same time, there is also a widespread concern that longstanding assignment rules and practices are being hastily jettisoned in order to address the short-term staffing needs of the most difficult places, such as the Iraq PRTs. Members worldwide have repeatedly raised questions about the size of the U.S. embassy in Iraq and the practical ability of FS personnel to perform their assigned duties given the security constraints. Members feel as if the excellent work performed by the Foreign Service in many important but less difficult posts is no longer valued or rewarded. Most importantly, while most Foreign Service employees are tough, adaptable people who are fully prepared to volunteer for their share of hardship postings, many fear they are losing the flexibility to structure their careers in ways that accommodate their personal and family needs. AFSA has vigorously reinforced these points in our discussions with department management.

The 2007 Bidding Instructions

AFSA urges all members to carefully read the new bidding instructions, posted at http://hrweb.hr.state.gov/prd/hrweb/cda/Bidding_Instructions.html. The instructions spell out the new sequence of the four “seasons” for assignment panels, which will focus on filling unaccompanied positions earlier in the cycle. AFSA views this new sequencing as an experiment for this assignment cycle, the results of which we hope to review for fairness with the director general before any decisions are taken for next year. The instructions also set forth the strengthened requirements for fair-share bidders, who must now bid on three posts at 15-percent or greater differential. We would note that there has been a gradual shift in the classification of many hardship posts from lesser to greater differentials. So the list of posts now classified at differentials of 15, 20, 25 or higher percent is considerably longer than it was even five years ago. Members should understand that these rules are forward-looking, not retroactive, so anyone who has served at a hardship post of any differen-

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

AFSA Staff Notes

Ian Houston joined the AFSA staff as director of legislative affairs in September. Prior positions include legislative director and foreign policy advisor for Representative George Radanovich, R-Calif., and director of legislative affairs and public policy for InterAction. He has held several positions with USAID development groups including TechnoServe, FINCA and America's Development Foundation. Houston has a master's degree in international relations from the University of Kent, Canterbury, England, and a B.A. from Brigham Young University.

Andrew Kidd joined the *Foreign Service Journal* staff as business manager in September. Kidd came to AFSA from a position as a copy editor with Circle Solutions, Inc. He has a B.A. in English, with a concentration in technical writing, from Virginia Tech.

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tial in the past eight years has fulfilled his/her fair-share requirements.

Member feedback revealed clearly that a tremendous number of our colleagues oppose limiting domestic service to two consecutive assignments. Many FS employees with families seek out multiple overseas assignments — often hardship postings — during years when their kids are young, but then want the flexibility to serve four, five or six years in Washington at some point in order to have time to put a couple of kids through high school in a stable American environment. A small number of people find that they need to stay in Washington for a particular period of time due to other compelling personal reasons, such as sick parents or other relatives, child custody issues or spousal career concerns. This does not make them any less committed to the “foreign” aspect of the Foreign Service. In fact, many only try to do their six-year domestic stint after having spent far longer overseas, and most return to overseas service afterwards. AFSA did not concur with the DG's proposal to scale back the 6/8 year rule, which will therefore remain in force for the time being.

AFSA urges all Foreign Service employees to read carefully through these bidding instructions in order to understand the areas in which the rules have been modified. While some of our members had feared that the changes would be Draconian and would disadvantage large numbers of people, we believe that a dispassionate analysis of the actual rule changes instituted by the DG reflects a somewhat more gradual evolution in our assignment sys-

tem, albeit an evolution toward greater hardship service.

AFSA calls on the department to enforce the new rules evenhandedly, making exceptions only for employees with genuinely extenuating personal circumstances. In this regard, we advise members to take note of the various standard operating procedures that govern HR's decisionmaking processes for handling assignments, waivers and other special issues. These SOPs can be found on the HR Intranet Web site at: <http://hrweb.hr.state.gov/prd/hrweb/cda/sops.html>.

AFSA — and the Foreign Service as a whole — has a fine line to walk at this pivotal moment in time. Staffing nearly 800 unaccompanied positions every summer presents a challenge that the Foreign Service cannot ignore. We all want a family-friendly Service that gives our members wide latitude to plan their own careers, that enables them to determine the places where they serve, and that recognizes excellent work regardless of where it is performed. But we must also ensure that the most difficult overseas positions, which the administration has defined as high priority, are filled. If we cannot accomplish this objective through the traditional voluntary bidding process, the alternative will be directed assignments. AFSA continues to believe that directing people into assignments, particularly to those located in war zones, would be detrimental to the Foreign Service on many different levels. Avoiding this eventuality will require us all to make some concessions and accept some changes that we might not otherwise prefer. □

FOR REFERENCE, Key Reads:

In case you missed any of the pieces of the new staffing procedure puzzle, be sure to take a look at State 121681, sent July 25 (“Requests for Extensions at Four-Year Posts”); State 133247, sent Aug. 15 (“Foreign Service Assignments: The Future Is Now”); Aug. 15 AFSAnet message (“State Department Proposals to Reengineer the Foreign Service Open Assignments System”); State 147530, sent Sept. 7 (“Foreign Service Assignments: Questions and Answers”) and finally, the “Instructions on Bidding and Assignments” for the 2007 open assignments cycle posted on Aug. 28 (available on the Human Resources Intranet Web site at: http://hrweb.hr.state.gov/prd/hrweb/cda/Bidding_Instructions.html).

Q&A



Retiree Issues

The FSPS Annuity Supplement

BY BONNIE BROWN,
RETIREE COORDINATOR

Q: What is the annuity supplement?

A: The annuity supplement is a benefit paid until age 62 to Foreign Service Pension System employees who retire before age 62 and who are entitled to an immediate annuity. The annuity supplement approximates the value of their FSPS service in calculating their Social Security benefits, and is calculated as if they were entitled to receive SSA benefits on the day of actual retirement. (The supplement usually totals between \$35 and \$40 a month for each full year of FSPS service.) The purpose of the supplement is to provide a level of income before age 62 similar to that one would receive at age 62 from Social Security.

Q: Who is eligible for an annuity supplement?

A: Employees who have at least one year of FSPS service, and who voluntarily or involuntarily retire with entitlement to an immediate annuity, are eligible. This does not include employees who retire at the minimum retirement age with at least 10 years of service or employees who retire on disability or deferred retirement. The annuity supplement is payable from the date of retirement until the month prior to the month in which the annuitant reaches age 62.

Q: How is the value of an FSPS supplement calculated?

A: The supplement is computed as if an employee were age 62 and fully eligible for Social Security benefits when the supplement begins. The department first estimates what the full Social Security benefits for the employee would be. Then it calculates the amount of service under the FSPS and reduces the estimated full Social Security benefits accordingly. For instance, if an estimated Social Security benefit at age 62 is \$20,000 and the number of years under the FSPS is 20 years, the formula would be \$20,000 divided by 40 times 20, or \$10,000.

Q: Is there an income limitation?

A: Yes. Like Social Security benefits, the annuity supplement is subject to an earnings test. If one earns more

than the exempt amount of earnings (the minimum level of earnings) in the preceding year, the supplement is reduced by \$1 for every \$2 of earnings over a set level (\$12,000 in 2005). The income limitation does not apply until after the first calendar year in which one receives an annuity supplement. Earnings include income from employment but do not include annuity income, Social Security benefits or investment income.

Q: How is the income limitation applied after the first year of retirement?

A: At the end of each calendar year, the department asks FSPS annuitants to submit a statement (Form DS-5026) declaring earned income for that year in order to show continuing eligibility for the annuity supplement. The department then determines whether the annuity supplement should be reduced or terminated. If an annuitant receives excess funds before a reduction or termination goes into effect the following year, the department will ask for repayment of this overpayment.

Q: Is there any way to avoid overpayments?

A: Yes. If an annuitant submits a statement of entitlement to an annuity supplement by Jan. 10, the department will make every effort to assure that no overpayment is included in the February annuity payment. This early submission should avoid overpayment since the February payment is for the month of January. (The deadline for submitting the statement is Feb. 15.)

Q: Are annuity supplements for retirees increased by cost-of-living adjustments?

A: No, the supplement is not increased by COLAs. The COLA does apply to the supplements of survivors, however. □

AFSANEWSBRIEFS

State Tax Incentives for Long-Term Care Insurance

Over 20 states, including Virginia and Maryland, offer long-term care tax incentives to reduce the cost of long-term care premiums. Retirees with 1099 income may be eligible to deduct all or part of the premiums as a health expense on IRS Form 1040. For more tax information, please seek the advice of your tax adviser.

AFSA offers long-term care insurance through the Hirshorn Company. Contact Carl Shaifer at 1 (800) 242-8221, or e-mail cshaifer@hirshorn.com. More information on the AFSA long-term care program is at www.hirshorn.com/AFSA2LTC_Home.html.

AFSA ELDERHOSTEL

Raising Awareness Among a Vocal Group

BY ASGEIR SIGFUSSON, AFSA/ELDERHOSTEL PROGRAM ASSOCIATE

The AFSA Elderhostel program is developing and expanding every season. The basic mission remains the same: To educate and inform the American public about the work and importance of the Foreign Service. The audiences — retired Americans from all over the United States — have been highly receptive to the idea that diplomacy is an important tool of foreign policy, and they often vow to go home and advocate on behalf of the Foreign Service. This is a key benefit of the program, as our participants are typically highly educated people of significant influence in their communities. We have also been pleased to see many people return to our weeklong programs multiple times, often bringing along friends.

In order to use retired Foreign Service personnel as our featured speakers, we have organized our programs in locations with a healthy concentration of such retirees. In addition to Washington, D.C., our locations include St. Petersburg, Atlanta, Chautauqua and Tucson. In the spring of 2007, our newest location will offer its first course,

the foreign policy issues of the Pacific Rim, presented in the heart of San Francisco.

Our one-day programs, so-called “Days of Discovery,” have also turned out to be a huge hit. We have so far offered four different topics — all immediate sellouts — and in 2007 we will add three new topics to that roster, including programs on Latin America and China. We have also designed two new courses for our weeklong programs in Washington, D.C.: One features China and East Asia, while the other focuses on Latin America and Africa.

We have also been lucky to have a deep pool of talent to pull from as far as speakers are concerned. This fall, we were able to bring such highly-regarded experts as Ambassadors Marc Grossman, Beth Jones, W. Robert Pearson, David Newton, John W. Limbert and Thomas Hubbard to speak at our Washington-based programs. We encourage interested retirees to contact us if they wish to contribute time and knowledge to our efforts.

Finally, we look forward to welcoming our hostellers in a brand-new Washington location next spring: the Savoy Suites in Georgetown. We are glad to be able to offer such excellent accommodations in the heart of the nation’s capital.

If you have an interest in participating in our programs, please visit www.afsa.org/elderhostel or contact AFSA Elderhostel Program Coordinator Janice Bay at bay@afsa.org. □

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JAMES HUNTLEY'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY, *An Architect of Democracy: Building a Mosaic of Peace* (New Academia Publishing, Washington D.C., June 2006) is being issued in the Memoirs and Occasional Papers series of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training (ADST). Mr. Huntley is a former Foreign Service officer (1952-60). Copies may be ordered from ADST, 2814 N. Underwood St, Arlington VA 22213, Tel: (703) 302-6990, e-mail: info@adst.org; from the publisher; or from online booksellers. \$30 + S&H.

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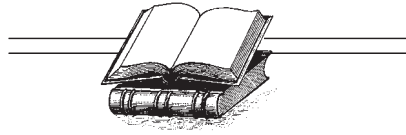
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BOOKS

Look Who's Telling Our Story...

Through Their Eyes: Foreign Correspondents in the United States

Stephen Hess, Brookings Institution Press, 2005, \$18.95, paperback, 195 pages.

REVIEWED BY CHRISTOPHER L. TEAL

Through Their Eyes: Foreign Correspondents in the United States addresses a topic I was interested in well before I began working at the Foreign Press Center in Washington this summer. The center is an excellent resource that countless foreign reporters have used over the past six decades. By describing its workings, Brookings Institution Senior Fellow Stephen Hess continues his decades-long project to lay out how the government and media interact, beginning with his seminal earlier works: *The Washington Reporters* (1981) and *The Government/Press Connection* (1984). This latest installment in that series centers on a crucial but overlooked actor in this interplay: the foreign press based in the U.S.

Hess prepared questionnaires for the more than 2,000 foreign journalists residing here. Almost a quarter of them responded, and he conducted over 100 supplemental interviews to add more detail. What he gives us is a snapshot of the reporters who help feed the information machine, providing a unique and enlightening

Hess helps us see how foreign correspondents explain for their audience of billions what makes the United States tick.



glimpse into their minds, expectations and work.

Not surprisingly, Hess' research confirms what we've known all along: the U.S. media often set the agenda internationally. Whether a correspondent picks up what *The New York Times*, *Washington Post* or the major wire services have already run, or their editors overseas read those same articles online, it exponentially extends the axiom that foreign reporters are "only as good as the local press."

In fact, in the age of instant access across the globe via television and the Internet, foreign editors who were once much more dependent on their eyes and ears in America are now not so reliant. Now that reporters no longer file their stories by mail, their expertise can seem diminished by the constant needs and biases of the "home office." However, the advantage a reporter in the U.S. offers is context, not simply immediate repackaging. U.S.-based journalists can sort out which stories or sources are

credible, something very difficult to do from 12 time zones away. In the post-9/11 world, it is crucial to better understand the vantage point of this influential group, one that tries to explain for their audience of billions what makes the United States tick.

Hess also provides a brief history of foreign journalists, examines their changing demographics (now less dominated by European men), and focuses on their issues (long hours, odd deadlines and the struggle for access being perennial concerns). As he notes, their numbers only continue to grow. From just over 200 registered in the aftermath of the Second World War, to over 10 times that today, they constitute a resource too important for the American public and government to miss in shaping foreign public opinion.

Hess and his research team do a tremendous job of gathering and presenting the data on this unique breed. For a wider audience, this book may lack the kind of easy flow that his earlier works exemplified. But for practitioners of public diplomacy, *Through Their Eyes* will certainly be a resource to turn to again and again.

Christopher Teal, an FSO since 1999, has served in Santo Domingo, Lima and the European Bureau; he now works in the Foreign Press Center in Washington, D.C. He has been a member of the FSJ Editorial Board since 2004. The opinions expressed herein are his own, not those of the Journal or the State Department.



Lessons from 50 Years Ago

My Battle of Algiers

Ted Morgan, Smithsonian Books, 2005, \$24.95, hardcover, 284 pages.

REVIEWED BY DAVID T. JONES

Almost 50 years ago, the nexus between East and West; colonialism and liberation; and communism and NATO lay in Algeria, where the French struggled to suppress terrorism.

The era and the struggle spawned serious history (Paul Henissart's *Wolves in the City*), muscular fiction (Jean Larteguy's *The Praetorians*), and memorable cinema ("The Battle of Algiers"). In the subsequent half-century, an almost endless line of struggles from Vietnam through the Persian Gulf War and the current conflict in Iraq, as well as various insurgencies around the globe, have left Algeria's French legacy in the dusty memory of aging combatants. Fortunately, Ted Morgan has revisited the topic, bringing a thought-provoking memoir into topical review.

Morgan, a naturalized U.S. citizen, was born Sanche de Gramont. Son of a French diplomat killed in World War II, he was educated at Yale. In 1969 he produced a clever, catty, insightful study (*The French*) that sliced and diced his native land and its citizens to the delight of Anglo-Saxons, as well as books on espionage and French history. As Ted Morgan (an anagram of "de Gramont"), he has written many books, including biographies of Somerset Maugham, Winston Churchill and FDR, and a fine U.S. colonial-era history (*Wilderness at Dawn*). A previous memoir, *On Becoming American*, discussed his decision to become a U.S. citizen in the mid-1970s.

They say that everyone is a hero in his own autobiography, but Morgan tries hard to gainsay that adage.

My Battle of Algiers describes Morgan's experiences as a young army officer who returned home in 1956 to perform his obligatory military service. Like many other French soldiers, he was assigned to a yearlong tour in Algeria. There the French army suppressed the resistance forces through two brutal episodes of counterinsurgency, fighting first in the countryside and then within the capital.

They say that everyone is a hero in his own autobiography, but Morgan tries hard to gainsay that adage. He enjoys his landlady's favors (and enjoys free accommodations during her husband's absence); beats to death a suspect that he is questioning; and helps a buddy who has deserted the army to evade military police. As for the larger context, in wry, reflective prose he unflinchingly examines conditions in post-World War II France and colonial Algeria — and leaves the reader the opportunity to extrapolate some conclusions from his experience.

Perhaps the most disconcerting lesson Morgan offers is that torture works — not every time or with every individual, but frequently enough and rapidly enough for its use to be justified. It is fair to say that torture was the principal means by which the ter-

rorist networks in Algiers were identified and destroyed. The human toll was gruesome, to be sure: of over 24,000 suspects transferred to military custody rather than the courts, more than 3,000 "disappeared" — that is, they were murdered during or following torture. Still, on the evidence Morgan presents here, critics of whatever U.S. forces have or may have done in the five years since the 9/11 attacks to fight our enemies are arguing for humanitarian principles against practical realities.

But perhaps the chief place to apply the lessons of Algeria is not in Iraq, but in the Middle East's Occupied Territories (stemming from the 1967 Six Days War). The French experience in Algeria suggests that no matter the depth or historical value of a people's claim on an area, the subjugation of a hostile population requires full political support from the "homeland" and a willingness to pay whatever price is required to continue the subjugation.

As Morgan recounts, France had held Algeria since 1830. The colony even elected deputies to the National Assembly; Algiers, with a population over 900,000 (two-thirds French) was the second-largest city in France, behind only Paris. But, unwilling to pay the price in blood and treasure required to vanquish a determined resistance movement, France cut its losses and departed after only a few years of fighting. From this optic, it appears as if Tel Aviv has made a comparable decision regarding Gaza and the vast bulk of the West Bank.

De Gramont/Morgan does not pronounce on current-day parallels in *My Battle of Algiers*, but such questions nonetheless hang in the air.

David T. Jones, a retired Senior Foreign Service officer, is a frequent contributor to the Journal.

Islamism in the Context of Democracy

God Willing: The Politics of Islamism in Bangladesh

Ali Riaz, Rowman and Littlefield, 2004, \$28.95, paperback, 230 pages.

REVIEWED BY KAPIL GUPTA

I recommend *God Willing: The Politics of Islamism in Bangladesh* to readers interested in the relationship between political Islam and democracy. Although the author's patchwork of writing styles — historical narrative, academesque, poetry and thick description — sometimes compromises readability, he still succeeds in illuminating several points that may be of particular interest to a general foreign-policy audience.

Dr. Ali Riaz, a professor at Illinois State University, begins by dismissing prevalent “theologocentric” cultural and religious essentializations that lead to trite conclusions about political Islam. He deplores a diminished sophistication in public discourse following the 9/11 attacks: “The demarcation between Islam (a faith), Islamism (a political ideology), Islamic revivalism (a social movement), and Islamic fundamentalism (a transnational religio-political movement) became blurred almost instantly.”

Riaz makes two key distinctions to frame the discussion. First, Islamism is inherently a political phenomenon and by no means something Islamic. A second, no less important point is particularly relevant to the project of countering Islamism: “Islamists who have a nationalist and country-specific

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*Far from
rejecting democracy
as a means to power,
Islamists may seek to
change the very
definition of the term.*

agenda, as in Bangladesh, need to be seen in a different light than those who have a transnational agenda.” Instead of seeing manifestations of Islamism as evidence of an ineluctable transnational “green tide,” Riaz argues for a focus on national particularities.

He then describes how Bangladesh’s Islamist forces are inherently linked to local conditions and national characteristics. “It is the specific dynamics of domestic politics that allowed the pre-eminence of Islamic forces in politics and their successes in the electoral process,” he writes. Citing Islamist-backed attacks on religious minorities, women, the press, NGOs, artists and intellectuals there, Riaz vividly illustrates how Islamism threatens democratic liberalism and pluralism — the very freedoms and social relations that empower democracy with popular vitality.

God Willing describes how Islamism can emerge “as a legitimate political force through democratic means,” but warns: “In the event of the collapse of a hegemonic ideology and a hegemonic order, if a strong secular alternative fails to assert itself, religion

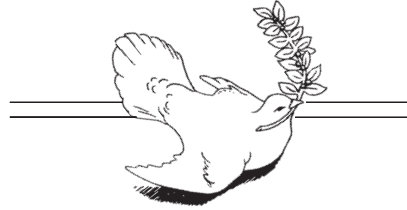
as a political ideology fills the void.”

Riaz supplements his central analysis of Bangladesh with a comparative discussion of Pakistan and Indonesia. Through analysis of these Muslim states, he portrays a growing dichotomy between substantive and formal democracy. A substantive democracy is characterized by political freedoms, legal rights and a vibrant civil society; formal democracy is more focused on electoral processes and institutions of representative government. Clearly, part of our challenge as U.S. diplomats is advancing both of these aspects of democracy.

Democratic competition can unleash destructive sociopolitical forces (such as Islamism) that the state or civil society may be unwilling or unable to mitigate. However, agents of Islamism do not always oppose democracy per se. Combining both religion and democracy as a means to power, Islamists may instead seek to change the very definition of democracy.

Relevant for those working on any Muslim-majority country, this book serves as a contextual manual for understanding the inherent tensions within our mission of creating a more secure, democratic and prosperous world. Two practical suggestions for readers: start by reading the final chapter and appendices before reading the introduction. In addition, the 2002 film “*Matir Moina*” (The Clay Bird) by Tareque Masud provides a rich background for understanding Riaz’s analysis of Bangladesh. ■

Prior to joining the Foreign Service in 2005, Kapil Gupta was a country director for Afghanistan in the Office of the Secretary of Defense. He is currently a vice consul in Dhaka.



IN MEMORY

Beryl B. Barraclough, 71, wife of retired FSO William Barraclough, died on May 23 at their home in Hilton Head Island, S.C., after a long struggle with cancer.

Mrs. Barraclough accompanied her husband on tours to Brussels, Lusaka, Tokyo and Paris. She is survived by her husband; her son, Keith, of Alexandria, Va.; her daughter, Jennifer Kessler, and granddaughter, Kayla Kessler, both of Hilton Head Island, S.C.



Maxwell Kennedy Berry, 76, a retired FSO, died peacefully on June 11 at his home in Lacey, Wash., from congestive heart failure.

Born in Morganfield, Ky., Mr. Berry earned a B.A. in English from Duke University in 1952, served as a naval officer aboard the USS *Tarawa* from 1952 to 1955, and received an M.A. in English from Louisiana State University in 1955. He entered the Foreign Service in 1956 and served in Saigon, Jakarta, Adana, Izmir, Ankara, Lusaka and Washington, D.C. In 1963, he was detailed to the Near East area studies department at Princeton University. Plagued by ill health, he retired in 1980.

Mr. Berry is survived by his wife, Ann; a son, Walter Berry of Gabriola Island, British Columbia; a daughter, Helen Berry of Olympia, Wash.; and a brother, Marion W. Berry of Morganfield, Ky.



Janine Werner Boswell, 91, widow of the late Foreign Service offi-

cer William O. Boswell, died on June 5 in Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Boswell was born in Le Havre. The daughter of a Norwegian diplomat, she was of French/Norwegian descent. She joined her husband in representing the United States on diplomatic assignments to Lisbon (1941-1945), Naples (1945-1946), Vienna (1946-1947), Paris (1947-1950), Rome (1953-1955), Milan (1955-1958) and Cairo (1962-1965). Mrs. Boswell was an active member of the French Group of what was then the Association of American Foreign Service Women (now Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide).

Following Mr. Boswell's retirement in 1970, the couple lived in Bethesda, Md., and New Florence, Pa.

Mrs. Boswell leaves sons Eric (a retired FSO), Steven, Philip, Peter and Christopher; daughters-in-law Nancy Zucker Boswell, Julie Yanson and Kathryn Boswell; and four grandchildren. Mr. Boswell died in 2002.



Charles W. Bray III, 73, a career FSO, former ambassador and a co-founder of the "Young Turks" movement that reformed AFSA's mission in the 1960s, died of pneumonia on July 23 at his home in Milwaukee, Wis.

Ambassador Bray was born in New York City and graduated from Princeton University in 1955. He served overseas in the U.S. Army from 1956 to 1958, and joined the Foreign Service in 1958.

After a year as an information specialist and another year in Visayan-language training at FSI, Amb. Bray

was posted to Cebu as a consular officer in 1961. From 1963 to 1965 he served as a political and USAID officer in Bangui. He returned to Washington, was detailed to the University of Maryland for systems analysis and economics studies in 1966, and then continued working in the department.

During this period, Amb. Bray helped launch the "Young Turks" movement, a group of AFSA members who in 1968 issued a manifesto, "Toward a Modern Diplomacy," calling for major changes in the Foreign Service. They were instrumental in bringing about AFSA's recognition as the official representative of the Foreign Service in 1972. Amb. Bray served as chairman of the AFSA Governing Board in 1971.

In 1971, Amb. Bray was named State Department press spokesman and director of the Office of Press Relations, serving under Secretary of State William P. Rogers until 1973. In this capacity he handled such issues as U.S. sales of F-4 Phantom jets to Greece, opposition to French atomic tests and censure of secret trials of Jews in the Soviet Union.

Amb. Bray resigned from the Service in 1973 in protest over the Nixon administration's wiretapping of three Foreign Service officials. Loyalty "has to run in both directions," he said at the time.

During the Carter administration, Amb. Bray was appointed deputy director of the U.S. Information Agency and director of the National Foreign Affairs Training Center. In 1981, President Ronald Reagan appointed him ambassador to Senegal. After returning to the U.S., he led a State Department task force that iden-

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tified \$129 million in budget cuts made possible by closing a number of the country's overseas missions.

In 1988, Amb. Bray became president of the Johnson Foundation at Wingspread in Racine, Wis., which holds conferences on sustainable development, education, democracy and families. Among other things, he rescued the Frank Lloyd Wright-designed Wingspread Conference Center that had fallen into disrepair.

Amb. Bray retired in 1997, and thereafter devoted himself to restoration of Ten Chimneys, the home of Broadway legends Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontayne, in Genesee Depot, Wis. Under his leadership, the home was opened to the public as a museum and resource for the arts world.

Amb. Bray received the President's Distinguished Service Award in 1984 and the State Department's Distinguished Honor Award in 1988. Throughout his career he wrote essays for newspapers and journals of opinion. He founded several community and youth organizations in Racine, and served as president and chief executive of the Princeton Project 55, which arranges internships in public service for Princeton University graduates.

His first wife, Eleanor Mauzé Bray, died in 1993.

Survivors include his wife of seven years, Katie Gingrass of Milwaukee; three children from his first marriage, Charles Bray of Austin, Texas, Katherine Bray-Merrell of Davidson, N.C., and David Bray of Atlanta, Ga.; five stepchildren, Charles Gingrass of Milwaukee, David Gingrass of Napa, Calif., Mary Gingrass-Stark of Nashville, Tenn., Sarah Gingrass of Milwaukee and Amy Gingrass of Aspen, Colo.; two brothers, Richard Bray of Bethesda, Md., and Thomas Bray of Bloomfield Hills, Mich.; and nine grandchildren.

Robert A. Clark Jr., 85, a retired FSO, died of bladder cancer on June 19 at Westminster of Lake Ridge Retirement Community in Woodbridge, Va.

Born in Newark, N.J., on Aug. 20, 1920, Mr. Clark attended Davidson College and Columbia University before World War II broke out. He briefly served in the Army Air Corps until he was medically discharged. He joined the Foreign Service in 1944 as a diplomatic courier, and was posted to Cairo.

In 1947, Mr. Clark returned to State, where he held increasingly senior positions in the diplomatic pouch and courier operations office. Early in 1949 he was posted to Bangkok to supervise the regional courier office, and later that year transferred to Manila. After a brief stint at State in 1951, he was sent to Paris. Two years later he was assigned to the U.S. legation in Budapest as administrative officer.

During the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, when Soviet troops arrived in Budapest to put down the revolt, Mr. Clark was the convoy commander in charge of evacuating U.S. citizens. As the legation's administrative officer, he negotiated the convoy's progress with Soviet officers for two days in a Hungarian border town until he obtained approval for the Americans' passage to Austria.

Mr. Clark then returned to Washington, working in the executive directorate of the Bureau of Far East Affairs. After service as counselor for administration in Jakarta from 1961 to 1964, he spent the remainder of his FS career in Washington, first in the Bureau of Administration and then as deputy director of the Office of Munitions Control in the Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs.

After retiring from the Service in 1972, Mr. Clark served on a communi-

ty volunteer rescue squad and taught English as a second language.

His first wife, Ruby Eastman Clark, whom he met when she was a Foreign Service secretary in Cairo, died in 1975. His second wife, Eleanor Bergmann Clark, a Foreign Service officer, died in 2004.

He is survived by his third wife, Lillian Youry Clark of Lake Ridge; three daughters from his first marriage, Carol Lynn Arnold of Ashford, Conn., Christine Adair Rumps of Anchorage, Alaska, and Janice Eastman Clark of Manassas, Va.; two stepdaughters; two sisters; six grandchildren; and two great-grandchildren.



Kevin E. Honan, 55, an active-duty FSO, died on June 17 in Washington, D.C.

Born in the Bronx, New York, Mr. Honan graduated from Georgetown University in 1973. He later earned an M.A. in commodity economics there.

Mr. Honan joined the Foreign Service in 1974, and was posted to Istanbul. After returning to State, he was sent as an economic officer to Kuwait and, in 1981, posted to Ankara. Between 1984 and 1988, he worked in the Bureaus of African and Economic Affairs at State. He was then detailed to the Foreign Service Institute to learn Japanese, after which he was assigned to the trade unit of Embassy Tokyo.

In 1995 he was detailed to FSI to study Korean, and was posted to Seoul in 1996, again as an economic officer. In 1999 he transferred to Tokyo as counselor for economic affairs. Returning to State in 2002, he directed the Office of Bilateral Trade Affairs. In 2005 he was appointed director of the Office of Agriculture, Biotechnology and Textile Trade Affairs.

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Mr. Honan leaves his partner, Chul Beom Park of Washington, D.C.



Ray E. Jones, 84, a retired Foreign Service staff officer, died on Aug. 4 at Suburban Hospital in Washington, D.C., following a heart attack.

Born in Rensselaer, Ind., Mr. Jones served in the Army in World War II. Like other veterans, he ended the war in Berlin and stayed on as a civilian in the military government. He was later integrated into the Foreign Service, serving in the consulates and high commission of the U.S. Occupation Administration of Germany.

After service at Consulate General

Duesseldorf in the unusual position of a male secretary, in the mid-1950s Mr. Jones was named secretary to U.S. Ambassador to Switzerland Frances Willis, the first female career Foreign Service officer to be appointed ambassador.

Unlike colleagues who chose to convert to general administrative duties and rose in rank to levels equated with Foreign Service officers, Mr. Jones preferred to remain a secretary, and his exceptional stenographic and office management skills made his service increasingly sought after. Following Switzerland, he spent four years in Khartoum where, as friends recall, he reported that his winnings at the bridge table in the diplomatic community enabled him to afford the lifestyle

he sought in his next post, Vienna.

In addition to outstanding talent at the bridge table and fluency in several languages, Mr. Jones had a keen eye for art, furniture, antiques and carpets. His quarters at every post, friends recall, were often the most attractive and elegantly furnished of any, including those of the ambassador. In Vienna, Ambassador James W. Riddleberger sometimes used Jones' midtown apartment for private conversations with Austrian leaders, rather than invite them to his residence in suburban Hietzing.

In 1964, Mr. Jones was appointed secretary to Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, when Taylor was appointed ambassador to Vietnam. After the

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Saigon assignment, he was detailed to the White House to continue as Taylor's secretary in the latter's new capacity as chairman of the president's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board and president of the Institute of Defense Analysis. From 1969 to 1973, Mr. Jones was posted to The Hague as secretary to Ambassador William Middendorf.

Mr. Jones was then scheduled to return to Khartoum as secretary to the new ambassador, Cleo Noel, with whom he had worked earlier. While en route to post, however, Noel was assassinated by the Black September element of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Mr. Jones was delayed in Cairo until Noel's body arrived, and he accompanied it to the U.S., remaining friends for years with the widowed Lucille Noel.

Unexpectedly available again for assignment, Mr. Jones was chosen to assist veteran Ambassador David Bruce in opening the embassy in Beijing. He finished his career where it had begun, in Berlin, as secretary to the chief of the U.S. mission in the late 1970s.

In retirement, Mr. Jones settled in Washington, D.C. He worked for a time at the Middendorf-Lane Gallery, as well as with other art and antique dealers. He spent his final years surrounded by the art work and mementos of his life abroad.

Mr. Jones is survived by a sister, Dorothy Lee of Rensselaer, Ind., and several nieces and nephews.



John H. Kean, 84, a retired Foreign Service officer with USAID, died on May 25 at the Brooke Grove Rehabilitation and Nursing Center in Sandy Spring, Md. He had suffered a stroke in April.

Born to American parents in

Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, Canada, where he grew up, Mr. Kean came to Washington, D.C., at age 16. He attended Wilson Teachers College in the District, and graduated from The George Washington University in 1943. He received a master's degree in economics from GWU in 1947.

Mr. Kean's career in international economic affairs and development spanned some 28 years with USAID and its predecessor agencies. In 1950 he joined the Department of Commerce, where he worked on the formation of the General Agreement for Trade and Tariffs, on issues related to access to strategic materials and on France and the French Overseas Territories during the last days of the Marshall Plan.

On transfer to the State Department in 1952, he was assigned to the Office of Northeast Asian Affairs where he was concerned with the rehabilitation of the Japanese economy and Japan's support during the Korean War. In 1953, Mr. Kean transferred to the Mutual Security Administration, where he served as desk officer for India in the Office of South Asian Affairs and, later, as desk officer for Israel.

Mr. Kean became a Foreign Service officer in 1956, and was assigned to Ankara as a program officer. After two years, he returned to Washington as the desk officer for Egypt, Syria and Sudan. He subsequently served as assistant director for programs in Egypt (1961-1964), with intermittent assignments in Jordan and Pakistan. His assignment to Afghanistan from 1966 to 1968 involved him in one of USAID's largest development programs, noted at that time for being on the front lines during the Cold War. After a year as special assistant to the assistant administrator for Near East

and South Asia, Mr. Kean was named program officer for the Technical Assistance Bureau, USAID's central division for research and field mission support on development issues.

In 1972, he joined the USAID mission in Ghana, spending four years as assistant director for programs. His last assignment, in 1976, was as regional development officer for the Southern Africa region, with primary responsibility for programs in Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

Following retirement in 1978, Mr. Kean settled in Bethesda, Md., where he lived for many years before moving to Leisure World in Silver Spring, Md. For a decade he was involved in overseas consulting with Devres, Inc., specializing in the Caribbean and Middle East. He also served as a volunteer with the Community Ministry of Montgomery County, and assisted in its Thanksgiving hunger relief drive and Friends in Action program. He was a mentor in the Montgomery County Interages literacy program, and volunteered at the Capital Area Community Food Bank and at Shepherd's Table, a Silver Spring charity for the homeless. He was also a mentor of undergraduate students at GWU, and taught English as a second language to adults.

Mr. Kean held several offices at Leisure World, was elected to the board of directors and was a member of the ballroom dance club. He was a member at various times of Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational churches in the area and served as deacon, elder and director of missionary projects.

He is survived by his wife of 59 years, Ruth McDougald Kean of Silver Spring, Md.; five children, Ronald Kean, Robert Kean, Richard Kean, Marla Hensley and Beverly Smith; and nine grandchildren.

IN MEMORY



H. Freeman Matthews Jr., 78, a retired FSO and former president of the American Foreign Service Association, died on July 22 at Sibley Memorial Hospital in Washington, D.C., of renal failure.

Harrison Freeman Matthews Jr. was born in Bogota, the son of a distinguished FSO. His father, who had served as chargé to the French government in Vichy, was the first FSO to be named under secretary of State for political affairs. He was chief of mission to three European posts during and after World War II, and was among the first cohort of four to be promoted to career ambassador in 1956.

“Free” Matthews grew up in Havana and Paris before graduating from the Lawrenceville School in 1945 and Princeton University in 1950. He served in the U.S. Army in both World War II and the Korean War, and joined the Foreign Service in 1952.

Palermo was his first posting, where he served as a refugee relief officer. He received his Foreign Service commission later that year, and transferred to Zurich in 1955. In 1959 he returned to State as a personnel officer. He was assigned to Madrid in 1963.

In 1964, Mr. Matthews was appointed chief of the political section in Saigon. He returned to Washington in 1966 to spend four years as director of the Vietnam Working Group. In the early 1970s, he was political counselor at the U.S. embassy in Mexico City and later served as deputy chief of mission in Cairo. There he played a role in the Middle East peace negotiations led by President Jimmy Carter, between Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, that produced the Camp David Peace Accords in 1978.

That same year, Mr. Matthews retired as a senior inspector in the

Office of the Inspector General. He subsequently did consulting for the Bureau of Diplomatic Security, and represented the department on task forces and committees reviewing the Iran-Contra hearings.

Mr. Matthews was a resident of Chevy Chase, Md., for almost 50 years. He was a member of St. John's Episcopal Church Lafayette Square in Washington, D.C., the American Foreign Service Association, DACOR (where he served as chairman of the Welfare Committee), the Chevy Chase Club and the Metropolitan Club. He also served on the board of what is now the Wildlife Trust, and volunteered at Washington National Cathedral and Meals on Wheels.

Survivors include his wife of 56 years, Nancy Henneberger Matthews of Chevy Chase, Md.; four children, Luke Matthews of Houston, Texas, John Matthews of Lyon, France, Navy Capt. Timothy Matthews of Jacksonville, Fla., and Elizabeth Johns of Woodville, Va.; and 10 grandchildren. Donations in his name may be made to the Washington Humane Society (www.washhumane.org).



David Gulick Nes, 89, a retired FSO, died of cancer on May 27 at his home in the Green Spring Valley of Maryland.

Mr. Nes was born in York, Pa. He was a 1935 graduate of the Gilman School in Baltimore, Md., and earned a B.A. degree in history at Princeton University in 1939. He undertook graduate studies at Harvard in international law and international trade and finance, and then worked as a reporter for the *Baltimore Sun* before passing the Foreign Service exam in 1941. He joined the Department of State in 1942 as a divisional assistant.

Taking a military leave in 1943, Mr.

Nes enlisted in the U.S. Army, where he rose to the rank of captain and served as a Command Pack Artillery Battery Commander in the North Burma Campaign, winning a Bronze Star, four Battle Stars and other awards.

Mr. Nes joined the Foreign Service in 1946, and was assigned to Glasgow as a vice consul. From 1949 to 1952, he served in Paris with the Economic Cooperation Administration and also as special assistant to Ambassador David Bruce, before returning to Washington to serve as assistant director of the Trieste Task Force. From 1954 to 1956, he was posted to Tripoli as DCM. He again returned to the department, first as the officer in charge of Korean affairs and then as a politico-military adviser on African affairs. In 1959 Mr. Nes was posted to Rabat, where he served as DCM until 1962, when he was detailed to the Imperial Defence College in London.

In 1964, Mr. Nes was posted to Saigon as DCM, with the personal rank of minister. According to an oral history Mr. Nes gave at Georgetown University, Gen William Westmoreland arrived shortly after he did, and the two traveled together by air throughout South Vietnam. During that tour Mr. Nes concluded that “it would be difficult, if not virtually impossible” to defeat the communists without a full-scale occupation of North Vietnam.

“My departure from Saigon was sudden and unexpected,” Mr. Nes wrote of that assignment's end later in 1964, when his boss, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., returned to the U.S. as an unexpected write-in winner in New Hampshire's Republican presidential primary.

Mr. Nes attended the Senior Management Seminar and undertook French-language training at FSI prior to being posted, in 1965, to Cairo as

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DCM, with the personal rank of minister. In Cairo, he served as chargé d'affaires during the Six Days War of June 1967, receiving the Superior Honor Award for safely evacuating 500 Americans. Mr. Nes retired from the Foreign Service in 1968.

Following retirement, Mr. Nes settled in the town of Greenspring Valley, where he built a home. He served on the boards of the Greater Baltimore Medical Center and the Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum, and wrote and lectured extensively on foreign affairs, primarily the Middle East.

He was an ardent golfer, sailor and skier, and a member of the Green Spring Valley Hunt Club, the Chevy Chase Club, the New York Yacht Club and the West River Sailing Club. He sailed from Galesville, Md., to Northeast Harbor, Maine, each summer until 2000, and played golf until 2005.

Mr. Nes' beloved wife and career partner, Elizabeth Houghton Nes, predeceased him in May 2004.

He is survived by his five daughters, Wendy Del Terzo of Lancaster, Pa., Audrey Keykendall and Margaret Nes of Taos, N.M., Nancy Knowlton of Baltimore, Md., and Victoria Kirby of San Francisco, Calif.; and two grandsons, David Nes Del Terzo of Lancaster, Pa., and Nicholas Nes Knowlton of Baltimore, Md.



Florence L. Neverman, 89, a retired Foreign Service staff officer, died on April 3 in Sarasota, Fla.

Ms. Neverman was born in La Moure, N.D. She served in the U.S. Navy WAVES from 1942 to 1946, retiring from the Naval Reserves in 1961 as a lieutenant.

After joining the Foreign Service in 1947, Ms. Neverman was assigned as a secretary to Warsaw (1947-1949), Baghdad (1949-1951), Geneva and

Zurich (1955-1957), Copenhagen (1957-1960), Beirut (1960-1965), Tehran (1965-1969) and Tokyo (1969-1971).

The late Ambassador Armin Meyer, to whom she was secretary during her last three postings, recently recalled Ms. Neverman's excellent organization and conscientious efficiency.

Upon retiring in 1971, Ms. Neverman settled in Sarasota, Fla.

She is survived by a sister, Laurie Cooper.



John Albert Edward Orloski, 97, a retired Foreign Service Reserve staff officer, died on Aug. 15 of a stroke at Holy Cross Hospital in Silver Spring, Md.

Born in Scranton, Pa., Mr. Orloski graduated from the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in 1934. He went to work at the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in 1934, moving to the Latin American Division of the old Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in 1938.

He was posted to the U.S. embassy in Cuba in 1945, first as commercial officer, then as assistant commercial attaché. He was subsequently assigned to La Paz as commercial attaché, returning in 1948 to the Department of Commerce's International Division where he was responsible for the north and west coast areas of South America.

In 1950, Mr. Orloski joined the management consulting firm of Klein & Saks, where he was a senior industrial consultant until 1965, when he joined the consulting firm of Economic Associates. In 1965, he joined the newly established Industrial Development Organization of the United Nations as senior economic adviser, later becoming assistant to the director of the policies and planning division and moving to Vienna with the

organization. After the Vienna assignment, Mr. Orloski took on specific field assignments for UNIDO: He headed a three-person economic mission to Swaziland in 1970, worked with the government of Mauritius in 1971 and with the government of Guatemala in 1976. Later that year, he returned to the U.S. following a serious earthquake there.

Mr. Orloski and his wife, whose daughter Jewel was mentally disabled, were active in promoting a greater awareness of the needs of people with mental disabilities. He helped establish the Association of Retarded Citizens of Prince George's County, and served as the group's president for four years. A member of St. Mark's Parish in Adelphi, he worked for Christian Assisted Living for Mentally Retarded Adults, serving as the group's chaplain.

In 2002 Mr. Orloski moved to Riderwood Village in Silver Spring, Md., where he was active in the community and wrote articles for the local newsletter on travel and gardening.

Mr. Orloski's wife, Estelle, died in January. His daughter Jewel died in April. Survivors include a daughter, Mary Jane Phillips of Silver Spring, Md.



Talcott W. Seelye, 84, a retired Foreign Service officer and former ambassador, died of pancreatic cancer on June 8 at his home in Bethesda, Md.

Ambassador Seelye was born in Lebanon, where his father, Laurens Seelye, was a professor at the American University of Beirut. He was a descendant of Captain Robert Seeley, who arrived from England with John Winthrop in 1630, and a long line of prominent educators. His great-grandfather, Julius Hawley Seelye, was

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president of Amherst College; one great-uncle, Laenus Clark Seelye, was the first president of Smith College; another, Talcott Williams, was the first dean of the Pulitzer School of Journalism at Columbia University. His great-grandmother was a cousin of William and Henry James.

In 1943, Amb. Seelye interrupted college to enlist in the army as a private, attaining the rank of captain. He attended Officers Candidate School at Fort Benning, Ga., was an instructor at the Camp Ritchie intelligence training center and served in Iran with the Persian Gulf Command and in Italy with Allied Force Headquarters.

Amb. Seelye graduated magna cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa in 1947 from Amherst College, where he was president of the Student Council twice, head of the senior honorary society (Scarab), won the "First Citizen" of the College Award and played varsity soccer and basketball.

Following graduation from Amherst, Amb. Seelye taught at Deerfield Academy for a year, and then entered the Foreign Service in 1948. His first assignment, in 1950, was in Germany as a Kreis Resident officer under the U.S. High Commission. He was commissioned as an FSO in 1951.

Amb. Seelye's first posting was to Amman as a political officer from 1952 to 1954. In 1955, he was sent to the FSI Arabic Language School in Shemlan, Lebanon. He served as consul in Kuwait from 1956 to 1960, returning to Washington as director of Arabian Peninsula affairs from 1961 to 1964. In 1963, Amb. Seelye accompanied Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker on his trip to the Middle East to negotiate the end of the Saudi-Egyptian confrontation over Yemen. He was detailed to the National War College for the 1964-1965 academic year.

In 1965, Amb. Seelye was sent to

Saudi Arabia, serving there as DCM and chargé d'affaires. In 1965 he received a personal letter of commendation from the Secretary of Defense for his service in Saudi Arabia in negotiating the first U.S.-Saudi arms agreement. From Jeddah, he returned to Washington, where he served as director of Arabian North affairs from 1968 to 1972. Amb. Seelye received praise from the White House for his work in 1970 as head of the Jordan Task Force that dealt with the "Black September" hijacking by Palestinian terrorists of three passenger-laden commercial aircraft that were forced to land in the Jordanian desert.

He was appointed ambassador to Tunisia in 1972, and served there until 1976. While serving in Tunisia, Amb. Seelye initiated and coordinated, with the commander of the Sixth Fleet, the rescue of hundreds of Tunisians stranded in floodwaters. In 1976, during the Lebanese civil war, President Ford sent him to Lebanon as a special emissary following the assassination of Ambassador Francis Meloy. There he oversaw the evacuation of American citizens and embassy staff by the U.S. Sixth Fleet. In the same year, Amb. Seelye was named senior deputy assistant Secretary for African affairs.

He was appointed ambassador to Syria in 1978, achieved the rank of career minister in 1980 and retired from the Foreign Service in 1981.

A fluent Arabic linguist, Amb. Seelye served in six Arab countries and developed close ties with three prominent Arab leaders: King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, King Hussein of Jordan and President Bourguiba of Tunisia. He worked to improve strained U.S.-Syrian relations with President Hafez al-Assad. Throughout his career and in retirement, he urged the U.S. to pursue a balanced policy in the Middle East.

Following retirement, Amb. Seelye

established his own Middle East consultancy, known as Talcott Seelye Associates. He also served as director of Middle East Research Services for a Boston-based company from 1982 to 2002. In this connection, he published a bimonthly newsletter for American firms and regularly conducted orientation trips to the Middle East for American businessmen, mainly oil analysts. He authored newspaper and magazine articles, appeared frequently on national and international television and radio programs and lectured throughout the country.

Amb. Seelye served on the Board of Trustees of Amherst College from 1982 to 1986 and received honorary degrees from both Amherst and Washington and Jefferson Colleges. He was a member of the Cosmos and Kenwood Clubs, the National Advisory Council of Hampshire College, the Washington Institute of Foreign Affairs, the Middle East Institute, the Phi Beta Kappa Society, Alpha Delta Phi fraternity, AFSA and DACOR. He also served on the boards of AMIDEAST and Americans for Middle East Understanding. From 1988 to 2000, he was founder and president of the American-Tunisian Association. He was an avid tennis player and loved to dance.

Survivors include his wife of 56 years, Joan Hazeltine of Norwich, Conn.; four children: Lauren Seelye Harris of Washington, D.C., Ammanda Salzman of Riverside, Conn., Talcott Seelye Jr. of New York City and Kate Seelye of Beirut, Lebanon; three grandchildren; and two sisters. ■

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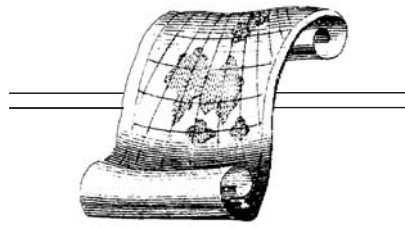
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REFLECTIONS

Two Rivers Run Through It

BY SCOTT R. RIEDMANN

I awoke this morning to the undulating rhythm of the Muslim call to prayer, summoning all those within earshot to bow down and give praise to God. How hypnotic it can be to hear a call that you don't comprehend but fully understand. Meaning isn't necessary; only faith is required.

The sky is pinkish-orange, creating the perfect backdrop for this siren song. I look down from my balcony and see some of the faithful shuffling to the mosque. Others pray in the street or wherever they happen to be at the time. This is morning in Khartoum.

On the way to work, I am shielded from the intense glare of the desert sun, hidden behind dark, smoky windows. The faces I pass cannot see my examination of them. They only see my large white SUV. Donkey carts shuffle along. Tea ladies sell glasses of hot liquid laden with sugar. This roadside delight helps drive out the chill of the desert night.

The car takes me past the Blue Nile, one of two rivers that run through Khartoum. The Blue Nile and the White Nile converge to become the great one.

How lost one feels in such a place, a place filled with extreme devotion — an unquenchable thirst for salvation. Their faith flows like the rivers that

Scott R. Riedmann joined the Foreign Service in 2000. He is currently deputy consul general in Nairobi, having also served in Quito and Merida. He wrote this article while on TDY in Khartoum.

There are two currents flowing in Khartoum: devotion to a religion that is peaceful and loving, and resentment of what the West represents, what it imposes.



dissect this city and is as relentless as the dust that shrouds it. Their religion is peaceful and loving. The truly faithful know this.

Despite the overt religious devotion, there are some whose faith is not so gentle, not so pure. Their hearts are not filled with peace, but with anger. They crave retribution, cruel and swift, for some crime that only they understand. Their anger melds into the dominant feeling; it covertly converges with the more peaceful idea, blending and becoming part of the larger sentiment that surges through the heart of this city and its people.

I sit in my office, at the embassy, and the clamor begins on the street. Outside, men in white gowns and women robed in black chant and scream and throw whatever they can find at us — but not us really, just the idea of us. Be gone! Get out! Just go!

One morning I visit the Omdurman Souk, a local market, as the vendors are gearing up for the day. They

rarely see foreigners here; it's not a tourist destination. They don't pay much attention to me, but go on about their business selling — python-skin shoes, camel-hair rugs, donkey whips, teapots and gold jewelry.

A gentleman comes up to me from inside a shop. "Come," he says. "You are welcome here."

I know he is right. My instincts have not alerted me that there is danger. He and his friends smile and bid me good day. They are curious to know about me. Why do I venture to where few of my kind come? We share tea and exchange pleasantries as well as two people can with limited capabilities in each other's language. He shakes my hand and wishes me "peace."

As I leave the market a group of young men spot me and begin saying things I don't understand. Their eyes are not kind; they are brimming with frustration and anger. But they don't threaten me. They just don't want me there, in their market, in their country, in their thoughts.

Driving away I realize that, like the two Niles, there are two currents flowing here: devotion to a religion that is peaceful and loving, and resentment of what the West represents, what it imposes. While I may disagree with the latter's validity, the former is all but certain. These two currents come together and become something different, a stronger potion. Like the two rivers that become one, these feelings intertwine. They become lost in each other, forming something new. ■

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